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The Foundations of Empire Building: Spain's Legacy and the American Imperial Identity, 1776-1921

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in History

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Abstract

This dissertation explores both the admiration and dependency that influential Americans developed towards Spain and its imperial legacy as they attempted to construct the United States' national and imperial identities throughout the long nineteenth century. The project also challenges beliefs associated with American exceptionalism, isolationism, and the Black Legend narrative. Developed in the metropole during the century prior to the United States' emergence onto the world stage as an overseas imperial power in 1898, an informal group of elite Americans, made up of politicians, diplomats, Hispanist scholars, magazine editors, and exposition organizers, appropriated Spain's imperial past as the foundation of the American historical narrative. Based on a conceptualization of Whig history, they celebrated the Spanish Empire for having brought civilization to the New World. These individuals also believed that the United States had become the vanguard of civilization; in turn, they accepted that it was their country's responsibility to expand westward across the continent of North America.

Following the transfer of imperial power that occurred at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War of 1898, the United States found itself in possession of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands. Relatively unfamiliar with the empire's new overseas colonial possessions, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators pragmatically adopted the narrative that had been created in the metropole. These individuals used Spain's imperial legacy as the foundation of their own colonial projects, as they borrowed from several centuries of imperial knowledge and expertise throughout the periphery of their new empire.

Keywords

American Empire, Spanish Empire, U.S-Spanish relations, Columbian legacy, cultural history, transnationalism, trans-imperial, Caribbean Basin, Guam, Philippines

Summary for Lay Audience

History has been dominated by empires. Today, we live in a world that is controlled by nation-states; however, this world only began to appear in a global context at the end of the Second World War. Despite attempts to place national unity at the forefront of political discussions, inclinations towards imperial thought still control the present world. At the root of these empires are people. Through the creation of “imagined communities,” individuals have fashioned empires in an attempt to define who they are and their positions in the world.¹ People often conceptualize empires as unified entities that appear on maps as monolithic centers of power, unaffected by the varying cultures and ideologies that may exist within these imperial possessions. However, as John Darwin suggested, empires are by no means as simple as this image suggests and in reality, they are living and breathing things that are “contested, confused, and chance-ridden.”²

Building on this understanding of imperial history, this dissertation sheds light on how individuals living in both the U.S. and Spanish empires during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries attempted to shape the world that surrounded them through productive interactions with one another. These individuals were not only politicians and diplomats but also writers, travelers, soldiers, scientists, exposition organizers, mothers, and merchants. Exchanges reached their peak during the decades surrounding the Spanish-American War of 1898, which culminated with the U.S.

¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991).

² John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of Global Empires, 1400–2000* (New York: Penguin Books, 2007), x.

occupation of Spain's former colonial possessions in the Caribbean Basin (Puerto Rico and Cuba) and the Pacific (Guam and the Philippine Islands). However, both before and after these decades, individuals living throughout the U.S. and Spanish empires were connected to one another in a variety of different ways. These connections shaped their understanding of themselves, as well as the worlds that surrounded them.

Por meu Avô.

Acknowledgements

Looking back, the past five years can be best described as a blur of academic books and journals; storage boxes; photographed images of archival documents; countless meetings and due dates; multiple undecorated offices; long drives between Guelph, London, and Windsor; lonely nights in Airbnb rentals and hotel rooms; and an innumerable amount of weekends spent conducting solitary work. The process of writing a dissertation is not for the faint of heart; nor is it simply an academic undertaking, completely divorced from one's personal life. It is an all-encompassing process, which is both painstaking and invigorating. It equally challenges one's academic abilities, as well as his or her own personal soundness of mind. This dissertation would not have been completed without the support provided by others and over the next several pages, I will endeavor to express my appreciation to these individuals, to the best of my abilities.

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Wendy Russell, Mark Franke, Miriam Wright, Robert Nelson, Steven Palmer, Guy Lazure, Guillaume Teasdale, Jennifer Rocheleau, Carolin Lekic, and Aindrea Cramp. All of you provided me with both academic and professional training over the past several years and I am forever grateful for your support.

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Table of Contents

Abstract and Keywords	i
Summary for Lay Audience	iii
Acknowledgements	vi
Table of Contents	xi
Introduction	
The United States and the Embrace of Empire.....	1
Chapter 1	
“Of the Most Friendly Character”: U.S.-Spanish Relations, 1776-1875.....	43
Chapter 2	
The Quest to “Form a Perfect Character”: The Spanish Past, Nineteenth-Century U.S. Hispanists, and the American Road to Empire.....	94
Chapter 3	
The Second Columbian Exchange: Establishing Spain’s Imperial Legacy as the Foundation of the American Historical Narrative at International Expositions, 1892-1893.....	144
Chapter 4	
“Our Feet May Never Tread the Streets”: How American Clubwomen Perceived Spain and the Country’s Imperial Legacy through Imaginary Journeys.....	186
Chapter 5	
“More Like Guests than Enemies”: Spain’s Imperial Legacy and U.S. Colonial Rule in the Caribbean Basin.....	226
Chapter 6	
“Our Interests Here are Identical”: The American Overseas Empire Encounters the Spanish Imperial Legacy in Guam and the Philippine Islands.....	289
Conclusion	
The Consciousness of the Imperial Experience.....	351
Appendix: Images	372
Bibliography	384
Curriculum Vitae	421

Introduction

The United States and the Embrace of Empire

On April 30, 1904, the gates of the St. Louis World's Fair opened to the world.¹ At the event, fair director David R. Francis aspired to connect the birth of America's transcontinental empire with the country's recent emergence as an overseas imperial power.² The event was promoted as being about "the processes rather than of products," and in turn, Francis created a land of adventure and enchantment at St. Louis. Held to commemorate the one-hundred-year anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase, the St. Louis World's Fair celebrated the spread of American civilization from the eastern seaboard of North America, across the continent, and out into the country's new overseas possessions in the Caribbean Basin and the Pacific.³ However, as Francis presented the emergence of the United States as a global power, he also paid homage to the Spanish Empire, which he perceived as America's imperial predecessor in both its transcontinental and overseas empires.⁴

Throughout the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century, great exhibitions, international expositions, and world's fairs became artificially created,

¹ For more information on the festivities surrounding the opening of the fair: "The Fair Opening," *The Evening Bulletin – Maysville, Kentucky*, April 30, 1904, p. 1.

² The Louisiana Purchase occurred on July 4, 1803. In turn, the event was also referred to as the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. The fair was originally planned to be held in 1903 but delays forced the opening to be postponed to 1904.

³ "Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904," Record Unit 70, Box 73, Promotional Literature, 1903-1904 – Folder 6, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.; Paul A. Kramer, "Making Concessions: Race and Empire Revisited at the Philippine Exposition, St. Louis, 1901-1905," *Radical History Review* 73, (Winter 1999), 76.

⁴ For more information on how Spain's imperial heritage in the Philippine Islands was remembered at the St. Louis World's Fair: Robert W. Rydell, John E. Findling, and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (Washington, D.C. and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), 55.

utopian zones of contact. At these events, comparisons were made and similarities were found between peoples, nations, and empires.⁵ The St. Louis World's Fair was the largest fair of its kind to be held in the United States. The fairgrounds occupied an immense area of over 1,240 acres, nearly doubling the size of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 (Chicago, Illinois). At St. Louis, the grounds included fourteen major buildings, approximately forty foreign pavilions, and displays from over 70,000 different exhibitors.⁶ The fair was so large and the number of exhibits were apparently so overwhelming that Dr. Charles H. Hughes, the Dean of Barnes Medical College in St. Louis, feared that visitors suffering from neurasthenia would collapse if they attempted to see all of the exhibits in less than a two week period of time.⁷ Local medical professionals were indeed kept busy as visitors complained of the physical and mental exhaustion associated with experiencing the world that David R. Francis had built at St. Louis.⁸

⁵ James Gilbert, "World's Fairs as Historical Events," in *Fair Representations: World's Fairs and the Modern World*, edited by Robert W. Rydell and Nancy E. Gwinn (Amsterdam, Netherlands: VU University Press, 1994), 13-14. For more information: Chapter 3.

⁶ M.J. Lowenstein, *Official Guide to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St. Louis, Missouri: The Official Guide Co., 1904), 9-11, No. 60, Box 11 of 18, St. Louis 1904 – Folder 2, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

⁷ Neurasthenia was a psychopathological term that was popularized by doctors throughout the nineteenth century and continued well into the twentieth century. Specifically, neurasthenia was a diagnosis that was given to patients who claimed to be depressed, fearful, anxious, or fatigued. The diagnosis was prevalent in the United States during the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century.

⁸ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 159-160.

Planning to create a Philippine exhibit for the St. Louis World's Fair officially began in November of 1902 when \$300,000 was allocated to fund the project.⁹ Four months earlier, President Theodore Roosevelt claimed that fighting in the Philippine Islands had come to an end and that the time had arrived for a civil colonial government to be established in the region.¹⁰ The Philippine Exhibit was paid for by the new Insular Government of the Philippine Islands, offices were established in Manila, and an additional \$700,000 was later contributed to the project.¹¹

A board of directors was also established to oversee the creation of the Philippine Exhibit and was led by Dr. William P. Wilson and Gustavo Niederlein. From 1902 to 1903, the two men traveled throughout the Philippine Islands and began working with U.S. colonial officials, Spanish Jesuits, and members of the Hispanicized-Filipino elite to collect exhibits for the event, which included over 1,000 inhabitants from the Philippine Islands who would be presented as part of a human zoo.¹² Based on the racial beliefs of the period, fair organizers, the Insular Government in Manila, and the Board of Directors

⁹ "An Act Creating a Commission to Secure, Organize, and Make an Exhibit of Philippine Products, Manufactures, Art, Ethnology, and Education at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition to be held at Saint Louis, in the United States, in Nineteen Hundred and Four," Record Unit 70, Box 69, List of Specimens and Objects Collected for the Exhibit, 1903-1906 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹⁰ For more information on the Philippine-American War: Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2000); "General Amnesty for the Filipinos: Proclamation Issued by the President," *The New York Times*, July 4, 1902. In reality, the Moro Rebellion continued in the Southern Philippines until 1913.

¹¹ M.J. Lowenstein, *Official Guide to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St. Louis, Missouri: The Official Guide Co., 1904), 117, No. 60, Box 11 of 18, St. Louis 1904 – Folder 2, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

¹² Dr. William P. Wilson was a professor of botany at the University of Pennsylvania. Gustavo Niederlein was an experienced collector of anthropological and ethnological exhibits. *Report of the Philippine Exposition Board to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St. Louis, Missouri: Greeley Printery of St. Louis, 1904), 6-7; H.W. True to Dr. R. Rathbun, July 6, 1903, Record Unit 70, Box 69, List of Specimens and Objects Collected for the Exhibit, 1903-1906 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

for the Philippine Exhibit professed that their overarching goal was to justify America's imperial project in the Philippine Islands by demonstrating to event visitors how the United States had led to the advancement of civilization in the region. The expectation was that visitors would also come to the conclusion that the United States' imperial project was necessary for both moral and economic purposes, and in turn, organizers hoped that even American anti-imperialists would eventually support their country's imperial endeavors.¹³

The Philippine Exhibit at the St. Louis World's Fair opened on June 17, 1904. The exhibit was located in the far southwest corner of the fairgrounds, on an area of land that encompassed a total of 47 acres.¹⁴ Much like the far off colony, the Philippine Exhibit was isolated from the remainder of the fair.¹⁵ There was no direct entrance from the area outside of the fair to the Philippine Exhibit, and to reach the encampment, visitors were forced to travel through a portion of the fairgrounds where they would experience the "civilized" virtues that the United States was able to offer individuals who

¹³ "Philippine Exposition – World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904 – Brochure," No. 60, Box 11 of 18, St. Louis 1904 – Folder 12, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C. For more information on anti-imperialists: Ian Tyrrell and Jay Sexton (editors), *Empire's Twin: U.S. Anti-Imperialism from the Founding Era to the Age of Terrorism* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2015); Michel Gobat, "The Invention of Latin America: A Transnational History of Anti-Imperialism, Democracy, and Race," *American Historical Review* 118, No. 5 (2013), 1345-1375; Arun W. Jones, "Pragmatic Anti-Imperialists? Episcopal Missionaries in the Philippines, 1933-1935," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 82, No. 1 (2013); Robert L. Beisner, *Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists, 1898-1900* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968); David Mayers, *Dissenting Voices in America's Rise to Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁴ Appendix i-ii.

¹⁵ For more information on the size and the location of the Philippine Exhibit: M.J. Lowenstein, *Official Guide to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St. Louis, Missouri: The Official Guide Co., 1904), 117, No. 60, Box 11 of 18, St. Louis 1904 – Folder 2, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

lived in the metropole of the empire.¹⁶ Specifically, if patrons arrived through the Lindell Boulevard Entrance, they would come into contact with the Hernando de Soto statue, which was built to celebrate the “intrepid Spanish explorer who discovered the Mississippi River.”¹⁷

The Hernando de Soto statue was not only erected at the St. Louis World’s Fair to celebrate the “discoverer” of the Mississippi River. The statue also symbolized a larger metaphor that had existed in the United States since the late eighteenth century. Rather than seeing their country as an isolated nation in the Western Hemisphere, many influential, well-educated Americans celebrated Spanish explorers for connecting the United States with Europe and bringing “civilization” to the New World. According to this narrative, these discoveries facilitated the continued east-to-west movement of the torch of civilization, which had been lit by the Roman Empire, had passed to the Spanish and British empires, and was now in the hands of the United States.¹⁸ After the completion of the Spanish-American War in 1898, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators brought these Whiggish-style historical beliefs with them to Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands. In America’s new overseas possessions, these individuals honored Christopher Columbus, Ponce de León, Miguel López de Legazpi, Andrés de Urdaneta, and Ferdinand Magellan for bringing civilization to the regions of

¹⁶ For more information on the isolated position of the Philippine Exhibit: Kramer, “Making Concessions: Race and Empire Revisited at the Philippine Exposition, St. Louis, 1901-1905,” 91-93.

¹⁷ At times, Hernando de Soto is also referred to as Ferdinand de Soto.

¹⁸ Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1979); Enrique Dussel, *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of “the Other” and the Myth of Modernity* (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1995); Elise Bartosik-Vélez, *The Legacy of Christopher Columbus in the Americas: New Nations and a Transatlantic Discourse of Empire* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 2014).

the world which they discovered, celebrations that were not lost on the organizers of the St. Louis World's Fair or the Philippine Exhibit.

Once visitors had experienced the virtues offered to them by the areas of the fairgrounds that glorified the metropole of the American Empire, organizers deemed them adequately prepared to enter the recreated Walled City of Manila. While in the Walled City, visitors came into contact with Spain's imperial past. This was emphasized by the colonial buildings surrounding the Plaza de Santa Cruz; a replica of the Anda Monument, which was erected to commemorate Simón de Anda, the Spanish Governor-General of the Philippines who had fought against the British during the Seven Years' War; and the statue of Ferdinand Magellan, which was built to honor the "Spanish" explorer who "discovered" the Philippine Islands during the sixteenth century. Outside of the Walled City, visitors experienced the possible economic opportunities that existed in the Philippine Islands and the native inhabitants of the region. These individuals were put on display to represent the varying levels of human civilization that existed in the region, as well as the progress that U.S. administrators had made towards civilizing their colonial inhabitants in the Philippine Islands.¹⁹

Before leaving the "metropole" and entering the "periphery," visitors had to traverse Arrow Head Lake, which surrounded the Philippine Exhibit. To do so, visitors

¹⁹ For more information: *Report of the Philippine Exposition Board to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St. Louis, Missouri: Greeley Printery of St. Louis, 1904).

were required to walk across the Bridge of Spain.²⁰ Spain was, in effect, a metaphorical link between the metropole and the periphery of the American Empire, as well as fair visitors' last connection between the civilized world of the metropole and the primitiveness often associated with the periphery. The Bridge of Spain also offered an additional symbolic comparison. In the minds of many learned Americans, including, the organizers of the St. Louis World's Fair, Spain had bridged the gap between Europe and the United States by bringing civilization to the New World and the Spanish Empire had done the same in the Philippine Islands. This well-tested narrative, which had been developed by elite Americans over the course of the long nineteenth century, was appropriated by U.S. military officers and colonial administrators in the Philippine Islands and was also celebrated by fair organizers at St. Louis in 1904.²¹

The overarching purpose of this dissertation is to reveal the admiration and dependency that influential Americans created and developed towards Spain and the country's imperial legacy, as they attempted to construct both their nation and their empire during the long nineteenth century. Initially developed in the metropole, the American historical narrative appropriated the Spanish imperial legacy as its foundation. Following the transfer of imperial power that occurred at the conclusion of the Spanish-

²⁰ M.J. Lowenstein, *Official Guide to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St. Louis, Missouri: The Official Guide Co., 1904), 120, No. 60, Box 11 of 18, St. Louis 1904 – Folder 2, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.; “Philippine Exposition, World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904 – Brochure,” No. 60, Box 11 of 18, St. Louis 1904 – Folder 2, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C. The Bridge of Spain was a replica of the Puente De España, which transversed the Pasig River in Manila. Two smaller bridges also existed over Arrow Head Lake; however, these bridges did not allow visitors to directly enter the Walled City of Manila.

²¹ “Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904,” Record Unit 70, Box 73, Promotional Literature, 1903-1904 – Folder 6, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Building off of the work of Eric Hobsbawm and for the purposes of this project, I have conceptualized that the long nineteenth century began in 1776 and came to a close in 1921.

American War, this narrative was pragmatically adopted in the periphery of the American Empire in an attempt to both justify the existence of the United States as an imperial entity on the world stage and to provide U.S. military officers and colonial administrators with an opportunity to borrow from Spain's imperial knowledge and expertise.

This dissertation challenges beliefs associated with American exceptionalism, isolationism, and the Black Legend narrative, all of which have clouded historians' views regarding the relationship between Spain and the United States during the long nineteenth century. Rather than creating entirely new colonial projects in the Caribbean Basin and the Pacific, or solely depending on the imperial precedents established by the British Empire, influential Americans drew on the various relationships that had been previously developed between representatives of the United States and Spain. The individuals that took part in these bonds of kinship developed a familiarity with one another and ignored beliefs associated with the Black Legend narrative, which portrayed Spain and the Spanish Empire as being the antithesis of the United States and the emerging American Empire. Instead, these individuals developed a narrative that portrayed Spain as a once great imperial power, which the United States could learn a great deal from, as the country attempted to establish itself as a global power at the close of the nineteenth century.

This study focuses on an informal, but prominent group of well-educated Americans, who took an interest in Spain and the Spanish Empire. These individuals include: U.S. Ministers to Spain, American policymakers, Hispanist writers and scholars, exposition organizers, editors and readers of imaginary travel journals, military officers,

and colonial administrators.²² The point is not that these individuals represented the majority of the American population throughout the time period under discussion, but rather that they epitomized a somewhat homogenous group of primarily upper-class Americans who did not conceptualize the United States as an isolationist nation because it had initially been connected to Europe through the accomplishments of Christopher Columbus and Spain's subsequent colonization of the New World. Throughout the long nineteenth century, as the United States searched for its place in the imperial framework of the period, these individuals communicated with one another in a variety of different ways, developed common belief structures, and held a great deal of influence when it came to creating and dictating the national and imperial narratives of the United States and the American Empire.

Rather than focusing only on the years surrounding the United States' perceived sudden emergence onto the world stage following the Spanish-American War of 1898, this project explores the *longue durée* of the United States' national and imperial experiences. Americans did not suddenly develop a fascination with Spain's imperial past in 1898, nor did they unexpectedly begin to perceive Spain as their imperial predecessor after the emergence of the United States as an overseas imperial power. Rather, as early as the last quarter of the eighteenth century, these elite Americans developed a high-level of respect for Spain and the country's representatives, due to the perceived racial and imperial similarities that Spain and the United States shared with one another, which

²² For more information on this group of individuals: Christopher E.G. Benfey, *The Great Wave: Gilded Age Misfits, Japanese Eccentrics, and the Opening of Old Japan* (New York: Random House, 2003); Sven Beckert and Julia B. Rosenbaum (editors), *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

allowed for a relatively peacefully relationship to exist between the two nations throughout the nineteenth century.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the United States constructed a transcontinental empire, in many areas that the Spanish Empire had once claimed as its own. And in 1898, once the Spanish-American War came to an end, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators were able to draw on both the historical narrative and relationships that had been previously developed in the metropole of the empire. This allowed for a relatively peaceful transfer of imperial power to occur in both the Caribbean Basin and the Pacific, which has been obscured by much of the rhetoric that has been associated with the conflict. Additionally, the narrative and relationships that had been developed in the metropole allowed American representatives to appropriate Spain's imperial legacy as the foundation of their own colonial projects, as they borrowed from several centuries of imperial knowledge and expertise throughout the periphery of their new empire.

This dissertation will answer a variety of different questions. These questions include: How did influential Americans perceive themselves, their nation, and their empire throughout the time period under discussion? What drew these late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century Americans to Spanish representatives, as well as the country's imperial legacy, and what can this tell us about these individuals' perceptions of Spain and the country's past? How did these Americans draw comparisons and connections between the U.S. and Spanish empires? How did the United States and Spain resolve their disagreements throughout the period and what do the resolutions of these issues tell us about the relationship between the two powers? Finally, how and why did

U.S. military officers and colonial administrators decide to continue to appropriate both Spain's colonial expertise and the country's imperial legacy in America's new imperial possessions?

This project focuses on American views towards Spain and the Spanish Empire, rather than the country's former colonial possession in Latin America, with the exception of Cuba and Puerto Rico. An analysis of U.S.-Latin American relations will be omitted from this work because the Americans, who will be the primary focus of this work, did not perceive Spaniards and Latin Americans as being racially equal to one another.²³ Additionally, these Americans were concerned with developing an imperial narrative, which bonded the United States with Spain. Although informed Americans certainly took an interest in the independent republics of Latin America during the period, they did not allow this curiosity to interfere with their attempts to create an exceptional imperial narrative, which positioned the United States as the vanguard of civilization.²⁴

The first segment of this chapter will outline the historiography surrounding U.S. imperial history within the larger field of U.S. foreign relations. It will also explore the evolution of the narratives associated with both American exceptionalism and American isolationism, as well as how historians of U.S. imperial history have only recently begun to uncover the relationship that developed between the United States and the other

²³ For more information about U.S.-Latin American relations during the long nineteenth century: Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Fredrick B. Pike, *The United States and Latin America: Myths and Stereotypes of Civilization and Nature* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1992).

²⁴ For more information: James D. Fernández, "'Longfellow's Law': The Place of Latin America and Spain in U.S. Hispanism, circa 1915," in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 122-141; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John M. Nieto-Phillips (editors), *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations, and Legends* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

imperial powers of the period. This will be done both to present the foundation of my theoretical approaches to the topic under discussion and position my work at the forefront of the study of U.S. imperial history and American cultural history. Specifically, this section will focus on how the use of transnational and inter-imperial conceptualizations have provided me with an opportunity to explore the relationship between the United States and Spain at the personal, national, and imperial levels. Additionally, I have used these theories and methods to understand how both the nation and the empire can at times be separate entities, but at other times, the same geopolitical unit.²⁵

The second section of this chapter will explore the emergence of the Black Legend narrative, how it affected American perceptions of Spain and the Spanish Empire during the long nineteenth century, and how it has clouded historians' views towards U.S.-Spanish relations during the time period under discussion. The next segment will explore how historians have recently begun to uncover the relationship that existed between representatives of the United States and Spain in the decades surrounding the Spanish-American War of 1898 and will position my work at the vanguard of this discussion. The fourth portion of this chapter will provide the reader with a greater understanding of the methodological approaches and processes that will be used throughout this work. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a brief analysis of the remainder of this project.

²⁵ For more information: Nancy Tomes, "Crucibles, Capillaries, and Pentimenti: Reflections on Imperial Transformations," in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 532.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD OF EMPIRES: U.S. HISTORY AS AN IMPERIAL NARRATIVE

The American Revolutionary War was an imperial conflict. What began in 1776 as a colonial rebellion against British imperial rule eventually developed into a global engagement, which involved both the French and Spanish empires. At the conclusion of the conflict in 1783, the United States emerged victorious, and the British Empire was forced to acknowledge America's independence from the mother country.²⁶ However, America's victory in the Revolutionary War left the United States as the lone republic on the continent of North America, due to the fact that the imperial connection between the United States and Britain had been temporarily severed by the conflict. Compounding this issue, the United States found itself surrounded by "dangerous enemies," prompting Thomas Jefferson to state in a letter to George Rogers Clark that the United States needed to create an "empire of liberty" to establish safety and security for the inhabitants of the United States.²⁷

Born into an imperial world, it is not surprising that countless Americans sought to establish the United States as a powerful nation through westward expansion across the

²⁶ "Definitive Treaty of Peace, signed at Paris September 3, 1783," in *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America – Volume 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818*, edited by Hunter Miller (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931), 151-157.

²⁷ Thomas Jefferson, "From Thomas Jefferson to George Rogers Clark, 25 December, 1780," in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson – Volume 4*, edited by Julian P. Boyd (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1951), 233-238.

continent of North America.²⁸ However, many scholarly Americans believed that they first needed to justify their own position amongst the imperial powers of the period. To these individuals, “empire” or “imperium” was based on the Roman Empire’s conceptualization of the power relationship that existed between those who were considered civilized members of the *civitas* and those who were yet to be civilized.²⁹ Thus, Americans appropriated the image of the “Spanish” explorer Christopher Columbus and began to honor his “discovery” of the New World. Through these celebrations, they established an imagined imperial narrative, which was eventually based on a conceptualization of Whig history, that positioned the United States at the vanguard of Western civilization’s east-to-west movement and also provided the United States with a connection with the European imperial powers of the period, which did not depend on

²⁸ For more information on the United States’ early westward expansion across the continent of North America: Sanford Levinson and Bartholomew H. Sparrow, “Introduction,” in *The Louisiana Purchase and American Expansion, 1803-1898*, edited by Sanford Levinson and Bartholomew H. Sparrow (Lanham, Maryland: Roman and Littlefield Publishers Incorporated, 2005), 10; Joyce Appleby, “Introduction: Jefferson and His Complex Legacy,” in *Jeffersonian Legacies*, edited by Peter S. Onuf (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 3; Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2009), 13; Bartholomew H. Sparrow, “Empires External and Internal: Territories, Government Lands, and Federalism in the United States,” in *The Louisiana Purchase and American Expansion, 1803-1898*, edited by Sanford Levinson and Bartholomew H. Sparrow (Lanham, Maryland: Roman and Littlefield Publishers Incorporated, 2005), 232; Gene Allen Smith and Sylvia L. Hilton (editors), *Nexus of Empire: Negotiating Loyalty and Identity in the Revolutionary Borderlands, 1760s-1820s* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2010); Robert Williams Jr., *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

²⁹ Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France, c.1500-c.1800* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1995), 22-24; David Armitage, “Introduction,” in *An Expanding World, The European Impact on World History 1450-1800, Volume 20: Theories of Empire, 1450-1800*, edited by David Armitage (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998).

the United States' previous relationships with Britain or France.³⁰ Furthermore, these Americans also praised the Spanish Empire for bringing civilization to the New World. In turn, they believed that the country's westward expansion across the continent was justified due to their need to advance civilization to those that they perceived to be racially inferior to themselves, specifically, the native inhabitants of the region. Additionally, the Columbus narrative, which was also referred to as the Columbian legacy, often overlooked the explorer's connection with the Roman Catholic Church, that he was of Italian birth, and that he had never come into contact with the continental United States.

Since its foundation, the United States has existed as an empire, which is why this work will often use the terms "American Empire" and "United States" interchangeably. To the Founding Fathers, there was no negative connotation associated with the term "empire" and to many throughout the long nineteenth century, "empire" signified power on the world stage.³¹ Conversely, at times the nation and the empire have also been perceived as being separate. The United States has also always been intertwined in a global, imperial framework, making it a transnational entity. Paul Kramer, Julian Go, Anne Foster, Alfred McCoy, Frank Schumacher, and others have argued that this

³⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991). For more information on Whig history: Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs*; Dussel, *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of "the Other" and the Myth of Modernity*. For more information on this transfer of empire: Bartosik-Vélez, *The Legacy of Christopher Columbus in the Americas: New Nations and a Transatlantic Discourse of Empire*, 4. For more information on the Columbus image: Valerie I.J. Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992).

³¹ Peter S. Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 2.

interconnectivity shaped the creation of both the nation and the empire.³² If this is true, why have so many scholars denied the existence of the American Empire, or referred to the United States' "entrance" into the imperial theatre, following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, as the country's "great aberration"?³³ More importantly, how has this denial of the American Empire, and the associated beliefs in American

³² Paul A. Kramer, "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States and the World," *The American Historical Review* 116, no. 5 (2011); Julian Go, *Patterns of Empire: The British and American Empires, 1688 to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Julian Go and Anne L. Foster (editors), *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2003); Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (editors), *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Frank Schumacher, "Embedded Empire: The United States and Colonialism," *Journal of Modern European History* 14, no. 2 (January 2016). For more information on recent works associated with defining and exploring empires: Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010); Armitage, "Introduction,,"; John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of Global Empires, 1400-2000* (New York: Penguin Books, 2007); Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France, c.1500-c.1800*; Richard H. Immerman, *Empire for Liberty: A History of American Imperialism from Benjamin Franklin to Paul Wolfowitz* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010); David B. Abernethy, *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415-1980* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2000); Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*; Herfried Münlker, *The Logic of World Domination from Ancient Rome to the United States* (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 2007); Frank Ninkovich, *The United States and Imperialism* (Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishers Limited, 2001); Anthony Pagden, *Peoples and Empires: A Short History of European Migration, Exploration, and Conquest: From Greece to the Present* (New York: A Modern Library Chronicles Book, 2001); Robert Aldrich (editor), *The Age of Empires* (New York: Thames and Hudson Incorporated, 2007); Ann Laura Stoler (editor), *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006); Ann Laura Stoler, Carole McGranahan, and Peter C. Perdue (editors), *Imperial Formations* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007); Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (editors), *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, America's Decline* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2012); Volker Barth and Roland Cvetkovski (editors), *Imperial Co-operation and Transfer, 1870-1930* (London, England: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

³³ For more information on historians who have denied the long history of the U.S. Empire: Samuel Flagg Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States – Third Edition* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1950); Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, *American Umpire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013); Jeremi Suri, *Liberty's Surest Guardian: American Nation-Building From the Founders to Obama* (New York: Free Press, 2011). For more information on historians who have embraced America's global hegemony: Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire* (New York: Penguin, 2004); Robert Kagan, *Dangerous Nation: America's Foreign Policy from its Earliest Days to the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Alfred P. Knopf, 2006); Robert Kagan, *The World America Made* (New York: Alfred P. Knopf, 2012).

exceptionalism and isolationism, clouded our views towards U.S. imperial history?³⁴

What have we missed, what have we failed to realize, and how have these errors affected our understanding of both the past and the present role of the United States in the world, as well as its contact with other imperial powers?

It is difficult to pinpoint exactly when and where the belief in American exceptionalism emerged, but eventually, it ingrained itself into the American psyche, as well as the country's historiography. As early as 1630, John Winthrop referred to his new colony in America as a "city upon a hill."³⁵ Two centuries later, after traveling throughout the United States, the French writer and diplomat Alexis de Tocqueville wrote that "the position of the Americans is therefore quite exceptional."³⁶ These statements and beliefs were reinforced by the American victory during the Revolutionary War and the U.S. defeat of the British troops at the Battle of New Orleans following the conclusion of the War of 1812.³⁷ The perceived geographic isolation of the United States, which Winthrop and de Tocqueville both alluded to, also played a role in the creation of this mindset.

Writing during the first half of the nineteenth century, the American historian George Bancroft romanticized the history of the United States by presenting the nation as

³⁴ Howard Zinn, *The Myths of American Exceptionalism*, Summer 2005.
<http://bostonreview.net/BR30.3/zinn.php>.

³⁵ John Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity*, 1630.
<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/a-model-of-christian-charity/>.

³⁶ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America – Part the Second, The Social Influence of Democracy* (New York: J. & H.G. Langley, 1840), 36.

³⁷ The Battle of New Orleans occurred from January 8, 1815 to January 18, 1815.

the antithesis of the old European empires.³⁸ Rather than perceiving the Atlantic Ocean as a “connective lifeline,” Bancroft believed that the body of water isolated the United States from Europe and provided individuals with an opportunity for progress, which would not be offered to them in Europe.³⁹

As immigrants continued to arrive in the United States during the nineteenth century and Americans advanced westward across the continent of North America, they came into contact with diverse groups of individuals, which intensified discussions surrounding the racial discourse of the period, the perceived movement of civilization, and the American historical narrative.⁴⁰ Observing America’s westward movement influenced historians such as Theodore Roosevelt and Frederick Jackson Turner to conceptualize the frontier as a virgin landmass that was preordained to become part of the United States; rather than a region that had been unlawfully overtaken by Anglo-Saxon

³⁸ George Bancroft, *History of the United States of America, From the Discovery of the American Continent* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown, and Company, 1854).

³⁹ Although early American writers and amateur historians, such as Washington Irving and William Hickling Prescott, believed that connections existed between Europe and the United States, the first professional historian to perceive the Atlantic Ocean as a “connective lifeline” was Daniel T. Rodgers. For more information: Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 1.

⁴⁰ For more information on immigration and the conceptualization of race during the period: Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998).

Americans.⁴¹ In regards to the Americans in the region, Roosevelt and Turner drew on beliefs associated with social Darwinism and Whig history, arguing that the settlers on the frontier, through their constant struggle with the Indigenous populations in the region, had evolved into a new, uniquely American race, which was superior to the races of Europe.⁴²

This belief in racial superiority was often increased to include all white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant Americans, and in turn, it reinforced ideas surrounding American exceptionalism. Beliefs associated with exceptionalism and racial superiority also legitimized the creation of America's transcontinental empire throughout the nineteenth century. Roosevelt and Turner presented narratives that made it seem as if the area was preordained to become part of the United States. Therefore, America's westward movement across the continent was not perceived as empire-building, but rather, the lawful advancement of the United States. In reality, American conceptualizations of empire were created and honed in the transcontinental empire and many of these beliefs

⁴¹ For more information on settler colonialism and New Western History: Walter L. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1984); Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company Incorporated, 1973); Francis Paul Prucha, *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783-1846* (Toronto, Ontario: The Macmillan Company, 1969); Williams Jr., *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest*; Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin (editors), *Trails: Toward a New Western History* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1991); Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

⁴² Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (New York: G.P. Putman's Sons, 1889); Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Marlborough, UK: Adam Matthew Digital, 2007). For more information on social Darwinism: Robert C. Bannister, *Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 1979); Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860-1945: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

were later transferred to the country's overseas possessions in the Caribbean Basin and the Pacific.⁴³

Samuel Flagg Bemis became the leading figure in the emerging field of U.S. diplomatic history during the first half of the twentieth century. Throughout the interwar years, Eurocentric minded scholars, such as Bemis, continued to reinforce the beliefs associated with American exceptionalism by presenting the United States as an isolationist nation, due to the country's refusal to join the League of Nations following the conclusion of the First World War.⁴⁴ These scholars refused to concede that the United States already held both formal and hegemonic control over a multitude of colonies and protectorates throughout the Caribbean Basin, Central America, and the Pacific.⁴⁵ Despite extensively describing the diplomatic history of the nation, Bemis did not perceive America's westward expansion as a form of empire-building. He also referred to America's involvement in the Spanish-American War and its subsequent occupation of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands as a "great aberration," rather than an act of imperialism. To a certain degree, this attitude continues to persist in U.S. diplomatic history to this day.⁴⁶

⁴³ For more information on the variety of different ways that the Indigenous people of the American West were affected by the U.S. transcontinental empire: Stoler (editor), *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*.

⁴⁴ For example: Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *History of the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921).

⁴⁵ For more information on defining formal and informal colonies: Julian Go, "Introduction: Global Perspectives on the U.S. Colonial State in the Philippines," in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*, edited by Julian Go and Anne L. Foster (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2003), 1-42.

⁴⁶ Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States – Third Edition*, 463.

During the interwar years, U.S. imperial history continued to be left unexplored due to both the exceptionalist and isolationist narratives associated with U.S. history. Challenges to the beliefs associated with American exceptionalism, isolationism, and the country's imperial past began to emerge in the 1950s. At the forefront of this movement was the revisionist American historian, William Appleman Williams, who began by questioning why the history of the American Empire was absent from both realist approaches to U.S. foreign relations and the much larger historiography associated with the United States.⁴⁷ These questions prompted Williams to conclude that America's economic activities in Asia and the Caribbean Basin were no less imperialistic than the actions of their European counterparts. Williams also argued that the United States' repeated attempts to open the markets of Asia and the Caribbean Basin were based on the country's perceived superiority.⁴⁸ Although his arguments were primarily economically based, Williams's works challenged the previous nationalistically based historiography of the United States and inspired the creation of the New Left school of historical thought and investigation within the field of U.S. foreign relations.

Building on the work done by the New Left, a cultural turn began to occur within the historiography of U.S. foreign relations during the 1980s. Led by Edward W. Said, the field of post-colonial studies also provided historical actors, specifically the colonized, with a great deal of agency. Throughout the same time period, Emily S. Rosenberg's work signified a progressive shift away from revisionist interpretations of

⁴⁷ For more information: George Kennan, *American Diplomacy – Expanded Edition* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

⁴⁸ William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York: Dell Publishing Company Incorporated, 1959); William Appleman Williams, "The Frontier Thesis and American Foreign Policy," *Pacific Historical Review* 24, no. 4 (November 1955), 379-395.

U.S. diplomacy. Rosenberg provided historians with a greater economic and cultural understanding of how American imperialism affected the lives of individuals in both the United States and the world. In turn, Rosenberg began to connect the domestic with the foreign. Additionally, she also enlightened readers about how agents of the American Empire used the ideology of “liberal developmentalism” to justify and promote expansion.⁴⁹

Although the shift away from solely economic interpretations of the American Empire was sparked by Rosenberg’s work in the early 1980s, the process was slow. By 1993, Amy Kaplan still believed that the study of culture was being omitted from the larger field of American imperialism and that the United States’ absence from the field of post-colonial studies was influential in breeding American exceptionalism. Kaplan also argued that American exceptionalism was reinforced by the use of the term “the West,” which in the minds of many American historians, included Europe but not the United States.⁵⁰ Kaplan went on to argue that distancing the United States from Europe allowed American historians to conceive of its continental and overseas expansion as a unique form of nation-building, rather than an imperialistic endeavor, in much the same way that Roosevelt and Turner had in the late nineteenth century and Bemis had continued during the interwar years.

⁴⁹ Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945*, 20.

⁵⁰ Amy Kaplan, “‘Left Alone with America:’ The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture,” in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, edited by Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1993), 14-17; Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (editors), *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1993).

Excluding the United States from the conceptualization of “the West” also failed to allow for comparisons to be made between Europe and the United States. Building on the cultural turn within the American historiography, as well as the emergence of the field known as American Studies, Kaplan’s work played an influential role in the beginning of the new imperial school of historical and literary research. Her work also allowed for the inclusion of methods from several other fields of the social sciences to be integrating into the study of U.S. imperial history, including sociology, anthropology, and literary studies.⁵¹ Removing the barrier that existed between foreign policy and culture has greatly expanded the study of the American Empire in the last twenty years. It has also increased the understanding of how empire-building affected those in the United States, as well as those who were, and continued to be, affected by the existence of the American Empire, such as the inhabitants of Puerto Rico.

As Kaplan argued in 1993, scholars must change their understanding of the United States as a monolithic and self-contained whole. They must also begin to conceive of the United States and the American Empire as a pluralistic entity, where cultural interaction can be exchanged across fluid and contested borders.⁵² This type of study led to an increase in multi-archival research and it has also inspired works that focus on race, gender, class, labor, education, the environment, medicine, and religion within the

⁵¹ For example: Julian Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during U.S. Colonialism* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2008); Stoler (editor), *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*.

⁵² Kaplan, ‘Left Along with America:’ The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture,” 15.

American Empire.⁵³ These approaches to the study of U.S. imperial history have also opened up a plethora of previously unexplored resources, such as travel magazines, ephemeral materials from world's fairs, comic books, songs, cookbooks, and photographs, many of which were explored in the creation of my own project.

Cultural historians of U.S. imperial history have also borrowed methods from the field of borderlands studies. Although the Association for Borderlands Studies only emerged in the mid-1970s, historians such as Bernard Moses and Herbert Eugene Bolton had already begun to integrate the history of Spain's colonization of the Americas and of the Spanish-American borderlands into the American historiography as early as the late nineteenth century.⁵⁴ However, until the recent works by Richard L. Kagan, Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, and Sylvia Hilton, Moses and Bolton's attempts failed to garner a great deal of attention from historians who focus on the U.S. Empire. This dissertation will

⁵³ For example: Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1998); Allison L. Sneider, *Suffragists in an Imperial Age: U.S. Expansion and the Woman Question, 1870-1929* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Julie Greene, *The Canal Builders: Making America's Empire at the Panama Canal* (New York: Penguin Press, 2009); Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006); Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1984).

⁵⁴ Samuel Truett, "Epics of Greater America: Herbert Eugene Bolton's Quest for a Transnational American History," in *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations, and Legends*, edited by Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John M. Nieto-Phillips (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 213-248; Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1966); Bernard Moses, *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers Incorporated, 1965); Herbert E. Bolton, Delia Goetz, and Ernest Galarza, *American Neighbors* (Washington, D.C.: The American National Red Cross, 1940); Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1921); Herbert Eugene Bolton and Thomas Maitland Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929); John Francis Bannon (editor), *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964).

build on the earlier works of Moses and Bolton, and will expand the geographic scope of Spain's metaphorical borderlands history to also include its imperial possessions in both the Caribbean Basin and the Pacific.

The field of transnational history began to emerge during the closing years of the twentieth century and the methods and theories associated with the field will play an influential role in this project. Led by Thomas Bender, Eric Rauchway, Ian Tyrrell, and Pierre-Yves Saunier, the field of transnational history also built on Amy Kaplan's work.⁵⁵ Transnational history has been defined as the study of the movement of people, ideologies, technology, and institutions, which make up the circuits that have existed in our world for hundreds of years.⁵⁶ The methods associated with both borderlands studies and transnational history will be used to explore how distinguished Americans conceptualized their country's connection with Europe and then later appropriated this perceived link to justify their imperial actions in the American West, the Caribbean Basin, and the Pacific.⁵⁷ According to Ann Laura Stoler, these conceptualizations are "social imaginaries," which "traversed empires and national borders" and were created

⁵⁵ Ian R. Tyrrell, *What is Transnational History?* January, 2007. <http://iantyrrell.wordpress.com/what-is-transnational-history/>; Thomas Bender, *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006); Eric Rauchway, *Blessed Among Nations: How the World Made America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006); Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective since 1789* (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

⁵⁶ For more information: Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Tomes, "Crucibles, Capillaries, and Pentimenti: Reflections on Imperial Transformations"; Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010).

⁵⁷ Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age*.

not by passive actors but by all of the individuals who made up the “marrow” of empires.⁵⁸

In 2004, Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht began to argue that one of the “pitfalls” that befell Americans who studied cultural imperialism was that they themselves succumbed to provincialism and failed to realize that numerous empires existed prior to the American Empire.⁵⁹ The fact that empires existed both previously and concurrently with one another, and that those empires, exchanged theories and information, was not an entirely new revelation for academics such as Frederick Cooper, Ann Laura Stoler, and Jane Burbank who had previously studied the “intimate engagements, attraction, and opposition” between European empires.⁶⁰ However, since the publication of Gienow-Hecht’s work, academics such as Paul Kramer, Julian Go, Frank Schumacher, Anne Foster, Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, and others, have integrated the methods associated with cultural history and transnational studies into U.S. imperial history. These academics have opened a new field of study, which explores how imperial transfers occurred

⁵⁸ Ann Laura Stoler, “Intimidations of Empire: Predicaments of the Tactile and Unseen,” in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, edited by Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006), 3-4. For more information on social imaginaries: Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1994).

⁵⁹ Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, “Cultural Transfer,” in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations - Second Edition*, edited by Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 268.

⁶⁰ Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, “Preface,” in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, edited by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1997), viii; Barth and Cvetkovski (editors), *Imperial Co-operation and Transfer, 1870-1930*.

between the American Empire and European empires, as well as how these interactions affected individuals in both the United States and the country's colonial possessions.⁶¹

As Paul Kramer argued in 2011, exchanges between empires can only occur when “actors perceive a degree of commonality.”⁶² Therefore, it should not be surprising that early inter-imperial works primarily examined how the United States acquired cross-imperial knowledge and formed inter-imperial bonds with representatives of the British Empire.⁶³ Despite the American Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and beliefs associated with American exceptionalism, as the United States emerged as an overseas imperial power at the turn of the twentieth century, Americans believed that they shared many racial, religious, linguistic, and economic similarities with the British Empire. The British Empire was arguably the most influential imperial power of the period, making this connection all the more palatable and desirable. Although this may have appeared to be a natural comparison between the two empires that claimed Anglo-Saxon heritage, my fear is that solely comparing the late nineteenth century's most powerful empire, Britain, with the twentieth century's most influential power, the United States, may continue to breed exceptionalism, rather than eliminate it.

⁶¹ Paul A. Kramer, “The Darkness That Enters the Home: The Politics of Prostitution during the Philippine-American War,” in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, edited by Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006), 366-404; Go, *Patterns of Empire: The British and American Empires, 1688 to Present*; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, “From Columbus to Ponce de León: Puerto Rican Commemorations between Empires, 1893-1908,” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 230-237; Go and Foster (editors), *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*; Schumacher, “Embedded Empire: The United States and Colonialism”.

⁶² Kramer, “Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States and the World,” 1352.

⁶³ For more information: Kramer, “The Darkness That Enters the Home: The Politics of Prostitution during the Philippine-American War”; Go, *Patterns of Empire: The British and American Empires, 1688 to the Present*.

This dissertation positions the American Empire as an equal player in the imperial landscape that existed in the years surrounding the turn of the twentieth century. It will also endeavor to continue the exploration of America's other imperial connections and comparisons in both the metropole and the periphery of the nation's empire.⁶⁴ Although the dissertation specifically focuses on the imperial relationship between the United States and Spain, this is only one example of an imperial relationship between the United States and the other imperial powers of the period. I believe that further research still needs to be conducted to increase our understanding of the many imperial circuits that have affected the construction and conceptualization of the United States as representatives of the country's empire embraced the imperial landscapes, which surrounded them.

While Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper argued as early as 1997 that the new style of colonialism that was developed in the late nineteenth century was built on earlier colonial endeavors, and Josep M. Fradera observed in 2009 that the Spanish, British, and U.S. empires coexisted with one another throughout the long nineteenth century, the imperial relationship between the United States and Spain has not been adequately explored by cultural historians who study U.S. imperial history.⁶⁵ Three main factors have contributed to the failure to explore this relationship between the United

⁶⁴ For example: McCoy, Fradera, and Jacobson (editors), *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, America's Decline*.

⁶⁵ Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, edited by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1997), 2; Josep M. Fradera, "Reading Imperial Transitions: Spanish Contraction, British Expansion, and American Irruption," in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 35.

States and Spain: the Spanish-American War of 1898, the destruction of the Spanish Empire in the Western Hemisphere during the nineteenth century, and the Black Legend narrative. Throughout this work, the Spanish-American War and the end of the Spanish Empire in the Western Hemisphere will be discussed at length, and in turn, these two factors will not be addressed at this time. However, before moving forward, a clear understanding of the Black Legend narrative will benefit the reader's understanding of the larger topic under discussion within this project.

UNDERSTANDING LA LEYENDA NEGRA AND THE HISTORY OF THE SPANISH EMPIRE

Although the term “Black Legend” or “La Leyenda Negra” was not coined by the Spanish intellectual, Julián Juderías, until the early twentieth century, the emergence of Italian, Dutch, and British works promoting anti-Spanish sentiment ran concurrent with the arrival of the Spanish Empire onto the world stage during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁶⁶ Shortly following the completion of the Spanish Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula and Christopher Columbus's “discovery” of the New World in 1492, a united Spain began to both expand its imperial possessions and exert its power over the Indigenous inhabitants of the New World.⁶⁷ As the Spanish Empire grew to include the Philippine Islands, several islands throughout Southeast Asia and the Pacific Ocean, the

⁶⁶ Julián Juderías, *La Leyenda Negra: Estudios Acerca del Concepto de España en el Extranjero* (Madrid: Reprinted, 1914/2007).

⁶⁷ For more information on Spanish history: Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire: The Making of a World Power, 1492-1763* (London: Penguin Books, 2002); Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003); J.H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2006); William D. Phillips Jr. and Carla Rahn Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

majority of Latin America, and numerous ports along the coast of Africa, India, and the Middle East, non-Spanish writers began to present Spain, the country's people, and the Spanish Empire as being barbaric, lazy, and weak-minded, which these writers believed had developed from Spain's associations with the Catholic Church, Spain's contact with the Moors, and the country's monarchical past.⁶⁸

The Black Legend narrative has played a significant role in the belief that comparisons could not be made between the United States and Spain.⁶⁹ The legend was transported from Europe to the United States, and presented Spain as being the antithesis of the emerging American republic. While Spaniards were presented as being barbaric, lazy, and weak-minded, the citizens of the United States were believed to be modern, advanced, hard-working, and intelligent individuals, due to their Anglo-Saxon past and their familiarity with democratic institutions of government.⁷⁰

In an attempt to avoid being associated with the White Legend narrative, which characterized Spanish imperialism as being benevolent, this dissertation will concede that the Black Legend narrative did exist in the minds of many Americans throughout the long

⁶⁸ Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: An Historical Revision* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997); Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁶⁹ María DeGuzmán, *Spain's Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

⁷⁰ For more information on the Black Legend narrative: Stanley G. Payne, *Spain: A Unique History* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2011); Richard L. Kagan (editor), *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002); Charles Gibson (editor), *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Incorporated, 1971); William S. Maltby *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1971); Glòria Cano, "LeRoy's The Americans in the Philippines and the History of Spanish Rule in the Philippines," *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 61, no. 1 (March 2013), 8; Philip Wayne Powell, *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World* (New York: Basic Books, 1971).

nineteenth century and that the expansion of the Spanish Empire involved the brutal suppression of the Indigenous populations of the regions in which Spain claimed as their own.⁷¹ However, in the minds of the influential, well-educated Americans who conceptualized and created the identities of the United States and the American Empire, the Black Legend narrative did not dominate their beliefs because they perceived the representatives of Spain's imperial legacy as the original transporters of civilization to both the United States and the periphery of the American Empire. In turn, they comfortably appropriated this legacy to justify their own historical narratives. Additionally, they respected Spain's imperial knowledge in the periphery of the American Empire and were willing to borrow from this expertise out of both necessity and appreciation.

THE STUDY OF SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

In 2002, Richard L. Kagan began to extensively explore the ways in which American intellectuals, specifically U.S. Hispanists, studied and conceptualized Spain throughout the history of the United States.⁷² For the purposes of this dissertation, Kagan's closing statements in his chapter entitled "From Noah to Moses" are perhaps the most influential. Within these sentences, Kagan confessed his belief that Spain may have "more in

⁷¹ For more information: Benjamin Keen, "The Black Legend Revisited: Assumptions and Realities," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 49, no. 4 (November 1969), 703-719; Paul J. Hauben, "White Legend against Black: Nationalism and Enlightenment in a Spanish Context," *The Americas* 34, no. 1 (1977), 1-19.

⁷² Richard L. Kagan, "Introduction," in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 1-20; Richard L. Kagan, "From Noah to Moses: The Genesis of Historical Scholarship on Spain in the United States," in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 21-48; Richard L. Kagan, "The Spanish Craze in the United States: Cultural Entitlement and the Appropriation of Spain's Cultural Patrimony, ca. 1890-ca. 1930," *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 36, (2010), 37-58.

common with the United States than many Hispanist, even today, are likely to acknowledge.”⁷³ Kagan also argued that the popular works of early Hispanists, such as Washington Irving and William Hickling Prescott, reinforced the Black Legend narrative.

Taken in isolation, beliefs associated with the Black Legend narrative existed, at least to a certain degree, in the works of Irving and Prescott. However, this dissertation forces the reader to consider how the narratives that were created by these Hispanists were later used by U.S. Ministers to Spain, policymakers, exposition organizers, editors and readers of imaginary travel journals, military officers, and colonial administrators to establish Spain’s imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative; building off of Kagan’s closing comments, by exploring the outcomes of the works of these Hispanists from an imperial perspective.⁷⁴

Since 2006, Christopher Schmidt-Nowara has published several works which explore the imperial relationship between Spain and the United States.⁷⁵ Within these publications, Schmidt-Nowara drew on the American commemoration of Spain’s imperial legacy in the years following the Spanish-American War. These works, as well as Richard L. Kagan’s article entitled “The Spanish *Craze* in the United States,” played an influential role in my conceptualization of the imperial relationship that existed

⁷³ Kagan, “From Noah to Moses: The Genesis of Historical Scholarship on Spain in the United States,” 43.

⁷⁴ For more information: Iván Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

⁷⁵ For example: Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006); Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, “Spanish Origins of the American Empire: Hispanism, History, and Commemoration, 1898-1915,” *International History Review* 30, no. 1 (March 2008), 32-51; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, “The Broken Image of Spain: The Spanish Empire in the United States After 1898,” in *Endless Empire: Spain’s Retreat, Europe’s Eclipse, America’s Decline*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 160-168.

between representatives of the United States and Spain.⁷⁶ However, I do not agree with Christopher Schmidt-Nowara's assessment of Spain's "broken image" in the United States both before and after the conclusion of the Spanish-American War.⁷⁷ Nor do I accept that Americans only began to take an interest in Spain in the decades surrounding the conflict.⁷⁸

I believe that exploring the *longue durée* of the relationship between the two imperial powers will provide us with a greater understanding of why representatives of the American Empire actually embraced Spain's imperial legacy in both the metropole and the periphery of the empire, as well as why these individuals appropriated Spanish imperial structures, policies, and practices in Spain's former colonial possession in the Caribbean Basin and the Pacific. In turn, this dissertation argues that the image of Spain, in the minds of many elite Americans, was never broken and that many historians have overemphasized the effect that the Spanish-American War had on the relationships that existed between influential Americans and their Spanish counterparts.

In 2011, Paul Kramer published an article entitled "Historias Transimperiales." Although Kramer had previously hinted at his awareness that U.S. colonial officials in the Philippine Islands had appropriated policies and practices from the Spanish past, his

⁷⁶ Schmidt-Nowara, "Spanish Origins of the American Empire: Hispanism, History, and Commemoration, 1898-1915"; Kagan, "The Spanish *Craze* in the United States: Cultural Entitlement and the Appropriation of Spain's Cultural Patrimony, ca. 1890-ca. 1930".

⁷⁷ Schmidt-Nowara, "The Broken Image of Spain: The Spanish Empire in the United States After 1898," 161-162.

⁷⁸ Kagan, "The Spanish *Craze* in the United States: Cultural Entitlement and the Appropriation of Spain's Cultural Patrimony, ca. 1890-ca. 1930," 37-58.

article from 2011 is a more thorough examination of these beliefs.⁷⁹ Specifically within the article, Kramer argues the fact that U.S. military officers and colonial administrators were aware that they were appropriating military, political, legal, and racial practices from Spain's former colonial regime. Far from endorsing the Black Legend narrative, these individuals praised Spain's colonial administrators for their attempts to "civilize" the region.⁸⁰

My dissertation heeds the call made by Kramer in the closing paragraph of his article, in which he states, "I want to suggest both that there may be many more Spanish/U.S. colonial connections awaiting discovery and debate, and much more to say about patterns and politics of borrowing (and non-borrowing) than I have undertaken in this initial survey of trans-imperial interactions in the Philippines."⁸¹ Through exhaustive research, I have come to the conclusion that Kramer was correct in stating that "there may be many more Spanish/U.S. colonial connections." My dissertation explores these connections and aims to demonstrate how these connections became second nature to U.S. military officers and colonial administrators in the periphery.

In summation, this dissertation argues that only through a thorough investigation of the *longue durée* of the development of the American imperial experience can we

⁷⁹ Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines*, 208-211; Kramer, "The Darkness That Enters the Home: The Politics of Prostitution during the Philippine-American War."

⁸⁰ Paul A. Kramer, "Historias Transimperial: Raíces Españolas del Estado Colonial Estadounidense en Filipinas," in *Filipinas, Un País Entre Dos Imperios*, edited by María Dolores Elizalde y Josep M. Delgado (Barcelona, Spain: Edicions Bellaterra, 2011), 7-8. This page reference comes from Kramer's English translation of the work, which can be found here: <http://www.paulkrameronline.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Kramer-Trans-Imperial-Histories.pdf>.

⁸¹ Kramer, "Historias Transimperial: Raíces Españolas del Estado Colonial Estadounidense en Filipinas," 22.

begin to understand how contact with Spain and the country's imperial legacy shaped how influential Americans formulated and justified their nation's imperial endeavors through a variety of different "capillaries of empire."⁸² At times, these Americans may have perceived their imperial experiences as being exceptional but they also clearly understood that they were part of a larger world, which was dominated by empires. These individuals recognized Spain as one of America's imperial predecessors and they realized that embracing the Spanish Empire could benefit the emerging United States, as well as the American Empire. Previous cultural historians of the U.S. Empire have gone a long way towards presenting an imperial world in which the United States was an active player. The following chapters of this dissertation present how both the real and conceived imperial connections between the United States and Spain affected the creation, formulation, and justification of the American imperial narrative during the long nineteenth century.

HIDDEN IN PLAIN SIGHT: HOW SPAIN'S IMPERIAL NARRATIVE BECAME AMERICANIZED

In the Foreword to Gail Bederman's *Manliness & Civilization*, the feminist scholar Catharine R. Stimpson writes that "Every society is known by the fictions that it keeps...The issue is not whether a society tells fictions to itself or others, but which fictions it calls true, which false, which art, which entertainment."⁸³ Using Stimpson's comment as a point of departure, consider for a moment the artwork that adorns the walls

⁸² McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State*, 15.

⁸³ Catharine R. Stimpson, "Forward," in *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, by Gail Bederman (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1995), xi.

of the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C. Fittingly, at the building that some would refer to as the epicenter of U.S. governmental power, the national narrative is presented to visitors. However, rather than clearly beginning the narrative by detailing the lives of the Indigenous peoples who began inhabiting the region following the last major ice age, or even with the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the artwork in the U.S. Capitol rotunda depicts a fictitious national narrative that begins with the “Spanish” explorer Christopher Columbus and his “discovery” of the New World.⁸⁴

John Vanderlyn’s *Landing of Columbus* was first hung in 1847 and continues to adorn the rotunda to this day.⁸⁵ Inspired by Washington Irving’s works on Columbus, Vanderlyn’s work depicts the explorer’s discovery of the New World at the Island of Guanahani, in the West Indies, on October 12, 1492.⁸⁶ Within the painting, we see the “light” of European civilization being transported to the previously “dark,” uncivilized regions of the world. We are also presented with a narrative that makes it seem as if Columbus was not only the first American but that his discovery of the New World symbolized the birth of the United States.⁸⁷

Ignoring the obvious racial insensitivities present in the painting, consider that between three to five million people visit the U.S. Capitol annually.⁸⁸ Many of these

⁸⁴ Vivien Green Fryd, *Art & Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States Capitol, 1815-1860* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1992), 56.

⁸⁵ The complete title of the painting is: *Landing of Columbus at the Island of Guanahani, West Indies, 12 October 1492*; Appendix iii.

⁸⁶ Washington Irving, *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (London, England: John Murray, Albemarle-Street, 1828).

⁸⁷ Fryd, *Art & Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States Capitol, 1815-1860*, 54-56.

⁸⁸ For more information: Fryd, *Art & Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States Capitol, 1815-1860*.

individuals were educated in the United States, where they were probably taught at a young age that, at least to some degree, American history began in 1492 when “Christopher Columbus sailed in from the blue.”⁸⁹ The problem is, little of this narrative is actually true. As was noted earlier, Columbus was not of Spanish or American birth, but Italian. Columbus did not discover the landmass that would one day become the United States in 1492; he never actually made contact with the continental United States in any of his four voyages to the New World. Needless to say, Columbus did not discover the New World; it had been inhabited by various Indigenous groups for thousands of years prior to his arrival. By displaying Vanderlyn’s work, curators of the U.S. Capitol are supporting a fictitious national narrative, which appropriates Spain’s imperial narrative to justify America’s future endeavors. A narrative which is also illustrated by several other pieces of art throughout the building.

This dissertation will explore how the fictions that the United States still believes to be true to this day, emerged, were ingrained into the national psyche and became part of the national collective memory.⁹⁰ More specifically, this project will explain how Spain’s imperial narrative became hidden in plain sight to Americans, as can be seen by the narrative presented at the U.S. Capitol Building; despite the blatant appropriation of

⁸⁹ James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: The New Press, 2007), 31.

⁹⁰ For more information: James Gilbert, *Whose Fair?: Experience, Memory, and the History of the Great St. Louis Exposition* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 1; Emily S. Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in America Memory* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2003); Penny M. Von Eschen, “Memory and the Study of US Foreign Relations,” in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations – Third Edition*, edited by Frank Costigliola and Michael J. Hogan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 304-316; Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, “Nation Branding,” in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations – Third Edition*, edited by Frank Costigliola and Michael J. Hogan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 232-244.

Spain's imperial legacy by intellectual Americans throughout the long nineteenth century.

This dissertation focuses on a group of individuals who conceptualized and constructed the United States and the American Empire from the time of the American Revolutionary War to the decades following the emergence of the United States as an overseas imperial power. These individuals were heavily influenced by the Spanish past and created a discourse, which was based on their willingness to appropriate Spain's imperial legacy, in an attempt to both understand and resolve the world in which they found themselves.⁹¹ In turn, the methods employed in this project are those of a cultural historian.

Taken in isolation, the microhistories of George Washington's friendship with Juan de Miralles during the Revolutionary War, the enjoyment had by American clubwomen as they "traveled" to Spain from the comfort of their front parlors, the work of John Vanderlyn that hangs at the U.S. Capitol, or Dean Worcester's reestablishment of his close relationship with the Spanish and Hispanicized-Filipino elite of Manila following the American occupation of the city in 1898 are all intriguing stories, but fail to answer larger questions about U.S. foreign relations during the time period under discussion. However, when explored together, these obscure, isolated examples create a series of points of contact. Analyzed over a long period a time, in this case, 1776 to 1921, these points of contact, as well as their outcomes, create a unifying narrative. This narrative can enlighten our understanding of how Americans perceived Spain and the

⁹¹ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 24.

Spanish Empire, as well as how they conceptualized and constructed the United States' national and imperial experiences by using the Spanish imperial legacy as its foundation.

The next chapter of this work, entitled "'Of the Most Friendly Character,'" will provide the reader with a chronological history of roughly the first one hundred years of diplomatic relations between the representatives of the United States and Spain from the official beginning of the American Revolutionary War in 1776 until the conclusion of the *Virginius* Affair in 1875. Throughout this time period, American and Spanish representatives were able to peacefully mediate several incidents between the two nations, as the United States moved westward across the continent of North America and worked to establish a foothold in the Caribbean Basin. Conceiving of the Spanish Empire as a powerful European imperial power, U.S. foreign policy elites sought to form bonds of friendship with Spanish representatives and to avoid adversely affecting Spanish honor. Through these bonds of friendship, peace was maintained, and in turn, learned Americans were able to increase their understanding of Spain, the country's people, and the Spanish imperial legacy during the time period under discussion.

Chapter Two, entitled "The Quest to 'Form a Perfect Character,'" explores how a group of American writers, Hispanist scholars, and amateur historians created a historical narrative that both credited and connected Spain's civilizing mission in the New World with the birth of the United States. Searching for a narrative that would justify their country's future greatness, these American intellectuals first developed an interest in Spain and the country's history and then presented a Whiggish narrative in which Spain had passed the proverbial torch of civilization to the United States. Subsequently, they believed that it was now the responsibility of the United States to bring "light" to the

“dark,” uncivilized regions of the western portion of the continent of North America. This chapter will also function as the starting point to an investigation of how American exposition organizers, editors of imaginary journey magazines, military officers, and colonial administrators appropriated Spain’s imperial legacy to justify America’s historical narrative, as well as the country’s imperial endeavors, in the years surrounding the United States’ emergence as an overseas imperial power at the close of the nineteenth century.

Chapter Three, “The Second Columbian Exchange” and Chapter Four, “Our Feet May Never Tread the Streets,” focus on how American exposition organizers and the editors of imaginary journey magazines, which provided middle- and upper-class women with an opportunity to “travel” the world without having to leave their homes, appropriated America’s imperial narrative from American writers, Hispanist scholars, and amateur historians, and presented this narrative to exposition visitors and American clubwomen throughout the 1890s. These chapters will focus on how these influential Americans established Spain’s imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative, through Spain’s “discovery” of the New World. Additionally, these two chapters will investigate the ways in which exposition visitors and clubwomen responded to this narrative by celebrating Spain and the country’s imperial legacy from the comfort of the metropole.

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, entitled “More Like Guests than Enemies” and “Our Interests Here are Identical,” will shift the focus of the project from the metropole to the periphery, as the United States embarked on the creation of its overseas empire in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands. Following the conclusion of the Spanish-

American War of 1898, the United States was unprepared for the construction of overseas imperial projects in both the Caribbean Basin and the Pacific. In turn, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators drew on their perceived bond with Spain, as well as Spain's imperial representatives in the region, and concluded that the Spanish were "civilized" individuals who could assist with the creation of the American Empire, as they previously had in the metropole. These individuals sought advice from Spanish colonial officials and the Hispanicized elite on how to control the "racially inferior" colonial subjects in the regions under discussion. They also appropriated many Spanish imperial structures, policies, and practices; and celebrated the Spanish explorers and religious figures who had brought civilization to the regions, duplicating the narrative that had previously been established in the metropole of the empire.

Throughout this work, the reader will encounter a variety of different elite Americans. Many of these individuals knew each other and several, such as Washington Irving, General George W. Davis, and Daniel Burnham emerge, at least briefly, in more than one of the chapters of the work. Regardless if they knew each other or not, they were all connected by their common perception of Spain and the Spanish Empire, which was made possible by the peace maintained by American policymakers up until 1898, was established by the work of Hispanist scholars, was reinforced by exposition organizers and editors of imaginary travel magazines, and eventually came to fruition for those individuals who traveled with this narrative to the periphery of the empire. This work will conclude with two fascinating vignettes about Leonard Wood, his connection with Spain's imperial legacy, and the bonds of empire that connected Spain with the United States. The final chapter of this work will also consider the continued existence of the

American Empire, as well as how influential Americans continue to conceptualize what the nation is and what its international role should be in the twenty-first century.

Chapter 1

“Of the Most Friendly Character”: U.S.-Spanish Relations, 1776-1875¹

On May 14, 1778, news reached Philadelphia that Benjamin Franklin had concluded a treaty of alliance with the French Court. The Franco-American alliance guaranteed the land claims of both nations and militarily united France and the United States against the British Empire.² The following evening, a banquet was held by the Municipal Council of Philadelphia to celebrate the agreement and what many Americans hoped would be their eventual victory over the British Empire during the American Revolutionary War.

Francis Lewis served as the master of ceremonies for the event, which was attended by several French merchants and a variety of other prominent individuals who resided in the city.³

Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, many influential Americans, such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, were drawn to the country of France as both the birthplace of the Enlightenment and the antithesis to oppressive

¹ James Buchanan, “Second Annual Message, December 6, 1858,” in *The Works of James Buchanan: Comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence – Volume X (1856-1860)*, edited by John Bassett Moore (New York: Antiquarian Press Limited, 1960), 252.

² Juan de Miralles to Diego José Navarro, Edenton, North Carolina, May 13, 1778, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 1: Mission of Juan de Miralles, August 1777-December 1778; Juan de Miralles to Diego José Navarro, Edenton, North Carolina, May 16, 1778, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 1: Mission of Juan de Miralles, August 1777-December 1778. For more information on France’s involvement in the American Revolutionary War: Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practices, 1763-1789* (Boston, Massachusetts: Northeastern University Press, 1983); Frank W. Brecher, *Securing American Independence: John Jay and the French Alliance* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003). By mid-1778, the American Revolutionary War had been occurring for over three years and the Continental Army was in dire need of support from abroad.

³ Francis Lewis was a member of the Continental Congress.

British rule.⁴ Considering the relationships that had developed between representatives of the United States and France throughout the period, it may have been odd for historians to learn that an individual of French or American descent was not seated to the right of Francis Lewis on the evening of May 14.⁵ Instead, the prominent position was given to Juan de Miralles, who had recently been appointed as the unofficial Spanish representative to the United States.⁶

Miralles was born in Spain and had spent the majority of his life in Cuba, working as a merchant and dignitary for the Spanish government. He spoke both French and English, as well as Spanish, and was personally selected by the Governor of Cuba to observe the activities of the Continental Congress.⁷ At the time of Miralles's appointment, Spain had not yet formally declared war on Britain but the two countries had been fighting with one another throughout the majority of the past century. Elite

⁴ For more information: Laura Lee Downs and Stéphane Gerson (editors), *Why France?: American Historians Reflect on an Enduring Fascination* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2007); Peter S. Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 5.

⁵ General George Washington had previously established a personal bond with the Marquis de Lafayette, drawing the two nations even closer together. For more information: George Washington, "From George Washington to Major General Lafayette, 30 September 1779," in *The Papers of George Washington – Revolutionary War Series – Volume 22 (1 August-21 October 1779)*, edited by Benjamin L. Huggins (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2013), 557.

⁶ Juan de Miralles to Diego José Navarro, Edenton, North Carolina, May 16, 1778, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 1: Mission of Juan de Miralles, August 1777-December 1778.

⁷ Don Diego Josef Navarro to Don Josef de Gálvez, Havana, Cuba, December 11, 1777, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 1: Mission of Juan de Miralles, August 1777-December 1778; José de Gálvez to Diego José Navarro, San Ildefonso, Spain, August 22, 1777, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 1: Mission of Juan de Miralles, August 1777-December 1778; Diego José Navarro to José de Gálvez, Havana, Cuba, January 3, 1778, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 1: Mission of Juan de Miralles, August 1777-December 1778; Helen Matzke McCadden, "Juan de Miralles and the American Revolution," *The Americas* 29, no. 3 (Jan. 1973), 359-360; Buchanan Parker Thomson, *Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution* (North Quincy, Massachusetts: The Christopher Publishing House, 1976), 95. At the time, the Governor of Cuba was Diego Navarro.

Americans knew little about Spain prior to the Revolutionary War; however, they respected the country as an established European imperial power, which partially explains Miralles's prominent seat at the banquet.⁸ Additionally, Spain and the United States were united by their common enemy, and through the work of a few men in Madrid, Havana, and New Orleans, the Spanish had been secretly supporting the American colonists with money, supplies, and military intelligence since 1776.⁹

Miralles arrived in the United States in January of 1778 and was immediately well received by the Governor of South Carolina, John Rutledge.¹⁰ During the remainder of the year, Miralles traveled throughout the eastern seaboard of the United States and much like in Philadelphia and Charlestown, he was accepted as an influential foreign diplomat by high-ranking American politicians who desired closer relations with a representative of a European government.¹¹ These noteworthy Americans included the Governor of Virginia, Patrick Henry; the aforementioned Francis Lewis, who was a member of the Second Continental Congress; and the President of the Continental Congress, Henry

⁸ Stanley G. Payne, *Spain: A Unique History* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), 12.

⁹ Richard L. Kagan, "Introduction," in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 4-5; Thomson, *Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution*, 23-48; James W. Cortada, *Two Nation's Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978), 8.

¹⁰ Juan de Miralles to José de Gálvez, Charlestown, South Carolina, February 13, 1778, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 1: Mission of Juan de Miralles, August 1777-December 1778.

¹¹ Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood*, 5-6.

Laurens.¹² However, all of these engagements would fail to compare to the first meeting that occurred between Miralles and General George Washington on December 23, 1778.

During their first meeting, Washington greeted Miralles with “the greatest distinction” and expressed his “great love and supreme veneration” for the Spanish King. Washington also commented that one day he hoped that Spain would recognize the United States as an independent nation and would form an alliance with the young republic.¹³ In the days following their initial meeting, Washington and Miralles frequently visited with one another and in the evenings, they often dined together.¹⁴ After Washington’s relocation to his camp at Middlebrook, New Jersey, the two men continued to correspond with one another, and as a result of their letters, their bond grew. Throughout 1779, the two men also exchanged gifts, while both unrelentingly petitioned

¹² Juan de Miralles to José de Gálvez, Baltimore, Maryland, June 6, 1778, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 1: Mission of Juan de Miralles, August 1777-December 1778; Juan de Miralles to Diego José Navarro, Edenton, North Carolina, May 13, 1778, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 1: Mission of Juan de Miralles, August 1777-December 1778; Juan de Miralles to José de Gálvez, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 20, 1778, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 1: Mission of Juan de Miralles, August 1777-December 1778.

¹³ Juan de Miralles to José de Gálvez, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 28, 1778, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 1: Mission of Juan de Miralles, August 1777-December 1778.

¹⁴ Juan de Miralles to Diego José Navarro, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February 15, 1779, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 2: Mission of Juan de Miralles, February 1779-September 1779.

their own governments to support the other against their shared enemy, the British Empire.¹⁵

On April 18, 1780, Juan de Miralles reached Washington's camp in Morristown, New Jersey.¹⁶ Upon his arrival, Miralles was struck with a terrible illness. Deeply concerned for his friend's well-being, Washington quartered Miralles in the upstairs chamber of his headquarters and he saw to it that his own doctor was continuously with Miralles. Washington even summoned highly regarded doctors from the surrounding area, in the hopes that they could provide assistance to his ailing friend.¹⁷ Despite these attempts, on April 28, 1780, Spain's unofficial diplomatic representative to the United States succumbed to his illness and died at the age of sixty-five.¹⁸

Washington was noticeably shaken by his friend's death.¹⁹ Unfamiliar with Catholic funeral rites, he immediately ordered two military officers to consult Miralles's

¹⁵ Juan de Miralles, "To George Washington from Juan de Miralles, 2 October 1779," in *The Papers of George Washington – Revolutionary War Series – Volume 22 (1 August-21 October 1779)*, edited by Benjamin L. Huggins (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2013), 587-588; Juan de Miralles to Diego José Navarro, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July 22, 1779, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 2: Mission of Juan de Miralles, February 1779-September 1779; Juan de Miralles to José de Gálvez, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 12, 1779, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 3: Mission of Juan de Miralles, October 1779-December 1779; Juan de Miralles to José de Gálvez, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, January 24, 1780, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 4: Mission of Juan de Miralles, January 1780-May 1780; Cortada, *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*, 8.

¹⁶ McCadden, "Juan de Miralles and the American Revolution," 370.

¹⁷ Francisco Rendón to Diego José Navarro, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 5, 1780, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 4: Mission of Juan de Miralles, January 1780-May 1780.

¹⁸ George Washington, "From George Washington to Anne-César, Chevalier de La Luzerne, 26 April, 1780," *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified December 28, 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-01588>.

¹⁹ Thomson, *Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution*, 105.

personal secretary on all of the decisions regarding the ceremony.²⁰ Washington also sent out funeral invitations to officers under his immediate command, as well as those under the direction of Governor William Livingston of New Jersey.²¹ Finally, on April 29, a distinguished group of American military generals, members of Congress, and foreign dignitaries met at a Presbyterian burying ground in Morristown, New Jersey to honor the life of Juan de Miralles.²²

The narrative surrounding Juan de Miralles's life in the United States provides us with an excellent point of departure to explore the relationships that developed between representatives of the United States and Spain during the long nineteenth century. As was noted in the Introduction, the productive relationships that developed between U.S. and Spanish representatives have often been overshadowed by the beliefs associated with both American exceptionalism and the Black Legend narrative, as well as the Spanish-American War of 1898. George Washington's Farewell Address of 1796 also encouraged the American people to avoid entanglements with the European powers of the period, promoting an interpretation amongst many historians that the United States was an isolated, anti-imperialistic nation.²³ These misconceptions have clouded our view of

²⁰ Francisco Rendón to Diego José Navarro, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 5, 1780, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 4: Mission of Juan de Miralles, January 1780-May 1780. Miralles's personal secretary was Francisco Rendón. Despite Washington's attempt to pay the fees associated with Miralles's funeral, Rendón informed him that Miralles had left appropriate funds in his will to pay his funeral expenses.

²¹ Francisco Rendón to Diego José Navarro, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 5, 1780, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 4: Mission of Juan de Miralles, January 1780-May 1780.

²² McCadden, "Juan de Miralles and the American Revolution," 359.

²³ George Washington, "Farewell Address, 19 September 1796," *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified December 28, 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-00963>.

history, and in turn, a multitude of historians have failed to realize that many influential Americans of the long nineteenth century aspired to “equal participation in the civilized, European world.”²⁴ Additionally, historians have also neglected to address the importance of the relationships that were developed between U.S. and Spanish representatives during the period.

In reality, rather than subscribing to the rhetoric associated with American exceptionalism, the Black Legend narrative, and isolationism, a multitude of American foreign policy elites developed close bonds with their Spanish counterparts. These bonds were based on a personal admiration between the representatives; an American respect for the Spanish military and Spanish honor; a belief that Spain had brought European civilization to the New World; and the United States’ geopolitical dependency on Spain, as a friendly neighbor, in both North America and the Caribbean Basin. These beliefs enabled U.S. and Spanish representatives to peacefully mediate several incidents that the two countries encountered and underscores the fact that the United States and Spain were not old enemies but rather, had developed a relationship, which enabled the United States to slowly emerge as an imperial power throughout the long nineteenth century.

These representatives will be the focal point of this chapter, while the incidents will provide the appropriate historical backdrop. Avoiding the escalation of these incidents gave scholarly Americans an opportunity to increase their understanding of Spain, the country’s people, and the Spanish Empire’s imperial practices and legacy. Ultimately, the relationships that were developed between representatives of the United States and Spain, as well as the knowledge that was acquired, shaped the creation of both

²⁴ Peter S. Onuf has not failed to make this connection. For more information: Onuf, *Jefferson’s Empire: The Language of American Nationhood*, 6.

the United States and the nation's empire. These events and relationships also demonstrate that the Black Legend narrative was often a self-serving belief that was appropriated by anti-Spanish Americans and that the United States did not suddenly emerge as an imperial power in 1898.

This chapter will open with an analysis of the bonds that were formed between U.S. and Spanish representatives during the American Revolutionary War and the first two decades following the conflict, concluding with Pinckney's Treaty of 1795. The next portion of the chapter will examine the relationship that developed between the representatives of the two nations during the struggle to control East and West Florida in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Shifting away from the continent, the final two sections of the chapter will explore how U.S. and Spanish representatives managed to peacefully mediate their shared interests in the Caribbean Basin, while still maintaining Spain's imperial rule over Cuba and Puerto Rico. More specifically, the final two segments of the chapter will focus on President James K. Polk's attempt to purchase Cuba in 1848, the *Black Warrior* Affair of 1854, the subsequent Ostend Manifesto, the international implications of the Ten Years' War, and the peaceful resolution of the *Virginius* Affair in 1875.

The instances listed above are not being presented in an attempt to claim that the relationships between all of the representatives of the U.S. and Spanish governments were cordial throughout the entire period under discussion. In reality, a multitude of representatives of the United States, such as Andrew Jackson, Romulus M. Saunders, Pierre Soulé, and Daniel E. Sickles, would have preferred to go to war with the Spanish Empire, rather than attempt to peacefully resolve the issues that Spain and the United

States encountered during the period. However, the relationships that are presented within this chapter will illustrate that several influential Americans, who dictated the foreign policy of the United States during roughly the first one hundred years of the country's existence, understood both America's domestic instabilities and geopolitical weaknesses. These individuals did not associate a negative connotation with empire-building; they respected the power of the Spanish military; and also found cultural links between the Spanish Empire, the United States, themselves, and their Spanish counterparts.²⁵ In turn, they used these connections to avoid a war between the two countries until 1898, provide the United States with an opportunity to expand its territory westward across the continent, and attempt to maintain Spanish honor on the international stage.

In summation, this chapter, as well as the remainder of the work, focuses specifically on a relatively small group of Americans, who took an interest in Spain and the Spanish Empire. Contrary to beliefs associated with American exceptionalism, the Black Legend narrative, and isolationism, these Americans developed relationships with Spanish representatives, which James Buchanan described as being, "of the most friendly character."²⁶ Through these bonds of friendship, a mutual admiration and dependency developed, which allowed the United States to expand across the continent of North America. This admiration and dependency also assisted with the transfer of imperial

²⁵ Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood*, 2.

²⁶ James Buchanan, "Second Annual Message, December 6, 1858," in *The Works of James Buchanan: Comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence – Volume X (1856-1860)*, edited by John Bassett Moore (New York: Antiquarian Press Limited, 1960), 252.

power that occurred in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War of 1898.

ESTABLISHING BOUNDARIES THROUGH FRIENDSHIPS: U.S.-SPANISH RELATIONS, 1776-1796

Members of the Spanish Court received news of the American Revolutionary War with both enthusiasm and sympathy.²⁷ Throughout the eighteenth century, the Spanish and British empires had been constantly at war with one another. In turn, influential Spanish diplomats, such as the Count de Aranda, sought to unofficially support the American cause.²⁸ This support was offered by Spanish diplomats because of both their general sympathy towards the American colonists and their belief that the conflict between Britain and the United States may help the Spanish Empire reacquire British possessions in both the Americas and in Europe, specifically, East and West Florida.²⁹

In the mid-1770s, Spain was not prepared to publically support U.S. independence from the British Empire. This was due to the fact that Spain was an imperial power and the country's diplomats were not comfortable with the precedent that they would be setting if they decided to support colonists as they attempted to overthrow their imperial overseers. Therefore, the Count de Aranda decided that if Spain was going to support the U.S. war against the British, it would have to be done in secret. This secrecy has been one of several contributing factors that has perpetuated the belief that Spain was only a minor

²⁷ Thomson, *Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution*, 17. For more information: Thomas E. Chávez, *Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2002).

²⁸ The Count de Aranda was also known as Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea. Aranda was the Spanish Ambassador to the French Court during the time period under discussion.

²⁹ James A. Lewis, *The Final Campaign of the American Revolution: Rise and Fall of the Spanish Bahamas* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 2.

participant in the war that freed the United States from British imperial rule. It has also led both historians and the general public to misinterpret the productive relationships that existed between representatives of the United States and Spain throughout both the Revolutionary Era and the remainder of the long nineteenth century.³⁰

In March of 1777, a secret meeting was held in the city of Burgos between Arthur Lee, the Marquis de Grimaldi, and Diego de Gardoqui.³¹ At the meeting, aid from Spain was promised to Lee; however, it was explained to him that Spain was still unable to openly declare war on the British Empire. Through their interactions at this meeting, Gardoqui and Lee developed a mutual respect for one another, which benefited the United States throughout the remainder of the Revolutionary War.³² Gardoqui's positive views towards the United States would later play a significant role in American and Spanish attempts to mediate the border disputes between the two nations following the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783. Additionally, these views paved the way for Gardoqui's appointment as the first official Spanish Ambassador to the United States in May of 1785.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the Spanish Empire was in possession of the Louisiana Territory, which included the lands west of the Mississippi River.

³⁰ Thomson, *Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution*, 17 and 23; Lewis, *The Final Campaign of the American Revolution: Rise and Fall of the Spanish Bahamas*, 2.

³¹ John Jay to Gardoqui, San Ildefonso, Spain, September 5, 1780, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Papers of John Jay, Box 1, Folder: Letterbook, 1779-1782 (Part 2); George Washington, "From George Washington to Gardoqui, 20 January 1786," in *The Papers of George Washington – Confederation Series – Volume 3 (19 May 1785-31 March 1786)*, edited by W.W. Abbot (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 514-515. Arthur Lee was a representative of the United States in Europe, the Marquis de Grimaldi had recently been the Prime Minister of Spain, and Diego De Gardoqui was a Spanish merchant from Bilbao.

³² Thomson, *Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution*, 50-54.

Sympathizing with the American cause, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, Luis de Unzaga, ignored the official neutrality of his nation and immediately began supplying U.S. troops with both gunpowder and lead. In January of 1777, Unzaga was replaced by Bernardo de Gálvez. However, the precedent that had been set by Unzaga was continued by his successor.³³ Therefore, despite the fact that the Spanish had still not formally declared war on the British Empire, Spanish government officials, diplomats, and merchants had already taken it upon themselves to support the American cause. These gestures would not be soon forgotten by influential Americans.

In June of 1779, Spain followed the lead of the French and declared war on the British Empire. However, unlike the French, Spain did not formally ally itself with the United States.³⁴ Spain's formal involvement in the conflict did little to affect the relationships that had already been established between influential U.S. and Spanish representatives. By the time that Arthur Lee's letter of June 21, 1779 reached Philadelphia and informed the Continental Congress that Spain had declared war on the British Empire, Juan de Miralles had already befriended George Washington, as well as several other elite Americans. In turn, the proclamation was hardly discussed between Miralles and his counterparts, due to the fact that all of the parties involved had already informally recognized Spain as an ally of the United States.³⁵ Also, regardless of the proclamation, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana continued to request supplies from both

³³ Thomson, *Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution*, 123-137.

³⁴ Cortada, *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*, 9-12.

³⁵ Thomson, *Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution*, 72.

Havana and Madrid, in an attempt to continue to aid the campaigns of U.S. and Spanish troops in the area.³⁶

The Spanish declaration of war against the British Empire facilitated a belief among the members of the Continental Congress that a U.S. diplomat needed to be sent to the Spanish Court to encourage King Charles III to establish a formal alliance with the young republic and to address the foreseeable postwar boundary issues between Spain and the United States.³⁷ In the process of making this decision, the Continental Congress made two errors that U.S. and Spanish diplomats were burdened by for the next several decades. The first mistake was that John Jay was not the appropriate dignitary to represent the United States at the Spanish Court. This type of error was repeated on several occasions by the U.S. government throughout the long nineteenth century. Congress's second mistake was its failure to realize that as early as December 28, 1778, Juan de Miralles and General Washington had already begun to informally discuss what was to be done with the Louisiana Territory and the Floridas after the Revolutionary War came to an end.³⁸

Despite being highly regarded in the United States, John Jay was not adequately prepared to assume his new position in Spain. Jay was unable to read or write in Spanish, he had few influential connections in the country, knew little about Spanish culture, and

³⁶ For more information: Bennett H. Wall (editor), *Louisiana: A History – Second Edition* (Arlington Heights, Illinois: Forum Press Incorporated, 1990) 63-69; Charles L. Dufour, *Ten Flags in the Wind: The Story of Louisiana* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1967), 113.

³⁷ John Jay to Don Joseph De Galvez, Cadiz, Spain, January 27, 1780, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Papers of John Jay, Box 1, Folder: Letterbook, 1779-1782 (Part 1).

³⁸ Juan de Miralles to Don Josef de Galvez, Havana, Cuba, May 16, 1779, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 2: Mission of Juan de Miralles, February 1779-September 1779.

was unfamiliar with the practices of the Spanish Court.³⁹ Another issue that Jay encountered was that he could not be formally received by King Charles III because Spain had still not recognized the United States as a sovereign nation, and in turn, Jay was forced to indirectly correspond with the King.⁴⁰ These correspondences were often delayed by the Spanish Court, which increased Jay's frustrations in Madrid.⁴¹ Despite these delays, by May of 1780, Jay and the Spanish Prime Minister, the Count de Floridablanca, were able to agree on every land claim and water rights issues that existed between the two nations, with the exception of which country would be given the navigational rights of the Mississippi River.⁴² This issue would continue to plague the two nations well after the American Revolutionary War came to an end.

While Jay was in Madrid, Washington and members of the Continental Congress were forming close bonds with Spain's new unofficial representative to the United States, Francisco Rendón. Rendón replaced Miralles and continued the relationship that his predecessor had established between himself and Washington.⁴³ In December of 1781, Washington began living with Rendón in Philadelphia, at which time the two continued

³⁹ John Jay to William Carmichael, Cadiz, Spain, January 27, 1780, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Papers of John Jay, Box 1, Folder: Letterbook, 1779-1782 (Part 1).

⁴⁰ John Jay to the Count de Floridablanca, Cadiz, Spain, March 6, 1780, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Papers of John Jay, Box 1, Folder: Letterbook, 1779-1782 (Part 1).

⁴¹ Jay's Conference with the Count de Montmorin, San Ildefonso, Spain, August 27, 1780, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Papers of John Jay, Box 1, Folder: Letterbook, 1779-1782 (Part 2).

⁴² Jay's Conference with the Count de Floridablanca, Aranjuez, Spain, May 11, 1780, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Papers of John Jay, Box 1, Folder: Letterbook, 1779-1782 (Part 1).

⁴³ Francisco Rendón to José de Gálvez, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 16, 1780, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 1, Folder 5: Mission of Francisco Rendón, May-December 1780.

to exchange information regarding the movement of troops and supplies.⁴⁴ By April of 1782, Rendón also befriended the United States Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Robert R. Livingston, who Rendón stated was a “brilliant man devoted to the interests of his country and those of Spain.”⁴⁵ Throughout the remainder of the war, Rendón continued to maintain a close relationship with these prominent Americans until he was ordered to return to Spain following the end of the conflict.

As negotiations between U.S. and British representatives occurred in Paris throughout 1782 and 1783, Rendón remained informed of the negotiations through his American contacts in Philadelphia. Rendón also wrote to José de Gálvez to inform him that both he and his contacts in Philadelphia feared that it was the intention of the British to draw the borders of the United States and Spain close to one another in the western portion of the continent of North America, so that a conflict would result between the two nations.⁴⁶ When writing to Gálvez, Rendón also alluded to the fact that the Americans who were aware of Spain’s contribution during the Revolutionary War were “filled with due gratitude and were well disposed” to Spain and King Charles III. However, Rendón understood that these individuals did not possess the same beliefs as those who were

⁴⁴ Francisco Rendón to José de Gálvez, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 10, 1781, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 2, Folder 1: Mission of Francisco Rendón, September 1781-April 1782; Francisco Rendón to José de Gálvez, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 15, 1781, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 2, Folder 1: Mission of Francisco Rendón, September 1781-April 1782.

⁴⁵ Francisco Rendón to José de Gálvez, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 20, 1782, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 2, Folder 1: Mission of Francisco Rendón, September 1781-April 1782.

⁴⁶ Francisco Rendón to José de Gálvez, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 12, 1783, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 2, Folder 3: Mission of Francisco Rendón, January-August 1783. At the time, José de Gálvez was a member of the Council of the Indies in Spain.

unaware of Spain's assistance during the conflict, and in turn, he feared that despite his best efforts, a forthcoming conflict may occur between Spain and the United States.⁴⁷

The final terms of the agreements that brought the American Revolutionary War to an end and forced the British Empire to recognize the sovereignty of the United States were signed in Paris and Versailles in 1783. In the Treaty of Paris, Britain and the United States agreed that both would have open access to the Mississippi River. However, it appears that Spain was not consulted about this portion of the treaty. This complicated the agreement because Spain controlled access to the river at the port of New Orleans.⁴⁸ In turn, the issue over free access to the Mississippi River, which had tormented John Jay while he was in Madrid, would continue to adversely affect U.S.-Spanish relations for the foreseeable future.

On May 20, 1785, Diego de Gardoqui arrived in the United States, accompanied by his wife and his two junior secretaries, José Igancio de Viar and José de Jaudenes. On the following day, Gardoqui presented his credentials to Congress as the Chargé d'Affaires of the Spanish Government in the United States.⁴⁹ Gardoqui was a wise choice for the position and he was warmly welcomed to the country by both George Washington and Congress because of the integral role that he had played in making sure that support

⁴⁷ Francisco Rendón to Jose de Gálvez, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 12, 1783, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 2, Folder 3: Mission of Francisco Rendón, January-August 1783; Francisco Rendón to José de Gálvez, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February 12, 1785, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 2, Folder 4: September 1783-June 1785.

⁴⁸ "Definitive Treaty of Peace, signed at Paris September 3, 1783," in *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America – Volume 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818*, edited by Hunter Miller (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931), 151-157.

⁴⁹ Francisco Rendón to José de Gálvez, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 28, 1785, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, The Papers of Aileen Moore Topping, Box 2, Folder 4: September 1783-June 1785; Cortada, *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*, 274.

from Spain, in the form of supplies for the Continental Army, arrived in the United States during the Revolutionary War.⁵⁰

During their stay in the United States, Gardoqui and his wife spent the majority of their time in New York. While in the city, the Gardoquis integrated themselves into the highest levels of society by attending balls and receptions. They also entertained some of the most affluent individuals in the city, including John Jay and his wife, which they had come to know during Jay's time in Madrid.⁵¹ Gardoqui began his negotiations with Jay after receiving his orders from the Count de Floridablanca to establish an agreement on U.S.-Spanish border issues in both the Floridas and the Louisiana Territory, which would also address access rights to the Mississippi River.⁵² Building on the relationship that the two men had developed in Madrid, and free from the formal practices of the Spanish Court, Gardoqui and Jay began their negotiations as two friends who mutually had come to respect one another, as well as the nation and the empire that the other represented.

Gardoqui and Jay conducted negotiations throughout the winter of 1785-1786. While these talks were occurring, the two men continued to exchange gifts as signs of their friendship. By February of 1786, they had come to an agreement that would establish a commercial treaty between the United States and Spain, guarantee the land claims of both nations, and reinforce Spain's claim to the Mississippi River.

⁵⁰ Thomson, *Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution*, 114-115; George Washington, "From George Washington to William Carmichael, 10 June 1785," in *The Papers of George Washington – Confederation Series – Volume 3 (19 May 1785-31 March 1786)*, edited by W.W. Abbot (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 47-48.

⁵¹ Thomson, *Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution*, 115; Enrique Fernández, "Spain's Contribution to the Independence of the United States," *Revista/Review Interamericana* X, no. 3 (Fall 1980), 303.

⁵² Thomson, *Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution*, 116. After returning from Europe, Jay was appointed as the United States Secretary of Foreign Affairs. He held the position until 1789.

Unfortunately, Americans from the western and southern states believed Spanish control of the Mississippi River would restrict their dream of a transcontinental empire.

Therefore, the purported Jay-Gardoqui Treaty did not receive the two-thirds vote it required to pass in Congress, and the land claims and water rights issues that existed between Spain and the United States continued to be unresolved.⁵³

In the years following the failed Jay-Gardoqui Treaty, Americans continued to move westward across the continent.⁵⁴ As they did, they increasingly came into contact with Spain's colonial inhabitants in the Louisiana Territory and in the Floridas. As tempers flared in the borderlands, Gardoqui returned to Europe and was replaced by his two secretaries, José Igancio de Viar and José de Jaudenes. Both men continued to engage with influential Americans in New York and Philadelphia, building their own diplomatic networks in each city. The creation of these networks provided representatives of the U.S. and Spanish governments with an opportunity to avoid a formal military engagement between the two nations. However, both sides knew that the boundary issues needed to be resolved before a military conflict became inevitable.

After the signing of the Jay Treaty in November of 1794, which resolved several preexisting land claims issues between Britain and the United States, the Spanish Prime Minister, Manuel Godoy, feared that Britain and the United States would now form a

⁵³ Samuel Flagg Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty: America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1960), 82-87.

⁵⁴ For more information: Gene Allen Smith and Sylvia L. Hilton (editors), *Nexus of Empire: Negotiating Loyalty and Identity in the Revolutionary Borderlands, 1760s-1820s* (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 2010).

military alliance and challenge Spain's imperial possessions in North America.⁵⁵ In response to the treaty, Godoy met with the U.S. Minister to the Spanish Court, William Short, and the two began to work towards an agreement that would resolve the lingering issues over the U.S.-Spanish border between Georgia and the Floridas, as well as the navigational rights of the Mississippi River.⁵⁶

William Short had served in Europe as a representative of the U.S. government since 1789, was familiar with the customs of the European courts, and was confident that he would be able to establish a treaty with Godoy. However, in January of 1795, he received news that Thomas Pinckney would be replacing him as the lead negotiator of the treaty. Pinckney's reputation preceded him when he finally arrived in Madrid in June of 1795.⁵⁷ Pinckney had been educated in Europe, had served as the U.S. Minister to Britain since 1792, and had already received several positive reviews from José Igancio de Viar and José de Jaudenes.⁵⁸ Without the assistance of a translator, Godoy and Pinckney met on several occasions throughout the summer months of 1795 and quickly developed a

⁵⁵ For more information on the Jay Treaty: Samuel Flagg Bemis, *Jay's Treaty: A Study of Commerce and Diplomacy* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923); Jerald A. Combs, *The Jay Treaty: Political Battleground of the Founding Fathers* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1970); Todd Estes, *The Jay Treaty Debate, Public Opinion, and the Evolution of Early American Political Culture* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006).

⁵⁶ Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty: America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800*, 232-233.

⁵⁷ Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty: America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800*, 267.

⁵⁸ Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty: America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800*, 245.

friendship with one another.⁵⁹ Through these meetings and the friendship that the two men had established, they were able to come to an agreement by October of 1795.⁶⁰

The agreement, known colloquially as Pinckney's Treaty, established a "firm and inviolable peace and sincere friendship" between the United States and Spain. Pinckney's Treaty also re-established the border between the state of Georgia and the Spanish Floridas to its pre-1763 boundary, which ran along the 31st parallel. Most importantly, the treaty provided the United States with navigational rights on the Mississippi River, which would eventually increase the American presence in the western portion of the continent.⁶¹ In summary, the land claims and navigational rights issues between the two countries were peacefully resolved by U.S. and Spanish representatives because they were able to draw on the mutual respect and admiration that they had for one another, which had been initially formed during the Revolutionary Era by the likes of Juan de Miralles, George Washington, and Francisco Rendón. Additionally, this peaceful resolution between American and Spanish representatives allowed the United States to increase its transcontinental empire in a region that had previously been controlled by the Spanish Empire, without adversely affecting the honor of the Spanish government,

⁵⁹ Raymond A. Young, "Pinckney's Treaty – A New Perspective," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 43, no. 4 (November 1963), 531.

⁶⁰ Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1895), 131; Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty: America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800*, 274.

⁶¹ "Treaty of Friendship, Limits, and Navigation, signed at San Lorenzo el Real October 27, 1795," in *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America – Volume 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818*, edited by Hunter Miller (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931), 318-346; Appendix iv.

establishing a precedent that influential Americans would attempt to continue throughout the remainder of the long nineteenth century.

AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN “CIVILIZED NATIONS” IN THE FLORIDAS: THE ADAMS-ONÍS TREATY OF 1819⁶²

During the first decade of the nineteenth century, the United States continued to expand across the continent of North America. In comparison, Spanish government officials struggled to maintain control at home and in the country’s vast imperial possessions. These instabilities forced Spanish representatives to agree to sign the Third Treaty of San Ildefonso in October of 1800, which allowed France to reacquire the Louisiana Territory from the Spanish Empire. Three years later, Napoleon Bonaparte sold the territory to the United States government, once again bringing the United States and Spain into contact with one another in the western portion of the continent and along the border between the United States and the Spanish Floridas. At the same time, a lack of stability in the metropole of the Spanish Empire led to the creation of independent governing juntas throughout Spain’s colonial possessions in the Americas, and eventually to the Spanish American wars of independence, which led to the dismantling of the Spanish Empire throughout mainland Latin America.⁶³ However, despite U.S. expansion and instability throughout both Spain and the Spanish Empire, Spanish colonial officials continued to maintain a tentative hold on both East and West Florida.

⁶² John Quincy Adams, “John Quincy Adams to Don Francisco Dionisio Vivés, May 8, 1820,” in *Writings of John Quincy Adams – Volume VII, 1820-1823*, edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917), 17.

⁶³ For more information: Simon Barton, *A History of Spain – Second Edition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Peter Pierson, *The History of Spain* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999).

Carlos Martínez de Irujo served as the Spanish Minister to the United States during the early years of the nineteenth century.⁶⁴ Similar to his predecessors, Irujo integrated himself into the highest levels of American society.⁶⁵ While in the United States, Irujo married the Governor of Pennsylvania's daughter, developed a relationship with Secretary of State James Madison, exchanged gifts of wine with Thomas Jefferson, and suggested an appropriate White House chef for the president.⁶⁶ Although it is difficult to determine if a direct correlation existed between Jefferson and Madison's relationship with Irujo, and several of their policies towards the Spanish Floridas during their presidencies, both men sought to establish an agreement between Spain and the United States, which would allow the U.S. government to peacefully acquire the Floridas without offending Spain's honor.⁶⁷

The signing of the Louisiana Purchase Treaty of 1803 reignited the border issue between the United States and Spain. Following the conclusion of the agreement, many Americans who supported the expansion of the United States across the entire continent of North America began arguing that the Spanish colony of West Florida was included in the agreement. Despite his desires to spread the American Empire across the continent, President Thomas Jefferson disagreed that West Florida was included in the agreement,

⁶⁴ Irujo served as the Spanish representative in the United States from August of 1796 to February of 1806.

⁶⁵ Kagan, "Introduction," 5.

⁶⁶ Thomas J. Fleming, *Duel: Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr and the Future of America* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 110-111; Fernández, "Spain's Contribution to the Independence of the United States," 304; Thomas Jefferson, "From Thomas Jefferson to Carlos Martínez de Irujo, 24 March 1801," in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson – Volume 33 – (17 February -30 April 1801)*, edited by Barbara B. Oberg (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), 430.

⁶⁷ John Quincy Adams, "John Quincy Adams to Don Francisco Dionisio Vivés, May 8, 1820," in *Writings of John Quincy Adams – Volume VII, 1820-1823*, edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917), 17.

and in turn, sought to peacefully negotiate a deal with the Spanish Empire that would allow the United States to amicably purchase the area.⁶⁸ Much like the majority of other Americans, Jefferson did not recognize Indigenous claims to the region, nor did he appreciate the fact that many Indigenous tribes supported the British Empire during the Revolutionary War.⁶⁹ Additionally, Jefferson believed American ownership of West Florida would provide a buffer between New Orleans and Spanish East Florida, and in turn, would relieve tensions between U.S. and Spanish inhabitants in the region. Borrowing from the Spanish precedent, this projected buffer region mirrored the attempts made by the Spanish Empire to establish a safe-zone between themselves and American expansionists in the Third Treaty of San Ildefonso.⁷⁰

By 1810, President James Madison had come to the conclusion that East and West Florida represented instability in the United States' perceived sphere of influence, in much the same way that future Americans would characterize the bottom-up rebellions that occurred in Cuba during the nineteenth century. In turn, Madison sought to acquire the Floridas through a peaceful negotiation with Luis de Onís, who had become the most recent Spanish Ambassador to the United States in October of 1809.⁷¹ But before Madison and Onís had an opportunity to come to an agreement, American filibusters

⁶⁸ Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood*, 15-17.

⁶⁹ Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood*, 27.

⁷⁰ Cortada, *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*, 27-28.

⁷¹ J.C.A. Stagg, "Madison and the Collapse of the Spanish-American Empire: The West Florida Crisis of 1810, 20 April (Editorial Note)," in *The Papers of James Madison: Presidential Series – Volume 2, 1 October 1809-2 November 1810*, edited by J.C.A. Stagg (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 305-319; James Madison, "From James Madison to William Pinkney, 20 January 1810," in *The Papers of James Madison: Presidential Series – Volume 2, 1 October 1802-2 November 1810*, edited by J.C.A. Stagg, Jeanne Kerr Cross, and Susan Holbrook (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 194.

began an unauthorized uprising in West Florida in September of 1810, which successfully overthrew Spanish authorities in the region.⁷² Additionally, this would not be the last time that U.S. citizens would disobey the official stance of the federal government and cause instability between Spain and the United States.

Although Madison had not approved the uprising in West Florida, he sought to take advantage of it by establishing an agreement with the highest ranking Spanish colonial official in the region, Governor Vicente Folch. Madison sent the former Governor of Georgia, George Mathews, to negotiate the agreement with Folch; however, the negotiations soured and an agreement was never made between the two representatives. Still seeing an opportunity to resolve the issue of instability in the United States' perceived sphere of influence, Madison's Secretary of State, James Monroe, indirectly suggested to Mathews that he begin looking into acquiring East Florida from the Spanish Empire.⁷³ Mathews took this suggestion as an invitation to invade the area and in March of 1812, his troops seized Amelia Island.⁷⁴

President Madison was never comfortable with Mathews's act of hostility towards the Spanish Empire in East Florida. Compounding this issue was the fact that the War of 1812 had begun in June and due to the country's military weakness, the United States had

⁷² Stagg, "Madison and the Collapse of the Spanish-American Empire: The West Florida Crisis of 1810, 20 April (Editorial Note)," 305-319. For more information on the event: Andrew McMichael, *Atlantic Loyalties: Americans in Spanish West Florida, 1785-1810* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2008). For more information on filibusters: Charles Henry Brown, *Agents of Manifest Destiny: The Lives and Times of the Filibusters* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Robert E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

⁷³ Stephen F. Knott, *Secret and Sanctioned: Covert Operations and the American Presidency* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 96.

⁷⁴ Amelia Island is a small island off the coast of Florida.

no interest in simultaneously being at war with both the British and the Spanish empires. In turn, in February of 1813, the Senate decided that the citizens of the United States had no right to occupy East Florida. In response to this decision, Monroe wasted little time in sending General Thomas Pinckney to oversee the evacuation of George Mathews and his troops.⁷⁵ Drawing on the relationships that he had fostered during his negotiations in Spain in 1795, Pinckney quickly developed a bond with the Spanish Governor of East Florida, Sebastián Kindelán. Through this relationship, both men worked to establish the peaceful and efficient removal of the American filibusters from the Spanish territory. Despite the efforts of Pinckney and Kindelán, intermittent violence and political instability continued to plague both East and West Florida throughout the majority of the decade. However, due to the respect that Madison and Monroe had for the Spanish people and their military, America's ongoing war with the British Empire, the country's military weaknesses, and Madison and Monroe's desire to avoid damaging Spanish honor, a formal war never broke out between the United States and Spain.

By the fall of 1817, talks began between Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and the Spanish Ambassador to the United States, Luis de Onís, over the formal American acquisition of the Floridas.⁷⁶ In Madrid, the U.S. Minister to Spain, George Erving, cautioned Monroe and his Cabinet not to declare war on the Spanish Empire because he believed that Spain still possessed a strong, well-funded military; a belief that continued to exist in the minds of many elite Americans throughout the nineteenth

⁷⁵ Angela Kreider, "Preface," in *The Papers of James Madison: Presidential Series – Volume 6, 8 February-24 October 1813*, edited by Angela Kreider (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2008), xxix.

⁷⁶ Frank Lawrence Owsley Jr. and Gene A. Smith, *Filibusters and Expansionists: Jeffersonian Manifest Destiny, 1800-1821* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1997), 160-161.

century.⁷⁷ In the interim, in December of 1817, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun and President Monroe ordered General Andrew Jackson to attack the Seminole forces along the border between Georgia and East Florida, in an attempt to establish stability in the region.⁷⁸ However, the expansionist-minded Jackson saw this order as an invitation to invade the Floridas and to finally expel the Spanish from the area.

In March of 1818, Jackson exceeded his orders and invaded East Florida, easily defeating the Spanish troops stationed at St. Mark's.⁷⁹ As news of Jackson's actions filtered north, the invasion evoked an outcry from members of the anti-expansionist American public situated in New York City and Washington, D.C.⁸⁰ Calhoun and Monroe were also infuriated that Jackson had clearly exceeded his orders. Both men wanted to acquire the Floridas through a peaceful negotiation, not conquest; additionally, Jackson had wounded Spain's honor, which led Calhoun and Monroe to fear that a war may occur between the two nations.⁸¹

Throughout the early stages of the incident, Luis de Onís remained calm. The experienced Spanish diplomat was familiar with the members of Monroe's Cabinet, understood the productive relations that had existed between U.S. and Spanish diplomats

⁷⁷ John Quincy Adams, "John Quincy Adams to George William Erving, May 21, 1816," in *Writings of John Quincy Adams – Volume VI, 1816-1819*, edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), 36-37; John Quincy Adams, "John Quincy Adams to George William Erving, June 10, 1816," in *Writings of John Quincy Adams – Volume VI, 1816-1819*, edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), 45-47.

⁷⁸ William Earl Weeks, *John Quincy Adams and American Global Empire* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 109.

⁷⁹ Irving H. Bartlett, *John C. Calhoun: A Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1993), 100.

⁸⁰ Owsley Jr. and Smith, *Filibusters and Expansionists: Jeffersonian Manifest Destiny, 1800-1821*, 160.

⁸¹ James Monroe, "James Monroe to Andrew Jackson, July 19, 1818," in *The Papers of John C. Calhoun – Volume II, 1817-1818*, edited by W. Edwin Hemphill (Columbia, South Carolina: The University of South Carolina Press, 1963), 402.

since the Revolutionary Era, and was confident that the actions taken by Jackson did not represent the president's wishes.⁸² Onís's confidence in Monroe and his Cabinet was justified in July of 1818 when Monroe reprimanded Jackson for his actions and ordered that Jackson return the forts that he had acquired to Spanish authorities.⁸³ The president's actions solidified the bond of friendship between himself and the Spanish envoy to the United States, which would complicate future negotiations between Onís and Adams in the coming months.

Following Monroe's order to return the forts to Spanish authorities, negotiations between Onís and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams continued to occur. Interestingly, Adams had been the lone representative in Monroe's Cabinet that defended Jackson's actions in the Floridas because he believed it was the responsibility of the Spanish military to defend the "white inhabitants" of the area from the "robbery and butchery" of the Indigenous peoples of the region.⁸⁴ Adams's comments illustrate both the prevailing racial and imperialistic beliefs of the period. More specifically, Adams believed that due to the fact that the Spanish military was unable to fulfill their imperial responsibility to control their "racially inferior" colonial inhabitants, it was the Spanish

⁸² Weeks, *John Quincy Adams and American Global Empire*, 113.

⁸³ James Monroe, "James Monroe to Andrew Jackson, July 19, 1818," in *The Papers of John C. Calhoun – Volume II, 1817-1818*, edited by W. Edwin Hemphill (Columbia, South Carolina: The University of South Carolina Press, 1963), 402; Edmund P. Gaines, "From Edmund P. Gaines to John C. Calhoun, March 8, 1819," in *The Papers of John C. Calhoun – Volume III, 1818-1819*, edited by W. Edwin Hemphill (Columbia, South Carolina: The University of South Carolina Press, 1967), 637; John C. Calhoun, "John C. Calhoun to Col. William King, March 9, 1819," in *The Papers of John C. Calhoun – Volume III, 1818-1819*, edited by W. Edwin Hemphill (Columbia, South Carolina: The University of South Carolina Press, 1967), 645.

⁸⁴ John Quincy Adams, "John Quincy Adams to Don Luis de Onís, July 23, 1818," in *Writings of John Quincy Adams – Volume VI (1816-1819)*, edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), 387.

government's obligation to cede the Floridas to the United States. This process of imperial succession, as well as the sense of imperial responsibility, would also characterize the views of several prominent Americans towards the island of Cuba during the lead up to the Spanish-American War at the conclusion of the century.⁸⁵ Additionally, it also reinforced the Whiggish belief that the proverbial torch of civilization was being handed from the Spanish Empire to the United States on the continent of North America and that it was now the United States' imperial responsibility to continue the "civilizing process" of the Indigenous inhabitants of the Floridas.⁸⁶

Onís clearly developed a closer bond with Monroe than he did with Adams. Fearing that he may upset Spain, Monroe initially refused to recognize the Latin American republics who were at war with the Spanish Empire, a gesture that Onís appreciated. Also, in the days prior to the signing of the treaty that would cede the Floridas to the United States and would address the border between the United States and the Spanish Empire in the western portion of the continent, Monroe met privately with Onís at a White House reception. At the event, Monroe offered to side with Onís on the western boundary dispute. Expressing his friendship to Onís, Monroe asked the Spanish representative to have a glass of wine with him and he also allegedly stated that "I have had a personal esteem for you ever since the first day I dealt with you."⁸⁷ Upon hearing of

⁸⁵ John Quincy Adams, "The Secretary of State to Don Luis de Onís, July 23, 1818," in *John Quincy Adams and American Continental Empire: Letters, Papers and Speeches*, edited by Walter LaFeber (Chicago, Illinois: Quadrangle Books, 1965), 76.

⁸⁶ For more information: Chapter 2.

⁸⁷ Weeks, *John Quincy Adams and American Global Empire*, 165; John Quincy Adams, "Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, February 20, 1819," in *John Quincy Adams and American Continental Empire: Letters, Papers and Speeches*, edited by Walter LaFeber (Chicago, Illinois: Quadrangle Books, 1965), 85-86. For more information: Samuel Flagg Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965).

these events, Adams became infuriated with the president and demanded that he rescind the offer to the Spanish representative. Monroe conceded to his secretary of state and on February 22, 1819, John Quincy Adams and Luis de Onís signed their treaty.

The Adams-Onís Treaty allowed the United States to expand into East and West Florida and established the western boundary between the Louisiana Territory and the Viceroyalty of New Spain.⁸⁸ However, Monroe's order to first return the forts to Spanish authorities prior to the treaty going into effect, as well as the American offer to pay \$5,000,000 in claims against the Spanish government, allowed the Spanish to leave the Floridas with their honor intact.⁸⁹ Therefore, although aggressive actions were taken by American filibusters against Spanish forces in the Floridas throughout the 1810s, these actions were not sanctioned by the federal government. In the end, it was the cordial relationships that existed between American and Spanish representatives that allowed the United States to acquire the Spanish Floridas in 1819 and to expand its transcontinental empire.

“WE DESIRED NO OTHER NEIGHBOR IN CUBA BUT SPAIN”: MAINTAINING IMPERIAL RULE IN THE CARIBBEAN BASIN DURING THE ANTEBELLUM ERA⁹⁰

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, Americans were drawn to the island of Cuba. With the ratification of the Adams-Onís Treaty in 1821, the island now lay only ninety miles from U.S. territory. Influential American policymakers were interested in

⁸⁸ Appendix v.

⁸⁹ Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History*, 80.

⁹⁰ John Forsyth, “John Forsyth to the Secretary of State, February 10, 1823,” in House Document 121, 32nd Congress, Session 1.

acquiring the island for a variety of different reasons: Cuba would provide the U.S. military with control over the Gulf of Mexico, the federal government could provide stability by decreasing the chances of a slave uprising on the island, and trade would occur freely between Cuba and the U.S. mainland.⁹¹ However, in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, Cuba still remained under the control of the Spanish Empire; and neither Madrid nor London would allow the United States to acquire the island. Additionally, out of both fear and respect, American foreign policymakers were unwilling to go to war with the Spanish Empire to acquire Cuba. In turn, in 1823, the U.S. representative in Spain, John Forsyth, vowed that the United States would defend Spanish sovereignty on the island until a transfer of power, between Spain and the United States, became necessary, which did not manifest itself until the end of the century.⁹²

John Forsyth's comment that the United States "desired no other neighbor in Cuba but Spain" was by no means unique.⁹³ In reality, Forsyth was drawing on two connected narratives and agendas that had previously been established by American foreign policymakers. The first was based on the bonds of friendship that had existed between representatives of the U.S. and Spanish governments since the Revolutionary Era. The second was the so-called "no transfer" policy, which had been established earlier by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, and was reinforced by President James Monroe during his State of the Union Address in 1823, commonly referred to as the Monroe Doctrine. In regards to the "no transfer" policy, Madison stated that the United

⁹¹ Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 39.

⁹² Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 39-42.

⁹³ John Forsyth, "John Forsyth to the Secretary of State, February 10, 1823," in House Document 121, 32nd Congress, Session 1.

States should not allow any territory to “pass from the hands of Spain into those of any other foreign power.”⁹⁴ While the Monroe Doctrine proclaimed that the United States would not allow any further colonization to occur in the Western Hemisphere and that the country would assume hegemonic control over the newly formed Latin American republics, a policy that was reinforced throughout both the remainder of the nineteenth century and the majority of the twentieth century.⁹⁵

Slave uprisings continued to occur on the island of Cuba throughout the 1840s.⁹⁶ Fearing instability in their perceived sphere of influence, as Americans had both along the Mississippi River and in the Floridas, Secretary of State James Buchanan pressured Spanish officials to uphold their responsibilities as imperial overseers and to maintain stability on the island.⁹⁷ On May 14, 1846, Buchanan wrote to Robert B. Campbell, the U.S. Consul at Havana, and stated that if Spanish authorities were not able to control the ports of Cuba and Puerto Rico, it might “endanger the friendly relations which we are so anxious to preserve and cherish with Spain.”⁹⁸ Regardless of these comments from Buchanan, neither Spanish, nor U.S. representatives wanted to see Cuba become an

⁹⁴ For more information on the “no transfer” policy: The Congress of the United States, “The No Transfer Doctrine,” in *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History – Second Edition*, edited by Robert H. Holden and Eric Zolov (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6-8.

⁹⁵ For more information: U.S. Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress, 6 December 1904* (Washington, D.C.: Government Publishing Office, 1905), xli-xlii.

⁹⁶ Cortada, *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*, 62.

⁹⁷ Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 43.

⁹⁸ James Buchanan, “James Buchanan to Mr. Campbell, May 14, 1846,” in *The Works of James Buchanan: Comprising Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence – Volume VI, 1844-1846*, edited by John Bassett Moore (New York: Antiquarian Press Limited, 1960), 488.

independent nation. Therefore, peaceful relations continued between Spain and the United States.⁹⁹

After the conclusion of the Mexican-American War in 1848, President James K. Polk turned his focus to Cuba. The slave-owning, expansionist-minded president believed that Cuba would be an ideal location for the United States to begin to construct its overseas empire because the institution of slavery already existed on the island and the absorption of Cuba into the American sphere of influence would allow for a closer economic bond to exist between the island and the U.S. mainland.¹⁰⁰ On May 10, 1848, Polk met with John O’Sullivan. O’Sullivan was the founder of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* and is most well-known in the United States for coining the term “manifest destiny,” which characterized beliefs surrounding the United States’ preordained right to spread American virtues throughout the Western Hemisphere.¹⁰¹ O’Sullivan encouraged the president to acquire Cuba from the Spanish Empire and to make it a state within the American Union.¹⁰² Following the meeting, Polk waited for almost three weeks before addressing the issue with his Cabinet. Finally, on May 30, the president proposed the question of purchasing the island of Cuba to his Cabinet. With the exception of Postmaster General Cave Johnson, the Cabinet agreed that

⁹⁹ Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 43.

¹⁰⁰ Cortada, *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*, 64-65.

¹⁰¹ For more information on John O’Sullivan and manifest destiny: John O’Sullivan, “The Great Nation of Futurity,” *The United States Democratic Review* 6, no. 23 (Nov. 1839), 426-430; James K. Polk, “Texas, Mexico and Manifest Destiny,” in *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History*, edited by Robert H. Holden and Eric Zolov (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 23-25; Robert D. Sampson, *John L. O’Sullivan and His Times* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2003); Edward L. Widmer, *Young America: The Flowering of Democracy in New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹⁰² James K. Polk, “Wednesday, 10th May, 1848,” in *The Diary of James K. Polk During His Presidency, 1845-1849 – Volume III*, edited by Milo Milton Quaife (New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1970), 446.

Polk should attempt to purchase the island; however, the timing of the purchase and the amount that would be offered to Spain remained undecided.¹⁰³

On June 2, O’Sullivan met with Polk and again urged him to acquire Cuba. Unaware that Polk and his Cabinet had decided to attempt to purchase the island, O’Sullivan told Polk that a group of Cuban planters, living in Baltimore, Maryland, had requested aid from the United States, so that they could return to Cuba and overthrow the Spanish authorities on the island. Polk immediately informed him that “if Cuba was ever obtained by the U.S. it must be by amicable purchase, and that as President of the U.S. he could give no countenance to such a step, and could not wink at such a movement.”¹⁰⁴ This statement from Polk hints at the president’s respect for both the Spanish Empire and Spain’s military, the weakness of the U.S. military during the Antebellum Era, his understanding that American aggression in the Caribbean Basin could lead to a much larger conflict between the United States and the European imperial powers of the period, and his lack of interest in going to war over the island of Cuba.

The actions taken by John O’Sullivan in May and June of 1848 were miscalculations; however, it is difficult to blame him for assuming that President Polk would have been willing to acquire Cuba through an armed intervention. Prior to 1848, the expansionist-minded president had threatened to go to war against the British Empire over the Oregon Boundary Dispute and he had incited a war with Mexico over its

¹⁰³ James K. Polk, “Tuesday 30th May, 1848,” in *The Diary of James K. Polk During His Presidency, 1845-1849 – Volume III*, edited by Milo Milton Quaife (New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1970), 469.

¹⁰⁴ James K. Polk, “Friday, 2nd May, 1848,” in *The Diary of James K. Polk During His Presidency, 1845-1849 – Volume III*, edited by Milo Milton Quaife (New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1970), 476-477.

boundary with the United States.¹⁰⁵ Polk was also a southern slave owner and hoped to expand slavery to the territory that the country had acquired from Mexico at the conclusion of the Mexican-American War. Polk did not understand Spain, the Spanish people, or Spanish culture to the extent of some of his predecessors. His impatience with imperial pomp can be seen in a diary entry from February 4, 1847, where he wrote:

I omitted to mention in yesterday's diary that Mr. Calderon, the Spanish Minister, called at 12 O'Clock on yesterday, and delivered to me two letters [from his sovereign which] announced her own marriage and that of her sister. Such matters of ceremony appear very ridiculous to an American citizen but are deemed to be important by the Monarchical Courts of Europe.¹⁰⁶

Despite these comments, Polk still respected Spain. Therefore, he fervently discouraged filibustering campaigns into Cuba and ordered Secretary of State James Buchanan to write a letter to the U.S. Consul at Havana, which would inform Spanish authorities that the United States would “preserve the national faith with Spain” and would “take no part in the civil war or revolution in Cuba.”¹⁰⁷ However, he was willing to purchase the island, assuming the Spanish were willing to sell.

Upon receiving orders from President Polk, James Buchanan sent a letter to the U.S. Minister in Spain, Romulus M. Saunders, on June 17, 1848, instructing him to inform the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs that the United States would be willing to purchase the island of Cuba for the sum of \$100,000,000. Buchanan also stated that if

¹⁰⁵ For more information on James K. Polk: Robert W. Merry, *A Country of Vast Designs: James K. Polk, the Mexican War, and the Conquest of the American Continent* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009).

¹⁰⁶ James K. Polk, “Thursday, 4th February, 1847,” in *The Diary of James K. Polk During His Presidency, 1845-1849 – Volume II*, edited by Milo Milton Quaife (New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1970), 366-367.

¹⁰⁷ James K. Polk, “Friday, 9th June, 1848,” in *The Diary of James K. Polk During His Presidency, 1845-1849 – Volume III*, edited by Milo Milton Quaife (New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1970), 485-487.

Spain was unwilling to sell Cuba, the United States would still continue to uphold Spanish sovereignty over the island, against both filibustering campaigns and European attempts to acquire the island.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately for Polk and his administration, Saunders was not well-suited to be the U.S. representative in Spain during this crucial time. Much like John Jay, Saunders was unfamiliar with both the Spanish language and the formal practices of the Spanish Court. In turn, he struggled to accomplish the goals set out by Polk.¹⁰⁹ Compounding this poor appointment, both Polk and Buchanan had underestimated how important Cuba was to Spain's honor and pride, a miscalculation which demonstrated that the United States was still learning to be an imperial power during the Antebellum Era. Spain rejected the American attempt to purchase the island in 1848 and Saunders was replaced as the U.S. Minister to Spain during the following year. However, a war did not result between the United States and Spain, and consequently, U.S. politicians continued to attempt to peacefully acquire the island from the Spanish Empire in the years leading up to the American Civil War.¹¹⁰

Domestic anxiety continued in both Cuba and the United States following the American attempt to purchase the island in 1848. In the United States, the debate over

¹⁰⁸ James K. Polk, "Saturday, 17th June, 1848," in *The Diary of James K. Polk During His Presidency, 1845-1849 – Volume III*, edited by Milo Milton Quaife (New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1970), 492-493; James Buchanan, "James Buchanan to Mr. Saunders, June 17, 1848," in *The Works of James Buchanan: Comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence – Volume VIII, 1848-1853*, edited by John Bassett Moore (New York: Antiquarian Press Limited, 1960), 90-102.

¹⁰⁹ Frederick Moore Binder, *James Buchanan and the American Empire* (Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania: Susquehanna University Press, 1994), 139.

¹¹⁰ John M. Clayton, "From Mr. Clayton to James Buchanan, April 14, 1849," in *The Works of James Buchanan: Comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence – Volume VIII, 1848-1853*, edited by John Bassett Moore (New York: Antiquarian Press Limited, 1960), 359-360; James Buchanan, "James Buchanan to General Pierce, December 11, 1852," in *The Works of James Buchanan: Comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence – Volume VIII, 1848-1853*, edited by John Bassett Moore (New York: Antiquarian Press Limited, 1960), 493-497.

slavery persisted. Additionally, pro-expansionist groups believed that it was the responsibility of Anglo-Saxon Americans to bring freedom and democracy to the perceived inferior races of Latin America. In Cuba, slave uprisings continued to occur throughout the period and some members of the creole elite came to believe that the island's destiny may lay in the hands of the United States.¹¹¹

These feelings of domestic anxiety led to unsanctioned annexation movements, accentuated by the filibustering campaigns of Narciso López. López was a former officer in the Spanish military who had become fervently anti-Spanish in the mid-1840s. Following this shift, López began leading groups of filibusters into Cuba. These filibustering campaigns were primarily made up of American men and were illegally funded by private U.S. citizens and Cuban led pro-annexation groups that existed in the United States. During these campaigns, López and his troops left from ports in the southern United States and attempted to invade Cuba, in the hopes of overthrowing Spanish imperial forces and triggering annexation to the United States.¹¹² In response to these unauthorized filibustering attempts into Cuba, U.S. President Millard Fillmore reacted in much the same way that Madison and Monroe had during previous filibustering campaigns into the Spanish Floridas during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Fillmore condemned López's actions and instructed the U.S. Minister in Madrid to apologize to the Spanish government.¹¹³ Reinforcing the comments made by President Fillmore, his Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, wrote to Angel Calderon, the Spanish

¹¹¹ Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 43-45.

¹¹² Cortada, *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*, 66-67.

¹¹³ French Ensor Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain: Diplomacy* (New York: Russell & Russell Publishing Limited, 1968), 238.

Minister in Washington, and stated that, “The government of the United States would earnestly deprecate an indignity offered in this county, in time of peace, to the flag of a nation so ancient, so respectable, so renowned as Spain.”¹¹⁴ This statement from Webster clearly illustrates that the U.S. government did not support Lopez’s actions and that the government was determined to maintain its peaceful relationship with Spain.

In August of 1851, Narciso López was captured by Spanish forces in Cuba and on September 1, 1851, he was executed.¹¹⁵ The Spanish military’s ability to defend the island from these filibusters reinforced a belief in the minds of many Americans that despite the loss of the majority of its empire in Latin America during the first quarters of the nineteenth century, Spain still possessed a powerful military that demanded the respect of the United States. The Spanish military’s actions in Cuba also reinforced the belief that the United States and Spain should not go to war over the island and that the only way the U.S. government should consider acquiring Cuba was through a peaceful transfer of power.¹¹⁶

López’s execution failed to reduce the tension that existed between the United States and Spain in the decade leading up to the American Civil War.¹¹⁷ In February of 1854, a U.S. steamer, the *Black Warrior*, was detained by Cuban authorities in Havana Harbor because the ship’s crew had incorrectly listed its freight on the ship’s cargo manifest. The actions of Spanish authorities in Cuba enraged President Franklin Pierce,

¹¹⁴ Daniel Webster, “Daniel Webster to the Spanish Minister, November 12, 1851,” in Senate Documents, 32nd Congress, Session 1.

¹¹⁵ Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History*, 104.

¹¹⁶ Cortada, *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*, 67.

¹¹⁷ The American Civil War began in 1861.

and in turn, he claimed that “Spain does not seem to appreciate, to its full extent, her responsibility for the conduct of these authorities.”¹¹⁸ In response to the actions of the authorities in Cuba, Pierce sent a message to the U.S. Minister in Spain, Pierre Soulé, ordering him to immediately address the issue with the Spanish government. By no means did Pierce want to go to war over the issue but the expansionist-minded Soulé, who had already failed to foster a productive relationship between himself and the Spanish government, saw this as his opportunity to aggressively acquire the island from the Spanish Empire.¹¹⁹ In much the same way that his unsuccessful predecessors had acted in Spain, Soulé demanded action by the Spanish government and quickly became irritated with their refusal to remedy the issue. In May of 1854, the Spanish Foreign Office finally responded to Soulé’s inquiry; much to his chagrin, they argued that it was well within the rights of Cuban authorities to detain the ship.¹²⁰

In an attempt to resolve the ongoing issues between the United States and Spain, President Pierce and his Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, suggested that the U.S. Minister to Great Britain, James Buchanan; the U.S. Minister to France, John Mason; and Soulé should meet in secret to resolve the issue. Although Buchanan had been an active player in Polk’s attempt to purchase Cuba in 1848, he was unwilling to go to war with Spain over the island. Since 1848, Buchanan had become the U.S. Minister to Britain and had developed a productive relationship with the Spanish Chargé d’Affaires in the

¹¹⁸ Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain: Diplomacy*, 256; Franklin Pierce, “Wednesday, March 15, 1854,” in *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States: Being the First Session of the Thirty-Third Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong Printer, 1853).

¹¹⁹ Cortada, *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*, 72; Amos Aschbach Ettinger, *The Mission to Spain of Pierre Soulé: A Study in the Cuban Diplomacy of the United States* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1932), 196 and 221.

¹²⁰ Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain: Diplomacy*, 258-259.

country.¹²¹ He also learned from his past mistakes and had developed a greater understanding of the pride that the Spanish Empire associated with her remaining colonial possessions. Buchanan feared that Mason and Soulé's aggressive stances towards Spain could lead to war. He also believed that news of the meeting would adversely affect Spanish pride, something that Soulé had already failed to consider when dealing with the *Black Warrior* Affair.¹²² In turn, Buchanan wrote to President Pierce and stated that "I cannot for myself discover what benefit will result from a meeting between Mr. Soulé, Mr. Mason, and myself."¹²³ However, Buchanan's pleas were ignored by Pierce and the secret meeting went on as planned.

Buchanan, Soulé, and Mason met first in Ostend and then in Aix-la-Chapelle. Out of these meetings came the Ostend Manifesto, which was sent to William L. Marcy on October 18. In the document, the American ministers stated their beliefs that the sale of Cuba to the United States would be mutually beneficial to both Spain and the United States; freed from the burden of empire, they believed that the Spanish metropole would "become a center of attraction for the traveling world."¹²⁴ But, as the document went on, the tone began to change; shifting away from Buchanan's view on how the United States should acquire Cuba, and more towards those of Soulé and Mason. Rather than arguing

¹²¹ James Buchanan, "James Buchanan to Mr. Marcy, July 11, 1854," in *The Works of James Buchanan: Comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence – Volume IX, 1853-1855*, edited by John Bassett Moore (New York: Antiquarian Press Limited, 1960), 212.

¹²² Binder, *James Buchanan and the American Empire*, 207.

¹²³ James Buchanan, "James Buchanan to President Pierce, September 1, 1854," in *The Works of James Buchanan: Comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence – Volume IX, 1853-1855*, edited by John Bassett Moore (New York: Antiquarian Press Limited, 1960), 251.

¹²⁴ James Buchanan, "The Ostend Report, October 18, 1854," in *The Works of James Buchanan: Comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence – Volume IX, 1853-1855*, edited by John Bassett Moore (New York: Antiquarian Press Limited, 1960), 260-266.

for a peaceful transfer of power between Spain and the United States, the document stated that:

After we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba [\$120,000,000], far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, it will then be time to consider the question, does Cuba in the possession of Spain seriously endanger our internal peace and the existence of our cherished Union? Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then, by every law human and Divine, we shall be justified in wrestling it from Spain...¹²⁵

A week after this document was sent to Marcy, news of both the meeting and the manifesto began to spread throughout the United States and Europe. Buchanan, Soulé, and Mason were criticized in American and British newspapers for their aggressive stance towards Spain.¹²⁶ Marcy and Pierce refused to accept the Ostend Manifesto because they continued to believe that a war between Spain and the United States was not in America's best interest. Marcy and Pierce's actions infuriated Soulé, and in February of 1855, he resigned his position as the U.S. Minister to Spain.¹²⁷

As the political fallout of the Ostend Manifesto reverberated throughout the United States and Europe, Buchanan requested that Marcy make it clear that his involvement in the Ostend Manifesto was not a "voluntary action" and "never did he obey an instruction so reluctantly."¹²⁸ Acting on his concern for Spain's honor and his respect for the Spanish military, Buchanan told Marcy that acquiring Cuba by force

¹²⁵ James Buchanan, "The Ostend Report, October 18, 1854," in *The Works of James Buchanan: Comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence – Volume IX, 1853-1855*, edited by John Bassett Moore (New York: Antiquarian Press Limited, 1960), 260-266.

¹²⁶ For example: "London, Wednesday, Oct. 18," *Daily News*, October 18, 1854, Issue 2625; "The Minstrel Returned from the War," *The Boston Daily Atlas*, April 25, 1856, p. 2.

¹²⁷ Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain: Diplomacy*, 269-270.

¹²⁸ James Buchanan, "James Buchanan to Mr. Marcy, December 22, 1852," in *The Works of James Buchanan: Comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence – Volume IX, 1853-1855*, edited by John Bassett Moore (New York: Antiquarian Press Limited, 1960), 289.

would be “supremely ridiculous.” Additionally, after his election as the President of the United States, Buchanan insisted that he would not suggest the transfer of Cuba to the United States upon conditions that would “justly tarnish the national honor of the proud and ancient Spanish monarchy,” reinforcing the American reverence for Spain and the Spanish Empire.¹²⁹

Following the Ostend Manifesto, the *Black Warrior* Affair was peacefully resolved between Spain and the United States, and war was once again avoided. The decades leading up to the beginning of the American Civil War were undeniably turbulent years in the relationship between the United States and Spain. However, while Americans made war on the Indigenous inhabitants of Florida and in the western portion of the continent, as well as Latinos in Texas and Mexico, the United States never declared war on the Spanish Empire. It is undeniable that both official and unofficial representatives of the United States, such as Narciso López, Pierre Soulé, and John Mason, were willing to go to war with Spain over Cuba. However, men such as John Forsyth, James K. Polk, James Buchanan, and Franklin Pierce drew on their respect for the Spanish military, increasing understanding of Spanish honor, knowledge about the weakness of the U.S. military, and desire to maintain both foreign and domestic stability, as they attempted to either preserve Spanish imperial rule over Cuba or acquire the island through a peaceful transfer of power.

¹²⁹ James Buchanan, “Fourth Annual Message, December 3, 1860,” in *The Works of James Buchanan: Comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence – Volume XI, 1860-1868*, edited by John Bassett Moore (New York: Antiquarian Press Limited, 1960), 29.

GIVING PREFERENCE TO IMPERIAL STABILITY IN THE POSTBELLUM ERA:
THE *VIRGINIUS* AFFAIR AND THE GRANT ADMINISTRATION'S VIEWS
TOWARDS SPAIN

From 1855 to 1868, the Spanish Empire continued to struggle to maintain political stability in both the metropole and the periphery of its empire. In the metropole, moderates, progressives, and liberals fought to control the Spanish government. While Queen Isabella II frequently interceded in the political affairs of the country, siding with the military generals, statesmen, and members of the Church whom she favored.¹³⁰ On the island of Cuba, Spanish colonial administrators endeavored to maintain stability by resolving the grievances of the creole elite, which were primarily based on the political and economic power that representatives of the Spanish Empire held in Cuba, as well as the continued existence of slavery on the island.

In 1866 and 1867, a downturn in the Cuban economy was met with the implementation of rising taxes and a restriction of the press. In the following year, Queen Isabella II was deposed and fighting broke out between Cuban rebels and Spanish imperial forces on the island. This fighting once again led to instability in America's perceived sphere of influence, as well as calls for annexation from members of the Cuban creole elite. These requests for annexation were heard by a vocal contingent of American politicians and journalists in the United States, who pressured the Grant administration to take action.¹³¹

¹³⁰ For more information: Pierson, *The History of Spain*, 100-102; Barton, *A History of Spain – Second Edition*.

¹³¹ Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 48-50; Cortada, *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*, 89-91.

Ulysses S. Grant, the much heralded general of the American Civil War, had never held political office before his election as President of the United States. Due to his lack of political expertise, Grant depended heavily on his Cabinet, especially, his Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish. Although Fish was not a foreign policy expert, he was an experienced politician who had served as the Governor of New York, as well as in both the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate.¹³² Like previous representatives of the U.S. government who had established productive friendships with representatives of the Spanish Empire, Fish respected Spain and feared a conflict with the established imperial power. Fish also maintained a friendliness towards Spain, which increased in 1873 with the establishment of the First Spanish Republic.¹³³

When Grant took office in March of 1869, the revolution in Cuba, which became known as the Ten Years' War, had already been going on in the eastern portion of the island for several months. In the United States, news of the war reignited calls for annexation from Cuban exiles, American politicians, U.S. military officers, and the American press.¹³⁴ Although calls for annexation had been heard throughout the Antebellum Era, the end of the Civil War and the subsequent outlawing of slavery in the United States added an additional element to these requests, due to the fact that Cuban

¹³² Richard H. Bradford, *The Virginius Affair* (Boulder, Colorado: Colorado Associated University Press, 1980), 2.

¹³³ Bradford, *The Virginius Affair*, 14 and 60; Allan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1936), 180. For more information on how other Americans viewed the First Spanish Republic: Frank Ninkovich, *Global Dawn: The Cultural Foundation of American Internationalism, 1865-1890* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), 124-127.

¹³⁴ For example: "Cuban Independence to be Considered," *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana), March 19, 1869, p. 8; "The Naval Academy Ball," *New York Herald*, June 6, 1869, p. 10.

rebels supported the abolition of slavery on the island.¹³⁵ Cries for annexation also came from members of the Grant administration but the president and his secretary of state thought otherwise.¹³⁶

In 1869, Grant and Fish were willing to broker a deal that would allow a transfer of power, between Spain and the United States, to occur on the island of Cuba and would also provide the Spanish with an opportunity to maintain their honor and dignity. However, they were unwilling to go to war over the issue.¹³⁷ Additionally, both men believed that recognizing the Cuban rebels could lead to a conflict between Spain's still powerful military and the United States Army, which General William T. Sherman later referred to as being "entirely inadequate" following its downsizing in the Postbellum Era.¹³⁸

Although Grant was nearly swayed by a passionate speech in favor of recognizing the Cuban rebels that was given by his Secretary of War, John A. Rawlins, Fish responded by drawing on the conceptualizations of race, which dominated American rhetoric during the nineteenth century. Specifically, Fish argued that due to their African heritage and the fact that they were in a state of rebellion, the Cuban rebels and their hypothetical nation would not be recognized by international law as a legitimate political

¹³⁵ Jean Edward Smith, *Grant* (New York: Simon & Schuster Incorporated, 2002), 492.

¹³⁶ Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration*, 183; Bradford, *The Virginius Affair*, 23.

¹³⁷ Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration*, 231; Cortada, *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*, 93.

¹³⁸ Smith, *Grant*, 492; Bradford, *The Virginius Affair*, 69.

entity.¹³⁹ In the end, Grant was convinced by Fish that his administration needed to uphold Spanish sovereignty on the island of Cuba.¹⁴⁰ Therefore, despite pressure from Rawlins and pro-annexationist groups in the United States, Fish was able to convince Grant that returning to the precedent that had previously been established by the “no transfer” policy would be beneficial to his administration, the Spanish Empire, as well as the United States.

Despite the Grant administration’s attempts to curb the activities of filibusters leaving from American shores, they continued to supersede the president’s requests. As in the Antebellum Era, filibusters caused instability in the United States’ ever-increasing sphere of influence. In turn, this amplified tensions between representatives of the United States and Spain. These tensions came to a head on October 30, 1873, when the *Virginus* and its crew of American and Cuban filibusters were captured by the Spanish Navy en route to Cuba to support the rebellion on the island.¹⁴¹

Following the Spanish acquisition of the *Virginus*, the ship and her crew, which was made up of Americans, Cubans, and British subjects, were brought to Santiago de Cuba. Once they arrived in the city on November 1, the ship sat in the harbor, while the crew was placed in jail. On the following day, the court-martials began and on November 4, four of the leaders of the expedition were executed by Spanish authorities. Despite requests from the U.S. and British consuls in Cuba to stop the executions, as well as a

¹³⁹ Andrew Priest, “Thinking about Empire: The Administration of Ulysses S. Grant, Spanish Colonialism and the Ten Years’ War in Cuba,” *Journal of American Studies* 48, no. 2 (2014), 548.

¹⁴⁰ Smith, *Grant*, 494; Ulysses S. Grant, “Ulysses S. Grant to Hamilton Fish, September 8th, 1873,” in *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant – Volume 24: 1873*, edited by John Y. Simon (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 209; Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 53.

¹⁴¹ Bradford, *The Virginus Affair*, 33 and 39-43.

cable sent by the Spanish President, Emilio Castelar, which requested that the death penalty not be used in this matter, on November 7 and November 8, the executions continued to occur.¹⁴²

By November 7, news reached the United States that an American ship had been stopped by Spanish authorities and that four members of the crew had been executed. In response, both the American press and the American public once again started clamoring for war. However, Secretary Fish remained unfazed by public opinion and sent a telegram to the U.S. Minister in Madrid, Daniel Sickles, in which he requested more information from the Spanish government regarding the issue.¹⁴³

Daniel Sickles was a peculiar choice to be the U.S. Minister to Spain. Although he was well educated, had served as a General in the Union Army during the American Civil War, was fluent in Spanish, and got along well with some high-ranking members of Spanish society, Sickles lacked patience, which was a requirement for any individual who needed to interact with the Spanish government. Compounding Sickles's shortcomings was the fact that he had previously failed to establish a productive dialogue that may have allowed the Grant administration to purchase Cuba from the Spanish in 1869. This failure reinforced Fish's belief, which he had first stated during Sickles initial appointment, that he was unfit for the position.¹⁴⁴

After receiving Fish's telegram, Sickles visited with the Spanish Minister of State, José de Carvajal. Carvajal immediately apologized for the executions and explained to

¹⁴² The cable was never received because the Cuban insurgents had cut the telegraph line. In total, fifty-three crew members of the *Virginius* were killed by Spanish authorities.

¹⁴³ Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration*, 176; Bradford, *The Virginius Affair*, 65-66; Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain: Diplomacy*, 320.

¹⁴⁴ Bradford, *The Virginius Affair*, 17-18.

Sickles that he believed that the Spanish President, Emilio Castelar, had attempted to stop the deaths from occurring. On November 8, Sickles and Carvajal met for a second time, and once again, Carvajal apologized for the continuation of the executions in Cuba.

Using the deaths as a political opportunity, Sickles began aggressively pressing Spanish authorities to put an end to both the revolution and slavery on the island of Cuba.¹⁴⁵

Fearing that Sickles's tactics may offend Spain's honor and lead to war between the United States and Spain, Fish drew on the positive precedents that had previously been established by representatives of the two countries, in the hopes that he and the Spanish representative in Washington could come to a resolution.

As news of the executions continued to arrive in Washington, Fish met with the Spanish Minister to the United States, Admiral José Polo de Barnabé, on November 8. Polo was a supporter of republicanism and fluent in English; he and Fish had several similarities and got along well. However, on November 12, Fish heard news of the executions that had occurred on November 7 and November 8. On the following day, Fish and Polo met again, and uncharacteristically, the secretary of state went into a tirade over the deaths. The Spanish Minister quickly realized that if the cordial relationship between himself and Fish, as well as Spain and the United States, was to continue, the *Virginius* Affair needed to be resolved.¹⁴⁶

To Sickles's disappointment, a temporary settlement was reached by Polo and Fish on November 29. Within the agreement, war was avoided and Spanish honor was

¹⁴⁵ Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain: Diplomacy*, 321-322; Cortada, *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*, 94.

¹⁴⁶ Bradford, *The Virginius Affair*, 58-60.

maintained. However, Spain would be forced to return the *Virginius* and her crew to the United States, while both governments attempted to increase their understanding about the ship itself, her crew, their intentions, as well as the incident.¹⁴⁷ Although Fish received thanks and acclaim from a variety of American politicians and journalists for avoiding war, the *Virginius* Affair was far from over.¹⁴⁸ Several questions remained to be answered, including if Spain had acted lawfully, did the ship have the right to be flying the American flag, and who should be blamed for the incident? However, these issues would be left to men such as Hamilton Fish, Caleb Cushing, Admiral José Polo de Barnabé, and his replacement, Antónío Mantilla, all of whom understood the importance of the relationship that had existed between the United States and Spain since the Revolutionary Era.

By the conclusion of 1873, Daniel Sickles had lost the confidence of both Grant and Fish, and despite the tense situation in which representatives of Spain and the United States had found themselves, Grant and Fish trusted the Spanish representatives in the United States more than Sickles.¹⁴⁹ Foreseeing the inevitable, Sickles submitted his resignation on December 20, 1873.¹⁵⁰ Viewing Sickles's departure as an opportunity to replace him with an individual that better understood Spain and the Spanish people, Fish

¹⁴⁷ Bradford, *The Virginius Affair*, 94; Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain: Diplomacy*, 346.

¹⁴⁸ Ulysses S. Grant, "Note, November 7, 1873," in *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant – Volume 24: 1873*, edited by John Y. Simon (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 252; Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration*, 691.

¹⁴⁹ Bradford, *The Virginius Affair*, 91.

¹⁵⁰ Ulysses S. Grant, "To Hamilton Fish, December 20, 1873," in *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant – Volume 24: 1873*, edited by John Y. Simon (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 294-295.

suggested to Grant that Caleb Cushing become the next American representative in Spain, writing:

Among his many and varied accomplishments he is a thorough Spanish scholar, and I think that his appointment will give more confidence to the country, and will be more likely to result in satisfactory decisions, than that of any other man of whom I can think—probably than any other man in the country. He is in entire harmony with your own views and policy with regard to Cuba as well as with regard to other questions.¹⁵¹

On May 30, 1874, Cushing presented his credentials to the President of the Spanish Republic. In his written remarks, Cushing drew on the imperial relationship that had existed between the two powers since the Revolutionary Era, when he stated:

I am further instructed to embrace the present occasion to say, that the President of the United States earnestly desires to maintain unimpaired the relations of peace and amity between them and Spain, which commenced at the very epoch of the independence of the United States, and which, notwithstanding the many disturbing events of the country thus elapsed, have never ceased to prevail, thanks to the sentiments of reciprocal consideration which have at all times controlled the counsel of their respective governments.¹⁵²

Building on these beliefs, as well as his previous experiences in Spain, Cushing immediately integrated himself into Spanish society, becoming a popular figure with the Spanish government and hosting several formal dinners.¹⁵³ Also, after only a month in Spain, Cushing wrote that “I entertain confident belief that, with steady but patient persistence of acclamation, we shall in good time reach a satisfactory solution of most, if

¹⁵¹ Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration*, 693.

¹⁵² “Caleb Cushing to the Spanish Secretary of State and the President of the Spanish Republic,” Madrid, Spain, June 1, 1874, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Caleb Cushing Papers, Box 114 – General Correspondence (1874, April-June 24), Folder: 5 (June 1-14-1874).

¹⁵³ Bradford, *The Virginius Affair*, 122; Claude Moore Fuess, *The Life of Caleb Cushing – Volume II* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1923), 382-383.

not all, of the unsettled questions growing out of the capture of the *Virginus*.”¹⁵⁴ This solution finally came in February of 1875 when the Spanish government agreed to pay an indemnity of \$80,000 to the United States. The agreement was signed on March 5, 1875, peacefully resolving the *Virginus* Affair.¹⁵⁵

CONCLUSION

The relationship that began between Juan de Miralles and George Washington set a precedent for representatives of the United States and Spain throughout the long nineteenth century. During the period, the United States emerged as an increasingly powerful nation, often at the expense of Spain’s shrinking imperial presence in the Western Hemisphere. However, several influential American politicians and diplomats, who took the time to learn about Spain, the country’s customs, and the individuals that represented the country, developed a productive relationship with their counterparts. These Americans desired stability in their nation’s perceived sphere of influence but were hesitant to go to war against the Spanish Empire over the free navigation of the Mississippi River, the acquisition of the Floridas, or the island of Cuba. In turn, the areas that were previously controlled by the Spanish Empire in the American transcontinental empire were acquired through a series of treaties, and in 1898, the Spanish-American War did not represent a sudden violent outburst by the United States but rather, it was a

¹⁵⁴ Caleb Cushing to Hamilton Fish, Madrid, Spain, July 3, 1874, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Caleb Cushing Papers, Box 115 – General Correspondence (1874, June 25-July), Folder 1: June 25-30-1874.

¹⁵⁵ Bradford, *The Virginus Affair*, 124-126; Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain: Diplomacy*, 349.

well-coordinated transfer of imperial power; all of which were designed to allow Spain to maintain honor and dignity at home and abroad.

The peaceful relations that were maintained by representatives of the United States and Spain from 1776 to 1875 demonstrated that the two countries were not constantly clashing with one another throughout the period, nor did all U.S. representatives prescribe to the Black Legend narrative or perceive Spain as being the antithesis of the United States. In reality, Americans increased their influence in both the Western Hemisphere and Europe through their peaceful relationship with the Spanish Empire and this familiarity benefited a variety of different Americans, including those who chose to travel to Spain to become educated about the nation, its people, and its empires. These individuals, such as Washington Irving, William Hickling Prescott, and George Ticknor wrote books about Spain, as well as the nation's imperial history and it is these individuals that will be the focus of the next chapter. Through their works, an imperial bond was created between the Spanish imperial legacy and the emerging American Empire, which had been appropriated by some U.S. policymakers during the first three quarters of the nineteenth century and would continue to be used by American exposition organizers, the editors who created imaginary journeys for American clubwomen, and colonial officials during the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century. These individuals used this narrative to justify the successful completion of the American transcontinental empire in the early 1890s and the emergence of the American overseas empire following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War of 1898.

Chapter 2

The Quest to “Form a Perfect Character”: The Spanish Past, Nineteenth-Century U.S. Hispanists, and the American Road to Empire¹

The United States emerged from the American Revolutionary War as a weak, unstable republic.² Despite the “City Upon a Hill” narrative, as well as other beliefs associated with American exceptionalism, many American intellectuals in the pre-Revolutionary Era depended on Britain as their imperial overseer, their connection to European civilization, and the cornerstone of their conceptualization of themselves within the international framework of the period.³ However, the Revolutionary War severed this connection, leaving a segment of eighteenth-century Americans in search of both a national and an imperial narrative that could reconnect the United States with the “civilized” powers of Europe and would also justify the future greatness of the country.⁴

By 1792, several of these intellectuals, many of whom were situated in the northeastern United States, unearthed the archetypal image of the “Spanish” explorer Christopher Columbus and began to celebrate his “discovery” of the New World.⁵ Through these celebrations, many cerebral Americans began to create a new imperial

¹ Martin Hume, “The United States and Spain,” *Documents of the American Association for International Conciliation* (1909/1910), 3. For more information on Martin Hume: Stanley G. Payne, *Spain: A Unique History* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 11.

² María DeGuzmán, *Spain’s Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xv.

³ Claudia L. Bushman, *America Discovers Columbus: How An Italian Explorer Became An American Hero* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1992), 3.

⁴ For more information: Stephen Fender (editor), *American and European National Identities: Faces in the Mirror* (Keele, United Kingdom: Keele University Press, 1996); Peter S. Onuf, *Jefferson’s Empire: The Language of American Nationhood* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 6.

⁵ For example: “Salem, October 9” *The Diary or Loudon’s Register* (New York), October 16, 1792, p. 2.

narrative, which positioned the United States at the forefront of Western civilization's east-to-west movement.⁶ Based on perceptions associated with Whig history, these individuals believed that this movement of civilization had begun with the Roman Empire, had been passed to the Spanish and British empires, and was now in the hands of the emerging American republic in the New World.⁷

As this narrative started to be embedded into the minds of Americans, economic and diplomatic interactions between the United States and Spain's former colonial possessions in Latin America also began to increase during the first half of the nineteenth century. This establishment of an imperial linkage between the American and Spanish empires, as well as an increase in the amount of trade between the United States and Latin America, developed an American interest in Spain and an appreciation for Hispanic culture, which challenges beliefs associated with American exceptionalism, the Black Legend narrative, and American isolationism. Additionally, this perceived imperial relationship would later serve as the foundational narrative for future American politicians, representatives in Spain, scholars, exposition organizers, editors and readers of imaginary travel magazines, military officers, and colonial administrators as they appropriated the Spanish imperial legacy to justify their imperialistic desires and assist

⁶ For more information on Whig history: Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1979). For more information on conceptualizations of modernity: Enrique Dussel, *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of "the Other" and the Myth of Modernity* (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1995).

⁷ For more information on transfers: Elise Bartosik-Vélez, *The Legacy of Christopher Columbus in the Americas: New Nations and a Transatlantic Discourse of Empire* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 2014), 4; Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998); Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014). For more information on the Columbus image: Valerie I.J. Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992).

with the creation of the United States' national and imperial projects both before and after the Spanish-American War of 1898.

The idea to celebrate Christopher Columbus's discovery of the New World was not new, nor was it a drastic departure from the mindset of scholarly Americans during the eighteenth century. A review of the literature that existed in Britain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries shows both an appropriation of the "Spanish" explorer, as well as a belief that the British Empire needed their own Columbus to justify their imperial desires in the New World.⁸ These ideas flowed from Britain to the American colonies as scholars attempted to establish a European imperial precedent in the New World by writing romanticized histories that focused on Columbus's discoveries.⁹ However, many of these works from the pre-Revolutionary Era were often written to exemplify the superiority of the Anglo civilizing mission in the New World, rather than to celebrate the Spanish past, the endeavors of Spanish explorers, or the perceived imperial connection between the American colonies and the Spanish Empire.¹⁰

⁸ Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Incorporated, 1990), 328. For more information: Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning and New Atlantis* (London, England: Oxford University Press, 1960); Francis Bacon, *The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1996).

⁹ For more information on the movement of some of these ideas: Robert A. Williams, *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). For more information on these works: Pere Gifra-Adroher, *Between History and Romance: Travel Writing on Spain in the Early Nineteenth-Century United States* (Mississauga, Ontario: Associated University Presses Incorporated, 2000), 47. Specifically, during the first decade of the eighteenth century, the New England Puritan minister, Cotton Mather, began writing about Columbus. By the second half of the century, American authors, such as Samuel Nevill and Abraham Baldwin, were also writing about the explorer. Private libraries in the northeastern United States, such as those of James Logan and William Bentley, also possessed British travel books on Spain, as well as English translations of Spanish literature.

¹⁰ Bushman, *America Discovers Columbus: How An Italian Explorer Became An American Hero*, 27-30. For more information: Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Hartford, Connecticut: S. Andrus & Son, 1853); Lyon N. Richardson, *History of Early American Magazines, 1741-1789* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931).

The American Revolutionary War forced late eighteenth-century Americans to reconceptualize the narrative that would vindicate their existence as both a civilized nation and as an empire, which would eventually supersede the imperial powers of Europe. However, before these goals could be achieved, members of the American intelligentsia felt that they still needed to establish a new bond with Europe. In turn, several intellectuals from the northeastern United States began venerating the actions of Christopher Columbus through various speeches, addresses, and published works, in an attempt to create a narrative that would appeal to a broad audience and would legitimize the country's imperialistic desires.¹¹

These speeches, addresses, and publications clearly influenced the learned members of American society in the lead up to, and during, the three-hundred-year anniversary of Christopher Columbus's discovery of the New World. These influences manifested themselves in a variety of different ways. For example, in 1784, King's

¹¹ For example, although it is difficult to pinpoint when this process began, it may have been initiated in 1771 at Princeton University's annual graduation. At the event, the American poet Philip Freneau referred to Columbus as a "hero" and thanked him for discovering the "paradise" that was the American continent. Following Freneau's comments, in 1787, the American poet Joel Barlow published his work entitled *Vision of Columbus*. Within the work, Barlow provides the reader with an account of the "life and character of that great man," as well as a poem in which an angel brings an elderly Columbus to the United States to show him the successful outcome of his discovery. Also, in an address to the Historical Society of Massachusetts on October 23, 1792, the American clergyman and amateur historian, Jeremy Belknap, praised Columbus as "a man of genius and science" and as a "prudent, skillful, intrepid navigator" whose name would be "stamped with immortality" for his discovery of the New World on behalf of the Spanish Empire. For more information: Herbert Knust, "Columbiads in Eighteenth Century European and American Literature," in *The American Columbiad: "Discovering" America, Inventing the United States*, edited by Mario Materassi and Maria I. Ramalho de Sousa Santos (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1996), 33-34; Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy*, 334; Philip Morin Freneau, *The Rising Glory of America* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Printed by Joseph Crukshank for R. Aitkin, 1772); Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy*, 336-337; Joel Barlow, *Visions of Columbus: The Columbiad* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Scholarly Publishing Office, University Library, University of Michigan, 2005); Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy*, 337-338; Jeremy Belknap, *American Biography: An Historical Account of Those Persons Who have been Distinguished in America...* (Boston, Massachusetts: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews. Faust's Statue, No. 45, Newbury Street, 1794-1798).

College in New York City was renamed Columbia College. Additionally, in 1791, the national capital was named “The Territory of Columbia” and images of the Spanish explorer would later adorn the U.S. Capitol.¹²

Running chronologically concurrent with the events listed in the previous paragraph, as early as 1789, the leader of the Columbian Society of New York, John Pintard, had contacted his friend, Jeremy Belknap, in preparation to celebrate the anniversary of Columbus’s discovery. On October 12, 1792, Pintard’s plans came to fruition. During the event, Pintard set the standard for the celebration of Christopher Columbus in the United States. The event consisted of a dinner, toasts, the singing of songs, and the unveiling of a monument, which was later housed in the American Museum of the Tammany Society.¹³ Praised by the *New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, the event connected the United States with Europe. Conversely, the event also differentiated the two regions. Columbus was praised for bringing civilization to the New World but seen through the eyes of a society that saw history as an avenue to define progress; the hope was that the United States would “never experience the vices and miseries of the old world.”¹⁴

The fact that educated, late eighteenth-century Americans yearned for a historical narrative that would connect them with the European imperial powers of the period;

¹² Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy*, 338-339; Bushman, *America Discovers Columbus: How An Italian Explorer Became An American Hero*, 54 and 81-82. For more information on representations of Columbus at the United States Capitol: Vivien Green Fryd, *Art & Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States Capitol, 1815-1860* (New Haven: Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1992).

¹³ “Description of the Monument,” *The Baltimore Evening Post*, October 25, 1792, p. 3.

¹⁴ Bushman, *America Discovers Columbus: How An Italian Explorer Became An American Hero*, 83-86; Edwin P. Kilroe, *Saint Tammany and the Origin of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York* (New York: M.B. Brown, 1913), 185 and 215.

while conversely, would still allow them to differentiate themselves from those powers, is not a ground-breaking discovery for historians of U.S. domestic or foreign relations. Late eighteenth-century American intellectuals had an international outlook and did not perceive the United States as being isolated in the New World. For example, despite the Revolutionary War, many Americans still possessed both cultural bonds and economic ties with the British Empire.¹⁵ Several influential Americans, such as Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson, also sympathized with the French Empire because of the French support of the United States during the Revolutionary War and the beliefs associated with republicanism, which existed throughout France during the period.¹⁶

In comparison, the fact that some Americans gravitated to Spain, the country's empire, and its representatives, has been more difficult for historians to comprehend. This is due to the existence of the beliefs associated with the Black Legend narrative, the near complete destruction of the Spanish Empire during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Spanish-American War of 1898, as well as beliefs surrounding what Richard L. Kagan has referred to as "Prescott's Paradigm," which he argued drew Americans to

¹⁵ For more information: Jon Butler, *Becoming America: The Revolution Before 1776* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001).

¹⁶ For more information: Laura Lee Downs and Stéphane Gerson (editors), *Why France?: American Historians Reflect on an Enduring Fascination* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2007); Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practices, 1763-1789* (Boston, Massachusetts: Northeastern University Press, 1983); Frank W. Brecher, *Securing American Independence: John Jay and the French Alliance* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003).

Spain but only because they perceived the country as the antithesis of the emerging American republic.¹⁷

Although these beliefs and events influenced many Americans' perceptions of Spain, an undeniable bond developed between American intellectuals and the country that "gave birth" to Columbus. These intellectuals emerged to promote positive images of Spain and the Spanish Empire, as they worked to construct the United States' national and imperial identities. These positive images were predicated on a variety of factors, including the high esteem associated with Spanish honor; the narrative that Christopher Columbus had discovered the United States, and in turn, had brought civilization to the New World; and the fact that Spain had once been, and to some was still, an influential imperial power, which possessed an imposing military force.¹⁸

This connection that Americans felt towards Spain during the long nineteenth century was summarized by the English historian, Martin Hume, when he stated that, "the qualities possessed by each people are exactly complementary to those possessed by the other, and a nation, like an individual, admires and is attracted by qualities which if it were possible to blend with its own would form a perfect character."¹⁹ Therefore, American Hispanists, who will be the main focus of this chapter, selectively borrowed from Spain's imperial legacy and developed theoretical and practical beliefs that they used to construct an imperial narrative that connected American ambitions to the Spanish

¹⁷ For more information: Richard L. Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain," in *Imagined Histories: American Historians Interpret the Past*, edited by Anthony Molho and Gordon S. Wood (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998).

¹⁸ For more information: Norman P. Tucker, *Americans in Spain: Patriots, Expatriates and the Early American Hispanists, 1780-1850* (Boston, Massachusetts: Boston Athenaeum, 1980).

¹⁹ Hume, "The United States and Spain," 3.

past. These beliefs allowed future representatives of the American Empire to justify the unique character of the United States, their imperial connection with the Spanish Empire, and their perceived rightful position as an imperial overseer in Spain's former colonial possessions in the American West, the Caribbean Basin, and the Pacific.²⁰

THE DISCOVERY OF SPAIN IN THE UNITED STATES

On January 24, 1809, a public dinner was held in the New Hall of Boston's Exchange Coffeehouse in honor of the Spanish patriots who were challenging Napoleon's rule over Spain. To both the contemporary observer and the twenty-first century historian, the celebration could be seen as rather bizarre.²¹ A decade earlier, President George Washington had urged the American people to avoid entanglements with the foreign world; during the Revolutionary Era, Americans had formed close bonds with France; beliefs associated with the Black Legend narrative dominated the American public's views towards Spain; and on the continent of North America, the United States continued to be surrounded by the European imperial powers of the period.²² However, the public dinner clearly showed that elite Americans were concerned with the events going on in

²⁰ Within this dissertation, I often use the term "U.S. Hispanist" or "American Hispanists" to describe writers, scholars, and historians who focused on the study of Spain during the nineteenth century. However, the more modern use of the terms often only apply to university educated scholars. This chapter will draw from the field of intellectual history. For more information on intellectual history: Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori, *Global Intellectual History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013); Anthony Grafton, "The History of Ideas: Precept and Practice, 1950-2000 and Beyond," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, no. 1 (2006), 1-32.

²¹ Richard L. Kagan, "From Noah to Moses: The Genesis of Historical Scholarship on Spain in the United States," in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 26.

²² George Washington, "Farewell Address, 19 September 1796," *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified December 28, 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-00963>.

Europe and that they supported the Spanish peoples' attempts to maintain their sovereignty during Napoleon's European wars of conquest.

Over three hundred people attended the event, including the Revolutionary War hero, Paul Revere; the Spanish Consul, Don Juan Stoughton; the former U.S. Minister to Spain, David Humphreys; as well as several other American merchants and politicians from the Boston area.²³ The event was decorated by a Mr. Hamilton, who hung the flags of the United States and Spain, as well as the Spanish National Arms within the venue. This practice was later duplicated by exposition organizers and American clubwomen.²⁴ During the celebration, prayers and toasts were given for not only the Spanish patriots who were opposing Napoleon's forces but also the Spanish people and the Spanish government. Songs were sung, which hoped for the eventual freedom of Spain; while others reinforced the gratitude Americans had for Spain's discovery of the New World.²⁵ The evening concluded with an address to the Spanish people, which presented them as the vanguard of global freedom and encouraged them to continue the fight against the "tyrant" Napoleon and his "slaves."²⁶ Absent from the event was any type of anti-Catholic rhetoric or any disparaging comments about the Inquisition; two of the most

²³ Robert Treat Paine, "Spain: An Account of the Public Festival Given by the Citizens of Boston... - January 24, 1809" (Boston, Massachusetts: Printed by Russell and Cutler, 1809), 12-13. For more information: "Grand Festival, In Honour of the Spanish Patriots," *Boston Gazette*, January 26, 1809, p. 2.

²⁴ Robert Treat Paine, "Spain: An Account of the Public Festival Given by the Citizens of Boston... - January 24, 1809" (Boston, Massachusetts: Printed by Russell and Cutler, 1809), 14. For more information: Chapter 3; Chapter 4; Chapter 5; Chapter 6.

²⁵ Robert Treat Paine, "Spain: An Account of the Public Festival Given by the Citizens of Boston... - January 24, 1809" (Boston, Massachusetts: Printed by Russell and Cutler, 1809), 16-19 and 20-23. For more information: "The Following Are the Regular, and Such Portion of the Volunteer Toasts, as Could be Admitted in Our Columns This Day," *Boston Gazette*, January 26, 1809, p. 2.

²⁶ Robert Treat Paine, "Spain: An Account of the Public Festival Given by the Citizens of Boston... - January 24, 1809" (Boston, Massachusetts: Printed by Russell and Cutler, 1809), 36.

prevalent tropes of the Black Legend narrative. Instead, Spain was presented as a “sleeping lion,” which those in attendance at the celebration hoped would awaken and overthrow Napoleon.²⁷

The dinner at Boston’s Exchange Coffeehouse was far from an isolated event in the United States during this period. Throughout the Revolutionary Era, many prominent Americans had often gathered at the home of Juan de Miralles to dine with the unofficial Spanish representative to the United States. After Miralles’s death in April of 1780, a distinguished group of American military generals, members of Congress, and foreign dignitaries gathered at his funeral, as well as a week later at a Requiem Mass in Philadelphia. In 1792, Americans came together in cities throughout the United States to celebrate the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus. This process of venerating both Spain and the Spanish past would continue at the international expositions that were held in both the United States and the periphery of the American Empire, as well as at dinner parties organized by American clubwomen. Therefore, rather than being seen as a bizarre event, the celebration that occurred in Boston on January 24, 1809 was simply one of a multitude of instances where influential Americans joined together throughout the long nineteenth century to solidify their bonds of friendship with their imperial predecessor, in an attempt to claim their commonalities with a “civilized” European power of the period.

It is difficult to pinpoint where Americans’ interests and appreciation for Spain initially emerged in the American colonies during the eighteenth century; however, the Age of Enlightenment in Europe, and the rapid movement of information that followed it,

²⁷ Robert Treat Paine, “Spain: An Account of the Public Festival Given by the Citizens of Boston... - January 24, 1809” (Boston, Massachusetts: Printed by Russell and Cutler, 1809), cover.

played a significant role. As early as 1733, Benjamin Franklin began studying the Spanish language in preparation for his future career as an American representative in the royal courts of Europe.²⁸ Franklin and other well-educated eighteenth-century Americans believed that Spain was an influential imperial power and that it would be beneficial to be able to communicate with Spanish representatives in their own language. As an enlightened man of his time, Franklin also realized that the American colonies were not isolated in the New World and that the creation of cultural and economic bonds between the American colonies and Europe would benefit the colonies and, later, the emerging nation.²⁹

By 1735, a Spanish language tutor began advertising in the *New-York Gazette*; and in 1747, a school in New York City that offered English, Latin, Spanish, and Italian language training had been established.³⁰ In 1751, Garrat Noel published *A Short Introduction to the Spanish Language* in New York City, the first Spanish language textbook published in the United States. As trade between the American colonies and Spain's colonial possessions in the New World increased during the eighteenth century, so did interest in the Spanish language. At the University of Pennsylvania in 1766, Paul Fooks began offering lessons in Spanish, making the school the first university in the

²⁸ Stanley T. Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume I* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1968), 23.

²⁹ Gifra-Adroher, *Between History and Romance: Travel Writing on Spain in the Early Nineteenth-Century United States*, 36; Benjamin Franklin, "Proposal Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania, October 1749," *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified December 28, 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-03-02-0166>.

³⁰ Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume I*, 28-29. For more information: J.R. Spell, "Spanish Teaching in the United States," *Hispania* 10, no. 3 (May 1927), 147-148; Ezra Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles: Edited Under the Authority of the Corporation of Yale University by Franklin Bowditch Dexter* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1901).

American colonies to offer lessons on the Spanish language. In 1779, Thomas Jefferson introduced Spanish to the modern languages curriculum at the College of William and Mary; and upon his suggestion, the newly created University of Virginia offered Spanish language courses to students during the university's inaugural year in 1819.³¹ While it is difficult to quantify how significant of a role these early private tutors, publishers, and university associates had in disseminating Spanish culture into the American colonies and the United States, it is clear that a proto-Hispanist culture was emerging in America, which served as a foundation for future nineteenth-century U.S. Hispanists.³²

Running chronologically concurrent with the rise of Spanish language training and university courses in the American colonies and the United States during the second half of the eighteenth century, a small group of American bibliophiles, made up of the likes of James Logan, Samuel Sewall, Thomas Jefferson, Obadiah Rich, and John Adams began collecting Spanish language textbooks, Spanish novels, travel books on Spain, as well as French and English translations of the great works of Spanish literature.³³ Due to the fact that the transatlantic journey to Spain was difficult and that travel within Spain was dangerous because of the varying levels of political instability that existed in the country, these collections served as vital points of contact between the nation of Spain and enlightened readers in the United States.

³¹ Richard L. Kagan, "Introduction," in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 4-6. For more information: Garrat Noel, *A Short Introduction to the Spanish Language* (New York, 1751); Henry Grattan Doyle, "Spanish Studies in the United States," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 2, Issue 8 (1924-1925), 163-173.

³² Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume I*, 29.

³³ Gifra-Adroher, *Between History and Romance: Travel Writing on Spain in the Early Nineteenth-Century United States*, 47; Kagan, "Introduction," 5; Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume I*, 23.

As these individuals compiled their collections, they also created contacts with Spanish intellectuals, as well as the small number of Americans that lived in Spain during the late eighteenth century. These connections created a transnational community of scholars, which aided U.S. Hispanists with their research. These networks also assisted future U.S. Ministers to Spain, as they attempted to integrate themselves into Spanish society.³⁴

The individuals who collected works on Spain did so for a variety of different reasons. John Adams sought to learn more about the Spanish mind in an attempt to increase his understanding of the political conditions in Europe following the death of King Louis XV of France.³⁵ Obadiah Rich was a bibliophile and diplomat who was particularly interested in the journeys and adventures of Christopher Columbus. However, it appears that Thomas Jefferson became the most ardent supporter of the Spanish language and one of the most active collectors of books about the Spanish past in the United States during the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century.

Although Jefferson was a Francophile, he expressed in his letters to the U.S. Minister to Spain, David Humphreys, and to his own nephew, Peter Carr, that, “Our future connections with Spain and Spanish America will render that language a valuable acquisition. The ancient history of a great part of America too is written in that

³⁴ Kagan, “Introduction,” 5-7; Gifra-Adroher, *Between History and Romance: Travel Writing on Spain in the Early Nineteenth-Century United States*, 47 and 60-64. The collections that these bibliophiles compiled served as the foundation for several of today’s most well recognized libraries in the United States, including the Library of Congress, the Harvard Library system, the Boston Athenaeum, the New York Public Library, and the Library Company of Philadelphia.

³⁵ John Adams, “From John Adams to James Warren, 25 July, 1774,” in *The Adams Papers, Papers of John Adams – Volume II, December 1773-April 1775*, edited by Robert J. Taylor (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977), 116-117.

language.”³⁶ In turn, Jefferson believed that a working knowledge of the Spanish language would help Americans understand their own past. By presenting this argument, Jefferson was also making a connection between Spain’s imperial legacy and the historical narrative of the United States. A similar connection was made in 1792 during the three-hundred-year anniversary of Christopher Columbus’s discovery of the New World and in 1809 during the festival to honor the Spanish patriots who were opposing Napoleon’s forces. This connection would continue to be made throughout the long nineteenth century by U.S. Hispanists, as well as future American historians Bernard Moses and Herbert Eugene Bolton.³⁷

If Thomas Jefferson was the champion of the academic exploration of both the Spanish language and Spanish past in the United States during the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, his American counterpart in Spain was Obadiah Rich. As was noted earlier, Rich was both a bibliophile and an American diplomat. In 1818, he arrived in Valencia as the U.S. consul to the city; five years later, he moved to Madrid and became the secretary of the U.S. legation in Spain.³⁸ Upon his arrival in Madrid, Rich

³⁶ Thomas Jefferson, “From Thomas Jefferson to Peter Carr, with Enclosure, 10 August 1787,” in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson – Volume 12, 7 August 1787-31 March 1788*, edited by Julian P. Boyd (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955), 14-19.

³⁷ For more information: Samuel Truett, “Epics of Greater America: Herbert Eugene Bolton’s Quest for a Transnational American History,” in *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations, and Legends*, edited by Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John M. Nieto-Phillips (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 213-248; Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1966); Bernard Moses, *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers Incorporated, 1965); Herbert E. Bolton, Delia Goetz, and Ernest Galarza, *American Neighbors* (Washington, D.C.: The American National Red Cross, 1940); Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1921); Herbert Eugene Bolton and Thomas Maitland Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929); John Francis Bannon (editor), *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964).

³⁸ Kagan, “Introduction,” 6-7. For more information: Norman Paul Tucker, “Obadiah Rich: 1783-1850 Early American Hispanist. A Thesis,” (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973).

set out to integrate himself into the highest levels of the academic community within the city and to continue his collection of Spanish literary works. Rich would often be investigated by Spanish customs officers for acquiring books that had been outlawed by Spanish authorities in Madrid; however, his pursuits were always supported by the U.S. Minister to Spain, Alexander Hill Everett.³⁹ Rich's lack of concern for his own personal safety later benefited several American Hispanist writers, scholars, and historians, as well as a variety of libraries in both Spain and the United States.

While in Madrid, Rich befriended the Spanish scholar Martín Fernández de Navarrete, who at the time of their meeting was compiling a collection of Spanish documents that dealt with Spain's discovery of the New World. Rich took an interest in Navarrete's work and believed that it should be translated into English for the American public. In 1826, Rich encouraged Everett to contact the American writer Washington Irving, who was living in France and in search of his next major project.⁴⁰ Everett invited him to Madrid and asked if he would be interested in translating Navarrete's work. Although Irving never completed his translation, Everett's letter to Irving played a significant role in initiating Irving's interest in the Columbus narrative, its evolution in the United States, as well as the American belief that Spain's imperial legacy could both serve as the foundation for the American historical narrative and justify the imperialistic actions of the United States throughout the long nineteenth century.⁴¹

³⁹ Tucker, *Americans in Spain: Patriots, Expatriates and the Early American Hispanists, 1780-1850*, 5 and 9.

⁴⁰ By 1826, Irving had already published *Rip Van Winkle* in 1819 and *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* in 1820.

⁴¹ Kagan, "Introduction," 7; Washington Irving, "Washington Irving to Alexander H. Everett, January 12, 1826," in *Washington Irving – Letters – Volume II, 1823-1838*, edited by Ralph M. Aderman, Herbert L. Kleinfield, and Jenifer S. Banks (Boston, Massachusetts: Twayne Publishers, 1979), 165.

“THE GODFATHER OF HISTORIANS OF SPAIN”: WASHINGTON IRVING AND AMERICA’S “PARTICULAR FASCINATION” WITH THE SPANISH PAST⁴²

Despite the celebrations of 1792 and 1809, the advent of Spanish language courses at American universities, and the collection of literary works on Spain by American bibliophiles, the vast majority of learned Americans still knew little about Spain and the country’s past prior to the 1820s.⁴³ But, these celebrations, language courses, and book collections established a foundation that later Hispanist writers, scholars, and historians would draw on in years to come. Through the first quarter of the nineteenth century, American writers continued to attempt to create a progressive national narrative that connected the United States with European civilization but still established an exceptional narrative for the young republic.⁴⁴ In 1826, the famed writer Washington Irving would begin to use the American public’s lack of knowledge about Spain to his benefit. Additionally, he would continue the transatlantic connection between Spain and the United States by constructing a pro-imperial narrative that positioned the Spanish imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative.⁴⁵

In Spain, Washington Irving found an ideal mix of epic historical tales and connections to the United States through Spanish discoveries of the New World, which he could honor and manipulate to justify both America’s emerging national character and

⁴² Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume I*, 135 and 143.

⁴³ Kagan, “From Noah to Moses: The Genesis of Historical Scholarship on Spain in the United States,” 22-23; Gifra-Adroher, *Between History and Romance: Travel Writing on Spain in the Early Nineteenth-Century United States*, 44.

⁴⁴ Kagan, “From Noah to Moses: The Genesis of Historical Scholarship on Spain in the United States,” 21-22. For more information: Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs*.

⁴⁵ For more information: Andre Burstein, *The Original Knickerbocker: The Life of Washington Irving* (New York: Basic Books, 2007).

the country's westward movement across the continent of North America.⁴⁶ Irving would also use the Spanish past as a trope to disseminate his views on Christianity and imperialism.⁴⁷ Irving realized that in the minds of most Americans, Spain was a blank canvas, which he could use to his advantage as he created the romantic image of Christopher Columbus as the "father" of the United States.⁴⁸ Irving did so much to establish the Columbian legacy that the myth surrounding the "Spanish" explorer continued to be used in classrooms, public celebrations, and imaginary journeys in both the United States and the periphery of the American Empire well into the twentieth century. Additionally, throughout the periphery, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators built on the work done by Irving, in an attempt to justify American imperialism, by celebrating other Spanish explorers and religious figures who had come before them.⁴⁹

Washington Irving was born in New York City on April 3, 1783. As a child, Irving read the limited sources about Spain that were available to him in late eighteenth-century America, including the short works in the series entitled *The World Displayed*, as

⁴⁶ For more information: Jeffrey Rubin-Dorsky, *Adrift in the Old World: The Psychological Pilgrimage of Washington Irving* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1988).

⁴⁷ Rolena Adorno, "Washington Irving's Romantic Hispanism and Its Columbian Legacies," in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 51.

⁴⁸ Jonathan Brown, "Foreword: *Toros y Flamenco: The Image of Spain in the United States*," in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), x. For more information on the romantic movement: Celia M. Wallhead, *Washington Irving and Spain: The Romantic Movement, The Re/Creation of Islamic Andalusia and the Critical Reception* (Palo Alto, California: Academica Press LCC, 2010).

⁴⁹ Rosella Mamoli Zorzi, "The Celebration of Columbus in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Washington Irving's *Life of Columbus*," in *The American Columbiad: "Discovering" America, Inventing the United States*, edited by Mario Materassi and Maria I. Ramalho de Sousa Santos (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1996), 62. For more information: Ruth Miller Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1964). For more information: Chapter 3; Chapter 4; Chapter 5; Chapter 6.

well as Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote*.⁵⁰ These works brought Irving into contact with a romanticized image of the Spanish countryside; the importance of Spanish honor; the accomplishments of the Spanish military; the country's Muslim past; and Spain's imperial endeavors, highlighted by Christopher Columbus's discovery of the New World. Although these works would later influence Irving's writings about Spain, in reality, he was still unfamiliar with the actual Spanish people and the country's culture when he arrived in 1826. However, not unlike other members of America's learned society during the period, he was fascinated by the country, its past, and its people.⁵¹ Irving's life was also undoubtedly shaped by the time he spent during his childhood on the piers of New York City. Seeing merchant ships arriving from Europe, dispensing their goods, and then returning to their European harbors created interconnected, transatlantic thoughts within the young boy's mind, which would later shape his works on Christopher Columbus, as well as Spain's historical connection to the United States.⁵²

After finding moderate success as the writer of several satirical works like *Salmagundi* and *A History of New York*, Irving moved to England in 1815 to assist with his family's struggling trading company. Throughout the 1810s, Irving continued to write and to interact with highly regarded European and American intellectuals, including Walter Scott, John Murray, John Howard Payne, as well as several members of the German royal family.⁵³ Between 1819 and 1820, Irving published *The Sketch Book of*

⁵⁰ Iván Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 7.

⁵¹ Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 7-8; Adorno, "Washington Irving's Romantic Hispanism and Its Columbian Legacies," 49.

⁵² Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 4-5.

⁵³ Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 5.

Geoffrey Crayon, Gent., which was comprised of a series of short stories including “Rip Van Winkle” and “The Legend of the Sleepy Hollow.” In 1822, Irving published *Bracebridge Hall* and in 1824, *Tales of a Traveller*. The works were well received and established Irving as America’s first internationally recognized writer. However, while in Paris in 1824, Irving received news that *Tales of a Traveller* had failed to live up to expectations, leaving him emotionally distraught and in a troubling financial situation.⁵⁴ In response to this disappointment, Irving returned to his childhood interest in Spain and began to study the Spanish language in December of 1824.⁵⁵ Four years later, Irving completed a work that shaped Americans’ perceptions of both themselves and the Spanish Empire for the next century.

While Irving was studying the Spanish language in Paris, Martín Fernández de Navarrete unearthed the journal that Christopher Columbus had written during his first voyage to the New World. As part of a larger project that had originally been commissioned by King Charles IV, Navarrete included Columbus’s writings in his work entitled *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los españoles desde fines del siglo XV*, which was published in 1825.⁵⁶ The work was both immense and ground-breaking. Never before had so many primary sources relating to the Spanish past been published in an easily accessible volume set. This was due to the fact that many Spanish sources were located in either private libraries or government archives, which were inaccessible to the public.

⁵⁴ Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 8.

⁵⁵ Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 11.

⁵⁶ Tucker, *Americans in Spain: Patriots, Expatriates and the Early American Hispanists, 1780-1850*, 10-12.

The work did not go unnoticed by the American intellectual community in Spain, which included Alexander Hill Everett and Obadiah Rich. Realizing the significance of Navarrete's work, Everett wasted little time in acquiring an advance copy.⁵⁷ After reviewing the work, he concluded that learned members of the American public would be interested in acquiring knowledge about the man and the nation that brought European civilization to the New World. Everett sent a letter to his friend, Washington Irving, informing him of Navarrete's work and urging him to translate it into English. Irving responded to Everett by stating that, "I must return you my thanks also for the literary undertaking you have suggested to me. They very idea of it animates me; it is just the kind of employment I would wish at present for my spare hours."⁵⁸ In turn, in January of 1826, Irving accepted Everett's invitation and began his journey to Madrid.⁵⁹

Irving arrived in Madrid in February of 1826 and immediately began integrating himself into the small American community in the city. Everett introduced Irving to Obadiah Rich and the two quickly developed a friendship that would continue for the remainder of their lives.⁶⁰ Irving and his brother Peter, who traveled with him and was employed as his brother's research assistant, rented rooms in Rich's home at the cost of

⁵⁷ Tucker, *Americans in Spain: Patriots, Expatriates and the Early American Hispanists, 1780-1850*, 12.

⁵⁸ Washington Irving, "Washington Irving to Alexander H. Everett, January 31, 1826," in *Washington Irving: Letters – Volume II, 1823-1838*, edited by Ralph M. Aderman, Herbert L. Kleinfield, and Jenifer S. Banks (Boston, Massachusetts: Twayne Publishers, 1979), 168.

⁵⁹ Washington Irving, *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (London, England: John Murray, Albemarle-Street, 1828), v-vi.

⁶⁰ Tucker, *Americans in Spain: Patriots, Expatriates and the Early American Hispanists, 1780-1850*, 14-15.

five dollars per week. While staying with Rich, Irving had access to his private library, which included an impressive collection of books and manuscripts.⁶¹

While staying in Rich's home, Irving also benefited from his connections with the international academic community in the city. These contacts provided Irving with an opportunity to receive assistance from Martín Fernández de Navarrete, whose work he was translating. Rich's connections also provided Irving with access to both the Royal Library of the Jesuit's College of San Isidro and the Duke of Veragua's private family library.⁶² In these libraries, Irving began to uncover sources that had previously not been seen by American writers or scholars. These sources provided the foundation for a historically-based narrative that helped Americans establish a transatlantic connection between the United States and the Spanish Empire.

By April of 1826, both Irving and his publisher had come to the realization that a direct translation of Navarrete's work would not sell well in the English speaking world. Although it was a worthwhile academic pursuit, a direct translation of Navarrete's work would lack a coherent narrative, which American readers had become accustomed to through their readings of other romanticized, Whiggish style works, during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Therefore, Irving decided that he would use Navarrete's work, as well as the multitude of other sources that existed in both Rich's private library and the other libraries that he visited in Spain, to write an epic history of "the life and voyages of Columbus."⁶³

⁶¹ Tucker, *Americans in Spain: Patriots, Expatriates and the Early American Hispanists, 1780-1850*, 15; Jakšić, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 8.

⁶² The Duke of Veragua was a descendent of Christopher Columbus. For more information: Chapter 3.

⁶³ Tucker, *Americans in Spain: Patriots, Expatriates and the Early American Hispanists, 1780-1850*, 14; Adorno, "Washington Irving's Romantic Hispanism and Its Columbian Legacies," 63.

Following Irving's decision to write his work on Columbus, he established a daily schedule, which provided him with an opportunity to make significant progress on his work and to continue his integration into Spanish society. Irving spent his mornings conducting research and writing; his afternoons and evenings were reserved for visiting foreign dignitaries and other scholars who were also residing in Madrid, attending the ceremonies of the royal court, touring the local sites of interest, and attending the opera.⁶⁴ At these events, Irving increased both his bond with, and understanding of, the Spanish people, which he later integrated into the pages of his work.

During his time in Madrid, Irving was also visited by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.⁶⁵ While on a grand tour of Europe in 1826, Longfellow, who would later become a well-regarded American poet, received a letter from his father, encouraging him to travel to Spain. Longfellow's father also encouraged him to learn the Spanish language because he believed it would be a valuable skill for any American to possess due to increasing trade between the United States and the republics of Latin America.⁶⁶ This meeting between Irving and Longfellow, likely facilitated by Obadiah Rich, illustrates the connection that had been started by early American bibliophiles, as well as the extent to which early Hispanist writers and scholars both benefited from their collections and the connections that they facilitated.

⁶⁴ For more information: Washington Irving, "Spanish Journal, 1827-1828: Madrid," in *Washington Irving: Journals and Notebooks – Volume IV, 1826-1829*, edited by Wayne R. Kime and Andrew B. Myers (Boston, Massachusetts: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 82-132.

⁶⁵ Longfellow would later go on to be the Smith Chair at Harvard.

⁶⁶ Edith F. Helman, "Early Interest in Spanish in New England (1815-1835)," *Hispania* 29, no. 3 (August 1946), 339-351.

By March of 1828, Irving had sent his new work, *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, to his London publisher, John Murray. Irving then began a tour of Spain. Over the next year and half, Irving visited La Mancha, Cordova, and Seville. He also spent considerable time in Granada, where, while staying in the governor's apartments of the Alhambra, he connected with Spain's Moorish past. During his travels, Irving continued to write and conduct his research.⁶⁷ While in Andalusia, he visited the convent of La Rábida, where Columbus had sought refuge prior to his discovery of the New World. Irving's visit to the convent struck an emotional chord within him, which he later noted in his journal.⁶⁸ Due to Irving's interest in La Rábida, a replica was constructed on the shores of Lake Michigan to celebrate the four-hundred-year anniversary of Columbus's discovery of the New World during the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, exemplifying the lasting effect of Irving's work on the American psyche.⁶⁹

While staying at the Alhambra, Irving received news that he had been offered a position as the secretary of the U.S. legation in London, officially beginning the writer's

⁶⁷ Washington Irving, "Spanish Journal and Notebook, 1828: Madrid-Gibraltar-The Alhambra," in *Washington Irving: Journals and Notebooks – Volume IV, 1826-1829*, edited by Wayne R. Kime and Andrew B. Myers (Boston, Massachusetts: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 133-182.

⁶⁸ Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 23.

⁶⁹ *The World's Fair Album* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Co. Publishers, 1893), Collection No. 60, Box 3 of 18, World's Fair Album, 1893 – Folder 18, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, World Expositions, 1851-1876, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C. For more information: Chapter 3.

diplomatic career.⁷⁰ Irving accepted the position and on July 28, 1829 he left Spain. However, it was not the last time that the famed American writer, who had developed a close bond with the country and its people, would travel to Spain. In 1842, Irving was appointed by President John Tyler as the U.S. Minister to Spain, a position that he held until 1846. As the previous chapter illustrated, appointing an individual who was familiar with the Spanish language, the Spanish people, the country's culture, and its past was beneficial to the United States throughout the long nineteenth century, and in turn, Irving was an ideal choice for the position.⁷¹

In the years preceding his appointment as the U.S. minister, Irving became a celebrity in both the United States and Spain. In 1828, Irving was also welcomed as a member of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. In the same year, *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* had established a historical linkage between Spain and the United States and had become a monumental success. With his subsequent works on Spain, which included *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada*, *Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus*, *Tales of the Alhambra*, and *Legends of the Conquest of Spain*, Irving solidified himself as the foremost Spanish expert from the United States, which allowed him to receive awards from a variety of universities in both England and the United States, including Oxford, Columbia, and

⁷⁰ Washington Irving, "Spanish Journal and Notebook, 1828: Madrid-Gibraltar-The Alhambra," in *Washington Irving: Journals and Notebooks – Volume IV, 1826-1829*, edited by Wayne R. Kime and Andrew B. Myers (Boston, Massachusetts: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 133-182; Washington Irving, "Spanish Journal and Notebook, 1828: Seville-The Alhambra," in *Washington Irving: Journals and Notebooks – Volume IV, 1826-1829*, edited by Wayne R. Kime and Andrew B. Myers (Boston, Massachusetts: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 260-299.

⁷¹ Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 31; Adorno, "Washington Irving's Romantic Hispanism and Its Columbian Legacies," 79.

Harvard.⁷² His works also shaped the ways in which Americans perceived Spain, the United States, and the two country's interconnected pasts for the remainder of the long nineteenth century.

Irving was well aware that he was producing semi-fictional works that included “an air of romance.”⁷³ Many nineteenth-century readers desired historical works that would both educate and entertain them. Irving was more than willing to tap into this need within the market. He did so by producing romanticized works that included a historical foundation, as well as narratives that addressed many of the issues that Americans were grappling with during the period. These issues included: western expansion, empire-building, America's connection to European civilization, and the role that religion should play in the young republic. More specifically, Irving used his audience's desires and expectations to his benefit and established narratives that appropriated Spain's imperial legacy as America's connection to the high-level of civilization that existed on the European continent prior to the emergence of the United States. According to Irving, this high-level of civilization was later transferred to the New World, by Columbus, justifying America's use of Spain's imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative.

In *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, Irving presented Columbus as both the father of the United States and as a bold explorer who was able to discover the New World because of his entrepreneurial spirit.⁷⁴ By presenting Columbus

⁷² Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 24; Adorno, “Washington Irving's Romantic Hispanism and Its Columbian Legacies,” 65.

⁷³ Jaksić, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 10.

⁷⁴ Adorno, “Washington Irving's Romantic Hispanism and Its Columbian Legacies,” 61.

as an entrepreneur in search of wealth and commerce, Irving was attempting to Americanize Columbus and to reinforce the belief that the American national character was linked to European civilization through the explorer. However, using a Spanish imperial figure also served as a cautionary tale for America's imperial desires. This was due to the fact that by the late 1820s, the Spanish Empire had been nearly destroyed by the Spanish American wars of independence, the United States was moving westward across the continent of North America, and American politicians were also beginning to claim hegemonic control over the Americas. Therefore, although Irving's Columbus provided the United States with a connection to an imperial past and attempted to legitimize, to a certain degree, the country's imperialistic desires, Irving's works also argued that conquest and over expansion could lead to the demise of both a nation and an empire.⁷⁵

As the facilitators of Columbus's discoveries, Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand were also praised within Irving's work. However, following Isabella's death in his narrative, Irving becomes more critical of Ferdinand, referring to him as being "cold" and "selfish," and the antagonist to Irving's hero, Columbus.⁷⁶ Irving's portrayal of Isabella as an authority figure, morally above the sometimes erratic, aggressive behavioral traits

⁷⁵ Bartosik-Vélez, *The Legacy of Christopher Columbus in the Americas: New Nations and a Transatlantic Discourse of Empire*, 85. For more information: Jaksić, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 15-19; Washington Irving, *Legends of the Conquest of Spain* (London, England: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1836); Washington Irving, *Tales of the Alhambra* (London, England: Richard Bentley, 1835); Irving, *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*; Washington Irving, *Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Carey and Lea – Chesnut Street, 1831).

⁷⁶ Adorno, "Washington Irving's Romantic Hispanism and Its Columbian Legacies," 64.

of Ferdinand, did not go unnoticed by nineteenth-century American women.⁷⁷ In turn, the Spanish queen became both the mother of the United States and an icon for American women; celebrated by American women's clubs during their imaginary journeys during the 1890s and at the Woman's Building at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.⁷⁸

The topic of religion played a significant role in Irving's works on Spain. Considering the high-level of anti-Catholic sentiment that existed in the United States during the period, it is not surprising that Irving was critical of what he referred to as Spain's religious fanaticism, which was accentuated by his description of both the Inquisition and Spanish priests. Irving also believed that Spain was affected by an "Oriental" influence, which emerged from the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula during the eighth century.⁷⁹ Building off of these tropes, the Inquisition, Catholic religious figures, and Spain's Moorish tradition continued to be the main foci of future Hispanist scholars when they attacked the role of Roman Catholicism in Spain or attempted to present an antiquated, picturesque image of the country.⁸⁰

In his works, Irving also cautioned Americans about their treatment of the Indigenous populations in the western portion of the continent of North America. He argued that Columbus's one flaw was his lack of toleration towards the Indigenous people who he encountered in the New World.⁸¹ However, this warning was ignored by

⁷⁷ Jaksić, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 15-19; Irving, *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, 1828.

⁷⁸ For more information: Chapter 3; Chapter 4.

⁷⁹ Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain," 326.

⁸⁰ Jaksić, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 12.

⁸¹ Adorno, "Washington Irving's Romantic Hispanism and Its Columbian Legacies," 62-63.

the majority of nineteenth-century Americans because they perceived themselves as being racially superior. For example, American exposition organizers would later become active participants in the creation of a narrative that venerated Spain's imperial legacy in the American West and praised the Spanish for bringing civilization to the Indigenous populations of the region. Additionally, exposition organizers also appropriated the Spanish legacy to justify the United States' conquest of the western portion of the continent.⁸²

In Irving's *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada*, he argued that pre-Reformation Christians were able to defeat the Muslims in Spain during the Reconquest because they were united as one fighting force. Following Irving's precedent, we see two tropes emerging from the work. The first addressed the power of the Spanish military, which U.S. policymakers and military officers continued to draw on throughout the century. The second is that we see little mention of an anti-Catholic rhetoric existing among influential Americans as they came into contact with Spain and the Spanish past in both diplomatic settings and in preparation for the events surrounding Columbus's four-hundred-year anniversary of his discovery of the New World. Furthermore, in the Philippine Islands following the end of the Spanish-American War of 1898, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators equated Christianity with European civilization. In turn, they worked with the Catholic Filipinos, ranked them socially and intellectually higher than other members of the Filipino population, depended on Spanish priests for their knowledge of the Philippine Islands, and celebrated Catholic missionaries through the erection of statues. However, an anti-Catholic narrative, or at the very least an anti-

⁸² For more information: Chapter 3

Inquisition, anti-priest narrative, still existed in the writings of future historians and Hispanist scholars, such as William Hickling Prescott, George Ticknor, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. But these narratives were later often selectively ignored by influential representatives of the American Empire.

In 1955, Stanley T. Williams referred to Washington Irving as “the godfather of historians of Spain.”⁸³ Although he was not a professionally trained historian, Irving brought the Spanish past to the United States and his research in Spain assisted many future Hispanist scholars. This was aided by a national fascination with Columbus, which dated back to the eighteenth century; a relatively peaceful relationship between Spain and the United States; as well as yearning among well-educated Americans to reconnect with Europe. Due to these influences, Irving was able to create a narrative that established Spain’s imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative, by using the image of Christopher Columbus. Despite the fact that he was sometimes critical of aspects of Spanish society, a review of his journal clearly shows that Irving relished his time in Spain because he both appreciated the Spanish people and he believed that the United States could learn a great deal from Spain.⁸⁴ Irving’s establishment of Spain’s imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative continued to be an influential narrative in the United States throughout the remainder of the century. Beginning in 1898, Americans brought this mindset with them to the periphery of their

⁸³ Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume I*, 135.

⁸⁴ Washington Irving, “Spanish Journal and Notebook, 1828: Madrid-Gibraltar-The Alhambra,” in *Washington Irving: Journals and Notebooks – Volume IV, 1826-1829*, edited by Wayne R. Kime and Andrew B. Myers (Boston, Massachusetts: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 133-182; Washington Irving, “Spanish Journal and Notebook, 1828: Seville-The Alhambra,” in *Washington Irving: Journals and Notebooks – Volume IV, 1826-1829*, edited by Wayne R. Kime and Andrew B. Myers (Boston, Massachusetts: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 260-299.

empire, where they justified both their endeavors and their position within colonial society through their imperial connection with the Spanish past.

GEORGE TICKNOR AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ACADEMIC HISPANIST TRADITION IN THE UNITED STATES

Dissatisfied with his lot in life as a lawyer, George Ticknor yearned to be a literary scholar of the highest prestige. This was by no means a sudden, drastic shift in the trajectory of his life. As a young adult in Boston, Ticknor had been educated and influenced by several of the best intellectual minds in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. Ticknor was twelve when he began learning both the French and Spanish languages from Francis Sales, who would later go on to be his colleague at Harvard.⁸⁵ Following his graduation from Dartmouth College in 1807, Ticknor spent three years studying classical literature under John Sylvester John Gardiner, who brought him into contact with the most influential American minds of the period, including Joseph Stevens Buckminster, John Kirkland, Edmund Flagg, and Alexander Hill Everett.⁸⁶ After a short foray into the legal profession, Ticknor left his law practice in 1815 and set out for Germany with Alexander Hill Everett's son, Edward Everett. In Germany, Ticknor planned to study both German literature and the ancient classics at the University of Göttingen, in preparation for a new career as an academically-trained scholar.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 46.

⁸⁶ Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 30.

⁸⁷ Throughout the nineteenth century, aspiring American academics often traveled to Europe. Many of these academics benefited from the superior educational programs offered by German institutions.

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was customary for individuals to bring letters of introduction with them when they traveled abroad. In turn, prior to his journey to Europe, Ticknor traveled to the southern United States to meet Thomas Jefferson.⁸⁸ Aware of Jefferson's contacts in Europe, Ticknor visited Monticello, in February of 1815, to acquire letters of introduction from the former president.⁸⁹ While at Monticello, the two men toured Jefferson's 7,000 volume library and developed a close friendship. Jefferson was so impressed with the twenty-four year old that he later offered Ticknor a position as a faculty member at the University of Virginia, which he was unable to accept. However, although Jefferson and Ticknor agreed that Spanish was a modern language that should be acquired by learned members of the American public, it does not appear that the two men discussed Spain at any great length during their initial meeting.⁹⁰

In 1815, the establishment of the Smith Chair for the study of French and Spanish at Harvard University changed both the course of George Ticknor's life, as well as the academic study of Hispanism within the United States. Relatively little is known today about Abiel Smith or why he decided to leave \$20,000 to Harvard University to establish an academic position in his name. We do know that Smith graduated from Harvard in 1764; spent his life as a businessman; and approximately twenty-five years prior to his death, he decided that out of a sense of "duty" he would bequeath a portion of the money in his will to create a position at Harvard that would support the study of the French and

⁸⁸ When meeting Jefferson, Ticknor brought a letter of introduction with him from John Adams. For more information: Jaksić, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 29.

⁸⁹ Monticello was owned by Thomas Jefferson.

⁹⁰ Jaksić, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 30; Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 48.

Spanish languages. With this money, Harvard University established the Smith Chair and introduced Hispanist studies into the school's curriculum. The establishment of the Smith Chair also solidified the Boston area as the center of the study of Spain, in the United States, for the foreseeable future.⁹¹

The problem that Harvard's president, John Kirkland, faced following the establishment of the Smith Chair was finding an individual to fill the position. While Ticknor was studying under John Sylvester John Gardiner in Boston, Kirkland and Ticknor had met at the Anthology Society and Ticknor had clearly left an impression on Kirkland. However, Ticknor was in Europe studying German literature and the ancient classics. Ticknor also had little knowledge of Spanish literature, outside of the works he may have encountered while conducting his Spanish language training under Francis Sales. Regardless, in July on 1816, Kirkland sent a letter to Ticknor offering him the position.⁹²

Ticknor was initially hesitant to accept the offer. He was enjoying his time at the University of Göttingen and he had become well-connected in the French, English, and German academic circles of the period.⁹³ Compounding these issues, he was also concerned with the salary of only \$1,000 per year, and whether he would have to

⁹¹ Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume I*, 173-175; Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 30-31; James D. Fernández, “‘Longfellow’s Law’: The Place of Latin America and Spain in U.S. Hispanism, circa 1915,” in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 123.

⁹² Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 31. For more information: George Ticknor “George Ticknor to Elisha Ticknor – November 9, 1816,” in *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor – Volume I*, edited by Anna Ticknor (Boston, Massachusetts: James R. Osgood and Company, 1876), 116-118.

⁹³ Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 49.

immediately return to the United States to assume the position or if he would be able to continue his tour of Europe.⁹⁴ Ultimately, Ticknor left the decision in the hands of his parents, who supported their son's desires to become an academic. Writing in February of 1817, Ticknor's father stated that, "A seat at the University is much more congenial to your taste, genius, and habits, in my opinion, than to be employed on the boisterous and vexatious ocean of law and politics."⁹⁵ Therefore, on November 6, 1817, Ticknor formally accepted the position.⁹⁶

Prior to assuming his position as the Smith Chair at Harvard, Ticknor made it clear to the hiring body that he needed to travel to Spain to acquire a greater understanding of the country, to collect Spanish literary works, and to form bonds with the academic community in the country. The hiring body accepted his request and on April 30, 1818, Ticknor entered Spain. Traveling from Barcelona to Madrid, Ticknor did not witness the romanticized image of Spain that was created by future Hispanist scholars and writers. Rather, he commented in his journal that he was shocked by the poor condition the country was in, which was still suffering from the military engagements that occurred during the Peninsular War.⁹⁷ However, alluding to his instant infatuation

⁹⁴ Fernández, "'Longfellow's Law': The Place of Latin America and Spain in U.S. Hispanism, circa 1915," 106.

⁹⁵ For more information: Elisha Ticknor, "Elisha Ticknor to George Ticknor – February 8, 1817," in *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor – Volume II*, edited by Anna Ticknor (Boston, Massachusetts: James R. Osgood and Company, 1876), 504.

⁹⁶ Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 31.

⁹⁷ George Tyler Northup (editor), *George Ticknor's Travels in Spain* (Norwood, Pennsylvania: Norwood Editions, 1977), 5.

with the country, he also wrote that, “And yet, will you believe me when I add to all this that I never made a gayer journey in my life?”⁹⁸

During his trip, Ticknor developed an affinity for the Spanish people, who he believed were strong and had been forced to suffer under the rule of both the Catholic Church and a series of oppressive Spanish monarchs.⁹⁹ This view of the Spanish character, which he later promoted in his lectures at Harvard, was influenced by Ticknor’s reading of Cervantes’s *Don Quixote*.¹⁰⁰ In a letter to his father, Ticknor also stated that, “My companions were excellent; and, with that genuine, unpretending courtesy and hearty, dignified kindness for which their nation has always been famous, did everything they could to make me feel as few of the inconveniences of the journey as they could, even at the expense of taking them upon themselves.”¹⁰¹ As the first American academic to travel to Spain during the nineteenth century, Ticknor’s view would continue to remain relevant among the Hispanist community in the United States throughout the forthcoming decades.¹⁰²

Ticknor continued his study of the Spanish language in Madrid. He also integrated himself into the Spanish academic community that still existed in the city

⁹⁸ George Ticknor, “George Ticknor to Elisha Ticknor – May 23, 1818,” in *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor – Volume I*, edited by Anna Ticknor (Boston, Massachusetts: James R. Osgood and Company, 1876), 185-186.

⁹⁹ Northup (editor), *George Ticknor’s Travels in Spain* 6 and 10.

¹⁰⁰ Jakšić, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 33; Northup (editor), *George Ticknor’s Travels in Spain*, 26.

¹⁰¹ George Ticknor “George Ticknor to Elisha Ticknor – May 23, 1818,” in *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor – Volume I*, edited by Anna Ticknor (Boston, Massachusetts: James R. Osgood and Company, 1876), 186.

¹⁰² Kagan, “Prescott’s Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain,” 330.

following the Peninsular Wars.¹⁰³ These members included the former librarian to the Spanish king, Don José Antonio Conde; the Spanish painter, José de Madrazo y Agudo; as well as the Spanish dramatist, Leandro Fernández de Moratin.¹⁰⁴ Ticknor attended dinners, the theater, and social gatherings with the U.S. Minister to Spain, George Erving; the Duchess of Osuna; the Marchioness of Mos; Cesar de Balbo; and Count Brunetti, who was the Austrian representative to the Spanish Court.¹⁰⁵ Ticknor also developed a reverence for Spanish art, which was later appreciated by imaginary travel journals and exposition organizers in the United States, beginning in the 1890s.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, this American interest in Spanish art can also be seen in the founding of the Hispanic Society of America, which was established by Archer M. Huntington in 1904.¹⁰⁷

Much like future Hispanist writers and scholars, Ticknor praised many of the libraries in Madrid, which he was able to use to conduct research.¹⁰⁸ Specifically, he commented that the academy dedicated to Spanish history and belles-lettres was “the most respectable literary establishment in Spain” and that the publications that were produced from its holdings “do them infinite credit, and show like the work of a great body of learned men.”¹⁰⁹ Ticknor also left an imprint on the individuals with whom he

¹⁰³ Northup (editor), *George Ticknor's Travels in Spain*, 27.

¹⁰⁴ Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 54-56.

¹⁰⁵ Northup (editor), *George Ticknor's Travels in Spain*, 38.

¹⁰⁶ For more information: Chapter 3; Chapter 4.

¹⁰⁷ For more information: Mitchell Coddington, “Archer Milton Huntington, Champion of Spain in the United States,” in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 142-170; Beatrice Gilman Proske, *Archer Milton Huntington* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1965).

¹⁰⁸ Northup (editor), *George Ticknor's Travels in Spain*, 23 and 31.

had come into contact while he was in Spain; and in October of 1818, he received news that he had been elected as the first American member of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid.¹¹⁰

Before leaving Spain in 1818, Ticknor traveled to Seville to visit both the *Biblioteca Colombina* and the previous home of Christopher Columbus. While on his journey, Ticknor stated that the library “must interest an American, at least, since it was founded by Hernando Colon, a natural son of the discoverer of our country.”¹¹¹ Interestingly, Ticknor’s visit and comments predated Washington Irving’s publication of *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* by a decade. These comments demonstrate that Ticknor had previously been exposed to the Columbus narrative in the United States, either in the form of Columbus Day celebrations or through the writings of Cotton Mathers, Samuel Nevill, or Abraham Baldwin.

In October of 1818, Ticknor finally left Spain. During the remainder of his trip within Europe, Ticknor traveled to Portugal, France, England, and Scotland, where he continued to meet with academics and collect Spanish literature for his collection. While in London, Ticknor met Washington Irving, who still had not traveled to Spain and would not do so for another seven years. However, the two men developed a close friendship in London and would continue to remain in contact with one another for the remainder of their lives.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ George Ticknor, “Journal – 1818,” in *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor – Volume I*, edited by Anna Ticknor (Boston, Massachusetts: James R. Osgood and Company, 1876), 197.

¹¹⁰ Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 34.

¹¹¹ Hernando Colon was also known as Ferdinand Columbus. For more information: Chapter 4.

¹¹² Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 34-35.

In June of 1819, Ticknor returned to Boston with his collection of Spanish literature. In August, Ticknor assumed his responsibilities as the Smith Chair at Harvard. Clearly affected by his experiences in Spain, during his induction speech, Ticknor commented on the existence of chivalry in the national character of the Spanish people; an analogy that later affected the beliefs of some American diplomats and U.S. military officers who remained fearful of both offending Spanish honor and a military engagement with the Spanish Empire.¹¹³

As the Smith Chair, Ticknor excelled in designing lectures and presenting a pedagogical structure that was revolutionary for the period. He also received assistance from his language instructor, Francis Sales, who began teaching at Harvard in 1816.¹¹⁴ In total, Ticknor designed forty lectures on French literature, thirty lectures on Spanish literature, sixty to eighty lectures on the study of belles-lettres, a course on Italian literature, and a course on English literature.¹¹⁵ He organized his Spanish lectures in both a chronological and departmental fashion; dividing Spanish literature into three periods, 1155 to 1555, 1556 to 1700, and 1700 to the present. Drawing on his experiences in Spain, Ticknor brought what he believed to be Spain's national character to life within his classrooms, focusing on chivalry and religious enthusiasm.¹¹⁶ He also blamed the downfall of Spanish literature on both the Inquisition and King Philip II. However, he

¹¹³ George Ticknor, "Introduction to his Professorship – Notes," in *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor – Volume I*, edited by Anna Ticknor (Boston, Massachusetts: James R. Osgood and Company, 1876), 320-321.

¹¹⁴ Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 36; Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume I*, 183.

¹¹⁵ Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume I*, 177.

¹¹⁶ For more information: George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature – Volumes I-III* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1849).

argued that Spanish literature had “more richness and originality than either” French or Italian literature.¹¹⁷ In 1822, Ticknor received the appropriate funding to have his lectures published, increasing the circulation of his work and his influence on the study of Spain throughout the United States.

In 1835, Ticknor resigned his position at Harvard after serving as the Smith Chair for fifteen years. The following year, Ticknor was succeeded by his friend, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who Ticknor had first met in Boston in May of 1826 and had remained in contact with throughout Longfellow’s time in Europe.¹¹⁸ The two men shared many similarities, including their connections in Europe, affinity for Madrid and the Spanish people, a romantic image of Spain, and the use of Cervantes’s work as a foundation of their experiences in the country.¹¹⁹ Although Ticknor taught some of America’s great future minds during his time at Harvard, such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and John Motley, the majority of his time was consumed by the preparation of lectures and the day-to-day administration of the position, which left him little time to publish an influential work that would benefit the learned members of the American public.¹²⁰ After resigning his position, Ticknor once again set out for Europe to continue to network with European intellectuals and to collect more works of Spanish literature.

¹¹⁷ Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 39-41.

¹¹⁸ Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 75. When he returned from Europe, Longfellow became a professor at Bowdoin College.

¹¹⁹ For more about Longfellow’s romantic image of Spain: Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 152. For more information on Longfellow’s view about the Spanish people: Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Outre-Mer: A Pilgrimage Beyond the Sea* (Boston, Massachusetts: Lilly, Wait, and Company, 1833-1834).

¹²⁰ Thomas R. Hart Jr., “George Ticknor’s *History of Spanish Literature*,” in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 111.

During his second trip to Europe, Ticknor toured the continent, visiting with a variety of influential American and European intellectuals, including Robert Southey, Ferdinand Wolf, and Claude Fauriel. His goals at these meetings were to discuss Spanish literature, to acquire books held in their private libraries, and to promote William Hickling Prescott's *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, which was published on December 25, 1837.¹²¹ Ticknor's most noteworthy meeting occurred in June of 1838 when he met with the Spanish scholar, Pascual de Gayangos y Acre. Gayangos was particularly knowledgeable about the Spanish past, the country's literature, as well as the Arabic language. At their meeting, Ticknor and Gayangos formed a lifelong bond, which would greatly assist both Ticknor and Prescott with their future works.¹²²

After his return to Boston, Ticknor began writing to Gayangos, requesting information on Spain's Muslim past, as well as books on Spanish literature that he had been unable to collect while in Europe. Ticknor also solicited books from Obadiah Rich, as well as Washington Irving, who had returned to Spain in 1842.¹²³ These books that Ticknor was able to collect while writing his work during the late 1830s and throughout the 1840s were vital, not only to his final product but also to a multitude of future Hispanists in the United States, including William Hickling Prescott.

¹²¹ Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 44-46. Ticknor and Prescott were members of the same intellectual circles in Boston. Advanced copies of Prescott's book had been circulating throughout Europe prior to the publication of the work.

¹²² Gayangos would go on to become a professor of Arabic at the University of Madrid. For more information: Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 60; Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, ix.

¹²³ Ticknor's research was also assisted by Joseph Green Cogswell, who was an American bibliophile, a friend of Irving, and was well connected in the intellectual circles of Europe. Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 47; British Library, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Library* (London, England: British Museum Publications for the British Library, 1976).

Ticknor's three-volume *History of Spanish Literature* was finally published in 1849. Although Ticknor claimed in the preface of his work that it was drastically different from the lectures that he had compiled as the Smith Chair at Harvard, this was clearly not the case.¹²⁴ Regardless, his goal to spread knowledge about Spanish literature to a larger group of individuals, outside of Harvard, was achieved in this work. Proof of this accomplishment is that three revised editions of the work were published prior to Ticknor's death in 1871. The work was particularly well received by European intellectuals, as well as by Washington Irving, who commented that the *History of Spanish Literature* would "live forever."¹²⁵ Most importantly, it was the first truly academically-based Hispanist work to be published by an American academic. Although it may not have played as vital a role in integrating the United States into an imperial narrative as Irving's works had, Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, the multiple connections that Ticknor facilitated throughout his lifetime, and the works of Spanish literature that he was able to acquire reinforced a familiarity between American and Spanish scholars, and also assisted a multitude of other future Hispanists, including Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and William Hickling Prescott.

WILLIAM HICKLING PRESCOTT AND THE INTRODUCTION OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION TO THE NEW WORLD

Considering the time and place of William Hickling Prescott's upbringing, it is not surprising that America's first research-focused historian eventually gravitated to the study of Spain and the country's once vast empire in the New World. Prescott was born

¹²⁴ Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, Preface; Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 65.

¹²⁵ Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 48.

in Salem, Massachusetts in 1796. In 1808, he and his family moved to Boston; three years later, he was enrolled at Harvard.¹²⁶ Despite the fact that the Smith Chair for the study of the French and Spanish Languages had still not been established at the time of Prescott's graduation from Harvard, the Boston area was still the intellectual hub of the United States during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Boston was also the city in the United States that had the most contact with Spain and the emerging Latin American republics, due to the Spanish language instructors that existed in the area and the merchants that arrived through Boston Harbor.

While at Harvard, Prescott took a particular interest in the fields of English Literature and Classical Studies. It was also at Harvard, during his junior year, when he was struck in the eye by a piece of bread crust that was thrown by one of his fellow classmates. Prescott's eye never recovered from the incident and for the remainder of his life the injured eye would only be able to differentiate between light and darkness. Compounding this complication, his non-injured eye also gave him trouble, leading to Prescott requiring the use of a noctograph and having to hire personal secretaries to read for him.¹²⁷ However, much like the families of Washington Irving and George Ticknor, Prescott's family was able to financially support their son's endeavors.

Prescott graduated from Harvard in 1814 and began working in his father's law office. In 1815, he traveled to the Azores, where his maternal grandfather, Thomas

¹²⁶ Roger Wolcott, "Introduction," in *The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, 1833-1847*, edited by Roger Wolcott (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), ix-x.

¹²⁷ Wolcott, "Introduction," x. For more information: George Ticknor, *Life of William Hickling Prescott* (Boston, Massachusetts: Ticknor and Fields, 1864); Harry Thurston Peck, *William Hickling Prescott* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905).

Hickling, had once served as the U.S. representative to the region.¹²⁸ After stopping in the Azores, Prescott went on to London, in search of a cure for the eye injury that he had suffered at Harvard.¹²⁹ Prescott failed to tour Spain during his time in Europe because of the instability that existed in the country following the Peninsular War. Despite numerous offers from the U.S. Minister to Spain, Alexander Hill Everett, Prescott never visited the country that garnered him his fame as a historian; however, this provided him with a certain degree of artistic license to both romanticize the country and to manipulate its imperial legacy to benefit his ultimate end goals.¹³⁰

In 1817, Prescott and George Ticknor rented rooms in Paris. Ticknor had previously met Prescott while both were living in Boston, and Ticknor became particularly fond of the man. While in Paris, Prescott experienced problems with his previously uninjured eye and during this time, Ticknor cared for him. In the summer of 1817, Prescott returned to Boston but his ailments forced him to realize that a career as a lawyer was no longer a feasible endeavor.¹³¹ Instead, Prescott embarked on a career as a historian; however, his field of specialization was yet to be determined. He began by conducting research on Roman history, which may have eventually influenced his interest in the imperial narratives that emerged in his works. Prescott was also interested in the Italian Renaissance and American history, both of which had already been established

¹²⁸ Thomas Hickling, "To George Washington from Thomas Hickling, 10 January 1790," in *The Papers of George Washington – Presidential Series – Volume IV – 8 September 1789-15 January 1790*, edited by Dorothy Twohig (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1993).

¹²⁹ Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain," 326.

¹³⁰ Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 89.

¹³¹ Wolcott, "Introduction," x.

fields of interest in the United States.¹³² However, by the mid-1820s, following the establishment of the Smith Chair at Harvard, the publication of Ticknor's lectures, and the continued encouragement from his friend, Prescott was convinced by Ticknor that a study on the Spanish past would offer him an opportunity to publish a work that would be relevant in the United States. This was made possible by the fact that a historical connection between Spain and the United States was facilitated by Spain's conquest of the New World, as well as the previous research and writing that had already been conducted by earlier bibliophiles, writers, and Hispanist scholars.¹³³

After exhausting the sources that Ticknor had compiled in his personal library, Prescott wrote to Alexander Hill Everett in January of 1826 and requested a variety of books from Europe.¹³⁴ As he had with Irving, Everett contacted Obadiah Rich for assistance in acquiring the necessary works for Prescott. Throughout the following years, Prescott became acquainted with the other leading American and Spanish writers, bibliophiles, diplomats, and Hispanist scholars of the period, including Martín Fernández de Navarrete; Obadiah Rich's son, James Rich; Pascual de Gayangos; Washington Irving; the U.S. representative in Mexico, Joel Roberts Poinsett; and the Spanish representative to the United States, Ángel Calderón de la Barca.¹³⁵ These connections enabled Prescott to compile a plethora of secondary sources and original records. It was also during his correspondence with Alexander Hill Everett, in which

¹³² Kagan, "Introduction," 9. Prescott also studied the Italian Renaissance.

¹³³ Kagan, "Introduction," 9; Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain," 327.

¹³⁴ Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 128.

¹³⁵ Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 81 and 98; Wolcott, *The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, 1833-1847*.

Prescott disclosed that he finally considered himself a historian and that he was embarking on a project that would focus on the reign of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella.¹³⁶

By the early months of 1838, Prescott's *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella* was finally published in both Europe and the United States.¹³⁷ The work received strong reviews on both sides of the Atlantic and established Prescott as the first Hispanist historian from the United States.¹³⁸ Influenced by the earlier works of Washington Irving, Prescott drew on the pre-established Columbus narrative by celebrating the Spanish monarchs who supported Columbus's discovery of the New World.¹³⁹ Prescott also presented a narrative, which based on "liberties," "enthusiasm," and "patriotism," placed late fifteenth-century Spain and nineteenth-century America on similar paths. In turn, in the minds of Americans, the work assisted with the establishment of an imperial connection between the two countries.¹⁴⁰

Similar to Irving and Ticknor, Prescott believed that the Inquisition, as well as the monarchical absolutism that emerged in Spain during the second half of the sixteenth century, had derailed Spain and had sent the country into a tailspin. Publishing a work on Ferdinand and Isabella permitted Prescott to write a history about Spain, while at the same time, it also provided the much needed answers that learned Americans were

¹³⁶ Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 128-129.

¹³⁷ William Hickling Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella* (New York: A.L. Burt Publishers, 1838).

¹³⁸ Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 130.

¹³⁹ Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 84-85.

¹⁴⁰ Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain," 328.

concerned with regarding the imperial trajectory of the United States during the nineteenth century.¹⁴¹ Therefore, Prescott presented a narrative that both displayed some of his pro-Spanish sympathies and allowed his American readership to believe that the proverbial torch of civilization had now passed to the young American republic, which in several letters he refers to as being “young and healthy,” as well as “full of hope.”¹⁴² While in comparison, although he commented that “It must be a stirring thing to live in a land hallowed by glorious recollections,” he also saw Spain as one of the “staid old countries of Europe, whose exertion is in the past, and who may now repose in the retrospect of the great things they have already accomplished.”¹⁴³

Following the success of the *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, Prescott shifted his focus to the New World and began conducting research on the Spanish Empire’s conquest of the Americas. Like Thomas Jefferson before him, Prescott believed that Spain’s history in the New World was an essential part of understanding the history of the United States.¹⁴⁴ In 1843, Prescott published the *History of the Conquest of Mexico*. Four years later, he also published the *History of the Conquest of Peru*. Both works were well received but due to the United States’ ongoing tensions with Mexico

¹⁴¹ Fernández, “‘Longfellow’s Law’: The Place of Latin America and Spain in U.S. Hispanism, circa 1915,” 135.

¹⁴² Kagan, “Prescott’s Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain,” 327; William Hickling Prescott, “William Hickling Prescott to Arthur Middleton – January 10, 1839,” in *The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, 1833-1847*, edited by Roger Wolcott (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), 48; William Hickling Prescott, “William Hickling Prescott to Nicolaus Heinrich Julius – May 20, 1839,” in *The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, 1833-1847*, edited by Roger Wolcott (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), 72.

¹⁴³ William Hickling Prescott, “William Hickling Prescott to Nicolaus Heinrich Julius – May 20, 1839,” in *The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, 1833-1847*, edited by Roger Wolcott (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), 72.

¹⁴⁴ Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*.

during the 1830s and the 1840s, the *History of the Conquest of Mexico* garnered more attention from the American public. It will be the main focus of the remainder of this section of the chapter.¹⁴⁵

In the *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, Prescott presented a racial approach to the evolution of civilizations. This approach would later be used by exposition organizers in the 1890s, as well as military officers and colonial administrators in the periphery of the America Empire, as they all attempted to establish a narrative that made it appear that the Spanish Empire was passing the torch of civilization to the United States. Specifically, Prescott argued that prior to the Spanish conquest of Mexico, the Aztec people were living in a state of civilization that was higher, or more advanced, than “the wandering tribes of North America.” However, Prescott believed that the Aztecs were defeated by the Spanish because the Spanish had come from the Old World. In turn, the Spanish possessed a higher level of civilization than the Aztecs; and the Aztecs became subservient to Spanish civilization, which in Prescott’s opinion, was for their betterment.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, the Spanish defeat of the Aztecs also provided Prescott with an opportunity to display his beliefs associated with honor and chivalry, which he believed the Spanish military displayed in their conquest of Mexico.¹⁴⁷ Prescott’s beliefs continued to play an influential role in American perceptions of the Spanish military throughout the remainder of the century.

¹⁴⁵ William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico and History of the Conquest of Peru* (New York: The Modern Library, 1843).

¹⁴⁶ Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico and History of the Conquest of Peru*, 51-52.

¹⁴⁷ For more information: Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico and History of the Conquest of Peru*, 653.

Prescott associated Christianity with civilization, which he believed was brought to the New World by the Spanish. Specifically, he stated that, “It is true, the conquerors brought along with them the Inquisition. But they also brought Christianity, whose benign radiance would still survive, when the fierce flames of fanaticism should be extinguished; dispelling those dark forms of horror which had so long brooded over the fair regions of Anahuac.”¹⁴⁸ This association between Christianity and civilization had been developed earlier by Irving and would later be celebrated by military officers and colonial administrators in the periphery of the America Empire through the erection of statues to symbolize the accomplishments of Spanish missionaries, as well as the ranking of Catholic-Filipinos above the other native inhabitants of the region.¹⁴⁹

Also within the work, Prescott, similar to Irving before him, presented a fervently anti-imperial argument, which was selectively ignored by many future representatives of the American Empire. Prescott argued that empire-building led to war, which was a costly endeavor. Therefore, when the Mexican-American War began in 1846, Prescott mirrored the beliefs of both the Whig Party and his fellow Hispanist scholars, and refused to support the conflict.¹⁵⁰ Specifically, he stated in a letter to George William Frederick Howard, “See you see I have been carrying on the Conquest of Peru while the

¹⁴⁸ Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico and History of the Conquest of Peru*, 51-52.

¹⁴⁹ For more information: Chapter 6.

¹⁵⁰ Jakšić, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880*, 153. For more information about the conflict: Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Government has been making the Conquest of Mexico. But mine is the best of the two, since it cost only the shedding of ink instead of blood.”¹⁵¹

William Hickling Prescott died in January of 1859, shortly after the publication of the third volume of his work, *History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain*.¹⁵² Throughout all of his works, Prescott attempted to answer a variety of questions that were affecting the United States and its emerging empire, including issues surrounding empire-building, the creation of a national character, and the appropriate role of religion in building a nation, through an examination of the Spanish past in both Europe and the New World. He attempted to answer these questions through his vigorous research practices, which depended on the scholarly networks that had previously been established by other Hispanist scholars.¹⁵³

Prescott’s works connected Americans with the Spanish past. They also allowed Americans to develop a greater understanding about the nation and its empire. Rather than presenting Spain as the antithesis of the United States, as Richard L. Kagan has claimed with his coining of the term “Prescott’s paradigm,” I believe that the image that Prescott was attempting to portray to his readers was more nuanced.¹⁵⁴ Instead of depicting Spain as simply the antithesis of the United States, Prescott created an imperial

¹⁵¹ “William Hickling Prescott to Lord Morpeth – April 30, 1847,” in *The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, 1833-1847*, edited by Roger Wolcott (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), 634.

¹⁵² William Hickling Prescott, *History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1858).

¹⁵³ Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II*, 120-121. Even in the twenty-first century, Prescott’s research practices are still regarded as the most proficient attempts at academic research that were made by an early amateur historian in the United States during the nineteenth century.

¹⁵⁴ Kagan, “Prescott’s Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain,” 329.

linkage between Spain and the United States that credited Spain with bringing European civilization to the New World during the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century. Although Spain faltered shortly after these accomplishments, as Prescott details in his works, this initial connection between Spain and the United States allowed learned Americans to justify the endeavors of the American Empire as the vanguard of civilization. In turn, this creation and adoption of a history that, based on the Whig tradition, promoted a useful, evolutionary narrative for the young republic that would continue to be appropriated throughout the remainder of the long nineteenth century.

CONCLUSION

In 1792, the celebrations that commemorated the three-hundred-year anniversary of Christopher Columbus's discovery of the New World established a perceived connection between the Spanish past and the United States. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, American Hispanist writers, scholars, and historians built upon this perceived connection. By doing so, these individuals created a transatlantic network of American intellectuals who conducted research on the Spanish past in an attempt to establish a better understanding of Spain, their own nation, and its trajectory. This perceived connection, as well as many of the positive views that American Hispanists had towards Spain was also facilitated by the amicable relationships that existed between American and Spanish diplomatic representatives, who were discussed in the previous chapter. These individuals established friendships, which enabled the United States and Spain to avoid a war with one another for the majority of the century.

Beliefs associated with American exceptionalism and the Black Legend narrative, as well as American bonds with the French and British during the post-Revolutionary

Era, the near complete destruction of the Spanish Empire during the nineteenth century, the Spanish-American War of 1898, and the beliefs associated with “Prescott’s Paradigm” have often clouded the views that historians of American domestic or foreign relations have had towards Spain and the Spanish Empire.¹⁵⁵ Rather than viewing Spain as the antithesis of the United States, American Hispanists created an American imperial mindset that was based on the east-to-west movement of civilization. In turn, the “Spanish” explorer Christopher Columbus was celebrated by American intellectuals for bringing European civilization to the New World. This narrative also established Spain’s imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative and made the Spanish past an integral part of the “perfect character” that the United States attempted to present to the world.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ For more information: Kagan, “Prescott’s Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain.”

¹⁵⁶ Hume, “The United States and Spain,” 3.

Chapter 3

The Second Columbian Exchange: Establishing Spain's Imperial Legacy as the Foundation of the American Historical Narrative at International Expositions, 1892-1893

At exactly 12:08pm, on May 1, 1893, President Grover Cleveland stepped forward onto the presidential platform at the World's Columbian Exposition.¹ Earlier that morning, the sun had emerged from behind the clouds and the rays of sunlight made the stucco buildings of the White City glisten. Surrounded by a crowd of nearly 250,000 observers, who had gathered to see what one attendee referred to as “the greatest and grandest day in the history of Chicago—and an interesting and important one to the world,” President Cleveland touched a custom made golden key, inaugurating the formal opening of the largest international exposition that the world had ever seen.²

As soon as President Cleveland engaged the key, an electric current brought the Monster Allis Engine in Machinery Hall to life. The engine engaged the Worthington pump, sending the jets of water, which surrounded the Columbian Fountain, into the air. As the Duke of Veragua, George R. Davis, and President Cleveland congratulated one another on the successful opening of the exposition, the attendees from approximately fifty nations cheered the unfurling of their flags and the Spanish ensign flew in the wind under the caravel.³

¹ “Starting the Machinery: Ceremonies in Jackson Park,” *New York Tribune*, May 2, 1893, p. 11.

² Ben C. Truman, *History of the World's Fair: Being a Complete Description of the World's Columbian Exposition from Its Inception* (Washington, D.C.: Library U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, 1893), 155, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.].

Despite the fact that transatlantic travel intensified during the long nineteenth century, many Americans were still unable to travel due to the cost of the journey, their distances from ports of departure, and their responsibilities at home and in their communities.⁴ However, Americans were not isolated from the world that surrounded them.⁵ In reality, many educated Americans remained aware of the events going on outside of the United States by reading magazines and newspapers. These Americans also enthusiastically welcomed foreign news, peoples, and cultures into the United States through their engagement with the works of American travelers and scholars, the adult education movement, literary travel clubs, and immigrant celebrations.⁶

During the long nineteenth century, world's fairs, international expositions, and great exhibitions were controlled sites of contact where Americans could also experience the United States and the other nations of the world without having to travel abroad.

³ Ben C. Truman, *History of the World's Fair: Being a Complete Description of the World's Columbian Exposition from Its Inception* (Washington, D.C.: Library U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, 1893), 155-161, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.]. The Duke of Veragua was a descendant of Christopher Columbus. George R. Davis was the Director-General of the World's Columbian Exposition Commission.

⁴ For more information on American men and women traveling abroad during the long nineteenth century: Christopher Endy, "Travel and World Power: Americans in Europe, 1890-1917," *Diplomatic History* 22, no. 4 (1998); William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994); Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough (editors), *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2001); Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Telling Travels: Selected Writings by Nineteenth-Century American Women Abroad* (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992); Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830-1920* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1997).

⁵ Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 3.

⁶ For more information on American travelers and scholars: Chapter 2. For more information on the Chautauqua Movement: Joseph E. Gould, *The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution* (New York: State University of New York, 1961). For more information on literary travel clubs: Chapter 4. For more information on immigrant celebrations: Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920*.

Beginning with the Great Exhibition of 1851, these events rapidly became both massive and costly displays of countries' racial and ideological beliefs, as well as their imperialistic desires.⁷ As highly charged transnational sites where “commercial and cultural complexities, contradictions, and struggles” occurred, these international events gave organizers, as well as those who financially funded the celebrations, the opportunity to use the medium to promote their own political, economic, cultural, and social agendas.⁸

At these events, organizers and financial supporters hoped to promote mass consumption, consumer culture, and a perceived sense of global unity that was predicated on the belief that Anglo-Saxons were destined to both lead and control those whom they perceived to be the lesser peoples of the world. Therefore, in an era of American history that was characterized by labor unrest, racism, economic instability, and the emergence of the United States on the global stage, world's fairs, international expositions, and great exhibitions represented an attempt by upper-class Americans to create a unified national and imperial narrative, which was based on their own racial and ideological beliefs.⁹

This chapter will explore how American exposition organizers borrowed from the narratives created by U.S. Hispanists, in an attempt to solidify Spain's imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative at the Exposición Histórico-

⁷ The Great Exhibition was also referred to as the Crystal Palace Exhibition.

⁸ James Gilbert, “World's Fairs as Historical Events,” in *Fair Representations: World's Fairs and the Modern World*, edited by Robert W. Rydell and Nancy E. Gwinn (Amsterdam, Netherlands: VU University Press, 1994), 13-14.

⁹ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 2-6. For more information on Anglo-Saxonism: Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981).

Americana (Madrid, 1892) and the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago, 1893).¹⁰ These two events were held by the Spanish and U.S. governments, respectively, to commemorate the four-hundred-year anniversary of the "Spanish" explorer Christopher Columbus's "discovery" of the New World. The events connected Europe with the United States, accentuating the Columbian legacy, and continued to promote the Whiggish beliefs associated with the east-to-west movement of civilization. Additionally, Spanish and American exposition organizers formed a bond with one another during the planning stages of the events, which allowed them to both honor and appropriate the other nation's successes, in an attempt to justify their own country's position on the world stage. America's commemoration and appropriation of Spain's imperial legacy would continue to occur in the periphery of the American Empire following the end of the Spanish-American War of 1898, as U.S. military officers and colonial administrators attempted to justify their positions in colonial society.

By working together to celebrate both Columbus's discovery of the Americas and the contributions that the Spanish Empire brought to the "civilizing process" that occurred in the New World after Columbus's discoveries, this chapter will argue that American exposition organizers at Madrid were not only willing participants but they were active agents in developing a trans-imperial history between Spain and the United States. Sustaining this historical narrative, which was created by U.S. Hispanists earlier in the century, demonstrated that American exposition organizers were not only connecting themselves with the European empires of the period, but that they were also fine with Spain taking credit for beginning the civilizing process that had occurred in the New

¹⁰ For more information: Chapter 2.

World, which had been previously celebrated by William Hickling Prescott.¹¹ This narrative dehumanized the Indigenous peoples of the New World and ignored the fact that they had developed sophisticated societies prior to the arrival of the Spanish Empire. This historical narrative validated the belief that Spain remained a legitimate imperial power in the late nineteenth century and that the country's military continued to be a powerful fighting force, which the United States should continue to fear and respect. Additionally, American exposition organizers at Chicago encouraged Spanish participation and cooperation in the international event, as they used the image of Columbus as the "true" starting point for the history of the United States.

By appropriating the image of Columbus, American exposition organizers at Chicago were establishing Spain as America's imperial predecessor in the New World, promoting the opinion that the United States could learn a great deal from the Spanish Empire, and cementing the belief that Spain's imperial legacy should serve as the foundation of the American historical narrative. This demonstrated that much like American policymakers and U.S. Hispanists, American exposition organizers not only had an interest in Spain, the Spanish past, and the Spanish Empire, but that they had a genuine appreciation for it. In summation, this chapter will borrow from Alfred W. Crosby's term "The Columbian Exchange," which he used to describe the relationship the developed between the New and Old Worlds during the late fifteenth century. However, rather than being both biological and cultural exchanges, the second

¹¹ For more information: William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico and History of the Conquest of Peru* (New York: The Modern Library, 1843), 51-52; Chapter 2.

Columbian Exchange occurred between 1892 and 1893 and was created by exposition organizers to justify both countries' positions on the world stage.¹²

“EMBLEMS OF MODERNITY”: THE EMERGENCE OF INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITIONS¹³

The Great Exhibition of 1851 began on May 1 in London's Hyde Park. Recognized as the first international event of its kind, the Great Exhibition set a standard that future organizers would continually attempt to both emulate and supersede in size, cost, design, and international acclaim.¹⁴ It is no great surprise that the first international exhibition was held in Britain during the middle portion of the nineteenth century. At the time, Britain was the world's most influential industrial power; it was in possession of the world's farthest reaching colonial empire; the nation's rapidly increasing middle-class coveted foreign commodities; and middle- and upper-class members of Victorian culture desired an ordered, scientific understanding of the world, which could be provided to them by event organizers through the presentation of historical and archeological artifacts.¹⁵ Steeped in the beliefs surrounding scientific racism, industrialism, consumerism, definitions of modernity, and the proper place of imperialism during the period, organizers provided British visitors with a greater understanding of their nation

¹² Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003).

¹³ Alexander C.T. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 2-3.

¹⁴ For more information on earlier expositions: H.W. Waters, *History of Fairs and Expositions: Their Classifications, Functions, and Values* (London, Ontario: Reid Bros. & Co. Limited, 1939), 2-6; Kenneth W. Luckhurst, *The Story of Exhibitions* (London and New York: The Studio Publications, 1951).

¹⁵ Burton Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (Berkeley, California: Scholar Press, 1983), 2.

and their empire. This “scientifically-based” understanding also provided visitors with an opportunity to feel connected with some, and conversely, superior to others; all of which was duplicated by event organizers throughout the remainder of the century, in an attempt to create a common imperial mindset amongst visitors.¹⁶

The Great Exhibition welcomed cultural and industrial exhibits from thirty-four nations. During the event, representatives from both Spain and the United States established themselves as active participants, setting a precedent that would continue throughout the remainder of the century.¹⁷ Held inside the recently constructed Crystal Palace, the nineteen acre structure symbolized the accomplishments of British modernity through industrialization and mass production. Within the Crystal Palace, 13,000 foreign and domestic exhibits dwarfed any previous event of its kind in scale, size, as well as the level of organization with which the exhibits were arranged.¹⁸ By the time the exhibition came to a close on October 11, 1851, approximately 6,000,000 foreign and domestic

¹⁶ Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2001), xvii; Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, 5. For more information on nationalism: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, England: Verso Editions, 1983).

¹⁷ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 12. For more information on Spanish involvement: *The Crystal Palace Penny Guide* (Sydenham and London: Robert K. Burt, Crystal Palace Printing Office, and Holborn Hill, 1863), 9-10, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, London Crystal Palace – 1851 – Folder 2, Warsaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C. For more information relating to U.S. involvement: Harvey G. Tuckett, *Where to Go, and What to Pay: Hand-Book to All the World's Fair, To be Held in the Palace of Glass, May, 1851* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Published by the Author, 1851), 9, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, London Crystal Palace – 1851 – Folder 2, Warsaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.; Robert W. Rydell, John E. Findling, and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (Washington, D.C. and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), 16.

¹⁸ *The Crystal Palace Penny Guide* (Sydenham and London: Robert K. Burt, Crystal Palace Printing Office, and Holborn Hill, 1863) 3, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, London Crystal Palace – 1851 – Folder 2, Warsaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

visitors had attended the event.¹⁹ The Great Exhibition was proclaimed as an undisputable success, as well as a significant event in Victorian Britain. Most notably, the international event set a precedent that future organizers would continually attempt to emulate.

In the decades following the close of the Great Exhibition of 1851, American exhibitors remained active in the expositions that continued to be held in Europe. Determined to justify their position on the global stage and to present themselves as equal to the European powers of the period, many American exhibitors traveled to Paris and displayed their products at the International Exposition of 1867.²⁰ Located in the Champs de Mars, the International Exposition of 1867 was, much like previous expositions of the period, centered on one main building, which covered an area of approximately thirty-six acres. However, unlike previous expositions, the International Exposition of 1867 was the first event of its kind to actively promote the construction of multiple structures outside of the main building. This drastically increased the size of the exposition grounds to over 150 acres and promoted both an educational and enjoyable atmosphere in the area surrounding the buildings.²¹ Designed in a series of ten concentric circles, with sixteen avenues running through the circles, exposition visitors were educated about the

¹⁹ Harvey G. Tuckett, *Where to Go, and What to Pay: Hand-Book to All the World's Fair, To be Held in the Palace of Glass, May, 1851* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Published by the Author, 1851), 1, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, London Crystal Palace – 1851 – Folder 2, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.; Rydell, Findling, and Peele, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States*, 16.

²⁰ James M. Usher, *Paris Universal Exposition; 1867. With a Full Description of Awards Rendered to the United States Department; and Notes Upon the Same* (Boston, Massachusetts: Nation Office, 1868), 76, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, Paris 1867 – Folder 8, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

²¹ John E. Findling (editor), *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 35.

perceived racial and social hierarchies of the period as they toured the thirty-nine houses that displayed different dwellings from various historical periods and geographic regions of the world.²²

In total, over 700 American exhibitors presented their products at the International Exposition of 1867 and the United States won the second-most awards at the event.²³ The most notable American exhibits and displays included: Samuel F. B. Morse's telegraphy exhibit; Chicago's Lake Water Tunnel exhibit; the American Restaurant that was kept by Dows and Guild; and Dows, Clark & Van Winkle's American Cream Soda exhibit.²⁴ However, the United States still only received the sixth-most exhibit space, behind France, Great Britain, Prussia/Germany, Austria, and Belgium, demonstrating that French exposition organizers did not perceive the United States as being equal to their European counterparts.²⁵

James M. Usher, the Principal Agent for Massachusetts, was also unhappy that the United States did not have one of the sixteen avenues that intersected the exposition grounds named after the country. Usher was also perturbed that many of the American

²² James M. Usher, *Paris Universal Exposition; 1867. With a Full Description of Awards Rendered to the United States Department; and Notes Upon the Same* (Boston, Massachusetts: Nation Office, 1868), 10, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, Paris 1867 – Folder 8, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.; Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*, 20.

²³ James M. Usher, *Paris Universal Exposition; 1867. With a Full Description of Awards Rendered to the United States Department; and Notes Upon the Same* (Boston, Massachusetts: Nation Office, 1868), 76, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, Paris 1867 – Folder 8, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

²⁴ Findling, *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988*, 39; James M. Usher, *Paris Universal Exposition; 1867. With a Full Description of Awards Rendered to the United States Department; and Notes Upon the Same* (Boston, Massachusetts: Nation Office, 1868), 75, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, Paris 1867 – Folder 8, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

²⁵ Findling, *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988*, 39-40.

contributions to the International Exposition were located in the Rue d’Afrique, a name that he claimed was not, “indicative of anything American;” interjecting his racial beliefs into his evaluation of the event.²⁶ Feeling disrespected by French organizers, Usher, as well as several influential Americans that had either attended the International Exposition of 1867 or had read reports about the event, believed that planning should begin for an international exposition that would unify the domestic and foreign policies of the United States and would also allow the country to demonstrate to the European powers of the period that the United States should be perceived as an equal player on the global stage.²⁷

AMERICANS DISPLAY THEIR PROGRESS TO THE WORLD AT THE CENTENNIAL INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1876

The decades leading up to the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876 were some of the most unstable in U.S. history and had caused many Americans to question if the United States could survive as one country. During the period, citizens of the country had gone to war against one another over states’ rights and the role of slavery; immigrants flooded into the country in search of employment or cheap land; labor unrest existed, as workers attempted to challenge the increasing power of industrial robber barons;

²⁶ James M. Usher, *Paris Universal Exposition; 1867. With a Full Description of Awards Rendered to the United States Department; and Notes Upon the Same* (Boston, Massachusetts: Nation Office, 1868), 10-11, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, Paris 1867 – Folder 8, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

²⁷ Rydell, Findling, Pelle, *Fair America: World’s Fairs in the United States*; James M. Usher, *Paris Universal Exposition; 1867. With a Full Description of Awards Rendered to the United States Department; and Notes Upon the Same* (Boston, Massachusetts: Nation Office, 1868), 21, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, Paris 1867 – Folder 8, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C. For more information on early American world’s fairs: Astrid Böger, *Envisioning the Nation: The Early American World’s Fairs and the Formation of Culture* (Frankfurt, Germany: Campus Verlag, 2010).

Reconstruction was occurring in the southern United States; and an unstable market led to economic instability and the Panic of 1873.

Despite these concerns, a group of elite Americans, who believed that it was their responsibility to lead the United States, continued to travel to major international expositions throughout Europe during the 1860s and the 1870s. Witnessing the social and cultural power that these international expositions held, specifically, their ability to galvanize both national and imperial mindsets, these influential Americans began encouraging public officials in both Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. to begin planning an international event that would celebrate the centennial anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Additionally, these individuals hoped that the event would restore the pride that Americans once had for their country, provide the United States with an opportunity to establish itself as a modern, industrialized nation on the world stage, and allow the United States to present itself as an emerging imperial power of the period.²⁸

On March 3, 1871, the United States Congress passed a bill that formally created the United States Centennial Commission, which was placed in charge of planning the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876.²⁹ In March of 1872, Joseph R. Hawley was

²⁸ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Vision of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, 17; Rydell, Findling, Pelle, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States*, 18-19; Thompson Westcott, *Centennial Portfolio: A Souvenir of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Thomas Hunter Publisher, 1876), iii, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, Philadelphia 1876 – Folder 11, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C. For more information on America's instability during the period: Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

²⁹ Thompson Westcott, *Centennial Portfolio: A Souvenir of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Thomas Hunter Publisher, 1876), iii-iv, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, Philadelphia 1876 – Folder 11, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

elected as the president of the Centennial Commission and shortly after, Alfred T. Goshorn was elected as the director-general.³⁰ In the following year, the commission received approval to host the event on a 450 acre portion of Philadelphia's Fairmount Park. This marked the establishment of the largest grounds that a world's fair, international exposition, or great exhibition had ever been held on.³¹ Initially, the plan was to hold the event in one main building, which would be surrounded by a variety of other smaller structures. However, it quickly became clear to the commission that one main building was going to be insufficient to hold the multitude of domestic and foreign exhibits that were going to be displayed at the event. Therefore, it was determined that for the first time in the history of world's fairs, international expositions, and great exhibitions, five main buildings would be built to house the exhibits on display at the event.³²

By July of 1873, President Ulysses S. Grant had officially invited the nations of the world to Philadelphia to celebrate the one-hundred-year anniversary of America's birth as a nation at the Centennial International Exhibition. To Grant's delight, over thirty nations had already confirmed their attendance at the event by the conclusion of 1875,

³⁰ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Vision of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, 17.

³¹ Thompson Westcott, *Centennial Portfolio: A Souvenir of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Thomas Hunter Publisher, 1876), iv, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, Philadelphia 1876 – Folder 11, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.; *Visitors' Guide to the Centennial Exhibition and Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1875), 11, Collection No. 60, Box 2 of 18, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.; *Guide to the Centennial Exposition* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J.A. Ephraim & Son, 1876), 4, Collection No. 60, Box 2 of 18, Philadelphia 1876 – Folder 3, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

³² *Memorial of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Thomas Hunter Publisher, 1876), Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, Philadelphia 1876 – Folder 9, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

including Spain and her colonies.³³ In an attempt to counterbalance the multitude of foreign exhibitors who planned to attend the event, the federal government placed the Smithsonian Institution in charge of presenting the virtues of the United States government to visitors.³⁴

The Smithsonian Institution was founded in 1846 and by the late 1850s it had become the center for scientifically-based research in the United States. Leading anthropologists, archeologists, and ethnologists from the United States gathered at the Smithsonian Institution, and rooted in the racial discourses of the period, they studied historical and archeological artifacts in an attempt, among other things, to gain a better understanding as to how Anglo-Saxons were able to acquire their perceived dominate position in American life.

The Smithsonian Institution chose to focus on the “American Indian” at the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876.³⁵ Led by Stephen F. Baird and George Brown Goode, “American Indians” were presented at Philadelphia as the antithesis of the modern, industrialized, Anglo-Saxon led United States. This racial narrative was created

³³ *Report of the United States Centennial Commission: Message from the President of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: House of Representatives, January 1875), Record Unit 70, Box 1, Item 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

³⁴ Thompson Westcott, *Centennial Portfolio: A Souvenir of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Thomas Hunter Publisher, 1876), 6, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, Philadelphia 1876 – Folder 11, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.; U.S. Grant, “International Exhibition – 1876” (Executive Mansion, March 7, 1875), Record Unit 70, Box 1, Item 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.; Hamilton Fish, “International Exhibition – 1876” (Washington, D.C.: January 23, 1875), Record Unit 70, Box 1, Item 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

³⁵ The term “Indian” or “American Indian” has been strategically included throughout this work to denote how Indigenous peoples were perceived by Europeans and non-Indigenous Americans. For more information: Margot Francis, “The Imaginary Indian: Unpacking the Romance of Domination,” in *Power and Everyday Practices*, edited by Deborah Brock, Rebecca Raby, and Mark P. Thomas (Toronto, ON: Nelson Education Limited, 2012), 252.

by Baird and Goode by displaying Indigenous homes, artifacts, and wax figures in traditional attire; all of which were juxtaposed against the modern, industrial capabilities of Anglo-Saxon Americans. Presenting the “American Indian” as a counterpoint to the emerging power of the United States also allowed the Smithsonian Institution to validate the federal government’s conquest of the Indigenous peoples who inhabited the western portion of the continent of North America.³⁶ Through this narrative, the Smithsonian Institution presented the United States as an imperial entity, which was on par with the European powers of the period. The narrative also allowed the United States to justify the authority that it held over Indigenous peoples in the western portion of the continent by using the racial discourses of progress and civilization, which the Smithsonian Institution both presented and reinforced at the event.³⁷

The “American Indian” exhibit garnered attention from both domestic and foreign visitors in 1876. The Smithsonian Institution’s expertise in the fields of anthropology, archeology, and ethnology would also later draw the attention of Spanish exposition organizers during the planning stages of the *Exposición Histórico-Americana*. Based on beliefs associated with Whig history, in 1892, these Spanish exposition organizers encouraged their American counterparts to use the artifacts that had been gathered by the Smithsonian Institution to present a narrative which indicated that the Spanish Empire

³⁶ For more information: Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Marlborough, UK: Adam Matthew Digital, 2007); Walter L. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Richard White, *It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin (editors), *Trails: Toward a New Western History* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1991).

³⁷ Rydell, Findling, Pelle, *Fair America: World’s Fairs in the United States*, 23; Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, 21-27; National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, “Collection to Illustrate the Ethnology of the United States” (Washington, D.C.: March 3-5, 1875), Record Unit 70, Box 1, Item 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

had initiated the “civilizing process” of the Indigenous peoples in the New World and that the process was later taken up by the United States; simultaneously celebrating Spain’s imperial legacy and vindicating the United States’ imperialistic actions.

For well-educated Americans, this was not an entirely new narrative. As was noted earlier, William Hickling Prescott published the *History of the Conquest of Mexico* in 1843. Within the work, Prescott presented a racially-based argument, which contended that the Indigenous peoples who Hernán Cortés and his men encountered were in a lower level of civilization than the Spanish explorers, and in turn, were defeated. However, Prescott went on to argue that this defeat was for their betterment because they became subservient to Spanish civilization.³⁸ Goode’s correspondence with Spanish organizers and his network of American intellectuals during the lead up to the Exposición Histórico-Americana clearly illustrates that American exposition organizers were familiar with Prescott’s narrative, and overwhelmingly supported it, because it could also be used to justify America’s future imperial endeavors.

Spain continued its active participation in international exhibitions at the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876.³⁹ The country sent a twelve-man royal commission to the event and much like the English, French, and German governments,

³⁸ Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico and History of the Conquest of Peru*, 51-52 and 653; Chapter 2.

³⁹ For more information on Spain’s involvement at the event: “Catálogo de los minerales de España,” Reel 48, No. 2, Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology, Washington, D.C.; “Lista preparatoria del catálogo de los expositores de España y sus provincias de ultramar, Cuba, Puerto Rico y Filipinas,” Reel 55, No. 10, Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology, Washington, D.C.

the Spanish government also erected its own building.⁴⁰ Located on the Avenue of the Republic, the Spanish Building was constructed in the shape of an octagon and measured 80x100 feet. Thompson Westcott's Centennial Portfolio described the building as being a "very neat architectural example," which included a relaxed-style Moorish doorway that was surrounded by the Spanish coat-of-arms.⁴¹ Thompson Westcott also took a particular interest in Horticultural Hall, which was designed in a Moorish architectural style. In his work, he commented that the building was, "one of the most attractive structures upon the Centennial grounds."⁴² Similar to the positive views that Washington Irving; American clubwomen; and the American architect, Daniel Burnham, had towards Spanish art and architecture during the period, the buildings garnered a fair amount of attention from not only Thompson Westcott but also visitors and organizers at the event.⁴³

Spanish exhibitors at the Centennial International Exhibition presented a vast array of exhibits in the Main Exhibition Building, as well as in Machinery Hall and Memorial Hall. Several of the Spanish exhibits received a great deal of attention and acclaim from both visitors and judges. Continuing America's respect for the Spanish

⁴⁰ Spanish Royal Commissioners, "United States Centennial Commission: Official List of Foreign Commissions, Accredited to the International Exhibition of 1876" (Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: October 1, 1875), Record Unit 70, Box 1, Item 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁴¹ Thompson Westcott, *Centennial Portfolio: A Souvenir of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Thomas Hunter Publisher, 1876), 21, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, Philadelphia 1876 – Folder 11, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

⁴² Thompson Westcott, *Centennial Portfolio: A Souvenir of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Thomas Hunter Publisher, 1876), 3, Collection No. 60, Box 1 of 18, Philadelphia 1876 – Folder 11, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

⁴³ For more information on the American interest in Spanish architecture: Richard L. Kagan, "The Spanish Craze in the United States: Cultural Entitlement and the Appropriation of Spain's Cultural Patrimony, ca. 1890-ca.1930," *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 36, (2010), 37-58; Chapter 2; Chapter 4; Chapter 6.

military, which dated back to the American Revolutionary War and was reinforced by U.S. Hispanist, the individuals that were judging the military exhibits of each nation specifically commented that “The Spanish War Office made a very attractive exhibit of war materials.” These judges were particularly impressed by the models of Spanish fortresses and barracks, the Spanish mountain-gun exhibit, and a Toledo sword-blade.⁴⁴

In regards to the displays of Spanish industry at the exhibition, the *New York Tribune* commented in their guide to the Centennial International Exhibition that Spain made an “excellent and really instructive show.” The guide went on to comment that the examples of Spanish industry that were on display, “afford a good comparison with that of other countries.”⁴⁵ These comments reinforced the belief that Spain was not solely a country of past greatness but was a modern country that had an active role to play in the industrial era.⁴⁶

The Spanish government also sent a variety of sculptures, oil paintings, statues, and carvings to the exhibition. Although it is clear that the *New York Tribune* was somewhat disappointed that the Spanish government did not send its best works of art, the writer defended Spain’s well established artistic past by hinting at the fact that many of Spain’s great works were not owned by the Spanish government and had been

⁴⁴ Francis A. Walker (editor), *United States Centennial Commission. International Exhibition: Reports and Awards, Group XVI. Military and Sporting Arms, Weapons, Explosives, Etc.* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1877), 2-3, Record Unit 70, Box 1, Folder 2 – Laws, 1873-1876, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁴⁵ *New York Tribune, Guide to the Exhibition* (New York: New York Tribune, 1876), 10, Collection No. 60, Box 2 of 18, Philadelphia 1876 – Folder 10, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

⁴⁶ For more information: Chapter 4.

purchased by foreigners that lived in Paris and New York.⁴⁷ This interest and appreciation for Spanish art continued in the United States throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century and reached its zenith with the establishment of the art collection at the Hispanic Society of America, which opened in 1904.⁴⁸

At the conclusion of world's fairs in the United States, the Smithsonian Institution often took the lead role on purchasing many exhibits that would not be returned to their home nation or would not be immediately used at a future celebration. The remaining exhibits were dismantled and sold as individual items of merchandise. On February 16, 1878, at the Main Building in Fairmount Park, a government sale was held to sell off all of the items that remained unclaimed from the Centennial International Exhibition. A review of the sales guide shows that a variety of items from Germany, Austria, Sweden, Canada, Britain, and France were still unsold but no Spanish items existed. It is not entirely clear what became of all of the Spanish exhibits after the event concluded but considering the cost and obstacles that exposition organizers encountered when transporting exhibits from the United States to Madrid and then back again, between

⁴⁷ New York Tribune, *Guide to the Exhibition* (New York: New York Tribune, 1876), 71-72, Collection No. 60, Box 2 of 18, Philadelphia 1876 – Folder 10, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C. For more information: Mitchell Codding, “Archer Milton Huntington, Champion of Spain in the United States,” in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 142-170; Beatrice Gilman Proske, *Archer Milton Huntington* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1965).

⁴⁸ For more information on the American interest in Spanish art: Kagan, “The Spanish *Craze* in the United States: Cultural Entitlement and the Appropriation of Spain’s Cultural Patrimony, ca. 1890-ca.1930,” 37-58.

1892 and 1893, it can be surmised that the majority of the Spanish exhibits remained in the United States.⁴⁹

The comments, reviews, and sales listed above, combined with the fact that Spanish was one of the four languages that the official catalogs of the event were published in, demonstrate that Spain was well represented at the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876; that exhibition visitors had an opportunity to experience the Spanish past, as well as the modern industrial products that the country had been producing in the years leading up to the event; and that the Black Legend narrative that historians have believed was ingrained into the American psyche was clearly not present in the minds of elite Americans as they organized the event, wrote guidebooks, and judged the exhibition. In summary, the positive relationship that developed between Spain and the United States at the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876, as well as the construction of the “American Indian” exhibit by the Smithsonian Institution, set a precedent that would later stimulate an imperial connection between the two nations at future international expositions.

CREATING A UNITED PAST AT THE EXPOSICIÓN HISTÓRICO-AMERICANA OF 1892

On January 9, 1891, the Spanish government proclaimed that it would welcome the nations of the world to Spain to help celebrate the four-hundred-year anniversary of Christopher Columbus’s discovery of the Americas. Specifically, the Spanish government planned to host a series of celebrations throughout 1892, which would be

⁴⁹ “Government Sale of Unclaimed Merchandise Imported for the Centennial Exhibition” (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Hartell & Letchworth, February 16, 1878), Record Unit 70, Box 1, Item 1, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

highlighted by two connected international expositions in Madrid, the *Exposición Histórico-Americana* and the *Exposición Histórico-Europea*.⁵⁰ At the *Exposición Histórico-Americana*, Spanish organizers planned to present the pre-Columbian, Columbian, and post-Columbian periods, as well as the “civilizing” influence that the Spanish Empire had on the inhabitants of the Americas during those periods. While at the *Exposición Histórico-Europea*, Spanish organizers arranged to exhibit how the virtues of the Spanish Empire allowed Spain to become a dominant power in Europe from the late fifteenth century to the early seventeenth century.

By holding two separate, but still closely related events, Spanish exposition organizers intended to justify the country’s influential position on the world stage by drawing on its past accomplishments. Additionally, with the assistance of American exposition organizers at the *Exposición Histórico-Americana*, Spanish organizers hoped to present a historical narrative that would provide the Spanish Empire with an opportunity to be credited with bringing “civilization” to the New World. This narrative reinforced the Whiggish belief associated with the east-to-west movement of civilization, which was promoted earlier in the century by the likes of Washington Irving and William Hickling Prescott.⁵¹

⁵⁰ The initial announcement was actually decreed by the Queen Regent of Spain, Maria Christina, in 1888. However, extensive planning for the events did not begin until 1891. For more information: “Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America – Decree of the Queen Regent of Spain Concerning the Commemoration of the Fourth Century of the Discovery of America” (Madrid, Spain: *Columbian Historical Exposition*, 1892), 12-15, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.].

⁵¹ Stephen B. Luce, *Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America, History of the Participation of the United States in the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 8-9, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.].

By March of 1891, a formal invitation to participate in the Exposición Histórico-Americana was sent from the Spanish Minister in Washington, Miguel Suarez Guanes, to James G. Blaine, the Secretary of State for the United States.⁵² During roughly the same time period, the U.S. Minister to Spain, Edward Burd Grubb, and the Spanish Duke of Tetuan, Carlos O'Donnell, were also in discussions with one another regarding the United States' participation at the event.⁵³ Prior to these conversations, both American exposition organizers and the federal government had already decided to build upon the successes of the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876 and to hold their own celebrations to commemorate Christopher Columbus's discovery of the Americas. The exposition was to be held in Chicago, Illinois in 1893, and both American exposition organizers and the federal government hoped that Spain would play an active role in the event. However, in March of 1891, despite the fact that the Duke of Tetuan stated in a letter to Grubb that:

The Government of Her Majesty does not believe that two Expositions as being incompatible and it hopes that the Government and people of the Union will be represented in the one to be held at Madrid...and that they will be so represented in the same as corresponds to a Nation which has given such a gallant proof of the progress of the Continent discovered by Columbus,⁵⁴

⁵² E. Burd Grubb to James G. Blaine, March 11, 1891, Record Unit 70, Box 30, Stephen B. Luce Correspondence, 1891-1893 - Folder 1, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁵³ E. Burd Grubb to the Duke of Tetuan, February 11, 1891, Record Unit 70, Box 30, Stephen B. Luce Correspondence, 1891-1893 - Folder 1, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.; The Duke of Tetuan to E. Burd Grubb, February 19, 1891, Record Unit 70, Box 30, Stephen B. Luce Correspondence, 1891-1893 - Folder 1, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁵⁴ The Duke of Tetuan to E. Burd Grubb, February 19, 1891, Record Unit 70, Box 30, Stephen B. Luce Correspondence, 1891-1893 - Folder 1, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

the Spanish government had still not yet confirmed Spain's participation at the World's Columbian Exposition. Therefore, American exposition organizers, led by Thomas W. Palmer, who at the time was the President of the World's Columbian Commission and was Grubb's predecessor in Spain, promoted a connection between the two events and hoped that the federal government would allocate funds for America's participation in the *Exposición Histórico-Americana*.⁵⁵

In May of 1891, the Acting Secretary of State, Alvey A. Adee, who had previously spent eight years at the Legation in Madrid, claimed that Palmer stated that he had a "deep personal as well as official interest in the preparations for the Exposition at Madrid."⁵⁶ In the same letter, Adee also stated to Grubb that Palmer and the other members of the World's Columbian Commission "not only recognize, as His Excellency so properly suggests, that there is nothing incompatible between the two Exposition and that they realize that by friendly cooperation, the success of both may be greatly promoted."⁵⁷ Much like many of their predecessors in Spain who had represented the United States in a formal capacity, Grubb, Palmer, and Adee all felt a close bond with the country and its representatives, and were eager to satisfy the requests made by the Spanish government.⁵⁸ Clearly, they also believed that celebrating the accomplishments

⁵⁵ Alvey A. Adee to E. Burd Grubb, May 19, 1891, Record Unit 70, Box 30, Stephen B. Luce Correspondence, 1891-1893 – Folder 1, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁵⁶ Alvey A. Adee to E. Burd Grubb, February 19, 1891, Record Unit 70, Box 30, Stephen B. Luce Correspondence, 1891-1893 – Folder 1, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁵⁷ Alvey A. Adee to E. Burd Grubb, February 19, 1891, Record Unit 70, Box 30, Stephen B. Luce Correspondence, 1891-1893 – Folder 1, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁵⁸ For more information: Chapter 1; Chapter 2.

of Christopher Columbus, at both Madrid and Chicago, would draw Spain and the United States closer together, benefiting both countries on the world stage.

On March 13, 1892, the Congress of the United States created a commission to represent the United States at the Exposición Histórico-Americana. Congress also allocated \$15,000 to help support the commission and would later add an additional \$10,000, bringing the total budget of the commission to a meager \$25,000.⁵⁹ Although Rear-Admiral Stephen B. Luce was appointed as the Commissioner-General, the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, George Brown Goode, was the main architect of the U.S. government's exhibits at the event.⁶⁰

Goode established himself as an elite exposition organizer at the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876, assisting Stephen F. Baird with the collection and construction of the "American Indian" exhibit. Due to his connections and expertise, Goode was placed in charge of acquiring the many artifacts that the Spanish exposition organizers had requested that the U.S. government display at Madrid, many of which were related to the "American Indian" exhibit that Goode had previously compiled. Goode was also responsible for arranging the artifacts in Madrid in a manner that would leave exposition visitors with the belief that the Spanish Empire was responsible for bringing civilization to the New World. Similar to what he had done in Philadelphia in 1876, Goode would juxtapose the image of the "primitive" American Indian against the

⁵⁹ "Documents in Relation to the Columbian Historical Exhibition in Madrid, 1892," Record Unit 70, Box 30, Excerpts from Annual Reports, 1892-1896 – Folder 4, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁶⁰ Stephen B. Luce, *Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America, History of the Participation of the United States in the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 7-9, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.].

more “civilized accomplishments” of the Spanish Empire; and in turn, continue the American practice of venerating the Spanish imperial legacy.⁶¹

Determined to satisfy the requests made by Spain’s exposition organizers, in June of 1892, Goode began his assignment by ordering the disassembly of several relevant exhibits that were already prepared for the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893. These exhibits would be presented in Madrid at the *Exposición Histórico-Americana* and then returned to Chicago prior to the opening of the World’s Columbian Exposition. Believing that the exposition in Madrid would be a “very scholarly and exhaustive exhibition,” Goode spent the remainder of June contacting leading American ethnologists, religious figures, geologists, and archeologists in the hopes of fulfilling the requests made by the Spanish government.⁶² From these individuals, Goode requested a variety of artifacts that would either symbolize the perceived primitiveness of the Indigenous peoples of the Americas prior to contact with the Spanish Empire or would celebrate the civilizing influence that Spain had after Columbus’s discovery of the New World.

Goode began by contacting Professor Jesse Walter Fewkes from Harvard University.⁶³ Fewkes was an ethnologist and the second leader of the Hemenway Expedition, which brought him and his team of anthropologists and archaeologists to the

⁶¹ Stephen B. Luce, *Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America, History of the Participation of the United States in the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 9, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.]; George Brown Goode to Prof. J. Walter Fewkes, June 8, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁶² George Brown Goode to David S. Jordan, June 10, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁶³ George Brown Goode to Prof. J. Walter Fewkes, June 8, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

American Southwest to conduct research on the Indigenous groups of the region, specifically, the prehistoric Hohokam culture and the Moki people. Fewkes had previously been in contact with Señor Don A.G. del Campillo, who was sent to the United States by the Spanish government as the Vice-President of the Spanish Commission for the Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America. Following Campillo's contact with Fewkes, the Spanish government became interested in the Hemenway Expedition because they believed that presenting Fewkes's findings about the Mokis people at the *Exposición Histórico-Americana* would show the people of Spain how the Indigenous peoples of the Americas lived prior to being civilized by the Spanish.⁶⁴ Therefore, in an attempt to satisfy the Spanish, Goode contacted Fewkes in the hopes of acquiring some of the collections from the Hemenway Expedition, so that they could be shipped and displayed in Madrid.⁶⁵

In the following days, Goode contacted Professor J.C. Smock, the State Geologist of New Jersey, and David S. Jordan, the founding President of Stanford University. In his letter to Smock, Goode commented that, "It seems unquestionable that the effort of the Spanish government will be of great advantage to science, and it is very important that the United States should do all that it can to co-operate with it in its work."⁶⁶ In his letter to Jordan, Goode conveyed that, "The Spanish government has planned a very scholarly

⁶⁴ George Brown Goode to Señor Don A.G. del Campillo, June 15, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁶⁵ George Brown Goode to Prof. J. Walter Fewkes, June 8, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁶⁶ George Brown Goode to J.C. Smock, June 10, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

and exhaustive exhibition.”⁶⁷ Goode’s comments to both Smock and Jordan presented Spain as a modern, scientifically-advanced nation, which the United States should be honored to assist. Goode’s remarks also demonstrated that pro-Spanish elites, such as himself and the other members of the commission that were organized to represent the United States at the *Exposición Histórico-Americana*, were not supporters of the beliefs associated with the Black Legend narrative because they perceived Spain as a modern nation.

Throughout the remainder of the month, Goode contacted John J. Keane, the Rector of the Catholic University of America, and Henry Gannett, from the U.S. Geological Survey. In his letter to Keane, Goode requested information about the early Catholic missions that were sent from Spain to the Americas, as well as the Catholic Church’s involvement in the civilizing process of the Indigenous peoples of the region.⁶⁸ In his letter to Gannett, Goode asked the geographer to provide him with a map that showed the locations of the Jesuit and Franciscan missions in the areas that currently made up the United States.⁶⁹ These requests demonstrate that Goode was making a connection between Catholicism and civilization. This connection was also made in the Philippine Islands by U.S. military officers and colonial administrators, following the

⁶⁷ George Brown Goode to David S. Jordan, June 10, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁶⁸ George Brown Goode to John J. Keane, June 14, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁶⁹ George Brown Goode to Henry Gannett, June 17, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

Spanish-American War, as they perceived Catholic-Filipinos as being more civilized than the non-Catholic inhabitants of the region.⁷⁰

On July 17, 1892, the USS *Newark* left the Norfolk Naval Shipyard in route to Spain, loaded with approximately eighty tons of American exposition material. Once the *Newark* arrived in the port of Cádiz, Goode planned for the United States Consul at Cádiz to accept the materials and then to send them to Madrid.⁷¹ The remainder of the exposition materials left from New York on August 6 and Goode hoped that the material would eventually arrive in Madrid by the end of August.⁷² Once in Madrid, Goode would meet with the other members of the commission and begin to install the exhibits.⁷³

Following some initial delays, the Exposición Histórico-Americana and the Exposición Histórico-Europea opened to the public on October 30, 1892. Centered at El Palacio de la Biblioteca y Museos Nacionales, the United States Commission's exhibits

⁷⁰ For more information: Chapter 6.

⁷¹ George Brown Goode to John W. Foster, July 12/13, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.; George Brown Goode to Rear Admiral S.B. Luce, July 18, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.; George Brown Goode to John W. Foster, July 12/13, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.; George Brown Goode to John W. Foster, July 29, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.; George Brown Goode to John W. Foster, July 12/13, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁷² George Brown Goode to J.C. Welling, July 21, 1892, George Brown Goode to John W. Foster, July 12/13, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁷³ William E. Curtis, *Plan for the Organization of a Latin American Department at the World Columbian Exposition* (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Brothers Printers and Bookbinders, 1890), 7-8, Record Unit 70, Box 40, Latin American Exhibit, Sep. 1890-July 1891 – Folder 1, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.; Stephen B. Luce, *Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America, History of the Participation of the United States in the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 8, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.].

took up approximately 14,500 square feet of space.⁷⁴ As visitors traveled through the American exhibits from the entrance off of the Calle de Serrano and then to the reception room and the Main Hall, they were presented with images, maps, statues, and artifacts that documented the “primitive” lives of Indigenous peoples prior to Columbus’s discovery of the Americas. The rooms were also decorated with the flags and national colors of Spain, Portugal, and the United States, presenting a linkage between the United States and Europe through Columbus’s discovery of the Americas.⁷⁵

After leaving the Main Hall, individuals encountered two rooms dedicated to the Hemenway Exhibit. Made up of over 3,000 display items, which included dolls, masks, religious symbols, and photographs, the exhibit presented to visitors the Moki of Arizona, a group of Indigenous peoples who had “failed” to become civilized and still lived in the same conditions as they had prior to Columbus’s discovery of the Americas.⁷⁶ It can be surmised that the Hemenway Exhibit was presented by the United States Commission as an example of what would have continued to occur if Columbus had not brought civilization to the New World. In turn, by comparing the Hemenway Exhibit to the accomplishments of the Spanish Empire, which were celebrated throughout the

⁷⁴ George Brown Goode to J.C. Welling, July 21, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.; George Brown Goode to John W. Foster, July 29, 1892, Record Unit 70, Box 30, George Brown Goode Letterpress Book, June 8-August 2, 1892 – Folder 2, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁷⁵ Stephen B. Luce, *Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America, History of the Participation of the United States in the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 10, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.].

⁷⁶ Stephen B. Luce, *Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America, History of the Participation of the United States in the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 12-13, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.].

expositions, visitors were able to realize the benefits that Columbus and the Spanish Empire had so gracefully bestowed on both the United States and the world.

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School also presented an exhibit at the event. The exhibit included photographs of students both enrolling and finishing their studies, as well as pieces of art and industrial works that were completed by various individuals of Indigenous descent.⁷⁷ Rooted in the racial theories of the period, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was established by the American federal government in 1879 to “civilize” the Indigenous inhabitants of the United States. This was done through a process referred to as “acculturation under duress,” in which Indigenous students would be given Christian names, “appropriate” clothing, and would be forced to learn the English language. This exhibit was displayed at the *Exposición Histórico-Americana* to demonstrate the progress towards civilization that had been started by the Spanish Empire and was being continued by the U.S. government. American colonial administrators would later attempt to continue this same civilizing process in Puerto Rico, following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, by attempting to educate Puerto Ricans both on the island and at Carlisle.⁷⁸

The tour of the American exhibits at the *Exposición Histórico-Americana* came to an end with the rooms that were designed by William E. Curtis. Curtis had originally

⁷⁷ Stephen B. Luce, *Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America, History of the Participation of the United States in the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 12, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.].

⁷⁸ For more information: Pablo Navarro-Rivera, “The Imperial Enterprise and Educational Policies in Colonial Puerto Rico,” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Chapter 5; Appendix vi.

been commissioned by the organizers of the World's Columbian Exposition to travel throughout Latin America, collect artifacts that were associated with the life of Christopher Columbus, and encourage the Latin American republics to participate in the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.⁷⁹ However, when Congress accepted Spain's invitation to attend the *Exposición Histórico-Americana*, Curtis was sent to Madrid to display the period that represented Columbus's contact with the Americas, often referred to as the Columbian epoch. Within these rooms, visitors came into contact with artifacts, relics, sculptures, and several non-official portraits that Curtis was able to compile during his journeys through Latin America and Europe, all of which venerated Columbus and his discovery of the Americas.⁸⁰

From October of 1892 to January of 1893, Spain welcomed the countries of the world to celebrate the anniversary of Christopher Columbus's discovery of the Americas.⁸¹ At the event, the United States received seventy-seven awards from an

⁷⁹ William E. Curtis to Otis T. Mason, December 13, 1890, Record Unit 70, Box 39, Other Exhibits – Folder 7, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.; William E. Curtis, *Plan for the Organization of a Latin American Department at the World Columbian Exposition* (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Brothers Printers and Bookbinders, 1890), Record Unit 70, Box 40, Latin American Exhibit, Sep. 1890–July 1891 – Folder 1, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁸⁰ Stephen B. Luce, *Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America, History of the Participation of the United States in the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 10, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.]; *Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America: Report of William E. Curtis, Assistant to Commissioner-General in Charge of the Historical Section, Exhibit of the United States at the Columbian Historical Exposition, Madrid, Spain, 1892* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 216–218, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology].

⁸¹ For more information on the exhibits presented in Madrid: “Catálogo de los objetos que presenta la nación Española a la Exposición Histórico-Americana de Madrid,” Reel 95, No. 14, Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology, Washington, D.C.; “Catálogo especial. Madrid: Est. Tipográfico Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1891,” Reel 95, No. 15, Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology, Washington, D.C.

international panel of judges.⁸² The Queen Regent Maria Christina also presented Admiral Luce with the grand cross of naval merit and William E. Curtis was made an honorary commander in the Royal Order of Ysabel la Católica.⁸³ Additionally, the Queen Regent was so pleased with the U.S. government's contribution to the event, she guaranteed Spain's active participation in the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.

At Madrid, American and Spanish exposition organizers worked together to create an imperial narrative that appropriated the image of Christopher Columbus to justify both countries' imperial accomplishments. These exposition organizers continued the positive and productive relationship that had existed between influential U.S. and Spanish representatives since the Revolutionary Era. By appropriating the Columbian legacy, these exposition organizers were also drawing from the narratives that had previously been created by the likes of Washington Irving and William Hickling Prescott. Additionally, by exhibiting the "American Indian" prior to Columbus's discovery of the Americas, and using the Moki people of Arizona to present what "would have" resulted if Columbus and the Spanish Empire had not brought civilization to the New World, American exposition organizers venerated Spain's civilizing mission, and in turn, the country's imperial legacy. They also continued to reinforce the belief, which had been started by influential Americans in 1792 and was continued by U.S. Hispanist scholars, that Spain's imperial legacy was the foundation of the American historical narrative.

⁸² Stephen B. Luce, *Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America, History of the Participation of the United States in the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 15, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.].

⁸³ "Documents in Relation to the Columbian Historical Exhibition in Madrid, 1892," Record Unit 70, Box 30, Excerpts from Annual Reports, 1892-1896 – Folder 4, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.; "Smithsonian Institution Report for 1893," Record Unit 70, Box 30, Excerpts from Annual Reports, 1892-1896 – Folder 4, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

DISPLAYING AMERICA'S SPANISH FOUNDATION AT THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION OF 1893

On May 1, 1893, President Grover Cleveland officially opened the World's Columbian Exposition. As Cleveland stood on the presidential platform, he was accompanied by the Duke of Veragua, an unofficial representative of the Spanish Empire and a descendant of Christopher Columbus. The significance of the political leader of the United States standing on the same platform as a descendant of the individual who many Americans believed gave birth to the United States was not lost on the American writer, Ben C. Truman, who thoroughly detailed the event in his work on the World's Columbian Exposition.⁸⁴ As President Cleveland and the Duke of Veragua congratulated one another on the opening of the event, a well-orchestrated imperial narrative was being presented to visitors by the American exposition organizers who had planned the celebration.

The organizational stage of the World's Columbian Exposition began in February of 1890 when the United States Congress announced that an exposition to celebrate the four-hundred-year anniversary of Columbus's discovery of the Americas would be held in Chicago, Illinois.⁸⁵ Two months later, on April 25, 1890, U.S. President Benjamin Harrison allocated \$10,000,000 to support the event.⁸⁶ This sudden influx in federal

⁸⁴ Ben C. Truman, *History of the World's Fair: Being a Complete Description of the World's Columbian Exposition from Its Inception* (Washington, D.C.: Library U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, 1893), 155-161, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.].

⁸⁵ Ben. C Truman, *History of The World's Fair: Being A Complete Description of the World's Columbian Exposition* (Washington, D.C.: Library U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, 1893), 24, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.].

⁸⁶ *After Four Centuries, The World's Fair: The Discovery of America, To be Commemorated by an International Exposition* (Chicago, Illinois: Department of Publicity and Promotion, 1891), [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.].

funding demonstrated the importance that the federal government placed on the event. It also confirms that the federal government supported the belief and promotion of Spain's imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative because it created a linkage between the United States and Europe, and could also be used to justify America's future imperial endeavors.

On July 2, 1890, Jackson Park was selected as the site of the World's Columbian Exposition. Located eight miles south of the city's core, Jackson Park offered a scenic view of Lake Michigan and would eventually offer access to the site via boat, rail, and streetcar.⁸⁷ In total, the World's Columbian Exposition would encompass over 600 acres of land, making the site the largest venue that a world's fair, international exposition, or great exhibition had ever been held on.⁸⁸ The design of the exposition grounds was placed under the supervision of "the honored father of American art in landscape," Frederick Law Olmsted.⁸⁹ Following his appointment, Olmsted began to prepare the site in the fall of 1890. By the spring of 1891, the canals, lagoons, and basins of the White City and the surrounding areas had been dug and lined; and by June, Olmsted announced that building construction could begin.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Findling, *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1998*, 123; *The American-Hispano Pocket Guide of the Worlds Fair* (New York: Haurie-Enes Publisher, 1893), 86, No. 60, Box 4 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 3, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

⁸⁸ *The Chicago Cottage Organ Co., World's Fair Souvenir* (Chicago, Illinois: J.D. Jones, 1891), No. 60, Box 5 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 3, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

⁸⁹ *Rand, McNally & Co's A Week at the Fair* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Company Publishers, 1893), 31, Collection No. 60, Box 4 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 4, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

⁹⁰ *Rand, McNally & Co's A Week at the Fair* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Company Publishers, 1893), 26, Collection No. 60, Box 4 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 4, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

Under the supervision of the well-known American architect Daniel H. Burnham, building construction began on the site on July 2, 1891.⁹¹ Much like previous international expositions, the plan was to construct a series of large, mostly temporary buildings on the exposition site, which would represent the major departments that were determined by the National Commission. Borrowing from the Exposition Universelle, which was held in Paris in 1889, a Court of Honor, made up of the major buildings (Art, Administration, Machinery, Manufactures and Liberal Arts, Electricity, Mines and Mining, Transportation, Fisheries, Horticulture, and Agriculture) would surround the large basin and would be connected to other areas of the exposition by canals or land bridges.⁹² The buildings were designed in a neoclassical style and were painted white, hence, the reference to the “White City.”⁹³ In an attempt to present themselves and their region to the visitors of the World’s Columbian Exposition, states, territories, and foreign nations were also encouraged to erect their own buildings at Jackson Park. These buildings did not have to follow the neoclassical style set out by Burnham and were situated throughout the exposition grounds.⁹⁴

⁹¹ *Rand, McNally & Co's A Week at the Fair* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Company Publishers, 1893), 26, Collection No. 60, Box 4 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 4, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.; Findling, *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1998*, 124.

⁹² Findling, *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1998*, 124; *Interesting Exhibits and Where to Find Them: Plans and Diagrams of Exhibit Buildings* (Chicago, Illinois: W.B. Conkey Company, 1893), No. 60, Box 5 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 2, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

⁹³ Findling, *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1998*, 124.

⁹⁴ *The American-Hispano Pocket Guide of the World's Fair* (New York: Haurie-Enes Publisher, 1893), 86-88, No. 60, Box 4 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 3, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

Perceived as the nation that gave birth to Christopher Columbus, it is clear that American exposition organizers were willing to do whatever was within their power to secure Spain's participation at the event.⁹⁵ This courting process began with the election of Thomas W. Palmer as the President of the National Commission of the World's Columbian Exposition. Palmer had previously traveled throughout both Spain and Latin America, and he had served as the U.S. Minister to the Spanish Court from 1889 to 1890.⁹⁶ The courting process continued when the National Commission turned to George Brown Goode and William E. Curtis for assistance in acquiring artifacts, classifying exhibits, and developing a relationship with Spanish and Latin American exposition representatives. Both men held the nation of Spain in high regard and were determined to venerate the country's accomplishments.⁹⁷

As Goode collected and organized the artifacts and exhibits, Curtis traveled throughout Latin America in 1891. While in the region, Curtis continued to facilitate a

⁹⁵ H.G. Cutler, *The World's Fair: Its Meaning and Scope. Its Old-World Friends, Their Countries, Customs and Religions. What they Will Exhibit. The United States at the Fair. The City and the Site. The Colossal Structures* (San Francisco, California: The King Publishing Company, 1892), 10, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.].

⁹⁶ Ben. C. Truman, *History of The World's Fair: Being A Complete Description of the World's Columbian Exposition* (Washington, D.C.: Library U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, 1893), 39-41, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.]; Luis J. Schneyer, *Schneyer's Illustrated Hand-Book and Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago, Illinois, 1893), No. 60, Box 4 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 4, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.; *The Chicago Cottage Organ Co., World's Fair Souvenir* (Chicago, Illinois: J.D. Jones, 1891), No. 60, Box 5 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 3, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.; Alvey A. Adey to E. Burd Grubb, May 19, 1891, Record Unit 70, Box 30, Stephen B. Luce Correspondence, 1891-1893 – Folder 1, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁹⁷ *The Chicago Cottage Organ Co., World's Fair Souvenir* (Chicago, Illinois: J.D. Jones, 1891), No. 60, Box 5 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 3, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.; Alvey A. Adey to E. Burd Grubb, May 19, 1891, Record Unit 70, Box 30, Stephen B. Luce Correspondence, 1891-1893 – Folder 1, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

closer relationship between the United States and the republics of Latin America; a process that had begun in 1890, when Secretary of State James G. Blaine welcomed the Latin American republics to Washington, D.C. to participate in the First International Conference of American States.⁹⁸ During his trip through Latin America, Curtis acquired a vast array of artifacts from the pre-Columbian and Columbian periods, which were later displayed at both Madrid and Chicago. Additionally, he encouraged the leaders of the Latin American republics to allocate funds so that their nations could participate in the World's Columbian Exposition and he also wrote a variety of articles that were later read by American clubwomen during their imaginary tours throughout the region.⁹⁹

After completing his tour of Latin America, Curtis traveled throughout Europe to continue his search to locate artifacts that could be used at Madrid and Chicago to venerate the life and discoveries of Christopher Columbus.¹⁰⁰ Late in 1892, he arrived in Madrid and displayed his findings as part of the United States Commission to the *Exposición Histórico-Americana*. While in Spain, Curtis toured the Convento de Santa María de la Rábida, the monastery where Columbus sought refuge prior to his discovery of the Americas. Curtis was so taken by the structure that Washington Irving had also

⁹⁸ For more information: James G. Blaine, "The First Inter-American Conference," in *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History – Second Edition*, edited by Robert H. Holden and Eric Zolov (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 52-53; William Eleroy Curtis, "A U.S. Official Interprets Latin America," in *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History – Second Edition*, edited by Robert H. Holden and Eric Zolov (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 49-51.

⁹⁹ For more information: William E. Curtis, *Plan for the Organization of a Latin American Department at the World Columbian Exposition* (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Brothers Printers and Bookbinders, 1890), Record Unit 70, Box 40, Latin American Exhibit, Sep. 1890-July 1891 – Folder 1, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.; Chapter 4.

¹⁰⁰ *Rand, McNally & Co's A Week at the Fair* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Company Publishers, 1893), 112, Collection No. 60, Box 4 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 4, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

been drawn to, he decided that a replica of the building would be built at the World's Columbian Exposition to house the relics of Columbus that he had previously gathered in Latin America and Europe.¹⁰¹ Although the replica of La Rábida was erected away from the main exposition buildings at the World's Columbian Exposition, it garnered a great deal of attention from visitors and was referred to as the "shrine of the White City."¹⁰²

While in Spain, Curtis also contacted representatives of the Spanish government and arranged for the construction of replicas of the *Niña*, the *Pinta*, and the *Santa Maria*; the original three ships which Columbus used to sail to the New World in 1492. Both the U.S. and Spanish governments jointly paid for the construction of the ships, continuing the cordial relationship between the two nations.¹⁰³ Under Spanish and American supervision, the ships were built in Spain and eventually arrived at the World's Columbian Exposition on July 12, 1893. At the exposition, the ships became part of the Spanish exhibit and garnered a great deal of interest from visitors.¹⁰⁴ The construction and the reception of both La Rábida and Columbus's ships not only reinforced the positive relationship that continued to develop between Spain and the United States

¹⁰¹ *The World's Fair Album* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Co. Publishers, 1893), Collection No. 60, Box 3 of 18, World's Fair Album, 1893 – Folder 18, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.; Stanley T. Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature – Volume II* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1968), 23.

¹⁰² Ben C. Truman, *History of the World's Fair: Being a Complete Description of the World's Columbian Exposition from Its Inception* (Washington, D.C.: Library U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, 1893), 413, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.]; *The World's Fair Album* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Co. Publishers, 1893), Collection No. 60, Box 3 of 18, World's Fair Album, 1893 – Folder 18, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.; Appendix vii.

¹⁰³ *Rand, McNally & Co's A Week at the Fair* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Company Publishers, 1893), 115, Collection No. 60, Box 4 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 4, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

¹⁰⁴ Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States*, 41; Appendix viii.

throughout the long nineteenth century, it also allowed American exposition organizers to continue to venerate Spain's imperial legacy, while using it to legitimize America's own historical narrative.

The Spanish government was well represented by a thirteen-man commission at the World's Columbian Exposition, which was led by Señor Don E. Dupuy de Lôme, the Spanish Minister to the United States, and Señor Don A.G. del Compillo, who George Brown Goode had developed a relationship with during the planning stages of the *Exposición Histórico-Americana*. The focal point of the Spanish government's participation was the Spanish Building.¹⁰⁵ The building was officially opened by Princess Eulalia of Spain, who was enthusiastically welcomed by the crowd. The interior of the Spanish Building was decorated with the flags of Spain and the United States, as well as a variety of artifacts that celebrated the life and voyages of Christopher Columbus.¹⁰⁶

In total, the Spanish government appropriated \$200,000 for the construction of the Spanish Building and their various exhibits at the World Columbian Exposition of 1893.¹⁰⁷ Additionally, Spanish exhibits played an influential role in the Art Gallery,

¹⁰⁵ *Rand, McNally & Co.'s Diagrams of World's Fair Buildings Showing Location of Exhibits* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Company, 1893), 29, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology].

¹⁰⁶ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair: An Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art, and Industry, as Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893* (Chicago and San Francisco: The Bancroft Company Publishers, 1893), 910-912, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.]; Ben C. Truman, *History of the World's Fair: Being a Complete Description of the World's Columbian Exposition from Its Inception* (Washington, D.C.: Library U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, 1893), 524-526, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.]; Robert E. Wilson, "The Infanta at the Fair," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 59, no. 3 (1966), 252-271.

¹⁰⁷ *Rand, McNally & Co's A Week at the Fair* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Company Publishers, 1893), 30, Collection No. 60, Box 4 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 4, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

where forty-six oil paintings and twenty-two sculptures were displayed, continuing the American interest in Spanish art. In the Transportation Building, Spain's display of its ancient and modern naval architecture attracted attention from exposition visitors, reinforcing the American respect for the Spanish military. Also, in the Anthropological Building, Spanish exposition organizers reused many of the exhibits that they displayed at Madrid in 1892, taking up 10,000 square feet of exhibit space.¹⁰⁸

Perhaps the most notable Spanish exhibit was erected in the Woman's Building. Despite only taking up 200 square feet, the exhibit was centrally located on the ground floor, immediately in front of one of the entrances of the building.¹⁰⁹ Mrs. Potter Palmer, the President of the Woman's Board, was particularly interested in Spanish women, a curiosity that was also shown by American clubwomen during their imaginary tours through Spain from 1898 to 1899.¹¹⁰ Therefore, instead of sending a general letter to Spain requesting their participation in the Woman's Building, Mrs. Palmer sent a personal letter. This personal letter generated a great deal of enthusiasm in Spain and facilitated the construction of an impressive exhibit, which included relics associated with Queen Isabella, a woman that was perceived as the mother of the United States following

¹⁰⁸*The Art of the World: Illustrated in the Paintings, Statuary, and Architecture of the World's Columbian Exposition* (New York: D. Appleton and Company), xvi, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.]; *Rand, McNally & Co's A Week at the Fair* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Company Publishers, 1893), 104-105, Collection No. 60, Box 4 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 4, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.; *Rand, McNally & Co's A Week at the Fair* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Company Publishers, 1893), 179, Collection No. 60, Box 4 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 4, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

¹⁰⁹ *Rand, McNally & Co's A Week at the Fair* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Company Publishers, 1893), 179, Collection No. 60, Box 4 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 4, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

¹¹⁰ For more information: Chapter 4.

the publication of Washington Irving's *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*. Additionally, several manikins dressed in traditional Spanish women's clothing and the writings of St. Theresa, which were considered Spanish classics, were also on display. The exhibit was described as being "complete" and that it presented a "comprehensive idea of the culture and progress of Spanish women during the different periods of their history."¹¹¹

Approximately 27,500,000 visitors attended the World's Columbian Exposition.¹¹² Throughout the exposition grounds, these visitors came into contact with Spain and the country's imperial legacy, which was facilitated by the celebration of the four-hundred-year anniversary of Christopher Columbus's discovery of the Americas. At Chicago, American exposition organizers borrowed from the narrative that had been established by U.S. Hispanists, which portrayed Columbus as the original founding father of the United States and as the first American. By celebrating Columbus as a transnational figure, American exposition organizers connected the United States with Europe and established Spain's imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative.

¹¹¹ Moses P. Handy, *The Official Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition: A Reference Book* (Chicago, Illinois: W.B. Conkey Company, 1893), 140, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.]; *Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago, Illinois: The Columbian Guide Company, 1893), 109, No. 60, Box 5 of 18, Chicago 1893 – Folder 1, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.

¹¹² *The Chicago Record's History of the World's Fair* (Chicago, Illinois: Chicago Daily News Co., 1893), 253, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology – Washington, D.C.].

CONCLUSION

As the United States emerged onto the global stage during the late nineteenth century, American exposition organizers used world's fairs, international expositions, and great exhibitions to justify the country's appropriate place in the world to the visitors of these events. Rather than allowing the Black Legend narrative to dominate the relationship between the United States and Spain, American exposition organizers continued the positive relationships that had been previously established between influential U.S. and Spanish representatives since the Revolutionary Era, and worked with Spanish exposition organizers to celebrate the four-hundred-year anniversary of Christopher Columbus's discovery of the Americas.

At the celebrations that were held at Madrid and Chicago, members from the Smithsonian Institution, most notably, George Brown Goode and William E. Curtis, created a second Columbian Exchange by pragmatically borrowing from the narrative that had previously been established by U.S. Hispanist scholars. More specifically, Goode and Curtis presented Christopher Columbus as a transnational figure who connected the United States with Europe and was credited with bringing civilization to the New World. At these events, the "civilized" Spaniards and Americans were juxtaposed against the "primitive" Indigenous inhabitants of the Americas. In turn, this juxtaposition justified Spanish and American imperialism, in the name of "progress" and also presented a passing of the proverbial torch of civilization from Spain to the United States. These same narratives would later be used in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands as U.S. military officers and colonial administrators continued to

venerate Spain's imperial legacy in an attempt to legitimize their position in colonial society, following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War of 1898.

Throughout the long nineteenth century, influential Americans were often interested in Spain, the Spanish Empire, the country's people, and its past. Throughout the majority of the century, a peaceful relationship existed between the two countries, which allowed U.S. Hispanists to learn about Spain and to appropriate the country's past as the foundation of America's historical narrative. World's fairs, international expositions, and great exhibitions gave organizers an opportunity to define a country's national and imperial belief structures and to display these identities to individuals that were unable to travel abroad. At these events, American organizers continued to reproduce the narratives that had been established by U.S. Hispanists earlier in the century by presenting Christopher Columbus as the first American; celebrating Spanish art, industry, and the country's military; and also paying homage to Queen Isabella, for her support of Columbus.

Chapter 4

“Our Feet May Never Tread the Streets”: How American Clubwomen Perceived Spain and the Country’s Imperial Legacy through Imaginary Journeys¹

In June of 1898, members of Bay View Reading Circles gathered in church basements, assembly halls, and club members’ front parlors to celebrate the end of their eight-month imaginary journeys through Germany and to learn about the upcoming tour that would take them through Spain and France during the 1898-1899 study year. These imaginary journeys, which were orchestrated by writers and editors of travel books and magazines, served as controlled “capillaries of empire” and took American clubwomen throughout the world.² Similar to world’s fairs and the works of U.S. Hispanists, these journeys allowed readers to experience different cultures, peoples, and languages without having to leave the comforts offered to them by the United States. During their adventures, American clubwomen were inundated with information about their “host” countries, which provided them with an opportunity to become active participants in the formulation of an understanding towards both nation- and empire-building that was occurring in the United States during the late nineteenth century.

One of these travel magazines was *The Bay View Magazine* and it promoted the 1898-1899 study year by announcing, “All who favor continuing together, for a trip through Spain and France next year, hands up! All up. We shall sail on Nov. 1, by the French trans-Atlantique Line. The war will be over, and nothing is so pleasant as the

¹ “Around the Study Lamp,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 36, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

² Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America’s Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 17.

early winter months in sunny Spain, reaching Paris in time for the opening of the world's fair. Won't we have a grand time!"³ Despite the fact that by June of 1898 the war between Spain and the United States had reached its third month, these women seemed unfazed by the conflict and were confident that it would soon come to an end. For example, upon hearing the news that they would be "traveling" to Spain and France during the 1898-1899 study year, The Davies of Lafayette, Indiana reported that their members were "already anticipating a great year in Spain and France."⁴ Additionally, the group from Liberty, Indiana later announced that their circle had "secured tickets for Spain and France for nearly twice the passenger list of a year ago."⁵ Far from being isolationists, these women craved information from aboard and attempted to locate the United States' appropriate position amongst the European imperial powers of the period.

The June 1898 publication of *The Bay View Magazine* gave the women of Bay View Reading Circles an itinerary for their upcoming imaginary journey. While experiencing the nation of Spain, club members would spend three to four months studying the history, art, literature, and the prominent men and women of what the magazine referred to as "the greatest country in Christendom" during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁶ In total, the 1898-1899 study year would cost club members no more than \$3.50. Additionally, guided by *The Bay View Magazine*, club members from

³ "Around the Study Lamp," *The Bay View Magazine* 5, no. 8 (June 1898), 339, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁴ "Just Among Ourselves," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 37, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁵ "Just Among Ourselves," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 38, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁶ "The Spanish-French Course," *The Bay View Magazine* 5, no. 8 (June 1898), 340, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

Washington, Indiana to Paducah, Kentucky would essentially experience the same tour through Spain. In turn, this created a shared experience that would continue to influence middle- and upper-class American perceptions of Spain, the country's people, and the nation's past for the foreseeable future.

As was noted earlier, throughout the long nineteenth century, the speed of transatlantic travel increased, while inversely, the cost declined. These two variables increased the number of American men and women who began traveling to Europe for both business and leisure activities during the time period under discussion. These Americans were primarily upper-class members of society and during their travels they often evaluated the other peoples and cultures that they encountered. These individuals also evaluated themselves and their own country, as they attempted to define how the United States would fit into the emerging international framework of the period; a process that began as early as the late eighteenth century, as upper-class members of American society sought to connect the young republic with Europe through the use of the image of the "Spanish" explorer Christopher Columbus.⁷

It is difficult to define exactly how many Americans traveled abroad during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century. However, statistics show that no less than 35,000 Americans crossed the Atlantic Ocean

⁷ For more information: Chapter 2

in 1870. By 1914, this number increased to approximately 250,000.⁸ This data suggests that many middle- and upper-class Americans possessed an interest in the events going on, and the people who existed, outside of the United States. However, many Americans were still unable to travel during the period, and in turn, they sought other avenues to learn about the world that surrounding them. For those individuals, access to information was available through a variety of different mediums, including: magazines and newspapers; world's fairs; the adult education movement, which was initiated by the Chautauqua Movement; and the imaginary journeys that individuals experienced as members of literary travel clubs.⁹ These mediums allowed foreign elements to enter the United States in several different forms, including: foreign food recipes, art, poetry, languages, and historical artifacts. Acquiring information, tastes, languages, and art from abroad allowed middle- and upper-class citizens to look outward in order to perceive that the United States was connected to the world in a multitude of different ways.¹⁰

Additionally, this also allowed Americans to look inward and to legitimize the superiority

⁸ Christopher Endy, "Travel and World Power: Americans in Europe, 1890-1917," *Diplomatic History* 22, no. 4 (1998), 565- 567. For more information on American men and women traveling abroad during the long nineteenth century: William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994); Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough (editors), *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2001); Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Telling Travels: Selected Writings by Nineteenth-Century American Women Abroad* (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830-1920* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1997); Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 3.

⁹ For more information on American magazines and newspapers: Frank Ninkovich, *Global Dawn: The Cultural Foundation of American Internationalism, 1865-1890* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009). For more information on world's fairs: Chapter 3. For more information on the adult education movement: Joseph E. Gould, *The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution* (New York: State University of New York, 1961).

¹⁰ For more information: Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920*.

of their nation's historical narrative, which intellectuals in the country had been developing since the late eighteenth century during the three-hundred-year celebration of Columbus's discovery of the New World.

Partially spawned by the adult education movement, middle- and upper-class women, primarily from the American Northeast and the American Midwest, began forming literary travel clubs and reading circles in their local communities during the 1870s.¹¹ Desiring knowledge and a release from domestic life, these women formed clubs that searched for intellectual stimulation from both inside the United States and from abroad. These women found agency through club work, which increased their desire for knowledge. Furthermore, these clubwomen also used the information with which they were provided to educate others about their imagined experiences.¹²

During the late nineteenth century, American clubwomen became so engaged in their annual imaginary journeys that they often held end of the year parties. At these events, they would celebrate the country that they had just visited by hanging decorations that were associated with the country, dressing up in the country's traditional clothing,

¹¹ Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers Incorporated, 1980), 57; Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920*, 155-159. Prior to the 1870s, a small number of women's clubs existed for the purpose of "intellectual improvement as well as for social amusement," such as the Cozy Club, of Bridgeport, Connecticut; however, the movement truly began to gain traction in the United States during the 1870s. These women were primarily white and native born but Indian, immigrant, African-American, and working-class women also formed literary travel clubs and reading circles. For more information: Anne Ruggles Gere, *Intimate Practices: Literacy and Cultural Work in U.S. Women's Clubs, 1880-1920* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 3; Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920*, 159. Although it is important to point out that some men did belong to literary travel clubs and reading circles, many of these clubs focused solely on amusement, not education. By the 1890s, women began to dominate the club movement scene with the establishment of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

¹² Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920*, 8. For more information on intellectual Americans who became fascinated with the outside world: Christopher E.G. Benfy, *The Great Wave: Gilded Age Misfits, Japanese Eccentrics, and the Opening of Old Japan* (New York: Random House, 2003).

using any new language skills that they may have acquired, and consuming the national dishes of the country from which they had just returned. Simultaneously, these women were also indoctrinated by the writers and editors of travel books and magazine, who often drew on the narratives that had previously been established by other influential, well-educated Americans.¹³

Far from being isolated from the outside world, these clubwomen developed an international awareness of the United States' position in global affairs during the late nineteenth century, with which it appears that they were previously unfamiliar. Also, rather than reinforcing beliefs associated with both the Black Legend and the exceptionalist narratives that existed during the period, American clubwomen embraced the transnational history of the United States; discovered a group of cultured individuals in Spain, with which they shared many similarities; unearthed an imperial bond between Spain and their own country; developed a positive perception of the nation of Spain; and became active promoters of an American historical narrative that appropriated Spain's imperial legacy as its foundation. These realizations provided American clubwomen with an opportunity to feel as if they were active imperial participants in the emergence of the American Empire onto the world stage during the late nineteenth century.

SETTING THE FOUNDATION: THE CHAUTAUQUA MOVEMENT

Women's literary travel clubs and reading circles did not simply emerge during the last-quarter of the nineteenth century. In reality, their foundations existed in the adult education movement, which began in the 1870s and was spearheaded by the Chautauqua Movement. By the 1890s, as the editor of *The Bay View Magazine*, John M. Hall, was

¹³ For more information: Chapter 2; Chapter 3.

preparing to publish his first study year, he borrowed heavily from the practices of the Chautauqua Movement. Additionally, Hall based the idea for his magazine off of *The Chautauquan*, the publication associated with the movement.¹⁴

The first Chautauqua Assembly was held on August 4, 1874. The assembly was established by John Heyl Vincent and Lewis Miller, both of whom had close connections with the Methodist Church in the American Midwest. Initially, their goal was to establish a school that would improve the practice of Sunday school teaching in the region.¹⁵ However, these goals increased to also include the study of literature, history, art, and science. After some deliberation, Miller convinced Vincent to support the establishment of an institution on Chautauqua Lake in the state of New York. The first two-week seminar included both educational and recreational programs. It also exhibited a large map of Palestine, hinting at both the religious foundation of the group, as well as the outward view of the world that the movement would take later in the century.¹⁶

In 1875, President Ulysses S. Grant visited the assembly on Chautauqua Lake, bringing nationwide publicity to both the assembly and the adult education movement. With the goal of spreading knowledge and education to areas of the country that previously were not as academically enriched as the American Northeast, John Heyl Vincent established a four-year program in 1878. This program allowed groups to enroll in Vincent's curriculum without having to physically travel to the institution on

¹⁴ Keith J. Fennimore, *A Centennial History: The Heritage of Bay View, 1875-1975* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1975), 77-81.

¹⁵ Gould, *The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution*, 3-4.

¹⁶ Gould, *The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution*, 3-5. For more information: Burke O. Long, *Imagining the Holy Land: Maps, Models and Fantasy Travel* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2003).

Chautauqua Lake. Vincent called the groups Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circles and expected only ten groups to form in the first year. However, only one hour after announcing that the registration for the groups had begun, 200 individuals had already signed up, and by the end of the year that number increased to 8,400. These registration numbers significantly outpaced Vincent's modest expectations and proved to him that American men and women desired information from both at home and abroad.¹⁷

In an attempt to both increase dialogue between the somewhat sparsely located clubs and to keep Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circles on a reading schedule, Vincent established a monthly magazine in 1880. The magazine was entitled, *The Chautauquan* and according to historian Joseph E. Gould, it quickly acquired "a circulation rivaling the most popular magazines of the day."¹⁸ Each edition of *The Chautauquan* addressed current events and debates from around the world, as well as correspondences from Circle members and information on how Circle events should be conducted.¹⁹ As was noted earlier, John M. Hall would later base the structure of *The Bay View Magazine* off of *The Chautauquan*.

The powerful influence of both Spain's imperial past and the Columbian legacy were not lost on John Heyl Vincent and the writers of *The Chautauquan*. Prior to the opening of the World's Columbian Exposition, the writers for *The Chautauquan* alluded to Spain's "former greatness" and to the fact that the country was "once a powerful nation." Conversely, they also drew on the stereotypes associated with the Black Legend

¹⁷ Gould, *The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution*, 8.

¹⁸ Gould, *The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution*, 9-10.

¹⁹ "Table of Contents," *The Chautauquan* 1, no. 1 (September 1880), 1.

narrative when criticizing Spain's conquest of the New World and detailing the grotesqueness exhibited at Spanish bull fights.²⁰ However, beginning in the year leading up to the opening of the World's Columbian Exposition, Spain, the country's past, its empire, as well as Spain's perceived connection with the United States began to be presented in a different light by *The Chautauquan*.

As early as November of 1892, William E. Curtis penned an article for *The Chautauquan* that drew on the works of earlier U.S. Hispanists scholars and American exposition organizers.²¹ In the article, Curtis presented Columbus as a transnational figure who served as the link between Spain and the United States.²² In 1895, the magazine also continued to draw on the works of U.S. Hispanists and American exposition organizers, as it celebrated Spain's ability to maintain control of its global empire, despite the instability that existed both in Cuba and in the Iberian Peninsula.²³ These commentaries allowed readers to both venerate Spain and at the same time, equate the United States with the European imperial powers of the period, due the fact that Spain's imperial legacy was presented as the foundation of the American historical narrative.

During the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century, *The Chautauquan* also drew on the relationship that had been established between Spain and

²⁰ Sheldon Jackson, "New Mexico," *The Chautauquan* 3, no. 6 (March 1883), 327-329; "Spanish Bull Fights," *The Chautauquan* 4, no. 5 (March 1884), 301; "United States History" *The Chautauquan* 4, no. 5 (February 1884), 267-268.

²¹ For more information: Chapter 2; Chapter 3.

²² William E. Curtis, "The Columbus Monuments," *The Chautauquan* 16, no. 2 (November 1892), 138-145. For more information on William E. Curtis: Chapter 3.

²³ "Spanish Troubles in Cuba," *The Chautauquan* 21, no. 3 (June 1895), 362.

the United States during the American Revolutionary War.²⁴ In the August 1893 edition of the magazine, Lilly Ryder Gracey detailed to Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle members how Americans and Spaniards had come together in Seville on July 4, 1893 to celebrate America's independence from the British Empire.²⁵ Also, in 1909, the magazine informed its readers that Americans owed a great deal of thanks to the Spanish for their assistance during the Revolutionary War.²⁶ These articles demonstrated the influence that the narratives associated with the World's Columbian Exposition had on American perceptions of Spain and the Spanish Empire. Additionally, the connection between Spanish and American history, as well as the overall positive presentation of the relationship between the two countries was picked up on by John M. Hall and was displayed during *The Bay View Magazine* tour through both the United States during the 1896-1897 study year and Spain during the 1898-1899 study year.

The Chautauquan increased the popularity of both the Chautauqua Assembly and the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circles so much so that by 1888, 100,000 men and women claimed to be members of a circle. The popularity of the movement could also be seen in the creation of "little Chautauquas" throughout the American Midwest. By 1890, approximately 200 of these "little Chautauquas" had emerged throughout the United States. These groups were only formally connected to the Chautauqua Assembly by name; however, many still borrowed practices from the organization. One of these "little

²⁴ For more information on the relationships that developed between representatives of Spain and the United States during the American Revolutionary War: Chapter 1.

²⁵ Lilly Ryder Gracey, "Up Gibraltar-To Tangier-Into Spain," *The Chautauquan* 17, no. 5 (August 1893), 515-522.

²⁶ John D. Fitz-Gerald, "A Reading Journey Through Spain: The Country and the People," *The Chautauquan* 55, no. 3 (August 1909), 311-326. For more information: Chapter 1.

Chautauquas,” which initially imitated the practices of the Chautauqua Assembly, was the group in Bay View, Michigan.²⁷

The immense success of the Chautauqua Assembly, the subsequent establishment of Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circles, as well as “little Chautauquas,” demonstrates that middle- and upper-class American men and women craved education and culture from both within the United States and from the outside world. Far from being isolationists, these individuals formed their own literary clubs and reading circles, and with the guidance of *The Chautauquan*, discussed a variety of different contemporary and historical issues amongst themselves and other assemblies. This was often done in an attempt to increase an individual’s understanding of not only the United States but also how the country fit into the international framework of the period. Along with the work done by U.S. Hispanists and the organizers of the four-hundred-year anniversary of Columbus’s discovery of the New World, these clubs and circles understood the history of the United States as being transnational, and in turn, they believed that U.S. citizens were required to pay homage to Spain’s imperial legacy due to the fact that it was the foundation of the American historical narrative.

THE ADVENT OF THE WOMEN’S CLUB MOVEMENT

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, middle- and upper-class American women had their roles in life strictly limited by the prevailing social conventions of the period, specifically, beliefs surrounding domesticity and morality.²⁸ These social

²⁷ Gould, *The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution*, 8 and 10; Fennimore, *A Centennial History: The Heritage of Bay View, 1875-1975*, 79.

²⁸ Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914*, 7.

conventions left women outside of formal politics and restricted many to lives inside of their homes.²⁹ By the middle portion of the 1830s, frustrated by their lack of involvement in formal political proceedings, women in both New York City and the New England region began forming Moral Reform Societies.³⁰ These groups attacked the vices that they saw in urban society, primarily poverty and prostitution; while at the same time, these women were learning valuable organizational and public speaking skills that would aid them in future reform movements.³¹ By 1839, Jane Cunningham Croly estimated that 688 likeminded reform societies existed in the United States.³² Despite their popularity during the 1830s, Croly argued that their “purely subjective character” gave them little opportunity for growth, explaining why these groups had essentially disappeared by the early 1860s.³³

By 1868, the women’s club movement was beginning to organize and diversify itself at a level that had not been reached by the women’s religious groups of the past. In New York City, Croly was a journalist who had been excluded, because of her gender, from a dinner that was held in honor of Charles Dickens. In response to her exclusion, Croly was inspired to challenge the societal norms in the United States and to improve the perceived position that women held in American society. Croly contacted several of

²⁹ Anne Firor Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 17.

³⁰ Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible*, 37.

³¹ Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914*, 7-8.

³² Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914*, 15. Jane Cunningham Croly would later be credited with being the most influential woman in the early stages of the women’s club movement,

³³ Jane Cunningham Croly, *The History of the Woman’s Club Movement in America* (New York: H.G. Allen & Co., 1898), 8.

her female colleagues and at Delmonico's Restaurant on April 13, 1868, the first meeting was held that would eventually give birth to the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Croly decided to call the group Sorosis, a botanical term that referenced a plant that produced a series of flowers.³⁴ Sorosis met twice a month, spending one monthly meeting on business and the other on social matters.

In its beginnings, Sorosis kept a close connection between women and culture, a trend that was later developed in literary travel clubs and reading circles throughout the United States. However, by the beginning of the twentieth century, clubs such as Sorosis had been fully federated into the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and in turn, had shifted their focus to addressing issues such as suffrage and temperance, instead of academic and cultural pursuits. Nevertheless, Croly's establishment of Sorosis still played an influential role in the development of women's clubs in the United States and the discussion of various cultural topics among middle- and upper-class American women.³⁵

While Croly was working to bring women together in New York City, the New England Women's Club formed in Boston, Massachusetts in 1868. By 1871, Julia Ward Howe took over the presidency of the New England Women's Club and directed the club away from the pursuit of cultural interests, focusing more on the reform movements of the period, specifically, suffrage, temperance, and various sanitation issues in Boston.

³⁴ Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914*, 20-21; Croly, *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America*, 15-16.

³⁵ Blair, *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America*, 20-21. For more information on the topics that federated clubs discussed during the biennial meetings of the General Federation of Women's Clubs: "Proceedings of the Third Day of the Convention, March, 20, 1889," in *Report of the Twenty-First Anniversary of Sorosis* in Convention Records and Proceedings, 1890-1904, Box: 1, General Federation of Women's Clubs – Women's History and Resource Center (General Federation of Women's Clubs Headquarters, Washington, D.C.).

This shift towards the reform movements of the period became the dominant speaking points during the General Federation of Women's Clubs' biennial meetings, which began in the late nineteenth century.³⁶ Therefore, although some literary travel clubs did become members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and *The Club Woman's Magazine* carried on with its promotion of study tours and traveling libraries, many clubs continued to operate outside its parameters, preferring to focus primarily on educational pursuits, rather than reform movements.³⁷

Often inspired by the creation of Sorosis and the New England Women's Club, literary travel clubs began forming in the American Northeast and the American Midwest during the early 1870s, eventually spreading throughout the United States. Many of these groups, made up primarily of women from the middle- and upper-classes, had several of the same goals as Sorosis and the New England Women's Club, specifically, the development of practical life skills, sisterhood, and an increased influence in public life.³⁸ However, plenty of these women were not as motivated by the reform movements of the period, instead choosing to focus more on their own education and cultural development.³⁹

³⁶ Blair, *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America*, 31-32; "Biennial Addresses and Papers General Federation of Women's Clubs, Volume III," in Box: Convention Records (Addresses and Papers), 1890-1894, Bound Volume, General Federation of Women's Clubs – Women's History and Resource Center (General Federation of Women's Clubs Headquarters, Washington, D.C.), 161-169.

³⁷ *The Club Woman's Magazine* was the official organ of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. For more information on the promotion of both study tours and traveling libraries within the magazine: Margherita Arlina Hamm, "A Study Course of Travel," *The Club Woman's Magazine* 1, Issue 5 (1899), 217-219; "The Traveling Library," *The Club Woman's Magazine* 2, Issue 1 (1900), 364.

³⁸ *Biennial Addresses and Papers General Federation of Women's Clubs, Volume III* in Box: Convention Records (Addresses and Papers), 1890-1894, Bound Volume, General Federation of Women's Clubs – Women's History and Resource Center (General Federation of Women's Clubs Headquarters, Washington, D.C.), 175-179 and 193-200; Blair, *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America*, 57.

³⁹ Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible*, 81-83.

These women will be the focus of this chapter, specifically, those who structured their intellectual pursuits around the imaginary journeys offered by *The Bay View Magazine*. Many of these women had attended schools in their youth, married, had children, and were now in search of way to fill a void in their lives through academic and intellectual pursuits. Most had also been influenced by the establishment of the women's groups before them, or by the Chautauqua Movement, and were interested to learn more about both the United States and the outside world, without having to deal with the expenses and inconveniences associated with traveling abroad. Acting in a position that placed them between the public sphere and the private sphere, these women played an influential role in deciding which aspects of foreign culture would be allowed to enter their realms of domesticity. Eventually, these women would become cogs in the continued promotion of an American historical narrative that was attempting to connect the emerging United States with Spain's imperial legacy.

This chapter will now shift and begin to focus specifically on the adult education programs that began at Bay View, Michigan during the mid-1870s. Based off of *The Chautauquan*, these adult education programs developed into a monthly magazine by 1893, aptly named *The Bay View Magazine*, which allowed members of Bay View Reading Circles to interact with other members and to stay up to date with their annual imaginary journeys throughout the world. Far from being the original fictive travel series, *The Bay View Magazine* provided concise, well-written, affordable, and organized journeys at a level that other travel series, such as John Lawson Stoddard's lecture series

and the Burton Holmes's Travelogues did not offer.⁴⁰ Connecting with places from abroad offered fulfillment to these women's lives and allowed them to acquire an understanding of the outside world, which would provide them with an opportunity to conceptualize America's emerging role on the global stage.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BAY VIEW AND EARLY IMAGINARY TOURS

The United States faced a questionable future during the 1870s.⁴¹ In response to this uncertainty, many individuals looked to religion for stability. Seeing this need in society, in 1875, Reverend Joseph McCarty decided to create a Methodist institution in the northern portion of the state of Michigan, which would later be called Bay View. At Bay View, McCarty and the other founders hoped that men, women, and children would escape from the monotony of their daily lives to this religiously-based institution during the summer months. While at Bay View, McCarty hoped that these individuals would spend their vacations partaking in the "religious, education, and cultural development" programs that he and the founders had established.⁴²

The opening session was held at Bay View on August 1, 1876. Accord to Dr. Clark Wheeler, who was one of the founders of Bay View, the session was attended by approximately 500 to 600 individuals.⁴³ As the number of individuals who attended the settlement continued to grow, instructors from Chautauqua arrived to share their

⁴⁰ For more information: John Lawson Stoddard, *John L. Stoddard's Lectures* (Chicago, Illinois: G.L. Shuman, 1912); Burton Holmes, *Burton Holmes Travelogues* (Chicago, Illinois: The Travelogue Bureau, 1914).

⁴¹ For more information: Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009).

⁴² Fennimore, *A Centennial History: The Heritage of Bay View, 1875-1975*, 18.

⁴³ Fennimore, *A Centennial History: The Heritage of Bay View, 1875-1975*, 31.

experiences regarding their adult education movement. The instructors from Chautauqua also began to educate those in attendance at Bay View about the outside world, establishing a precedent that would facilitate their future interest in imaginary journeys.⁴⁴

Due to budgetary issues, the founders of Bay View were forced to cancel their formal association with both the Chautauqua Assembly and the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circles in 1885. The end of these formal connections were ultimately beneficial for both Bay View and John M. Hall, a young lawyer from Flint, Michigan. Hall was well-known in Flint for being able to attract presenters who had spoken at Chautauqua and for establishing reading circles in the area. Knowing of Hall's abilities, the founders of Bay View expected that the young lawyer could use his connections to draw prominent speakers to Bay View, and in turn, they hoped that this would begin to establish Bay View as the center of reading circles in Michigan, the American Midwest, and eventually the United States.⁴⁵

During the following year, Hall began designing a summer learning schedule for individuals at Bay View. These summer learning schedules shifted Bay View somewhat away from religious pursuits and more toward secular culture; eventually establishing the groundwork for the development of Bay View Reading Circles. Hall's schedules allowed individuals from the sparsely located clubs and reading circles to both interact and to share their studies with one another, acting as the foundation for the imaginary journeys that were later facilitated by *The Bay View Magazine*.

⁴⁴ Gould, *The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution*, 3-5.

⁴⁵ Fennimore, *A Centennial History: The Heritage of Bay View, 1875-1975*, 77-81.

Between 1886 and 1893, study groups increased from 130 to over 2,000. Seeing this desire for education and the interest individuals had for knowledge from abroad, Hall established the Bay View Reading Circle program and encouraged literary travel clubs and reading circles to follow the study courses that he would later provide to them through *The Bay View Magazine*.⁴⁶ In conjunction with the Bay View Assembly and the Summer University that had been established at Bay View as part of the framework that encouraged education in the community, Hall planned to bring the outside world to the individuals who formed literary travel clubs and reading circles, through the establishment of his magazine. Far from being isolationists, these individuals, who were primarily middle- and upper-class women, clearly craved information from the outside world, and in turn, Hall was determined to provide them with this knowledge.

By 1893, women's literary travel clubs and circles had been increasing in size for over two decades. As many women's clubs that focused on the social issues of the period joined the General Federation of Women's Clubs, numerous literary travel clubs chose to remain outside of this organization, selecting instead to focus on their own educations. Some of these literary travel clubs and circles designed their own study programs, while others subscribed to magazines or individual travel writers, which offered clubs and circles a study course that they could follow throughout an entire study year. One of the most successful magazines to offer a study course was John M. Hall's *The Bay View Magazine*.

The stated goals of *The Bay View Magazine* were "to provide and direct at the lowest possible expense, a choice course of reading, made up after an approved education

⁴⁶ Fennimore, *A Centennial History: The Heritage of Bay View, 1875-1975*, 91-93.

plan, and to promote habits of home study.” It was also designed to “encourage habits of thoughtful reading and of saving time, fostering a literary spirit.”⁴⁷ Although the publication was not specifically directed at women, a review of the correspondences that occurred between the individual clubs and the magazine show that women dominated its readership. Many of these women had attended school, married, had children, and were now attempting to fill an academic void in their lives.⁴⁸ Craving knowledge from the outside world, as well as contact with other likeminded women, they joined Bay View Reading Circles and began partaking in the imaginary journeys that were designed by John M. Hall.

The Bay View Reading Circle study year was designed as an eight-month course, which generally ran from November to June. The majority of the work for the course could be done independently; however, regularly scheduled interactions with a club or a circle, either monthly, bi-weekly, or weekly, was strongly encouraged. At these meetings, women would fully integrate themselves into the country that they were “visiting” for that study year by reading poetry, critiquing art, debating politics, comparing the United States to the country that they were visiting, practicing their newly acquired language skills, and testing their knowledge on the country that they were studying by taking regularly scheduled examinations.⁴⁹ In the first edition of the magazine, Hall outlined the

⁴⁷ “Information Circular...and...Course for 1893-4,” *The Bay View Magazine* 1, no. 1 (November 1893), 1, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁴⁸ “More About the Circles,” *The Bay View Magazine* 2, no. 1 (November 1894), 37, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920*, 8; Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914*, 60.

⁴⁹ “Information Circular...and...Course for 1893-4,” *The Bay View Magazine* 1, no. 1 (November 1893), 1-4, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

required readings to the circle members, as well as how to obtain the necessary readings materials and examinations, how to join a circle, how to organize a local circle, and how to conduct a meeting. In an attempt to avoid overwhelming the readers and to spark an interest in further studies, Hall encouraged readers to spend less than thirty minutes per day on their studies.

In comparison to other imaginary journeys and reading programs offered by various publications, *The Bay View Magazine* offered participants a clear and concise educational plan, making it easy for individuals to stay on a strict but manageable schedule. This structure meant that wherever an individual was, she was experiencing the same imaginary journey as someone else in a different reading circle, creating a collective experience.⁵⁰ This also meant that the writers for *The Bay View Magazine*, which included academic experts, professional travel writers, and government officials, would control how women experienced the countries that they visited. Additionally, Hall would decide which countries the women would visit, as well as when, and for how long. Despite these influences, women still provided feedback in the “Just Among Ourselves” portion of the magazine, which provided them with agency and also informed other Bay View Reading Circles about how the study year was being received throughout the United States.

During the 1893-1894 study year, members of Bay View Reading Circles took their inaugural imaginary journey to Germany. It is not surprising that Hall selected Germany as the first country for the women to visit. Throughout the nineteenth century,

⁵⁰ “Information Circular...and...Course for 1893-4,” *The Bay View Magazine* 1, no. 1 (November 1893), 1-4, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; “Circle Reports and Helps,” *The Bay View Magazine* 1, no. 1 (November 1893), 30, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

many American intellectuals traveled to Germany to be educated and as was pointed out by the magazine, “By direct descent and by marriage ties, tens of thousands of Americans, and hundreds who were in the Circle, traced their ancestry to noble German blood.”⁵¹ During their tour through Germany, Hall brought Bay View Reading Circle members into contact with German history, art, literature, and the botanical gardens of the country. Additionally, Hall pointed out that Germany was an empire, which may have drawn additional attention to the study year. This was due to the fact that Frederick Jackson Turner had recently proclaimed that the American frontier was now “closed,” and in turn, many in the United States began to look abroad to continue American expansion.⁵² The 1893-1894 study year was a success. Attendance grew at Bay View by more than twenty percent during the summer months, proving that *The Bay View Magazine* was increasing interest in both Bay View and the outside world. This interest justified the continuation of Hall’s publication.⁵³

Throughout the next two study years, Hall brought members of Bay View Reading Circles to France in 1894-1895, and then to England in 1895-1896.⁵⁴ In France, members experienced the art, educational system, customs, literature, religion, and

⁵¹ “The Course for 1893-4,” *The Bay View Magazine* 1, no. 1 (November 1893), 28-29, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]. For more information: Chapter 2.

⁵² “The Course for 1893-4,” *The Bay View Magazine* 1, no. 1 (November 1893), 28, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]. For more information: Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Marlborough, UK: Adam Matthew Digital, 2007).

⁵³ “The Bay View Season,” *The Bay View Magazine* 2, no. 1 (November 1894), 34, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁵⁴ The 1894-1895 study year was actually promoted as “The French and Spanish Year” but it focused predominately on France, with the exception of a few articles that focused on Spain’s “vital relation with early American history.” For more information: “The Bay View Course for 1894-95,” *The Bay View Magazine* 2, no. 1 (November 1894), 36, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

intellectual life of the country.⁵⁵ While in England, members found an Anglo-Saxon bond between themselves and the English race. Additionally, they were also informed about the British Empire in Australia, continuing Hall's focus on the European empires of the period.⁵⁶ However, the tours that members of Bay View Reading Circles took through Germany, France, and England would all pale in comparison to their tour through the United States during the 1896-1897 study year, specifically, "its wonderful past, its already rich body of literature, its social institutions, its marvelous present civilization, and its grand future."⁵⁷

UNDERSTANDING THE "BEGINNING" OF AMERICA⁵⁸

Bay View Reading Circle members were welcomed to their 1896-1897 study year by a portrait of Christopher Columbus, which adorned the cover of the November 1896 edition of *The Bay View Magazine*. The opening article of the study year was John Fiske's "The Story of Columbus" and the remainder of the first edition of the magazine went on to detail Columbus's first report from the New World; the other Spanish discoverers of the region; and a section entitled "The Columbian Note Book," where

⁵⁵ "The Bay View Course for 1894-95," *The Bay View Magazine* 2, no. 1 (November 1894), 36, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁵⁶ "Around the Study Lamp," *The Bay View Magazine* 3, no. 3 (January 1896), 120, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; George R. Parkin, "England's Empire in the South Pacific," *The Bay View Magazine* 3, no. 6 (April 1896), 233, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁵⁷ "Bay View Course and Magazine for 1896-97," *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 1 (November 1896), 29, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁵⁸ "The Story of Columbus," *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 1 (November 1896), 5, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

various “stray fragments of interesting intelligence” could be shared with the readers.⁵⁹

This last section also included information pertaining to Columbus’s crewmembers, Ferdinand Magellan’s circumnavigation of the globe, and Vasco Núñez de Balboa’s discovery of the Pacific Ocean.⁶⁰

By introducing members of Bay View Reading Circles to their tour through the United States by detailing the discoveries of Columbus and other Spanish explorers, John M. Hall was attempting to establish Columbus as the first American, as well as Spain’s imperial past as the foundation of the American historical narrative. Of course, by November of 1896, these were by no means unique narratives, due to the fact that influential Americans had been celebrating Columbus and Spain’s imperial legacy since the late eighteenth century. However, many of these sparsely located clubwomen, who were engaged in the study year, had not previously attended a Columbus Day event, read the works of U.S. Hispanists, or visited the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893; and in turn, they were being introduced to these narratives for the first time. Additionally, Hall was also presenting the United States as a transnational entity, which had been initially connected to the civilized nations of Europe by the Spanish discoveries of the New World.

⁵⁹ John Fiske, “The Story of Columbus,” *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 1 (November 1896), 5-8, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]. For more information: “The Columbian Note Book,” *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 1 (November 1896), 36, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]. It should be noted that the title of the section referred to as “The Columbian Note Book” changed annually. For example, during the previous study year, the section was referred to as “The Victorian Note Book.”

⁶⁰ “The Columbian Note Book,” *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 1 (November 1896), 36, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]. During the first-half of the twentieth century, U.S. colonial administrators appropriated the narrative associated with Ferdinand Magellan’s discovery of both Guam and the Philippine Islands, in an attempt to justify their own positions in colonial society. For more information: Chapter 6.

In his article, John Fiske detailed to his readers how little historians knew about Columbus's life prior to his discovery of the New World.⁶¹ Fiske also praised Bartolomé de las Casas and Columbus's own son, Ferdinand Columbus, for both their abilities and their attempts to increase our understanding about the explorer's earlier life.⁶² Specifically, Fiske referred to Las Casas as "one of the most faithful historians of that or any age, and Columbus's son, Ferdinand Columbus, as a most accomplished scholar and bibliographer."⁶³ Additionally, Fiske celebrated the work done by Washington Irving and the information that he provided to the American public about Columbus, demonstrating that he was influenced by Irving's works.⁶⁴

In the same edition of *The Bay View Magazine*, the American author Thomas Wentworth Higginson informed Bay View Reading Circle members about a variety of different Spanish explorers. In his article entitled "The Spanish Discoverers," Higginson interestingly creates a separation between the Spanish explorers who came into contact with the United States and those who did not. Higginson cautiously protects the American historical narrative by providing the reader with information about Ponce de León, Cabeza de Vaca, and Hernando De Soto's discoveries of the present-day United States. He also credits León, de Vaca, and de Soto with bringing civilization and

⁶¹ Fiske was an American philosopher and historian.

⁶² For more information: Chapter 2. The U.S. Hispanist, George Ticknor, benefited from these works while conducting researching in Spain in 1818.

⁶³ John Fiske, "The Story of Columbus," *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 1 (November 1896), 5, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁶⁴ John Fiske, "The Story of Columbus," *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 1 (November 1896), 5 and 7, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

Christianity to the region.⁶⁵ Conversely, Higginson saw the “romantic adventures of Cortez and Pizarro” as “not discoveries but rather conquests,” which “lay almost wholly beyond the borders of the region now known as the United States of America.”⁶⁶

Higginson’s comments demonstrate that stereotypes associated with the Black Legend still existed in the minds of some Americans during the late nineteenth century; however, writers and editors were selective in their application of the Black Legend narrative and were willing to overlook it to benefit the American historical narrative. Furthermore, Bay View Reading Circle members seemed satisfied with the narrative presented by Higginson, which demonstrates that they were comfortable with appropriating Spain’s imperial legacy, assuming it would elevate perceptions of the United States.

Higginson also provided his readers with information about Ponce de León’s search for the Fountain of Youth. In 1512, León sailed from Puerto Rico and eventually arrived in the land that he would call Pascua Florida. When he arrived, the Spanish explorer believed that he had discovered the island that the Indigenous peoples of the Caribbean had described as possessing the Fountain of Youth.⁶⁷ Of course, León and his men never located the fountain they were in search of but Higginson made an interesting connection between Spain’s imperial past and the United States when he stated that, “León never found the Fountain of Youth, but he found Florida; and to the multitudes

⁶⁵ “The Spanish Discoverers,” *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 1 (November 1896), 19-21, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁶⁶ “The Spanish Discoverers,” *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 1 (November 1896), 20, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁶⁷ “The Spanish Discoverers,” *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 1 (November 1896), 19-20, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

who now retreat from the northern winter to that blossoming region, it may seem that his early dreams were not so unfounded after all.”⁶⁸

The narrative associated with Ponce de León would reemerge in the early decades of the twentieth century, as Puerto Ricans began challenging the United States’ colonial occupation of their island by glorifying the explorer.⁶⁹ Much like Higginson had in his article from 1896, Puerto Ricans would appropriate the image of León to justify their connection to Europe and the advanced level of civilization that the link provided them, a practice that would later also be duplicated by U.S. colonial administrators.

The “Just Among Ourselves” section of the magazine gave Bay View Reading Circle members an opportunity to communicate with both one another and John M. Hall. A review of the section from the 1896-1897 study year provides the reader with an overall sense that Bay View Reading Circles increased during the study year and that members seemed unfazed by Hall’s use of Spain’s imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative. Furthermore, it is clear that the clubwomen thoroughly enjoyed their journeys through their country’s history. For example, the Louisville circle stated that, “If you could have been at our meeting this afternoon and seen our enthusiasm, you would have had no doubt that we all think the course a great success.”⁷⁰ The Bay View Reading Circle from Neponset, Illinois sent word that, “the high-water

⁶⁸ “The Spanish Discoverers,” *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 1 (November 1896), 20, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁶⁹ For more information: Chapter 5.

⁷⁰ “Just Among Ourselves,” *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 3 (January 1897), 130, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

mark of enthusiasm of last year was long ago passed with the American Year course.”⁷¹ And, the Oriental from Jackson, Michigan wrote that the group had “so far found the American studies of such absorbing interest that no time had been left for special programs.”⁷² These quotes, as well as several others, demonstrate that much like those individuals who attended Columbus Day celebrations, read the works of U.S. Hispanists, and visited the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893, the Black Legend narrative did not affect how members of Bay View Reading Circles experienced the establishment of Spain’s imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative.

AMERICAN CLUBWOMEN SET “SAIL FOR SPAIN”⁷³

Similar to other middle- and upper-class Americans, the women of Bay View Reading Circles paid close attention to the rising conflict between Spain and her colonists on the island of Cuba during the late 1890s.⁷⁴ Interested in foreign affairs, American women were supplied with information from abroad by the writers for *The Bay View Magazine*, as well as several other leading publications of the period, including: *The Chautauquan*, *Harper’s Bazar*, and *The Woman’s Journal*. Specifically within *The Bay View Magazine*, writers felt compassion for the Cuban cause and often compared the Cuban desire for independence with the movement that led to the American Revolutionary War. Despite

⁷¹ “Just Among Ourselves,” *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 4 (February 1897), 163, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁷² “Just Among Ourselves,” *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 4 (February 1897), 162, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁷³ “Just Among Ourselves,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 2 (December 1898), 78, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁷⁴ “Around the Study Lamp,” *The Bay View Magazine* 5, no. 7 (May 1898), 281, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

supporting Cuban freedom, the writers for *The Bay View Magazine* did not attack the country of Spain or its people for the Spanish government's actions in Cuba, which duplicates the friendly bond that U.S. Hispanists had towards the people of Spain since the first quarter of the nineteenth century.⁷⁵

As the women of Bay View Reading Circles bid the German study year of 1897-1898 a "tearful regret," it was clear that many were looking forward to their upcoming trip through Spain.⁷⁶ The war between Spain and the United States, which began in April of 1898, sparked an interest in a country and a people that American clubwomen claimed to know little about.⁷⁷ Their study year would last from November 1 to June 15. The year was officially entitled "The Spanish-French Year" but it was dominated by the study of Spain.⁷⁸ Additionally, as clubwomen traveled through Spain, their interest in the country grew so much that the circles from Bloomington, Illinois and Creston, Iowa wrote to *The*

⁷⁵ "Around the Study Lamp," *The Bay View Magazine* 4, no. 3 (January 1897), 125, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁷⁶ "The Spanish-French Course," *The Bay View Magazine* 5, no. 8 (June 1898), 340, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁷⁷ "The Spanish-French Course," *The Bay View Magazine* 5, no. 8 (June 1898), 340, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]. For more information on American interests in Spain post-1898: Richard L. Kagan, "The Spanish Craze in the United States: Cultural Entitlement and the Appropriation of Spain's Cultural Patrimony, ca. 1890-ca. 1930," *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 36, (2010), 37-58; Stanley Payne, "The Reencounter between Spain and the United States after 1898," in *When Spain Fascinated America*, edited by multiple editors (Madrid, Spain: Fundación Zuloaga, 2010), 11-25; Mitchell Codding, "Archer Milton Huntington: Champion of Spain in the United States," in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 142-170; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, "The Broken Image: The Spanish Empire in the United States after 1898," in *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, America's Dream*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 160-169.

⁷⁸ "Announcement for 1898-99: The Spanish-French Year," *The Bay View Magazine* 5, no. 8 (June 1898), 358-359, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

Bay View Magazine and stated that they would have preferred to spend more time in Spain, rather than moving on to France.⁷⁹

The opening cover for “The Spanish-French Year” greeted members of Bay View Reading Circles with a photo of the Queen Regent of Spain, Maria Christina. While in Madrid in 1892, American exposition organizers had become familiar with the Queen Regent, as had the U.S. Minister to Spain, Stewart L. Woodford, during the lead up to the Spanish-American War.⁸⁰ The Queen Regent was highly respected by influential Americans and was described to members of Bay View Reading Circles as “a true woman, dignified, and tactful.” It was also suggested by *The Bay View Magazine* that the Queen Regent was a competent leader, which was moving Spain in a positive direction.⁸¹

It should not come as any great surprise that a portrait of the Queen Regent welcomed American clubwomen to their tour through Spain. Starting with Washington Irving’s work on Queen Isabella, Spanish women were held in a high regard by many educated Americans throughout the nineteenth century. As was noted in the previous chapter, the Spanish exhibit in the Woman’s Building at the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 was erected in a central location. At both the exposition and in the works of U.S. Hispanists, Isabella was presented as the mother of the United States due to the assistance that she provided to Christopher Columbus prior to his discovery of the

⁷⁹ “Just Among Ourselves,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 6 (April 1899), 249, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; “Just Among Ourselves,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 5 (March 1899), 206, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; “Just Among Ourselves,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 4 (February 1899), 168, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁸⁰ For more information: Chapter 3; Chapter 5.

⁸¹ H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, “The Capital of Spain,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 8, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

New World.⁸² Furthermore, throughout the 1898-1899 study year, Spanish women were presented to American clubwomen in a positive light and the equality they received before both the law and in their chosen professions was clearly something that the writer for *The Bay View Magazine*, Eva Canel, believed should be a goal for American society.⁸³

Members of Bay View Reading Circles began their imaginary journey through Spain with a tour of Madrid, Spain's capital city and the seat of power within the country and the empire. Within the opening article, H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, who was an American writer who had also served as a consul to Spain in Chicago, described the city as the "brightest and gayest of Spanish towns."⁸⁴ In an attempt to allow the women of the Bay View Reading Circles to gain a greater understanding of the city, Chatfield-Taylor compared Madrid to Washington and Paris, two cities with which his readers would be more familiar. Specifically, Chatfield-Taylor wrote that, "Spain's capital might be roughly described as a composite photograph of Paris and Washington" and "like Washington, too, it is a capital of deliberate creation, not of circumstance, and it is merely a capital."⁸⁵ By making these statements, the author was attempting to draw

⁸² For more information: Chapter 2; Chapter 3.

⁸³ Hugh James Rose, "Graces of Spanish Women," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 3 (January 1899), 117, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; Eva Canel, "The Spanish Woman," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 3 (January 1899), 115-116, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁸⁴ H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, "The Capital of Spain," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 2, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁸⁵ H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, "The Capital of Spain," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 1, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

comparisons that would allow the readers to make a closer connection between Spain and the United States, and to place them on equal footing with one another.

Also within the article, Chatfield-Taylor hinted at the existence of the Black Legend narrative in the United States when he stated that “Spain has changed since the days of the Inquisition, though one doubts whether the fact is recognized in America.”⁸⁶ By including this in the article, it is clear that Chatfield-Taylor was encouraging American clubwomen to increase their knowledge of Spain and not to solely agree with what they had previously learned about the country during the lead up to the Spanish-American War of 1898.

Throughout the study year, writers for *The Bay View Magazine* continuously drew their readers attention to the Spanish people, much as U.S. Hispanists had prior in the century.⁸⁷ They often described the Spanish people as being initially reserved, but immensely friendly and “the most charming of hosts” once a relationship was established, a belief that was echoed by many U.S. Hispanists, policymakers, Ministers to Spain, exposition organizers, military officers, and colonial administrators.⁸⁸ The Spanish people were also presented to the members of Bay View Reading Circles as excellent orators and the Spanish language was praised for its “universal” importance, a reverence that was also felt by various U.S. representatives throughout the nineteenth century.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, “The Capital of Spain,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 3, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁸⁷ For more information: Chapter 2.

⁸⁸ H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, “The Capital of Spain,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 5, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]. For more information: Chapter 1; Chapter 2.

⁸⁹ From Leisure Hours, “The People of Spain,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 17-18, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

Although the clubwomen that were experiencing Spain rarely came into actual contact with someone of Spanish descent, they were so invested in their imaginary journeys that they truly felt as if they were walking the streets of Madrid.⁹⁰ In turn, they made comments that their contact with Spain had “taught them admiration and respect for the many worthy traits of the Spanish character” and that they were enjoying the country so much that they would be “sorry to leave romantic Spain for mercurial France.”⁹¹

The writers for *The Bay View Magazine* took a particular interest in Spanish politicians, art, literature, and architecture during the 1898-1899 study year. Specifically, they held the Spanish politicians, Emilio Castelar, Práxedes Mateo Sagasta, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, and Segismundo Moret in high regard, the last of which had previously developed a close relationship with the U.S. Minister to Spain, Stewart L. Woodford.⁹² The writers for *The Bay View Magazine* were also drawn to the architecture of Madrid and the Alhambra, as well as the works of art and literature produced by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, Diego Velázquez, and Miguel de Cervantes.⁹³ Of course, this American interest and appreciation for Spanish politicians, art, literature, and architecture

⁹⁰ H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, “Granada and the Alhambra,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 2 (December 1898), 51-54, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁹¹ “Just Among Ourselves,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 4 (February 1899), 167, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁹² H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, “The Capital of Spain,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]. For more information: Chapter 5.

⁹³ H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, “The Capital of Spain,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 9, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, “Granada and the Alhambra,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 2 (December 1898), 45, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; S.T. St. James, “Spain’s Greatest Artists,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 3 (January 1899), 89, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; A.G. Radcliffe, “Velasquez,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 3 (January 1899), 95, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; William Converse Wood, “Spain’s Greatest Writer,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 4 (February 1899), 131, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

had existed in the United States prior to the late nineteenth century; however, much of this information was new to the middle- and upper-class American women who were members of Bay View Reading Circles.⁹⁴ This interest in Spanish art and architecture would continue to exist in the United States throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century.⁹⁵

Throughout the year, the women of Bay View Reading circles were presented with a balanced perspective of life in Spain, the country's past successes, as well as its more recent history of political instability during the nineteenth century. Although the overall theme of the study year promoted a belief that Spain was not dead and that the country was "gathering and concentrating her strength," some writers for *The Bay View Magazine* still expressed their distaste for certain aspects of the country, as well as the Spanish way of life.⁹⁶ However, many of these negative comments towards Spain, the country's past, and the Spanish people appeared in articles where the writer was also praising the country, its past, and its people; in turn, this demonstrates that biases still existed but that they did not dominate the narrative or affect the veneration of the country's imperial legacy.

⁹⁴ "Just Among Ourselves," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 3 (January 1899), 123, [Bentley Historical Library - University of Michigan].

⁹⁵ Richard L. Kagan, "The Spanish Craze in the United States: Cultural Entitlement and the Appropriation of Spain's Cultural Patrimony, ca. 1890-ca. 1930," *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 36, (2010), 37-58; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, "Spanish Origins of the American Empire: Hispanism, History, and Commemoration, 1898-1915," *International History Review* 30, no. 1 (March 2008), 32-51; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, "The Broken Image of Spain: The Spanish Empire in the United States After 1898," in *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, America's Decline*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 160-168.

⁹⁶ From Leisure Hours, "The People of Spain," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 18, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

As was discussed in the opening article by H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, the writer complimented the city of Madrid and even went as far as making several comparisons to Paris and Washington, D.C.; however, he also stated that “The real sights of Madrid are not many.”⁹⁷ Throughout the remainder of the study year, the writers for *The Bay View Magazine* also commented that the size of the officer corps in the Spanish military was too large and that there were too few schools in Spain, both of which were accurate observations; although, this criticism of the Spanish military was somewhat unique because it had previously been both feared and respected by American foreign policymakers, U.S. Hispanist scholars, and judges at international expositions.⁹⁸ The Spanish government was also criticized due to the “untruthful war news” that it reported to its people about the events in the Caribbean Basin and the Philippine Islands, which *The Bay View Magazine* argued placed the country on “rotten foundations.”⁹⁹

These negative comments towards Spain, the Spanish past, and the country’s people demonstrate that the writers for *The Bay View Magazine* were offering readers a balanced presentation during their study year in Spain. These negative comments were also not unique to the country of Spain. During several other study years, the writers for the magazine criticized several aspect of the other countries that the women “visited.” However, the negative comments towards Spain demonstrate that writers had been

⁹⁷ H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, “The Capital of Spain,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 5, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

⁹⁸ H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, “The Capital of Spain,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 4, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; Edward D. Jones, “Physical Geography and Industries of Spain,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 22-25, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]. For more information: Chapter 1; Chapter 2.

⁹⁹ “Around the Study Lamp,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 2 (December 1898), 76, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

influenced by the Black Legend narrative, or at the very least, that the narrative had unconsciously integrated itself into the writers' biases. Specifically, *The Bay View Magazine* blamed the Roman Catholic Church for Spain's lack of progress in recent centuries. This is not only an example of the belief in the Black Legend but also an inherent anti-Catholic bias that existed in the United States during the long nineteenth century and manifested itself in the writings of a magazine that, although it had been mostly secularized by John M. Hall, was still part of a movement that had been started by Protestant evangelicals. Therefore, although the narrative was not dominated by the Black Legend, it is undeniable that it existed.

A review of the "Just Among Ourselves" portion of the magazine provides us with a vast amount of information about how Bay View Reading Circle members were experiencing their tour through Spain, receiving the articles that were included in *The Bay View Magazine* by John M. Hall, and celebrating their newfound knowledge about the country that "gave the United States birth."¹⁰⁰ To begin with, it is clear that members from Danvers, Illinois to Dickinson, North Dakota became extremely invested in their study year in Spain.¹⁰¹ Some groups appointed press reporters to communicate news to *The Bay View Magazine*, while others held fundraisers so that their husbands could participate in imaginary journeys through Spain.¹⁰² Members also took a particular

¹⁰⁰ This is a quote from Emilio Castelar and can be found here: H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, "The Capital of Spain," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 6, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

¹⁰¹ "Just Among Ourselves," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 2 (December 1898), 80, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; "Just Among Ourselves," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 4 (February 1899), 168, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

¹⁰² "Just Among Ourselves," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 2 (December 1898), 80, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; "Just Among Ourselves," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 5 (March 1899), 206, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

interest in Spanish literature; Spanish art; the map of Spain that was provided to groups by *The Bay View Magazine*; and what U.S. Hispanists, such as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, had written about the country.¹⁰³

Overall, it appears that the study year that members of Bay View Reading Circles were experiencing in Spain was changing their preconceptions towards the country. For example, the circle from Appleton City commented that “like many others we are surprised to find how much we do not know about Spain.”¹⁰⁴ Additionally, the circle group from Plymouth commented that “all our membership are experiencing better opinions about Spain than the war news left us” and the Home circle of Kendallville, Indiana commented that, “Here, as in many other places, the people have traced the development of the Spanish people, and gained a broader and more tolerant view of existing conditions.”¹⁰⁵ These comments not only reveal that American clubwomen knew little about Spain prior to the study year but also that experiencing the country as a member of a Bay View Reading Circle was changing their previously held negative views; ultimately this allowed for a more comfortable establishment of Spain’s imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative.

¹⁰³ “Just Among Ourselves,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 3 (January 1899), 123-126, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; “Just Among Ourselves,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 4 (February 1899), 166, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]. For more information on Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁴ “Just Among Ourselves,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 4 (February 1899), 168, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

¹⁰⁵ “Just Among Ourselves,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 4 (February 1899), 167, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; “Just Among Ourselves,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 6 (April 1899), 251, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

By the conclusion of the study year, members of Bay View Reading Circles had enjoyed their tours through Spain so much that they began to invite speakers to continue to discuss Spain and to display rare artifacts. Circle members also began hosting Spanish themed parties for both themselves and their husbands.¹⁰⁶ For example, on February 13, 1899, the Neighborhood circle of Detroit invited a Mrs. Angell to attend their circle luncheon. At the event, she displayed a Toledo sword-blade, which had originally been brought from Spain to Mexico during the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁷ Although this was most likely not the same Toledo sword-blade that had received a great deal of attention from judges at the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876, the Neighborhood circle's interest in the artifact speaks to the continued interest that Americans had in both the Spanish past and the respect for the country's past military accomplishments.¹⁰⁸

Although the circle group from Williamston held a special evening to celebrate Don Quixote; the circle from Cambridge, Illinois hosted "a charming Spanish luncheon," complete with a menu entirely in Spanish; and Dr. and Mrs. Grant from Lyons, Michigan decorated their parlors with the colors of Spain and the United States, all of these celebrations would fail to compare to the events organized by the circle from Edmore, Michigan and the Aftermath Club of Detroit.¹⁰⁹ In Edmore, the circle not only held a

¹⁰⁶ "Just Among Ourselves," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 5 (March 1899), 207, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]

¹⁰⁷ "Just Among Ourselves," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 5 (March 1899), 206, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

¹⁰⁸ For more information: Chapter 2; Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁹ "Just Among Ourselves," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 5 (March 1899), 206, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; "Just Among Ourselves," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 6 (April 1899), 251, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; "Just Among Ourselves," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 6 (April 1899), 250, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

banquet but its members also dressed up as Queen Isabella; King Ferdinand; the Queen-Regent, Maria Christina; the Spanish artists, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo; and even Uncle Sam was in attendance at the event.¹¹⁰ Not to be outdone, the Aftermath Club held an “evening in Spain” where individuals dressed as gypsies, hidalgos, water carriers, and minstrels. After providing all of those in attendance with a three minute information session about their personas, the individuals moved to the “real Spanish dining-room” to enjoy their meals.¹¹¹

This immersion into Spanish culture by Bay View Reading Circle members signified their interest and appreciation for Spanish history, people, art, and culture. Their willingness to allow another country’s culture to enter the United States demonstrated that middle- and upper-class women were not isolated from the outside world and that they were becoming active participants in the creation of an American imperial identity that appropriated Spain’s imperial legacy as its foundation. They also used the opportunity to spread their recently acquired knowledge to their husbands, which continued to reduce the belief in the Black Legend narrative, at least among middle- and upper-class Americans. After leaving Spain, clubwomen had increased their knowledge about “the mother of America” and combined with the information that they had acquired during their study year in the United States, the narrative that Spain and America had once been connected by Christopher Columbus’s discovery of the New World was

¹¹⁰ “The Madrid Note-Book,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 5 (March 1899), 211, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; Appendix ix.

¹¹¹ “Just Among Ourselves,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 7 (May 1899), 301, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

clearly unaffected by the Spanish-American War and continued to be relevant in the closing years of the nineteenth century.¹¹²

CONCLUSION

After the Spanish and French Year came to an end in 1899, the imaginary journeys of Bay View Reading Circle members did not simply conclude. Instead, members continued to “glide from land to land,” using *The Bay View Magazine* as their mode of transportation.¹¹³ As the United States emerged onto the world stage as an overseas imperial power, following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War of 1898, members of the Bay View Reading Circles continued to crave knowledge from abroad. Additionally, they also developed a desire to be active participants in the outward projection of American power.

The Bay View Magazine reacted to the United States’ increased influence on the world stage by widening the breadth of their circle members’ studies. Rather than studying the countries that many middle- and upper-class American women had been interested in during the majority of the long nineteenth century, specifically, Germany, France, Spain, England, and the United States, Bay View Reading Circle members began experiencing a variety of different regions of the world, including: Russia, Holland, Ireland, Scotland, Italy, Greece, Africa, Australia, Southeast Asia, as well as the republics that made up the former Spanish Empire in the Americas.¹¹⁴

¹¹² H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, “The Capital of Spain,” *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 6, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

¹¹³ “Around the Study Lamp,” *The Bay View Magazine* 7, no. 7 (May 1900), 324, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

¹¹⁴ The 1902-1903 and 1912-1913 Bay View Reading Circle study years were promoted as imaginary journeys through the United States and the country’s neighboring republics in Latin America.

Far from a sterile presentation of the world, American clubwomen felt as if they had walked the streets of Madrid and as they did, they educated themselves, as well as others, about the world outside of the United States.¹¹⁵ Increasing their knowledge about Spain and the country's imperial legacy allowed clubwomen to discredit beliefs surrounding the Black Legend narrative, as they integrated themselves and their husbands into Spanish life.¹¹⁶ Encouraged by the writers of *The Bay View Magazine* and accepted by Bay View Reading Circles, members appropriated Christopher Columbus and Ponce de León as their own, and praised Las Casas, Isabella of Castile, the Queen Regent Maria Christina, as well as the republican politicians who held power in Spain during the late nineteenth century. All the while, they continued the process of integrating the United States into a historical narrative that began with the Spanish discoveries of the New World.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, "The Capital of Spain," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1898), 6, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan]; H.C. Chatfield-Taylor, "Granada and the Alhambra," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 2 (December 1898), 51-54, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

¹¹⁶ "Just Among Ourselves," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 5 (March 1899), 207, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].

¹¹⁷ Margherita Arlina Hamm, "A Study Course of Travel," *The Club Woman's Magazine* 1, Issue 5 (1899), 217-219.

Chapter 5

“More Like Guests than Enemies”: Spain’s Imperial Legacy and U.S. Colonial Rule in the Caribbean Basin¹

On the morning of July 13, 1898, under a ceiba tree outside the city of Santiago de Cuba, a meeting was held between the Spanish General José Toral and U.S. Army representatives General William R. Shafter, General Nelson A. Miles, and General Joseph Wheeler.² The Spanish-American War had only been going on in Cuba since June 22, 1898; however, Spain had been involved in ongoing conflicts with Cuban insurgents since 1868, and both the Americans and the Spanish were prepared to see the fighting come to an end. At the meeting, the four generals discussed the articles of capitulation, marking the end of the siege of Santiago de Cuba and the beginning of the reign of a new imperial power on the island. The images that the meeting evoked were not lost on a member of the Associated Press who was stationed at General Wheeler’s Headquarters. In his account of the event, the journalist drew on the Columbian legacy and compared the scene to the explorer’s first celebration of Mass on the island of Cuba in 1492. Similar to the meeting between the Spanish and American generals, the writer informed his readers that Columbus’s celebration occurred under a ceiba tree, the event marked the

¹ “Former Foes Fraternize,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 22, 1898, p. 5; Louis A. Pérez Jr., *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh, 1983), 213-216.

² General Nelson A. Miles to the Secretary of War, Headquarters of the Army – Before Santiago, Cuba, July 13, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Correspondence on Cuba and Puerto Rico – 1898. For more information on the timeline of the Spanish-American War: Kenneth E. Hendrickson Jr., *The Spanish-American War* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2003).

beginning of a new imperial power on the island, and the inhabitants of Cuba played a peripheral role in the imperial undertaking.³

In the days following the meeting of July 13, U.S. and Spanish military officers, as well as their respective governments, continued to discuss the details surrounding the Spanish capitulation. Regardless of their differences, neither side wanted the siege to continue, nor did they wish for the Cuban insurgents, who they believed were racially inferior because of their perceived African heritage, to enter Santiago de Cuba and cause instability within the city.⁴ Additionally, the American generals were cautious not to adversely affect the honor of their imperial counterparts, who they had developed an admiration for due to the bravery that the Spanish had shown in battle.⁵ In turn, under the articles of capitulation, Spanish military officers were allowed to remain in possession of their side arms; municipal authorities continued to control the city, as they had under Spanish colonial rule; Spanish troops were provided with provisions by the U.S. Army; American and Spanish troops would jointly occupy the island until a formal treaty was

³ “Long After Midnight – Wheeler Put the Spaniards to the Test,” United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Correspondence on Cuba and Puerto Rico – 1898.

⁴ “Long After Midnight – Wheeler Put the Spaniards to the Test,” United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Correspondence on Cuba and Puerto Rico – 1898.

⁵ General Nelson A Miles to the Secretary of War, Headquarters of the Army – In Camp near Santiago, July 12, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Correspondence on Cuba and Puerto Rico – 1898; General Nelson A. Miles to the Secretary of War, Headquarters of the Army, July 16, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Correspondence on Cuba and Puerto Rico – 1898.

signed; and Spanish troops would be sent home at the expense of the United States when the war officially came to an end.⁶

General Toral met with General Shafter in a valley outside of Santiago de Cuba on July 17, 1898. After four days of negotiations, Toral had already left a notable impression on the American generals, who had earlier described him as being a tall, well-dressed man, who was “very pleasantly inclined and agreeable in manner.”⁷ Surrounded by U.S. and Spanish troops, Toral, Shafter, and the other high-ranking military officers in attendance took a few moments to shake hands and exchange pleasantries. Following the brief engagement, the Spanish marched back into the city, followed closely by their American counterparts.

At noon on July 17, the American flag was raised over the Governor’s Palace in Santiago de Cuba. Following the flag raising ceremony, “The Star Spangled Banner” and “The Stars and Stripes Forever” were sung in front of the large crowd of observers who attended the celebration.⁸ Immediately following the completion of the event, fraternization began between U.S. and Spanish military personnel both inside the

⁶ Secretary of War to Major General Miles, Washington, D.C., July 13, 1898 (several cablegrams were sent throughout the day), United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Correspondence on Cuba and Puerto Rico – 1898; “Long After Midnight – Wheeler Put the Spaniards to the Test,” United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Correspondence on Cuba and Puerto Rico – 1898; General Nelson A. Miles to Major General William R. Shafter and Commander of U.S. Forces, Headquarters of the Army, Before Santiago, Cuba, July 12, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Correspondence on Cuba and Puerto Rico – 1898; “Letters of Transmittal,” United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 6, Folder: Official correspondence relative to Santiago and Porto Rico campaigns – 1898.

⁷ Diary of Lieutenant Colonel Marion P. Maus with annotations by General Miles, July 13, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 6, Folder: Diary of Lieutenant Colonel Marion P. Maus with annotations by General Miles – 1898.

⁸ General W.R. Shafter to the Adjutant-General U.S.A., Santiago de Cuba, July 17, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 6, Folder: Official correspondence relative to Santiago and Porto Rico campaigns – 1898.

Governor's Palace and on the streets of Santiago de Cuba. Similar to the events that would take place following the Battle of Manila, local insurgents were banned from entering the city. In turn, the Cuban insurgents, who had been attempting to establish their independence since 1868, watched helplessly from outside of the city as a transfer of imperial power occurred between representatives of the American and Spanish empires.⁹

Shortly after the capitulation of Santiago de Cuba, U.S. military officers realized what President William McKinley; the U.S. Minister to Spain, Stewart L. Woodford; and the Assistant Secretary of State, William R. Day had known for some time but had not disclosed to the American public, members of the Cuba Libre movement, or American newspapers. Unlike many members of the U.S. Congress, McKinley, Woodford, and Day understood that the goal of the war with Spain was neither to destroy the Spanish Empire nor to provide the Cubans with their independence, which had been the official stated objectives of the United States government.¹⁰ Rather, McKinley, Woodford, and Day's true goal of the war was based on beliefs associated with the "no transfer" policy and the relationship that had existed between representatives of the U.S. and Spanish governments since the Revolutionary Era, and in turn, they were prepared to facilitate a transfer of imperial power in the Caribbean Basin that would allow the American Empire

⁹ Henry Jewett Greene, "Letters Written by Henry Jewett Greene during the War with Spain, 1898," July 17, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection – Small Collections, Henry Jewett Greene Collection, Box 1, Book – Letters Written by Henry Jewett Greene During the War with Spain, 1898.

¹⁰ For more information: Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1998).

to strengthen its hold on the area.¹¹ Additionally, McKinley, Woodford, and Day hoped that this transfer would stop a bottom-up revolution from successfully occurring in Cuba, which would allow the Spanish military to maintain its honor, would provide stability to American merchants and Spanish landowners, and would secure the U.S. military's interests in the region.

Despite not speaking the same language, Spanish and American troops in Cuba found racial, military, and imperial similarities that bonded the two “civilized powers” to one another. These similarities also allowed them to differentiate themselves from their Cuban counterparts, who they perceived as being racially inferior, poorly trained savages, due to their African ancestry. These perceived similarities between Spanish and American troops were heavily influenced by the beliefs associated with the racial ideologies of the period but have failed to be adequately explored by historians. Conversely, the perceived racial differences between American and Cuban troops shaped how military officers justified the U.S. Empire's position in Cuban society and their desire to continue to appropriate Spanish imperial practices, as they became the new overseers on an island that had been an imperial possession since Columbus's first Mass in 1492.¹²

The hoisting of the American flag over the city of Santiago de Cuba represented the culmination of the United States' century long obsession with the Caribbean Basin, specifically, the island of Cuba. Beginning in 1823, Secretary of State John Quincy

¹¹ For more information: The Congress of the United States, “The No Transfer Doctrine,” in *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History – Second Edition*, edited by Robert H. Holden and Eric Zolov (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6-8; Louis A. Pérez Jr., *Cuba Under the Platt Amendment, 1902-1934* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh, 1986); Pérez Jr., *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902*.

¹² Pérez Jr., *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902*, 213-216.

Adams claimed that Cuba was “almost in sight of our shores.” In the same year, Adams stated that Cuba was a “natural appendage to the North American continent.” He also argued that through the “laws of political as well as physical gravitation” Cuba would “gravitate only towards the North American Union.”¹³ Throughout the remainder of the Antebellum Era, as Americans expanded their land-based empire and the institution of slavery across the continent of North America, the acquisition of Cuba as a slave state became intertwined into debates surrounding what both the United States and the American Empire were, and what they would become.¹⁴ In both 1848 and 1854, American expansionists unsuccessfully attempted to purchase the island from the Spanish government. Following the conclusion of the American Civil War, the Grant administration also briefly considered acquiring Cuba, but similar to the attempts made in 1848 and 1854, the purchase never occurred. During the remainder of the century, American observers watched as Spain struggled to maintain control of her remaining colonial possessions in the Caribbean Basin, waiting for the appropriate moment to facilitate the transfer of sovereignty from one imperial power to the other.

The Spanish American wars of independence reduced Spain’s colonial possessions in the Americas to the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico. The colonial rebellions in mainland Spanish America also led to the continuation of the political instability that would plague the metropole of the Spanish Empire for the remainder of

¹³ John Quincy Adams, “John Quincy Adams to Hugh Nelson, April 28, 1823,” in *Writings of John Quincy Adams – Volume VII, 1820-1823*, edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917), 372 and 373.

¹⁴ Louis A. Pérez Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 3.

the century.¹⁵ In Washington, American politicians feared that additional political vulnerability in the Western Hemisphere would lead to the further encroachment of the European empires of the period and would adversely affect the United States' future economic, political, and military interests in the region. In turn, during his seventh State of the Union Address, U.S. President James Monroe proclaimed that the United States would not allow any further European attempts to colonize the hemisphere. However, understanding America's geopolitical weaknesses on the world stage, Monroe also stated that the United States would not interfere with any of the European imperial possessions that predated the proclamation.¹⁶

The foreign policy section of Monroe's address, commonly referred to as the Monroe Doctrine, was written by John Quincy Adams and was heavily influenced by the "no transfer" policy.¹⁷ Although the Monroe Doctrine did not explicitly mention Cuba, much of what was stated about the hemisphere was influenced by the views that American policymakers had towards the island. The "no transfer" policy not only demonstrated the respect that American policymakers had for the Spanish Empire but it also dictated the policy that the United States took towards Cuba throughout the remainder nineteenth century. For example, in 1832, Secretary of State Edward Livingston stated

¹⁵ For more information on political instability in Spain during the nineteenth century: Angel Smith and Emma Dávila-Cox (editors), *The Crisis of 1898: Colonial Redistribution and Nationalist Mobilization* (New York: St. Martin's Press Incorporated, 1999).

¹⁶ James Monroe, "The Monroe Doctrine," in *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History – Second Edition*, edited by Robert H. Holden and Eric Zolov (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 13-16.

¹⁷ Pérez Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*, 5. For more information on the "no transfer" policy: The Congress of the United States, "The No Transfer Doctrine," in *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History – Second Edition*, edited by Robert H. Holden and Eric Zolov (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6-8.

that the United States would “preserve Cuba in the hands of Spain, even at the expense of war.” Two decades later, Secretary of State John M. Clayton echoed Livingston’s sentiments and reinforced America’s ongoing interest in the island when he stated that the U.S. government “is resolutely determined that the Island of Cuba, shall never be ceded by Spain to any other power than the United States.”¹⁸ Also, following the *Virginius* Affair of 1873, the U.S. Minister to Spain, Caleb Cushing, was confident that Spain and the United States could resolve the issue without a war, which they finally did in 1875.¹⁹

The “no transfer” policy facilitated an informal understanding between the two imperial powers that benefited both Spain and the United States in the Caribbean Basin. Staying true to the policy, once it appeared possible that the Cuban insurgents may be able to defeat the Spanish imperial forces during the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898), the American government began to facilitate a transfer of power between Spain and the United States.²⁰ Even after the beginning of the Spanish-American War, several influential American foreign policymakers hoped the war would come to a quick end and still attempted to preserve an informal positive relationship with Spanish representatives

¹⁸ Edward Livingston, “Edward Livingston, Secretary of State of the United States to William Shaler, United States Consul at Havana, September 1, 1832,” in *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860 – Volume XI – Spain*, edited by William R. Manning (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 6-7; John M. Clayton, “John M. Clayton, Secretary of State of the United States to Daniel M. Barringer, United States Minister to Spain, August 2, 1849,” in *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning The Independence of the Latin-American Nations, 1831-1860, Volume XI – Spain*, edited by William R. Manning (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 69-71.

¹⁹ For more information: Caleb Cushing Papers in the Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, General Correspondence – June 25, 1874 to July, 1874, Box 115, Folder: 1.

²⁰ For more information: John L. Offner, *An Unwanted War: The Diplomacy of the United States and Spain Over Cuba, 1895-1898* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

in both Washington and Madrid, due to the precedent that had been established by previous representatives.²¹ Additionally, U.S. military officers also hoped to maintain the honor of Spanish military officers on the battlefield by providing them with aid; protecting them from the Cuban insurgents; and allowing them to hand over control of the region to the United States, instead of their former colonial subjects. Therefore, rather than being a brief, unplanned foray into overseas imperial expansion, followed by a quick, hasty retreat from the nation's newly acquired imperial responsibilities, which has been the overwhelming narrative associated with the conflict, this chapter will demonstrate that the Spanish-American War in Cuba was simply the continuation of the United States' policy in the Western Hemisphere; specifically the east-to-west movement of civilization, which had been temporarily stunted by the "closing" of the frontier in 1893 but had been reinvigorated by the American Empire's expansion into the Caribbean Basin and the Pacific in 1898.²²

This chapter will also examine the conduct of the United States in the periphery of its empire and will focus on the creation of America's imperial policies and mentalities towards Cuba and Puerto Rico in the years surrounding the Spanish-American War of 1898. As was demonstrated by the previous chapters, relationships existed between influential American and Spanish citizens since the Revolutionary War. Through these interactions, intellectual Americans educated themselves about Spain's imperial past.

²¹ Perez Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*, 13-17; "McKinley Blamed Roosevelt," *Boston Evening Transcript*, September 7, 1912, p. 19.

²² Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Marlborough, UK: Adam Matthew Digital, 2007).

They also developed an imperial narrative in which the United States celebrated the “civilizing” endeavors of the Spanish Empire in the New World.

These interactions and the creation of an imperial narrative influenced educated Americans’ positive perceptions of Spain and the Spanish Empire and counteracted the Black Legend narrative, which was promoted by many members of the jingoistic press in the years leading up to the Spanish-American War. This imperial narrative, which was primarily developed in the United States, as well as the pre-existing relationships between representatives of the United States and Spain, provided U.S. military officers and colonial administrators with the opportunity to integrate themselves into the imperial framework that had previously been developed by the Spanish Empire in both Cuba and Puerto Rico. This framework, as well as the use of Spain’s imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative, allowed representatives of the United States to comfortably depend directly on Spain’s expertise in the region. Over time, changes were made to Spain’s imperial practices and policies; however, during the decades following the end of the conflict, the Spanish imperial legacy continued to be appropriated by U.S. military officers and colonial administrators, in a continued attempt to justify their position in both colonial society and amongst the European imperial powers of the period.²³

²³ For more information on the American occupation of Cuba: Marial Iglesias Utset, *A Cultural History of Cuba: During the U.S. Occupation, 1898-1902* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

MAINTAINING IMPERIAL CONTROL: THE AMERICAN EMPIRE ENTERS THE CARIBBEAN BASIN

As they had throughout the Antebellum Era, Americans once again drew their attention to Cuba when fighting began on the island in October of 1868.²⁴ Known as the Ten Years' War, the conflict initially pitted Cuban planters and business owners, who demanded independence from Spain and desired support from the United States, against the Spanish imperial authorities on the island. From Washington, President Ulysses S. Grant and Secretary of State Hamilton Fish attentively watched the conflict unfold. Following the ideologies and policies of past administrations, Grant supported Spain's imperial government on the island and dismissed Cuban independence as being "unwise and premature."²⁵ The war came to an end in 1878 with Spain maintaining control of her colonial possession in the Caribbean Basin. Despite an additional conflict on the island, which occurred from 1879 to 1880, stability returned to Cuba during the 1880s and the first half of the 1890s.²⁶ However, by 1895, a war began on the island that would eventually lead to the end of Spanish imperial rule.

Throughout the early portion of the 1890s, upper-class Americans began developing a closer relationship with Spain and the Spanish Empire. From 1891 to 1894,

²⁴ For more information on the American interest in Cuba: Louis A. Pérez Jr., *Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008); William R. Day to Charles G. Dawes, Chicago, Illinois, October 11, 1897, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, William R. Day Papers, Box 5, Folder: General Correspondence – 1897.

²⁵ Ulysses S. Grant, "Seventh Annual Message – December 7, 1875," in *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the President, 1789-1897 – Volume VII*, edited by James D. Richardson (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898), 339; Louis A. Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2003), 53.

²⁶ This conflict is also known as the "Little War" or "Small War." For more information on small skirmishes that broke out following 1880: Pérez Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*, 7.

Spain and the United States agreed upon a reciprocal commercial agreement, which enabled Cuban agricultural products to be shipped directly to the United States.²⁷ In both 1892 and 1893, American and Spanish exposition organizers worked in unison to celebrate the four-hundred-year anniversary of Christopher Columbus's discovery of the Americas. Also, American clubwomen celebrated the Spanish past and the contemporary virtues that the country could still offer on the world stage during their imaginary journeys throughout the United States and Spain. While all of this was occurring, the construction of America's transcontinental empire was coming to an end and expansionist-minded Americans began to look outside of the continent of North America to continue to spread their advanced level of "civilization" throughout the world.

In Cuba, the peninsulares were able to position themselves at the top of both the social and economic hierarchies that dominated Spanish colonial society.²⁸ Peninsulares controlled political offices, owned a vast amount of the private property on the island, and were in possession of a great deal of the wealth that existed in Cuba. As Spanish immigrants continued to arrive in Cuba during the second half of the nineteenth century and American corporations continued to increase their investments on the island, wealthy creole Cuban planters saw their dependency on American capital increase, while their position in colonial life continued to dissipate. These Cuban planters demanded reforms under the Spanish imperial system but did not desire nationhood. In turn, they charted a middle-course and in 1878, they created the political party known as the Partido Liberal Autonomista. By the mid-1890s, these individuals began questioning their loyalty to the

²⁷ *Report on the Census of Cuba, 1899* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 29.

²⁸ Peninsulares were individuals who were born in Spain and then had moved to the periphery of the Spanish Empire.

Spanish Empire after they were forced out of local politics by the pro-Spanish based Partido Unión Constitucional. However, as the racially diverse Cuban insurgent forces commenced their westward movement across the island in 1895, the creole elite quickly attempted to reconcile their differences with the Spanish imperial forces, in an attempt to maintain stability on the island.²⁹

Influential Americans, Spanish colonial officials, and the creole Cuban landholding elite all equally feared a revolution, which would allow members of the Afro-Cuban populations to take control of the island. Furthermore, these groups did not desire the existence of an independent Cuba, which would challenge the socio-economic hierarchy that existed on the island. Following the precedent set by previous administrations, President Grover Cleveland and Secretary of State Richard Olney supported Spain's attempts to suppress the revolution that had begun in 1895. However, due to the instability that continued to plague the metropole of the Spanish Empire, Olney feared that Spain may not be able to successfully subdue this insurrection.³⁰

In January of 1896, the Spanish government sent General Valeriano Weyler to Cuba to end the conflict and to maintain Spain's imperial authority over the island. Weyler used the 200,000 Spanish troops at his disposal and made war on all those he perceived were not loyal to Spain, including the wealthy creole elite who had previously supported the Partido Liberal Autonomista.³¹ Weyler's policy of reconcentrados, which

²⁹ Pérez Jr., *Cuba Under the Platt Amendment, 1902-1934*, 13-20; Pérez Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*, 7.

³⁰ Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 85.

³¹ Pérez Jr., *Cuba Under the Platt Amendment, 1902-1934*, 21.

placed many members of Cuba's rural population into deplorable encampments, lead to mass starvation and the outbreak of fatal epidemics.

Weyler had first learned many of the tactics associated with his reconcentration policy while being in contact with U.S. General William T. Sherman following his successful Savannah Campaign during the American Civil War. During the campaign, Sherman had employed the use of total war against Confederate civilians in an attempt to bring the conflict to an end. Furthermore, Weyler also witnessed Spanish General Blas Villate's use of total war against Cuban civilians during the Ten Years' War.³² Despite these tactics, Weyler was unable to control the movement of the insurgents throughout the Cuban countryside and he was eventually recalled to Spain in October of 1897.

Weyler's inability to control the movement of Cuban insurgents forced the creole elite to conclude that their position in colonial society could no longer be secured by the Spanish Empire. In turn, members of the group looked to the U.S. government to facilitate a transfer of imperial power between Spain and the United States that would provide them with the same level of stability that had previously existed under Spanish colonial rule.³³

Late in 1897, the Spanish Liberal Práxedes Mateo Sagasta appointed Ramón Blanco as the Governor-General of Cuba. Sagasta instructed Blanco to reverse several of the harsh policies established by Weyler and to attempt to make peace with members of

³² *Report on the Census of Cuba, 1899* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 39-40. For more information on how Weyler learned how to control rural populations from U.S. General William Tecumseh Sherman: Gabriel Cardona, *Weyler, Nuestro Hombre en la Habana* (Barcelona, España: Editorial Planeta, 1997), 34-35; Ian F.W. Beckett, *Modern Insurgencies and Counter-Insurgencies: Guerrillas and Their Opponents since 1750* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 36-37. For more information on the use of concentration camps in colonial warfare: Jonas Kreienbaum, "Deadly Learning? Concentration Camps in Colonial Wars Around 1900," in *Imperial Co-operation and Transfer, 1870-1930 – Empire and Encounters*, edited by Volker Barth and Rolan Cvetkovski (London, England: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 219-236.

³³ Pérez Jr., *Cuba Under the Platt Amendment, 1902-1934*, 28-29.

the Partido Liberal Autonomista.³⁴ Following Blanco's appointment, the Spanish government continued to attempt to end the conflict in Cuba by proclaiming a royal decree on November 25, 1897, which provided Cuba with autonomous home rule.³⁵ Hearing news of the proclamation, the U.S. Consul-General at Havana, General Fitzhugh Lee, wrote to William R. Day and stated that U.S. war ships should be sent to Cuba to support Blanco and Spain's imperial forces on the island.³⁶ Unfortunately for the Spanish Empire, the liberal colonial reforms instituted by the Spanish government caused more problems than they resolved. Insurgent leaders rejected the reforms and vowed to continue their fight against Spain until independence was granted to the island. Conversely, many Spanish loyalist, including high-ranking members of the military, believed that the reform policies gave in to the colonial inhabitants and were far too liberal. Furthermore, despite disagreeing on nearly every aspect of Spanish colonial life on the island of Cuba, both insurgent leaders and Spanish loyalist acknowledged that the liberal reforms that had been instituted by Spain were a sign of weakness and that Spain's imperial authority in Cuba was coming to an end.³⁷

While Spanish officials in both Madrid and Havana attempted to maintain the existence of the Spanish Empire in Cuba, American policymakers in Washington, Madrid, and Havana closely monitored the events and prepared for a transfer of

³⁴ Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 87; Edwin Atkins to William R. Day, Boston, Massachusetts, November 26, 1897, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, William R. Day Papers, Box 5, Folder: General Correspondence – 1897.

³⁵ *Report on the Census of Cuba, 1899* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 53-54.

³⁶ Fitzhugh Lee to William R. Day, December 15, 1897, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, William R. Day Papers, Box 35, Folder: Spain-War, 1897-98 and undated.

³⁷ Pérez Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*, 9-10.

sovereignty to occur between themselves and the Spanish Empire. Despite the fact that the Spanish Empire was in an extremely vulnerable position by the early months of 1898, American policymakers still wanted to avoid a war with the imperial power. As was discussed earlier, throughout the proceeding century, Americans had been inundated with stories of Spain's once great military prowess. These beliefs were reinforced by the reports made by General Fitzhugh Lee in Havana, which praised Spanish troops. Compounding these beliefs was the fact that in 1898 the experienced Spanish Navy possessed more warships than the United States. In turn, McKinley, Day, and Woodford all continued to work to establish a peaceful transfer of power between Spain and the United States, which would avoid both a conflict with the Spanish Empire and Cuban independence.³⁸

Throughout the early months of 1898, Woodford traveled to Madrid and on several occasions he met with Spain's Minister for Overseas Colonies Segismundo Moret.³⁹ After several of these meetings, Woodford was able to convince Moret that Spain could no longer maintain peace on the island of Cuba, and in turn, he began to attempt to facilitate a transfer of imperial rule that would enable the United States to amicably purchase the island from Spain. During the same time period, McKinley's

³⁸ Fitzhugh Lee to William R. Day. January 25, 1898, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, William R. Day Papers, Box 35, Folder: Spain-War, 1897-98 and undated; Angel Smith and Emma Dávila-Cox, "1898 and the Making of the New Twentieth-Century World Order," in *The Crisis of 1898: Colonial Redistribution and Nationalist Mobilization*, edited by Angel Smith and Emma Dávila-Cox (New York: St. Martin's Press Incorporated, 1999), 10; Joseph Smith, "'At the Wrong Place, at the Wrong Time and with the Wrong Enemy': US Military Strategy towards Cuba in 1898," in *The Crisis of 1898: Colonial Redistribution and Nationalist Mobilization*, edited by Angel Smith and Emma Dávila-Cox (New York: St. Martin's Press Incorporated, 1999), 197; Pérez Jr., *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902*, 172.

³⁹ For more information on these negotiations: Pérez Jr., *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902*, 172; Elbert J. Benton, *International Law and Diplomacy of the Spanish-American War* (Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins Press, 1908), 65.

administration was being attacked by the jingoistic press for the administration's refusal to neither support the Cuba Libre movement, nor overthrow the Spanish Empire on the island.

The journalists who wrote sensationalized articles for the jingoistic press were not the influential policymakers who were attempting to facilitate a transfer of power on the island of Cuba; nor were those who were influenced by these articles the American foreign policy elites who understood the "ramifications" of an independent Cuba.⁴⁰ However, these journalists still played an influential role in swaying public opinion. This influence took hold of the American public in February of 1898, when a letter from Spain's Ambassador to the United States, Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, which criticized the McKinley administration, was leaked. Compounding this issue was the fact that a week later, a mysterious explosion occurred in Havana Harbor, sinking the USS *Maine*.⁴¹ With the leaking of the De Lôme letter and the sinking of the USS *Maine*, McKinley, Day, and Woodford knew that they were running out of time to facilitate a peaceful imperial exchange between Spain and the United States before the enraged American public would demand action.

In late March of 1898, the clouds of war continued to gather but Woodford, Day, and McKinley still believed that a conflict could be avoided. On March 27, Day cabled to Woodford that among several provisions an armistice needed to be established by the Spanish forces in Cuba. In the days following the message, Day continued to contact Woodford, informing him that many members of Congress, particularly from the

⁴⁰ Pérez Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*, 24.

⁴¹ "Destruction of the War Ship Maine Was the Work of an Enemy," *New York Journal*, February 17, 1898, p. 1.

Democratic Party, were questioning McKinley's honor and were demanding that the president declare war on Spain.⁴² Additionally, Day also stated to Woodford that only an armistice in Cuba could halt an American declaration of war. Woodford communicated the American government's demands to the Spanish government and on April 10 the United States received news that the Queen Regent Maria Christina had ordered a ceasefire in Cuba.⁴³ Unfortunately for both Spain and the United States, President McKinley was unable to convince the head of the Cuban Junta, Horatio Seymour Rubens, to take part in the ceasefire, and in turn, the war continued.⁴⁴ Unable to establish a ceasefire, President McKinley finally succumbed to public and congressional pressures and declared war on the Spanish Empire on April 25, 1898.

The war to liberate Cuba from Spain's colonial rule was met with a great deal of enthusiasm throughout the United States. Conversely, for McKinley, Day, and Woodford, who had hoped to avoid a war that would embarrass Spain, the commencement of the conflict was viewed as a failure.⁴⁵ However, upon arriving in Cuba, U.S. troops, who had been inundated with American newspaper reports that portrayed Cuba as a helpless female figure in need of Uncle Sam's protection, were shocked by the less than warm welcome they received from many of the Cuban people and the insurgent forces on the island.⁴⁶ As McKinley and his foreign policy experts had previously recognized, U.S.

⁴² Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*, 90-91.

⁴³ Pérez Jr., *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902*, 175-176. For more information: William R. Day Papers, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Box 35, Folder: Spain-War, 1897-98 and undated.

⁴⁴ Pérez Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*, 17.

⁴⁵ Pérez Jr., *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902*, 176.

⁴⁶ Pérez Jr., *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902*, 205.

troops quickly identified that they had much more in common with the Spanish troops that they had been sent to Cuba to fight, rather than the Cuban insurgents, who were their allies in the conflict. Additionally, American troops perceived the Cuban insurgents as “nothing more than a lot of robbers.”⁴⁷ In turn, U.S. military officers placed the Cuban insurgents in supporting roles, which infuriated the insurgent leader General Calixto García.⁴⁸ While in comparison, some American troops felt a close bond with the Spanish soldiers on the island. In their letters home, they praised the bravery of their Spanish counterparts, commented on how they made sure that injured Spanish troops were well cared for, and clearly began to believe that their real enemy was not the Spanish military, but the Cuban insurgents who U.S. troops believed could not be trusted because of their racial inferiority, one of many beliefs that Americans brought with them from the continental United States.⁴⁹

After less than a month of fighting on the island of Cuba, the Spanish and American forces had reached an agreement to end the conflict. General Shafter and his troops were welcomed into Santiago de Cuba by General Toral and the inhabitants of the city, while General García and his Cuban insurgents watched from outside of the city as one imperial ruler was replaced by another on the island. General García was initially

⁴⁷ Letters from Charles F. Hiler to Parents, Cuba, July 11, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection – Small Collections, Charles F. Hiler Papers, Box 1, Folder 1.

⁴⁸ Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 97; Smith, “‘At the Wrong Place, at the Wrong Time and with the Wrong Enemy’: US Military Strategy towards Cuba in 1898,” 213.

⁴⁹ Edward O.C. Ord, “The Battle of Caney,” United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Spanish-American War Document Collection – United States Regular Army Units – Infantry, Box 1, Folder: 39; Letters from Charles F. Hiler to Parents, Cuba, July 11, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection – Small Collections, Charles F. Hiler Papers, Box 1, Folder 1.

welcomed into Santiago de Cuba by General Shafter but he refused to enter when he was informed that the city was not going to be handed over to the Cuban insurgents and that Spanish civil officials would continue to administer to the needs of the city.⁵⁰ Shafter went on to explain to an insurgent general that “the Spaniards are not our enemies” and when Garcia asked about the issue of Cuban independence, Shafter deflected the inquiry by stating that “the question of Cuban independence could not be considered by me.”⁵¹ Therefore, regardless of the Teller Amendment, which prohibited McKinley from formally annexing Cuba but was so vaguely worded that it did not force the United States to recognize the nation’s full independence, a war that many in the United States believed was being fought to establish Cuban freedom from the Spanish Empire had actually occurred to maintain imperial rule on the island.

Facilitated by the imperial bond that had existed between Spain and the United States since the late eighteenth century, a minimal amount of fighting occurred between Spanish and American troops on the island of Cuba. Furthermore, once the fighting came to an end, an agreement was established between representatives of the two imperial powers, which provided Spanish troops with an opportunity to maintain their honor. Welcomed as “more like guests than enemies,” U.S. military personnel bonded with both Spanish troops and Spanish citizens in the city of Santiago de Cuba following the capitulation of the city in July of 1898.⁵² As time progressed, U.S. military officers went

⁵⁰ Major General Shafter to the Secretary of War, Santiago de Cuba, July 29, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War 1898, Box 6, Folder: Official correspondence relative to Santiago and Porto Rico campaigns, 1898.

⁵¹ Smith, “‘At the Wrong Place, at the Wrong Time and with the Wrong Enemy’: US Military Strategy towards Cuba in 1898,” 214; Major General Shafter to the Secretary of War, Santiago de Cuba, July 29, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War 1898, Box 6, Folder: Official correspondence relative to Santiago and Porto Rico campaigns, 1898.

about borrowing, duplicating, and modernizing Spain's colonial practices and policies on the island, as they worked to build their own colonial project on the foundation of Spain's imperial past.

THE AFTERTHOUGHT OF EMPIRE: PUERTO RICO AND THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

Similar to the island of Cuba, Puerto Rico was “discovered” by Christopher Columbus during his voyages to the New World in the late fifteenth century. By 1509, the Spanish Empire had begun the formal colonization of the island of Puerto Rico and in the same year, Ponce de León, a former lieutenant under Columbus, became the colony's first governor. Under Spanish imperial control, Puerto Rico was maintained as a military outpost until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Due to the island's geographic position, Puerto Rico served as a resupplying station for ships traveling to mainland Spanish America and as an observation post, monitoring ships entering the Caribbean Basin.⁵³

Following the outset of the Spanish American wars of independence, Spanish colonial administrators began paying closer attention to both Cuba and Puerto Rico. Throughout the nineteenth century, the population of Puerto Rico and the colonies economic importance continued to increase within the Spanish Empire.⁵⁴ This population increase was facilitated by the passing of the Royal Decree of Graces, which was

⁵² “Former Foes Fraternize,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 22, 1898, p. 5.

⁵³ José Trías Monge, *Puerto Rico: The Trials of the Oldest Colony in the World* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1997), 5-6.

⁵⁴ For more information on the Puerto Rican economy during the nineteenth century: Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 5.

approved by the Spanish government in 1815. Under the order, the Spanish government encouraged Europeans to immigrate to Spain's remaining colonial possessions in the Caribbean Basin, in the hopes of increasing the European populations in the region.

Unlike on the island of Cuba, Puerto Rico did not experience any prolonged colonial uprisings during the nineteenth century. However, in 1868, a small, poorly planned rebellion against Spanish rule began in the city of Lares, on the western portion of the island. The rebellion was planned by the members of the pro-independence group known as the *Comité Revolucionario de Puerto Rico*. The committee was founded by Puerto Rican exiles and maintained a connection with the organizers of the pro-independence movements in Cuba. Unfortunately for the insurgent forces, Spanish authorities became aware of the rebels' plans prior to the beginning of the rebellion, and in turn, Spanish forces were able to end the conflict within days of its initial outset.⁵⁵

Peace existed on the island throughout the decades of the 1870s and the 1880s; however, another short-lived pro-independence rebellion began in the city of Yauco in March of 1897. Similar to the previous rebellion of 1868, Spanish forces on Puerto Rico became aware of the possible uprising, and in turn, they were able to easily subdue the rebel forces at the outset of the conflict. Unlike in Cuba, only a small group of Puerto Ricans desired full independence from the Spanish Empire. In reality, many upper-class Puerto Ricans felt a close cultural connection with Spain and only desired greater political autonomy within the Spanish Empire.⁵⁶ This autonomy came late in 1897 when

⁵⁵ Roberta Ann Johnson, *Puerto Rico: Commonwealth or Colony?* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1997), 5.

⁵⁶ Emma Dávile-Cox, "Puerto Rico in the Hispanic-Cuban-American War: Re-assessing 'the Picnic,'" in *The Crisis of 1898: Colonial Redistribution and Nationalist Mobilization*, edited by Angel Smith and Emma Dávile-Cox (New York: St. Martin's Press Incorporated, 1999), 112.

the Spanish government granted home rule to both Cuba and Puerto Rico. Ironically, following local elections on March 27, 1898, the first meeting of the autonomous government of Puerto Rico was held on April 25, the same day that President McKinley declared war on the Spanish Empire.⁵⁷

Other than American business owners and high-ranking officers in the American military, few in the United States knew a great deal about Puerto Rico prior to the outbreak of the war with Spain. These individuals were aware that during the 1880s Puerto Rico had become a major importer of American commodities. They also knew that Puerto Rico, as it had under Spain, could serve as a site for a naval base that would be essential in protecting the construction and administration of a U.S. controlled Central American canal.⁵⁸ However, during the lead up to the war between Spain and the United States, Puerto Rico played a peripheral role in any decisions made by the McKinley administration. As it had under the Spanish Empire, Puerto Rico would remain an afterthought during the Spanish-American War. Be that as it may, both Americans and Puerto Ricans perceived the Spanish Empire as a legitimate power during the period, and in turn, the American invasion, occupation, and subsequent colonization of the island can provide us with a great deal of information about how Americans and Puerto Ricans appropriated Spain's colonial expertise and the empire's imperial legacy, as both groups attempted to elevate their positions in colonial society.

⁵⁷ Raymond Carr, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 8-20; Monge, *Puerto Rico: The Trials of the Oldest Colony in the World*, 15.

⁵⁸ Pedro A. Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898-1932* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1999), 29; Olga Jimenez de Wagenheim, *Puerto Rico: An Interpretive History from Pre-Columbian Times to 1900* (Princeton, New Jersey: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), 197; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1793-1812* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown, 1894).

On July 18, 1898, Secretary of War Russell A. Alger ordered General Nelson A. Miles to invade and occupy the island of Puerto Rico.⁵⁹ One day earlier, Spanish forces in Santiago de Cuba handed over control of the city to American forces, and with fighting on the island of Cuba at a standstill, Miles was able to transport troops from Cuba to Puerto Rico. Unlike in Cuba, the Puerto Ricans were not at war with their colonial overseers. However, U.S. policymakers saw the Spanish-American War as an opportunity to increase their imperial control, much like they would in Guam and the Philippine Islands. Therefore, although U.S. military officers and colonial administrators depended on Spanish military personnel and bureaucrats, Spanish infrastructure, Spanish laws, and Spain's imperial legacy in Puerto Rico, as they eventually would in all of Spain's former colonial possessions that the United States obtained during the Spanish-American War, the Puerto Rican campaign was neither a war to avoid a bottom-up revolution, nor to save the honor of the Spanish Empire. Instead, it was simply a war of imperial expansion.

On the morning of July 25, 1898, General Miles and his contingent of 1,300 soldiers invaded the poorly reinforced harbor at Guánica, located on the southwestern coast of the island of Puerto Rico. The Spanish troops stationed in the area were surprised by the arrival of the American military and were quickly subdued. By 11:00am, U.S. troops were able to occupy the surrounding area and the American flag was raised over the village.⁶⁰ Believing that the major American attack would come near San Juan, the Governor-General of Puerto Rico, Manuel Macías, fortified the region and left the

⁵⁹ General Nelson A. Miles to the Secretary of War, Playa, July 19, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Puerto Rico Campaign, May-September, 1898.

⁶⁰ General Nelson A. Miles to the Secretary of War, Pto. Guanica, Porto Rico, July 25, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Puerto Rico Campaign, May-September, 1898.

underbelly of the island sparsely defended.⁶¹ Miles was made aware of these fortification by Captain José Jerez, an ex-Spanish military officer. Jerez and several other spies had infiltrated Puerto Rico during the lead up to the invasion and had provided information to the American military regarding the conditions on the island. These spies also notified Miles that the inhabitants of the southern portion of the island would welcome U.S. troops to Puerto Rico, provided it meant an end to Spain's colonial rule over the region.⁶² However, what the inhabitants of Puerto Rico failed to realize was that independence was not going to be granted to the island by the United States, nor was Puerto Rico going to be admitted into the American Union, as the territories in America's transcontinental empire had been earlier in the century.⁶³ Despite presenting themselves, and being perceived by some Americans, as being members of the Caucasian race, the inhabitants of Puerto Rico were destined to remain colonists under the imperial control of the United States.⁶⁴

By July 28, Miles and his troops were able to occupy Ponce. The city was the second largest on the island and had been named after the island's first governor, Ponce

⁶¹ General Nelson A. Miles to Captain Francis J. Higginson, En Route to Porto Rico, July 22, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Puerto Rico Campaign, May-September, 1898.

⁶² General Nelson A. Miles, "Notes Regarding the Island of Puerto Rico and the Spanish Forces There," May 27, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Puerto Rico Campaign, May-September, 1898; General Nelson A. Miles to Captain Francis J. Higginson, En Route to Porto Rico, July 22, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Puerto Rico Campaign, May-September, 1898.

⁶³ Nancy Morris, *Puerto Rico: Culture, Politics, and Identity* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1995), 23; Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898-1932*, 33.

⁶⁴ J.J. Henna and M. Zeno Gandía, *The Case of Puerto Rico* (Washington, D.C.: Press of W.F. Roberts, 1899), 15. For more information about race in Puerto Rico: Hazel M. McFerson, *The Racial Dimension of American Overseas Colonial Policy* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1997), 117-138.

de León. At Ponce, Miles outlined the goals of the American Empire in Puerto Rico to the inhabitants of the island, as well as his desire to appropriate several practices and policies from Spain's imperial past. Specifically, he proclaimed that, "It is not our purpose to interfere with any existing laws and customs that are whole and beneficial to your people so long as they conform to the rules of military administration of order and justice." Unlike in Cuba, Guam, the Philippine Islands, and the United States, Miles ignored the narrative that established that Spain brought the gift of civilization to the empire's colonial inhabitants. Instead, Miles justified the American Empire's incursion into the island by stating that, "This is not a war of devastation, but one to give to all within the control of its military and naval forces the advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization."⁶⁵ This segment of Miles's proclamation did not signify that he and the U.S. military was not going to be initially dependent on Spain's imperial expertise in the region. However, Miles's refusal to appropriate Spain's imperial legacy as the foundation of the American imperial project in Puerto Rico foreshadowed the challenges to Americanization projects on the island, as the inhabitants of Puerto Rico would later claim that they had already been members of a civilized imperial society under the Spanish regime.

The U.S. military's campaign in Puerto Rico came to an end on August 12, 1898. At the time of the ceasefire, Miles and his troops were in possession of the southern and western portions of the island, while the Spanish military maintained control of the

⁶⁵ General Nelson A. Miles to Captain Francis J. Higginson, En Route to Porto Rico, July 22, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Puerto Rico Campaign, May-September, 1898; General Nelson A. Miles, "Proclamation. Headquarters of the Army of the United States," Ponce, Porto Rico, July 28, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Puerto Rico Campaign, May-September, 1898.

northern and eastern sections. Following the ceasefire, a cordial imperial relationship began between the American general, Nelson A. Miles, and the Spanish general, Manuel Macías. As representatives of their empires, Miles and Macías agreed to depend on one another and to jointly occupy Puerto Rico until Spanish troops could be evacuated from the island, a practice that was also implemented in both Cuba and the Philippine Islands, in an attempt to maintain both the U.S. military's control over the regions and Spanish honor.⁶⁶ However, once the last Spanish troops were evacuated from Puerto Rico, the U.S. military's dependency on the Spanish Empire did not come to an end. Much like in the other colonial possessions that the United States acquired from Spain after the completion of the Spanish-American War, in order to maintain stability within colonial society, the United States continued to depend on Spain's colonial expertise in the region.

THE U.S. MILITARY'S DEPENDENCY ON THE REMNANTS OF THE SPANISH EMPIRE IN THE CARIBBEAN BASIN

Immediately following the capitulation of Santiago de Cuba on July 17, 1898, the cafes, parks, streets, and restaurants of the city became sites of imperial contact and mutual appreciation. As members of the Cuban insurgent forces watched from outside of the city limits, U.S. military personnel engaged with Spanish troops throughout the city.⁶⁷ Cigars, cigarettes, wine, and war stories were exchanged between representatives of the two

⁶⁶ General Nelson A. Miles to Captain General Manuel Macias, Ponce, P.R., August 18, 1898, NARA, RG 108, Entry 118, Box 1, File: 37 – Letters Sent, Headquarters of the Army in the Field, July 7 – September 7, 1898; Wagenheim, *Puerto Rico: An Interpretive History from Pre-Columbian Times to 1900*, 209.

⁶⁷ Appendix x.

imperial powers, who only days earlier had been making war on one another.⁶⁸ Brought together by what they mutually agreed upon were their civilized imperial practices, U.S. and Spanish military personnel identified the Cuban insurgents as their shared enemy. Both imperial powers also agreed to maintain a joint occupation of the island until a ceasefire could be established and imperial sovereignty could be formally passed to the United States.⁶⁹

Fighting between U.S. and Spanish forces continued on the island of Puerto Rico until a ceasefire was agreed upon on August 12, 1898. When this truce finally came, the U.S. military split possession of the island with the remaining members of the Spanish military. At the same time, an imperial relationship and mutual dependency developed between American generals, most notably General Nelson A. Miles, and the Spanish Governor-General, Manuel Macías. Due to the fact that it was difficult for Macías to acquire information from Madrid, Miles kept Macías informed about the events going on outside of the island and through their correspondences, a cordial relationship developed between the two military officers.⁷⁰

On August 13, 1898, Miles notified Macías that an agreement had been reached between Spain and the United States, which ended all military operations in both the

⁶⁸ Henry Jewett Greene, "Letters Written by Henry Jewett Greene during the War with Spain, 1898," July 17, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection – Small Collections, Henry Jewett Greene Collection, Box 1, Book – Letters Written by Henry Jewett Greene During the War with Spain, 1898; Pérez Jr., *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902*, 213.

⁶⁹ William Ludlow (Military Governor of the City of Havana, Cuba), "Annual Report for Fiscal Year Ended June 20, 1899, From December 22, 1898," NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 161.

⁷⁰ General Nelson A. Miles to Captain General Macias, Port Ponce, Porto Rico, September 1, 1898, NARA, RG 108, Entry 118, Box 1, File: 37 – Letters Sent, Headquarters of the Army in the Field, July 7 – September 7, 1898.

Caribbean Basin and the Pacific.⁷¹ In the following days, Miles informed Macías that the two imperial powers would continue to jointly occupy the island and that they would care for one another's injured troops.⁷² Interested in borrowing from Spain's imperial expertise in the region, American generals contacted Miles and requested that he send inquiries to General Macías prior to any U.S. troop movements throughout the island.⁷³ Following a consultation with Macías, Miles also decided to re-establish the Spanish postal and telegraph systems, in an attempt to return a level normalcy to the island. While all of this was occurring, the inhabitants of Puerto Rico helplessly watched as the transfer of imperial power and knowledge continued to occur on the island.

On October 18, 1898, possession of the city of San Juan was transferred from Spanish to American control at the Governor-General's Palace.⁷⁴ Unlike in Santiago de Cuba, U.S. military officers had already been in the city for over a month and reports stated that the formal event was met with little fanfare. This lack of interest in the event can be contributed to the fact that many Spaniards and members of the Puerto Rican elite were satisfied with the autonomous government that had been granted to them by the Spanish, and in turn, few desired a new colonial overseer on the island. Reports also

⁷¹ General Nelson A. Miles to General Macias, Port Ponce, Porto Rico, August 13, 1898, NARA, RG 108, Entry 118, Box: No 1, File: 37 – Letters Sent, Headquarters of the Army in the Field, July 7 – September 7, 1898.

⁷² General Nelson A. Miles to Captain General Manuel Macias, Ponce, P.R., August 18, 1898, NARA, RG 108, Entry 118, Box 1, File: 37 – Letters Sent, Headquarters of the Army in the Field, July 7 – September 7, 1898; General Nelson A. Miles to Captain General Macias, Port Ponce, Porto Rico, August 27, 1898, NARA, RG 108, Entry 118, Box 1, File: 37 – Letters Sent, Headquarters of the Army in the Field, July 7 – September 7, 1898.

⁷³ Major General John R. Brooke to Major General Miles, Guayama, Porto Rico, August 29, 1898, NARA, RG 108, Entry 121, Box 1, File: 127 – Headquarters of the Army in the Field, May 28 – July 7, 1898.

⁷⁴ Secretary of Finance to Major General Guy V. Henry, San Juan, P.R., May 5, 1899, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 91.

stated that the inhabitants of San Juan noticed little difference between the Spanish and U.S. military governments; other than the fact that the American flag now flew over the Governor-General's Palace and that the American eagle had replaced the Spanish coat of arms on the cover of the Puerto Rican newspaper known as *La Gaceta*.⁷⁵ In the hopes of maintain stability and order, this continuity of imperial supervision was a goal of U.S. military officers in the months following the American occupation of Spain's former colonial possessions. This desired continuity demonstrated the American respect and admiration for Spanish policies and practices in the periphery of the empire.

Following General Macías's surrender on October 18, the remaining Spanish troops on Puerto Rico congregated in San Juan and were evacuated from the island. As Spanish troops marched to the port at San Juan, a Spanish officer recorded that the inhabitants of the island gathered to thank those who had represented the Spanish Crown. He also commented that the Puerto Ricans who came out to thank the Spanish troops would later venerate the Spanish as the "true representatives of Ponce de León" who had brought "the blessings of Christendom and the splendors of refined culture and civilization" to the island.⁷⁶ These actions and comments foreshadowed how inhabitants of Puerto Rico would later challenge Americanization projects by justifying their culture through their connection with, and veneration of, Spain's imperial legacy. These actions were also similar to those of the representatives of the American Empire as they

⁷⁵ Arturo Morales Carrión, *Puerto Rico: A Political and Cultural History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1983), 140. The Governor-General's Palace was often referred to as La Fortaleza.

⁷⁶ Angel Rivero, *Crónica de la Guerra Hispanoamericana en Puerto Rico* (New York: Plus Ultra Educational Publishers, 1973), 466.

attempted to justify their own imperial actions in the United States, the Caribbean Basin, and the Pacific.

On the island of Cuba, General William Ludlow relieved General Francis Vinton Greene of his duties as the Military Governor of Havana on December 22, 1898 and oversaw the final removal of Spanish troops from the island. Fearing a hostile act by the Cuban insurgents that may insult the honor of General Adolfo Jiménez Castellanos and his remaining Spanish troops, Ludlow meticulously planned and monitored the Spanish military's evacuation from the island. At 12:00pm on January 1, 1899, as the U.S. 8th Infantry band played the Spanish National Air, the Spanish flag was removed from atop the Governor-General's Palace. The American flag was then raised and General Castellanos walked from the palace to Caballería Wharf, where he would eventually begin his journey back to Spain.⁷⁷ The event may have marked the formal end of the Spanish Empire's four-hundred-year presence in the Americas but Spain's imperial legacy would continue to play an influential role in the U.S. Empire's occupation and administration of both Cuba and Puerto Rico for the foreseeable future.

In many ways, the U.S. military's occupations of both Cuba and Puerto Rico were unprecedented endeavors for the American Empire.⁷⁸ Many U.S. military officers had fought in the Indian Wars in the American West but never had they come into contact with a densely populated, multi-racial group of inhabitants that had recently been controlled by a European imperial power. Nor were U.S. military officers initially

⁷⁷ William Ludlow (Military Governor of the City of Havana, Cuba), "Annual Report for Fiscal Year Ended June 20, 1899, From December 22, 1898," NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 161.

⁷⁸ "Report of the Secretary of War," Washington, D.C., December 1, 1902, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 310.

familiar with Spain's recent colonial policies and practices on the islands of Cuba or Puerto Rico. In turn, they drew their knowledge from the narratives associated with Christopher Columbus, Ponce de León, Spanish honor, and Spain's civilizing mission in the New World, which had previously been developed in the United States.

As U.S. military officers and colonial administrators attempted to create their new imperial projects in the Caribbean Basin, they also searched for useful past imperial precedents with which they could find similarities, and they found these commonalities in the Spanish Empire, which they came to both appreciate and admire. In turn, these representatives of the American Empire modeled the organization of their military governments after the old Spanish models in the region.⁷⁹ Furthermore, they also integrated themselves into colonial society by engaging with both the Spanish inhabitants and the creole elite who remained in the region. Rather than creating an entirely new colonial regime in the Caribbean Basin, Americans such as General John R. Brooke, Secretary of War Elihu Root, and General Leonard Wood, took the time to "become acquainted with the people, their past form of government, and their needs." These individuals also cautioned against immediate drastic changes, which U.S. military officers believed would upset the inhabitants of the islands and would lead to further instability in the region.⁸⁰ Instead, due to the existence of the Teller Amendment, the U.S.

⁷⁹ *First Annual Report of Charles H. Allen, Governor of Porto Rico, Covering the Period from May 1, 1900, to May 1, 1901* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 12.

⁸⁰ John R. Brooke, "Proclamation," Headquarters Division of Cuba, Havana, Cuba, January 1, 1899, NARA, RG 140, Entry 3, Box 1 – Letters Received, 1899, 1-499; Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, Havana, Cuba, December 22, 1899, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Elihu Root Papers, Special Correspondence to Leonard Wood, 1899-1901, Folder: Special Correspondence to General Leonard Wood 1899; Headquarters – Department of Porto Rico, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 21; "Final Report of Major General John R. Brooke, U.S. Army, Military Governor on Civil Matters Concerning the Island of Cuba," Havana, Cuba, 1899, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 35.

military hoped to stabilize the political situation in Cuba and to eventually transfer power to both the remaining Spanish and creole elite of the island. While in Puerto Rico, they hoped to establish an institutionalized process of Americanization that would provide social uplift to all of the inhabitants of America's formal colonial possession.

The American military's dependency on the Spanish Empire began immediately after the arrival of U.S. troops in the Caribbean Basin. Traditionally, it has been assumed by historians that American military officers and colonial administrators disregarded Spanish buildings, railroads, and forms of communication as being antiquated, and symbolic of the anti-modern Spanish Empire; however, this is not entirely accurate. Much like in Guam and the Philippine Islands, U.S. military officers in the Caribbean Basin depended on Spanish infrastructure to survive.

As U.S. troops marched throughout Cuba, Spanish blockhouses were used as military hospitals to care for injured troops. Once the fighting came to an end, some U.S. military officers also decided that American troops would be better off in Spanish barracks, rather than in the overcrowded, make-shift American quarters. However, it was not only enlisted troops that depended on Spanish buildings. For example, U.S. military officers continued to use the palaces of high-ranking Spanish officials. Additionally, under the command of General William Ludlow, the Department of Havana moved its headquarters from a crowded hotel in Havana to the former Headquarters of the Spanish Engineers in Cuba. Also, in the years following the end of the war, the U.S. military occupied former Spanish convents, the houses of Spanish inhabitants, the Spanish

Customs House, and the university building in Havana.⁸¹ In regards to these buildings, the U.S. military agreed to either pay rent for their use, or the buildings were returned to their previous owners, who were often associated with the Catholic Church, after they were no longer occupied by military personnel.⁸²

The practice of using pre-existing Spanish buildings also occurred in Puerto Rico. The property of the Spanish government was “taken charge of and administered” by the U.S. military, while all of the churches and schoolhouses throughout the island were placed under American protection.⁸³ During the war, the governmental buildings in Ponce were occupied by General Miles, while his soldiers used the barracks that had previously housed the Spanish troops in the area. Contrary to the belief that Spanish hospitals and barracks were crudely erected, poorly maintained, and unsanitary, Lieutenant Colonel Marion Perry Maus commented in his diary that, “In the arrangement of their barracks and in other buildings, it is evident that the Spaniards were guided by a good knowledge of sanitation and for the ordinary conveniences of civilized life.”⁸⁴

⁸¹ William Ludlow (Military Governor of the City of Havana, Cuba), “Annual Report for Fiscal Year Ended June 20, 1899, From December 22, 1898,” NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 161.

⁸² “Special Report of the Secretary of Finance – Island of Cuba to Major General John R. Brooke, U.S. Army, Governor General of Cuba,” NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 35; William Ludlow (Military Governor of the City of Havana, Cuba), “Annual Report for Fiscal Year Ended June 20, 1899, From December 22, 1898,” NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 161.

⁸³ General Nelson A. Miles to Major General J.M. Wilson, Headquarters of the Army, Port Ponce, Porto Rico, July 29, 1898, NARA, RG 108, Entry 118, Box 1, File: 37 – Letters Sent, Headquarters of the Army in the Field, July 7 – September 7, 1898.

⁸⁴ Diary of Lieutenant Colonel Marion P. Maus with annotations by General Miles, August 8, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 6, Folder: Diary of Lieutenant Colonel Marion P. Maus with annotations by General Miles – 1898.

In regards to the movement of both people and information, Spanish telegraph lines, railroads, boats, and telephone lines were appropriated by the U.S. military and were used to allow people and information to continue to move throughout both Cuba and Puerto Rico. The military also developed a dependency on the use of Spanish ports and the Spanish system of postal communication, in the hopes that commerce on the islands could return to a level of normalcy. As was mentioned earlier, General Miles worked closely with General Macías to restore the postal and telegraph systems on Puerto Rico. Miles also made plans to build on Spanish infrastructure projects, in an attempt to increase the efficiency of communication and transportation throughout the island.⁸⁵

A bond quickly developed between U.S. military officers and the Spaniards that inhabited the island of Cuba during the late nineteenth century. American military officers, Spanish troops, and Spanish citizens were able to find similarities between one another, while at the same time they identified the Cuban insurgents as being inferior to those of European and American racial stock. In turn, following the capitulation of the city of Santiago de Cuba, the U.S. military decided to allow bureaucrats and judges, who had previously administered the colony under Spanish imperial rule, to continue in their positions.⁸⁶ These individuals were familiar with Spanish laws, which were identified by General John R. Brooke as originating from one of the world's "civilized commonwealths." Therefore, Spanish laws that dealt with municipal issues, private

⁸⁵ Brigadier General J.C. Gilmore to Major General J.M. Wilson, Headquarters of the Army, Port Ponce, Porto Rico, July 29, 1898, NARA, RG 108, Entry 118, Box 1, File: 37 – Letters Sent, Headquarters of the Army in the Field, July 7 – September 7, 1898.

⁸⁶ Perfecto Lacoste and Juan B. Hernandez Barreiro, "To the Citizens of Havana," January 12, 1899, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 24; "Relating to the Treaty with Spain," NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 55.

property, and inhabitant-to-inhabitant relations also continued to be enforced on the island, as did many Spanish tariffs, assuming they did not contradict the newly implemented American military laws.⁸⁷

Following the Spanish military's departure from Cuba on January 1, 1899, General Ludlow began accepting resignations from some bureaucrats who had been previously employed under the Spanish colonial administration. However, the U.S. military still depended on the expertise that many of Spanish officials possessed, and in turn, Ludlow requested that many bureaucrats remain in their positions until an adequate replacement could be found.⁸⁸ Despite the removal of many high-ranking Spanish officials, former administrators who were previously employed under the Spanish colonial administration continued to request and receive bureaucratic positions under the U.S. military government. These measures represented the United States' continued dependency on Spain's colonial expertise in the region; however, they infuriated many of

⁸⁷ "Special Report of the Secretary of Finance – Island of Cuba to Major General John R. Brooke, U.S. Army, Governor General of Cuba," NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 35; "Relating to the Treaty with Spain," NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 55; Perfecto Lacoste and Juan B. Hernandez Barreiro, "To the Citizens of Havana," January 12, 1899, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 24.

⁸⁸ Perfecto Lacoste and Juan B. Hernandez Barreiro, "To the Citizens of Havana," January 12, 1899, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 24; William Ludlow (Military Governor of the City of Havana, Cuba), "Annual Report for Fiscal Year Ended June 20, 1899, From December 22, 1898," NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 161; Frank Ninkovich, *The United States and Imperialism* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Limited, 2001), 99.

the Cuban inhabitants who had hoped to receive control of their island immediately following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War.⁸⁹

As the antithesis of the Cuban insurgents, U.S. military officers perceived former employees of the Spanish colonial administration as representations of order and stability in the imperial theater. In turn, the local police forces that pre-dated the American occupation of the island continued to maintain their positions in society and General Leonard Wood also went about forming the Cuban Rural Guard, which was based off of Spain's Guardia Civil.⁹⁰ Additionally, several former members of the Spanish military chose to stay in Cuba and requested employment in the U.S. colonial administration.⁹¹ Many of these actions were a result of the existence of the Teller Amendment, which stated that Cuba would be eventually granted independence by the United States. Therefore, fearful of a government controlled by the Cuban insurgent leaders, the U.S. military continued the appointment of individuals of Spanish descent, symbolizing a continuation of the imperial policies and relationships that had existed between representatives of Spain and the United States since the Revolutionary Era.⁹²

⁸⁹ William Ludlow (Military Governor of the City of Havana, Cuba), "Annual Report for Fiscal Year Ended June 20, 1899, From December 22, 1898," NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 161; L.R. 13, Civil File, 1899, Manuel Rozas y Larringa, Velazco, Havana, January 7, 1899, NARA, RG 140, Entry 2, Letters Received, 1899-1902, Box 1, Folder: 1899 – 1-75; L.R. 15, Civil, 1899, Benito R. Castras, Havana, Cuba, January 6, 1899, NARA, RG 140, Entry 2, Letters Received, 1899-1902, Box 1, Folder: 1899 – 1-75.

⁹⁰ For more information: Allan R. Millett, "The Rise and Fall of the Cuban Rural Guard, 1898-1912," *The Americas* 29, no. 2 (Oct. 1972), 191-213.

⁹¹ Brigadier General J.C. Gilmore to Major General J.M. Wilson, Headquarters of the Army, Port Ponce, Porto Rico, July 29, 1898, NARA, RG 108, Entry 118, Box 1, File: 37 – Letters Sent, Headquarters of the Army in the Field, July 7 – September 7, 1898; *Report of the Military Governor of Cuba on Civil Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 85.

⁹² William Ludlow, "Remarks on the Industrial, Economic and Social Conditions Existing in the Department of Havana," Havana, Cuba, September 15, 1899, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 160.

There were many similarities and differences between the United States' dependency on Spain's imperial policies and legacy in Cuba and in Puerto Rico. As was mentioned earlier, these similarities and differences were dictated by two main variables: the existence of the Teller Amendment and the perceived racial makeup of the inhabitants of the islands. As was noted earlier, during the U.S. military's initial occupation of Puerto Rico during the closing months of 1898, General Miles and General Brooke depended on the Spanish military, Spanish laws, as well as pre-existing Spanish forms of communication and transportation on the island. This dependency ran so deep that when General Brooke arrived in San Juan in October of 1898, he and his troops had little more than their necessary rations and their equipment at their disposal. Therefore, the U.S. military went about not only inhabiting the palace of the former Spanish Governor-General, as well as several other Spanish buildings within the city, but also purchasing the furniture that had once been used by Spanish colonial officials.⁹³

In regards to Spanish laws, the initial goal of the U.S. military appeared to be to keep many of the former Spanish legal practices in place to avoid disrupting the lives of the inhabitants of Puerto Rico, who many military officers initially perceived as being of the Caucasian race, and in turn, superior to the non-Hispanic inhabitants of the island of Cuba.⁹⁴ However, due to the Teller Amendment's silence towards Puerto Rico, it was initially unclear if the island was destined to become an independent nation or a colonial

⁹³ Major and Quartermaster, U.S.V. to Governor General of Puerto Rico, San Juan, Puerto Rico, May 25, 1899 and June 14, 1899, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 91.

⁹⁴ Victor Gonzales Candamo to Mr. Nelson A. Miles, Arecibo, Puerto Rico, September 2, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Puerto Rico Campaign – May-September, 1898; J.J. Henna and M. Zeno Gandía, “The Case of Puerto Rico” (Washington, D.C.: Press of W.F. Roberts, 1899), 15.

possession of the American Empire. If the island was to become an independent nation, it can be hypothesized that U.S. military officers may have been more concerned with stimulating a positive imperial relationship between themselves and the Spanish and creole inhabitants on the island. However, due to the fact that Puerto Rico was omitted from the Teller Amendment, U.S. military officers were able to establish a more paternalistic policy towards the island's inhabitants.

In December of 1898, General Guy Vernor Henry took over for General Brooke as the Governor of Puerto Rico and gradually began Americanizing the laws of the island in preparation for Puerto Rico's inclusion into the American Empire as either a formal or informal colonial possession.⁹⁵ This process of implementing American legal procedures and laws also occurred in Cuba in the years following the completion of the Spanish-American War; however, they appear to not have been as invasive, which resulted in less of an outcry by the inhabitants of the island. In response to these changes on Puerto Rico, many of the inhabitants, some of whom had previously welcomed the American occupation of the island, were unhappy with what they believed was the U.S. military's short-sighted, aggressive imperial practices in the region, and in turn, they began to regret the end of Spanish rule on the island.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ G.D. Meiklejohn to R.A. Alger, Undated, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 97.

⁹⁶ Victor Gonzales Candamo to Mr. Nelson A. Miles, Arecibo, Puerto Rico, September 2, 1898, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Nelson A. Miles Papers, Spanish-American War – 1898, Box 5, Folder: Puerto Rico Campaign – May-September, 1898; Dávila-Cox, “Puerto Rico in the Hispanic-Cuban-American War: Re-assessing ‘the Picnic’,” 118; Carr, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment*, 32; Wagenheim, *Puerto Rico: An Interpretive History from Pre-Columbian Times to 1900*, 215; Theodore Roosevelt to John Hay, July 1, 1899, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box: General Correspondence – 1899, Folder: 1899.

As the inhabitants of Puerto Rico began speaking out against the establishment of American policies on the island, several Americans, such as Secretary of War Elihu Root and George W. Davis, who replaced Henry as the Governor of Puerto Rico in May of 1899, began realizing that the Puerto Rican people may have been better off under Spain's colonial administration and that the U.S. military government needed to proceed in a more diplomatic fashion on the island.⁹⁷ Furthermore, the image of Puerto Ricans within the minds of these military officers and colonial administrators started to change as the inhabitants of the island began to respond to the American Empire's shift away from Spain's imperial policies. Once perceived as being members of the Caucasian race, Puerto Ricans began to be seen as an "alien race" that was unfit for admission into the American Union, similar to the non-Hispanicized inhabitants of Cuba, Guam, and the Philippine Islands. This shift illustrates the pliability of race that existed in both the United States and in the country's colonial possession throughout the period.⁹⁸

Within a year of the completion of the Spanish-American War, the Spanish government had already sent officials to represent Spain in America's new colonial possessions of Cuba and Puerto Rico.⁹⁹ Spanish immigration to the region was ongoing and U.S. military officers and colonial administrators continued to inhabit prominent

⁹⁷ Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 7; Wagenheim, *Puerto Rico: An Interpretive History from Pre-Columbian Times to 1900*, 218-219.

⁹⁸ Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898-1932*, 41. For more information on perceptions of race: Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998).

⁹⁹ Alvery A. Ade to the Secretary of War, August 9, 1899, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 108; Alvery A. Ade to the Secretary of War, August 15, 1899, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 108.

Spanish buildings in urban centers.¹⁰⁰ Despite the introduction of several American policies, which were opposed by the inhabitants of Puerto Rico, many Spanish laws remained in practice following the completion of the conflict. U.S. colonial administrators, some of whom were legal experts, perceived Spanish laws as being “an excellent body of laws” and they argued that many of these regulations were suitable for both the daily lives of America’s colonial inhabitants and the business transactions that occurred in the regions that had previously been habited by the Spanish Empire.¹⁰¹

Although differences existed in Cuba and Puerto Rico, the United States’ imperial dependency on Spanish infrastructure, Spanish bureaucrats, and Spain’s imperial policies were evident in the early period of the U.S. military’s occupation and administration of the regions under discussion. Rather than completely disregarding Spain’s imperial expertise in the Caribbean Basin, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators duplicated the actions of earlier U.S. Hispanists, American exposition organizers, and Americans editors of imaginary travel journals, and in turn, selectively borrowed from the Spanish imperial past following the transfer of power that occurred in the Caribbean Basin at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War of 1898.

U.S. COLONIAL ADMINISTRATORS ATTEMPT TO MOLD THEIR NEW SUBJECTS

In the moments leading up to 12:00pm, on May 20, 1902, the long marble room of the Governor-General’s Palace in Havana filled with U.S. military officers, provincial and

¹⁰⁰ William Ludlow to the Adjutant General, Division of Cuba, Office of the Governor of Havana, January 28, 1900, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 160.

¹⁰¹ Winfred Lee Thompson, *The Introduction of American Law in the Philippines and Puerto Rico* (Fayetteville, Arkansas: The University of Arkansas Press, 1989), 12 and 224.

municipal politicians, foreign dignitaries, religious representatives, and members of the commercial elite. While outside of the Governor-General's Palace, inhabitants of the city of Havana, members of the U.S. 7th Cavalry, a detachment of the Cuban Rural Guard, and the crews of American, German, and Spanish ships eagerly awaited the end of the U.S. military's control over Cuba and the official beginning of the independent Cuban republic. At exactly 12:00pm, General Leonard Wood began reading the formal proclamation that would transfer power on the island to President Tomás Estrada Palma's independent government. Reminiscent of the Spanish-themed parties that occurred in both the United States and the Philippine Islands throughout the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, the Spanish crest hung on the wall of the long marble room within the Governor-General's Palace, reminding all in attendance of Spain's imperial legacy.¹⁰² Approximately ten minutes after the proclamation was read, the American flag was lowered from the top of the Palace and the Cuban flag was secured at full staff.

Following the flag raising ceremony, General Wood and his family said their final goodbyes to their friends and colleagues in Havana, and began moving towards the harbor. A week earlier, the head of the Casino Español spoke with Wood and informed him that he had become aware that Wood's family was traveling to Europe following the transfer of power and that Wood planned to join them after stopping in the United States. Still feeling a close imperial bond with Wood and the U.S. military government, the members of the Spanish population of Havana, many of whom were upset to see the United States leave the island, requested that Wood's family travel on the Spanish mail

¹⁰² For more information: Chapter 4; Chapter 6.

steamer, the *Alfonso 13*, and that they enter Europe through a Spanish port. Additionally, Wood had always felt a close connection with the elite members of Cuban society and had enjoyed his time in both Santiago de Cuba and Havana.¹⁰³ In turn, Wood accepted the offer, and later that summer when he finally arrived in Spain, he continued the close personal bond between himself and members of Spain's imperial past.¹⁰⁴

The U.S. military's occupation and control over the Caribbean Basin came to an end in Puerto Rico on May 1, 1900 and in Cuba on May 20, 1902. Moving forward from those dates, Puerto Rico was controlled by the United States as a formal colonial possession, while the island of Cuba existed as a quasi-independent protectorate under the watchful eyes of American politicians, military officers, and business elites. How these spoils of the Spanish-American War attained their positions within the American Empire differed, as did the levels at which various colonial officials attempted to mold the inhabitants of Cuba and Puerto Rico into what they perceived were educated, productive members of a modern community. Subsequently, this portion of the chapter will examine the affect that both the Platt Amendment and Foraker Act had on the lives of the inhabitants of Cuba and Puerto Rico, which dictated the form of government that would be established on each island. This portion of the chapter will also explore how U.S. colonial officials continued to depend on the Spanish imperial legacy in the Caribbean Basin, as they attempted to Americanize the inhabitants of the region.

¹⁰³ Leonard Wood to Lou (his wife), Palace of the Governor General, Santiago de Cuba, July 21, 1898, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box: Leonard Wood Papers Personal Correspondence of Gen. Wood – 1862-1901/2 – 190, Folder: Personal Correspondence – 1898; Leonard Wood to Mother, Santiago de Cuba, July 30, 1898, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box: Leonard Wood Papers Personal Correspondence of Gen. Wood – 1862-1901/2 – 190, Folder: Personal Correspondence – 1898.

¹⁰⁴ Leonard Wood's Diary, May 20, 1902, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906.

Following the U.S. military's occupation of Cuba, both American teachers and military officers began restructuring the public school system on the island. Based on a process of Americanization through education, which had been tested in the United States on immigrant and Indigenous children since the late eighteenth century, colonial officials hoped to offer social uplift to the inhabitants of Cuba by providing them with English language skills.¹⁰⁵ These English language skills would allow Cubans to come into contact with both American business and political practices, as well as American culture. Colonial officials also believed that this knowledge base would improve the lives of the inhabitants of Cuba and that it would allow the U.S. military to end its formal occupation of the island.¹⁰⁶

The Teller Amendment may have been ambiguously worded but it clearly did not allow the United States to formally annex the island of Cuba. Therefore, representatives of the American Empire, specifically, Elihu Root and Leonard Wood, knew that despite the transfer of imperial power that occurred between Spain and the United States in 1898, the island of Cuba would eventually become an independent republic. The question for Root and Wood was, how could U.S. representatives continue to follow both the “no transfer” policy and the Monroe Doctrine if the United States was required by the Teller Amendment to hand over formal political control to the inhabitants of the island?

¹⁰⁵ Amílcar Antonio Barreto, “Enlightened Tolerance or Cultural Capitulation? Contesting Notions of American Identity,” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 145; Pablo Navarro-Rivera, “The Imperial Enterprise and Educational Policies in Colonial Puerto Rico,” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 165-166.

¹⁰⁶ Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 127.

During the lead up to the municipal elections of June 1900, Root and Wood attempted to resolve this issue by drawing on the imperial relationship that had previously existed between the American and the Spanish inhabitants on the island. By mid-1900, the U.S. military's occupation of Cuba was becoming an expensive venture for the federal government. In total, it was costing the United States approximately \$500,000 per month. However, both Root and Wood were unwilling to leave the island in the hands of the Cuban inhabitants, whom they still perceived as being both uneducated in political matters and racially inferior.¹⁰⁷ In turn, Root and Wood reverted to their imperial conceptualizations of order and stability by attempting to limit the vote to the "old colonial elite," which was made up of both peninsulares and creoles. Root and Wood believed that these individuals would elect conservative, American supported candidates, who would continue to facilitate a relationship between the Spanish and creole inhabitants of the island and the United States. Yet, despite the increase in Spanish immigration to the island following the end of the Spanish-American War; the powerful positions that many Spaniards still held in the Cuban economy; attempts to limit the vote to the "old colonial elite;" and Americanization attempts by Root and Wood, few American supported candidates won their election bids.¹⁰⁸

During the next round of elections, which occurred in December of 1900, Root and Wood campaigned even more actively than they had in June of the same year. However, the outcome of the December 1900 election was similar to the June elections.

¹⁰⁷ Louis A. Pérez Jr., *Cuba Between Reform and Revolution – Fourth Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 142.

¹⁰⁸ *Report of the Military Governor of Cuba on Civil Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 52-53; Pérez Jr., *Cuba Between Reform and Revolution – Fourth Edition*, 153; Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 102.

The Cubans' refusal to vote for American supported candidates convinced Root and Wood that the inhabitants of the island were still unprepared for self-government. Root and Wood were also convinced that if the U.S. military was to leave the island, the wars of the second half of the nineteenth century would continue. Therefore, as historian Louis A. Pérez Jr. eloquently stated, "the United States found itself in possession of an island that it could neither fully retain nor completely release."¹⁰⁹

In attempt to maintain a level of hegemonic imperial control over the island that would allow the U.S. military to leave Cuba and would still, at least in theory, follow the policies established by the Teller Amendment, Root employed the services of Senator Orville H. Platt.¹¹⁰ In January of 1901, Root and Platt drafted and finalized a proposal that essentially followed the objectives that had been established by Jefferson, Adams, and Monroe during the early decades of the nineteenth century. The proposal was later referred to as the Platt Amendment and gave nominal independence to Cuba but still provided the United States with hegemonic control over the island.¹¹¹ More specifically, the Platt Amendment gave the United States the power to invade Cuba if the country's independence was being threatened. It also allowed the United States to control Cuba's relations with other foreign powers, as well as the country's domestic economy.¹¹² In

¹⁰⁹ Pérez Jr., *Cuba Between Reform and Revolution – Fourth Edition*, 141.

¹¹⁰ Pérez Jr., *Cuba Between Reform and Revolution – Fourth Edition*, 143.

¹¹¹ Ninkovich, *The United States and Imperialism*, 98.

¹¹² The Congress of the United States, "Platt Amendment," in *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History – Second Edition*, edited by Robert H. Holden and Eric Zolov (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 82-83.

turn, the Cuban people's refusal to maintain the imperial status quo on the island meant that it would remain a pseudo-protectorate of the United States for the foreseeable future.

News of the Platt Amendment outraged many supporters of Cuban independence who saw the amendment as the continuation of imperial control over the island.

However, Root refused to compromise and made sure that the supporters of Cuban independence were aware that the United States would not grant independence to the island unless the Platt Amendment became part of the Cuban Constitution. In June of 1901, the members of the Cuban assembly begrudgingly accepted the Platt Amendment, solidifying the island's position as a U.S. protectorate.¹¹³

Even after Leonard Wood and the last members of the U.S. military departed from Havana in May of 1902, remnants of the Spanish and the American colonial systems continued to exist. Most prevalently, Spanish inhabitants of the island continued to be well represented in several sectors of the Cuban economy and American businessmen continued to prefer to work with the Spanish inhabitants of the island, rather than their Cuban counterparts.¹¹⁴ However, as many elite and middle-class members of Cuban society allowed themselves to be Americanized through their knowledge of the English language and the acquisition of American consumer goods, many Cubans still continued to view the United States as a tyrannical imperial overseer, due to the existence of the Platt Amendment.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 111-112.

¹¹⁴ Pérez Jr., *Cuba Between Reform and Revolution – Fourth Edition*, 147; Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 147-148.

¹¹⁵ Ninkovich, *The United States and Imperialism*, 103.

In Puerto Rico, Americanization through the educational system of the island was a more institutionalized process than it was on the island of Cuba.¹¹⁶ When the U.S. military arrived in Puerto Rico during the summer of 1898, 555 public and private schools existed on the island, with a total enrollment of 44,861 pupils.¹¹⁷ Since the mid-1860s, Spanish colonial officials had controlled the public school system on Puerto Rico, duplicating the school system that was used in Spain.¹¹⁸ According to Spanish policies, children ages 6 to 12 were required to attend school. While in school, the children of the island used Spanish textbooks, which inundated them with narratives that celebrated the Spanish past as the “mother country,” venerated the Spanish civilizing mission in the Americas, and defended the Catholic faith.¹¹⁹ However, these schools were often poorly administrated and outside of urban areas, attendance remained consistently low.¹²⁰ Therefore, as in Cuba, when the U.S. military arrived in Puerto Rico, they were appalled by the level of illiteracy on the island. In turn, American administrators set out to “civilize” their new colonial inhabitants by attempting to bring about what they believed were drastic changes to the educational system on the island.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Juan José Osuna, *A History of Education in Puerto Rico – Second Edition* (Río Piedras: Editorial de las Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1949); Aida Negrón de Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public School System, 1900-1933* (Río Piedras: Editorial Edil, 1970).

¹¹⁷ *Report on the Census of Puerto Rico, 1899* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 72.

¹¹⁸ José-Manuel Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and U.S. Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898-1908* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 10-11; *Report on the Census of Cuba, 1899* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900).

¹¹⁹ Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and U.S. Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898-1908*, 134-135, and 160; Cosme de la Torriente to Charles E. Magoon, Resignation of Mr. Torriente, Havana, Cuba, December 27, 1906, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 727.

¹²⁰ Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and U.S. Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898-1908*, 10-11.

¹²¹ Morris, *Puerto Rico: Culture, Politics, and Identity*, 24.

When the Teller Amendment was passed by the Congress of the United States in April of 1898, it made no reference to the island of Puerto Rico. Therefore, the destiny of Puerto Rico remained unclear when the U.S. military invaded and occupied the island during the summer of 1898. Regardless if the island was to become an independent republic, a state within the American Union, or a colonial possession of the United States, American colonial administrators began a process of Americanizing the inhabitants of the island through the education system.¹²² Rooted in theories surrounding civilization and the racial beliefs of the period, U.S. officials believed that Americanization would provide social uplift to the inhabitants of Puerto Rico.¹²³ However, in much the same way that representatives of the United States had previously depended on the Spanish imperial past in both the metropole and other areas of the periphery, they were unable to completely free themselves from their reliance on Spain's imperial past in Puerto Rico.

By 1899, it became more apparent that neither independence nor statehood was going to be immediately granted to the residents of the island. During the following year, the Foraker Act provided the inhabitants of the island with Puerto Rican citizenship and limited governments but it also confirmed that the island would remain a colonial possession for the foreseeable future.¹²⁴ It was during these early years that the process of attempting to Americanize the inhabitants of Puerto Rico, through the educational system, was established. In an attempt to create "Tropical Yankees," General Guy

¹²² Barreto, "Enlightened Tolerance or Cultural Capitulation? Contesting Notions of American Identity," 145; Navarro-Rivera, "The Imperial Enterprise and Educational Policies in Colonial Puerto Rico."

¹²³ Brigadier-General George W. Davis, "General Orders, No. 152," Headquarters Department of Porto Rico, San Juan, Porto Rico, December 15, 1900, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 21.

¹²⁴ Carr, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment*, 36-37.

Vernon Henry placed the former U.S. Commissioner of Education, John Eaton Jr., in charge of educational reforms on the island.¹²⁵ After reviewing the report provided by the Insular Commission, Eaton believed that drastic changes needed to be made. Eaton agreed that English needed to become the language of instruction on the island and that through the schooling system, the American way of life could be taught to the inhabitants of Puerto Rico. Eaton planned to do this by instituting the celebration of American holidays, the veneration of the American past, and the introduction of the Protestant faith.¹²⁶ Elihu Root did not disagree with the changes that were recommended by Eaton; however, Root suggested that moderate changes occur over time because he believed that Spanish institutions, much like old Spanish laws, worked well for Spain's former colonial inhabitants, and in turn, provided order and stability on the island.¹²⁷

Despite attempts at Americanizing the Puerto Rican school system, aspects of the Spanish imperial past continued to exist. Throughout the island, many schoolhouses that had previously been used under the Spanish regime were appropriated by the American government and continued to be used. Adding to these pre-existing Spanish schoolhouses, the government erected several crudely constructed, poorly decorated, American schoolhouses throughout the island, which cost the government a total of \$203,373.¹²⁸ Initially, Eaton had hoped that either American teachers, or Puerto Rican teachers who were fluent in English, would instruct students. However, he quickly

¹²⁵ Education (General Records), NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 21

¹²⁶ Morris, *Puerto Rico: Culture, Politics, and Identity*, 26.

¹²⁷ Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898-1932*, 54.

¹²⁸ *Report on the Census of Puerto Rico, 1899* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 72; Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 55.

realized that this was going to be an unrealistic goal. In turn, many teachers from the Spanish colonial period continued to instruct the inhabitants of the island.¹²⁹ Although many English language textbooks began to enter Puerto Rican classrooms during the early years of the twentieth century, some textbooks from the Spanish colonial period continued to be used. Also, once it was realized that the Spanish language still needed to be used in the classroom, many Spaniards and Puerto Ricans were hired to write American textbooks.¹³⁰ These examples demonstrate that despite the fact that the role that American culture played in Puerto Rican society did increase on the island, as did the knowledge of the English language, the U.S. colonial administration's dependency of Spain's imperial past continued to exist throughout the early years of the twentieth century.

As sites of ideological transfers, classrooms in both Cuba and Puerto Rico were seen by U.S. colonial officials as being the ideal locations where American teachers could train inferior colonial subjects how to become productive members of Anglo-Saxon society. However, despite the fact that the Education Department in Puerto Rico was using approximately one-third of the insular government's budget by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the process of Americanizing the inhabitants of Puerto Rico was beginning to appear to be a failure.¹³¹ Comparatively, the Americanization process in Cuba, which received minimal oversight from the U.S. government following the signing of the Cuban Constitution, was also not doing as well as expected. In turn,

¹²⁹ Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898-1932*, 54-55.

¹³⁰ Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and U.S. Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898-1908*, 134; Insular Board of Education, "Puerto Rico Board of Education – Bulletin, Number One." NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 78.

¹³¹ Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898-1932*, 137.

during the final portion of this chapter, we will explore how Spain's imperial legacy continued to influence the lives of Americans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans well into the first quarter of the twentieth century. This will be done in the hopes of gaining a greater understanding as to why Americanization attempts failed in the regions under discussion, and in turn, why Spanish culture and the Spanish imperial legacy continued to play an influential role in the lives of the inhabitants of Cuba and Puerto Rico.

THE APPROPRIATION OF THE SPANISH IMPERIAL LEGACY IN THE CARIBBEAN BASIN

As the children of Cuba and Puerto Rico sat in their classrooms during the decade following the Spanish-American War of 1898, they were inundated with symbols and information pertaining to what it meant to be a civilized colonial subject of the American Empire. No longer did these children, many of whom had been born as members of the Spanish Empire, celebrate the Queen-Regent Maria Christina, her son Alfonso XIII, or the Roman Catholic faith in their classrooms.¹³² Instead, they were forced to learn the English language, sing patriotic American songs, salute the American flag, celebrate American holidays, and venerate the valiant heroes of the American past.¹³³ However, the linkages between Spain's imperial legacy, American teachers in Cuban and Puerto Rican classrooms, and their pupils were not completely severed. Not only did U.S. policymakers quickly realize that minimizing the use of the Spanish language was going to be an improbable goal to achieve, they, much like their colonial counterparts, also

¹³² Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and U.S. Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898-1908*, 23.

¹³³ Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898-1932*, 133.

continued to appropriate pre-existing historical narratives that were based on Spain's imperial legacy in an attempt to justify their positions in colonial society.¹³⁴

For example, throughout the early portion of the twentieth century, Christopher Columbus continued to be a transnational figure who provided Americans with an imperial connection to Spain's civilizing mission in the Caribbean Basin. Previously celebrated in the metropole of the empire by U.S. Hispanist, exposition organizers, and clubwomen, members of the American Insular Board of Education for Puerto Rico continued to appropriate the Columbian legacy. This pedagogical policy was instituted by members of the American Insular Board of Education in English language and history lessons because they believed that both American teachers and Puerto Rican pupils were familiar with the narrative surrounding the "Spanish" explorer.¹³⁵

Christopher Columbus also played a prominent role in English language textbooks in Puerto Rico, where he took up as many as seventeen pages in one textbook and was often presented as a "classical Greek hero."¹³⁶ Furthermore, in 1903, the educational commissioner of Puerto Rico sanctioned celebrations that were organized to memorialize the four-hundred-tenth anniversary of Christopher Columbus's discovery of the island. These celebrations were similar to the four-hundred-year anniversary of Christopher Columbus's discovery of the Americas, which was commemorated at the

¹³⁴ Barreto, "Enlightened Tolerance or Cultural Capitulation? Contesting Notions of American Identity," 147-148; Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and U.S. Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898-1908*, 195.

¹³⁵ Insular Board of Education, "Teaching Bulletin, Number Two," NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 78. For more information: Chapter 2; Chapter 3; Chapter 4.

¹³⁶ Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and U.S. Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898-1908*, 140.

World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.¹³⁷ In summation, American educators drew on their earlier knowledge of Christopher Columbus in an attempt to facilitate a connection between themselves, Spain, and their new colonial subjects, and in turn, they continued to depend on Spain's imperial legacy in Puerto Rico.

Prior to the Spanish-American War, Spanish colonial administrators encouraged the inhabitants of Puerto Rico to venerate Spain's imperial legacy by commemorating the accomplishments of Christopher Columbus and Ponce de León. For example, in an attempt to celebrate the first Governor of Puerto Rico, in 1882, a statue of Ponce de León was erected by the Spanish colonial government in the Plaza de Santiago.¹³⁸ However, the event received little support from the inhabitants of Puerto Rico. In comparison, the celebrations surrounding the four-hundred-year anniversary of Columbus's discovery of the Americas garnered a great deal of interest from the inhabitants of the island. A statue of Columbus later replaced the one of Ponce de León in the Plaza de Santiago, while the León statue was downgraded to the Plaza de San José. The responses to these celebrations indicate that in the minds of many Puerto Ricans during the late colonial period, León was perceived as the conqueror of the island, and that he provided little to humanity. Also in the minds of the inhabitants of Puerto Rico, León represented Spain's dominate control over the island. Conversely, Columbus was perceived as an

¹³⁷ Morris, *Puerto Rico: Culture, Politics, and Identity*, 28.

¹³⁸ For more information on monuments in the imperial world: Dominik Geppert and Frank Lorenz Müller (editors), *Sites of Imperial Memory: Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2015).

international, humanitarian figure who brought civilization to the region and integrated Puerto Rico into a larger trans-imperial narrative.¹³⁹

Following the American occupation of Puerto Rico and the beginning of the Americanization of the island, many inhabitants began to regret their support of U.S. involvement.¹⁴⁰ These inhabitants of Puerto Rico, many of whom were both members of the Federalist Party and of Spanish descent, realized that the privileges that they were provided under Spanish rule, specifically, the existence of their autonomous government, were not going to be granted to them as colonists of the U.S. Empire.¹⁴¹ In turn, these individuals began to challenge the Americanization of the island by drawing on the Spanish imperial past. Rather than presenting themselves as future U.S. citizens, Puerto Ricans reconceptualized their island as a Hispanic colony by creating an opposing narrative, which was predicated on the glorification of Spanish customs, the celebration of Catholicism, and the use of the Spanish language.¹⁴² Also, instead of commemorating Christopher Columbus, the inhabitants of Puerto Rico opposed the United States' use of the Columbian legacy to justify the empire's connection with Spain's past accomplishments. Instead, the inhabitants of the island began to celebrate Ponce de León

¹³⁹ Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, "From Columbus to Ponce de León: Puerto Rican Commemorations between Empires, 1893-1908," in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 231-232.

¹⁴⁰ Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898-1932*, 186.

¹⁴¹ Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898-1932*, 167.

¹⁴² Barreto, "Enlightened Tolerance or Cultural Capitulation? Contesting Notions of American Identity," 147-148; "Public – No. 69," NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 21. For more information: Fredrick B. Pike, *Hispanismo, 1898-1936: Spanish Conservatives and Liberals and Their Relations with Spanish America* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971).

as the first Spanish Governor of Puerto Rico and their connection with Spain's imperial legacy.¹⁴³

In 1908, Puerto Ricans celebrated the anniversary of Ponce de León's reign over the island in an attempt to justify their connection with Spain's imperial past.¹⁴⁴ As tensions between Puerto Ricans and Americans increased during the 1910s, U.S. colonial administrators sought to appropriate both the image and historical narrative associated with León to appease the inhabitants of Puerto Rico and to make a connection between themselves, Spain's imperial past, and the people of the island. In turn, in February of 1912, the American insular government arranged for a celebration to be held to commemorate the founding of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Juan de Puerto Rico.

During these celebrations, León's remains were deposited near a monument to the first Governor of Puerto Rico. The monument was situated alongside the cathedral, which was located by the Casino Español in San Juan. Following the event, a banquet was held to commemorate the celebration, which was attended by American, Spanish, and Puerto Rican dignitaries.¹⁴⁵ Also, in 1913, a joint resolution was passed that renamed a section of "Insular Road Number 1" to "Ponce de León Avenue." The same joint resolution called for the statue of Ponce de León, which had been erected in 1882, to be moved to Ponce de León Avenue. The statue would also receive a new base, which would be paid

¹⁴³ Schmidt-Nowara, "From Columbus to Ponce de León: Puerto Rican Commemorations between Empires, 1893-1908," 234-235.

¹⁴⁴ Schmidt-Nowara, "From Columbus to Ponce de León: Puerto Rican Commemorations between Empires, 1893-1908," 235.

¹⁴⁵ Frank McIntyre to Mr. Hilles, February 28, 1913, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 964.

for by the Insular Treasury.¹⁴⁶ This American fascination with León, which manifested itself earlier during the imaginary journeys of American clubwomen in the late nineteenth century, also reemerged in the early 1920s. For example, in 1922, Dr. Andrew Anderson, a wealthy citizen from St. Augustine, Florida, arranged for a duplicate of the statue that existed in Puerto Rico to be erected in his home city. This attempt by Dr. Anderson to venerate Spain's imperial past in the continental United States, continued the transnational, imperial narrative that had previously existed between the United States, the Spanish imperial past, and the island of Puerto Rico.¹⁴⁷

Both Americans and Puerto Ricans appropriated Spain's imperial legacy in an attempt to justify their positions in colonial society. Under the Spanish Empire, Puerto Ricans initially felt a close imperial bond with Christopher Columbus. However, following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War and the beginning of Americanization projects on the island, Americans appropriated the Columbian legacy, as they previously had in the United States. In response to American actions, Puerto Ricans attempted to differentiate themselves from their new colonial overseers, and to vindicate their high level of civilization, by defining themselves as being the civilized descendants of the first Spanish Governor of Puerto Rico, Ponce de León. In response to this reconceptualization, U.S. colonial administrators also attempted to appropriate the image of León in their continued hopes of justifying their position in colonial society.

¹⁴⁶ Joint Resolution No. 10, March 13, 1913, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 954.

¹⁴⁷ For more information: Various files and documents from 1922 relating to the duplication of the Ponce de León monument, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 1082.

In September of 1906, political instability in Cuba resulted in the U.S. military's second occupation of the island. Following the policies outlined by the Platt Amendment, the United States continued to occupy Cuba until February of 1909. Continuing their imperial relationship, Spain sided with the United States during the occupation; while in comparison, the U.S. military's actions frustrated many members of Cuban society. Similar to the events in Puerto Rico, many inhabitants of Cuba responded by romanticizing the positive aspects of life under Spain's colonial regime during the second American occupation of the island.¹⁴⁸ These feelings were displayed in June and July of 1908, when the first Spanish Naval vessel since the end of the Spanish-American War arrived in Havana Harbor on June 24.¹⁴⁹

Prior to the arrival of the Spanish ship, which was known as the *Nautilus*, the remaining Spanish community in Havana tirelessly planned a series of events to venerate Spain's imperial legacy and the country's renewed friendship with the Cuban people.¹⁵⁰ The American Provisional Governor of Cuba, Charles E. Magoon, also provided \$2,500 to fund the celebrations but in his letter to the Secretary of War, Luke E. Wright, Magoon attempted to downplay the influential event.¹⁵¹ Once the ship finally arrived, it was warmly greeted by both Spaniards and Cubans. On July 3, the ship mourned the ten-year

¹⁴⁸ Cosme de la Torriente to Charles E. Magoon, Resignation of Mr. Torriente, Havana, Cuba, December 27, 1906, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 727; American Legation in Madrid to Elihu Root, December 24, 1906, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 727.

¹⁴⁹ "Extracts Taken from the Following Newspapers," NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 807.

¹⁵⁰ Governor Magoon to Mr. Secretary, Havana, Cuba, July 14, 1908, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 807.

¹⁵¹ Governor Magoon to Mr. Secretary, Havana, Cuba, July 14, 1908, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 807.

anniversary of the destruction of the Spanish fleet, as well as the Spanish sailors that lost their lives during the Spanish-American War.¹⁵² During the remainder of the ship's stay in Cuba, its members attended a Mass at the Havana Cathedral, banquets held by both the Spanish inhabitants of Havana and the Cuban Army of Independence, and a ball at the Ateneo Club.¹⁵³ When the ship left on July 10, *The Washington Post* reported that approximately 5,000 citizens of Havana bid the ship a fond farewell, demonstrating the magnitude of the ship's visit and the bond that continued to exist between Spaniards and Cubans following the United States' second occupation of the island in less than ten years.¹⁵⁴

In Magoon's letter to Wright, he justified providing funding to the celebrations associated with the arrival of the *Nautilus* by stating that he hoped that the proceedings would encourage the Spanish inhabitants of Cuba to begin to play a more influential role in the political events on the island.¹⁵⁵ Magoon's comments to Wright illustrated the ideology that representatives of the United States had held towards Cuba since the early nineteenth century. Rooted in imperial thought and the racial ideologies of the period, Magoon believed that the only way Cuba could exist as a productive and stable political entity was if it was under the control of the American Empire, the Spanish Empire, or the Spanish inhabitants of the island. In turn, Magoon helped fund the events associated with

¹⁵² "Extracts Taken from the Following Newspapers," NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 807.

¹⁵³ Governor Magoon to Mr. Secretary, Havana, Cuba, July 14, 1908, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 807.

¹⁵⁴ "Extracts Taken from the Following Newspapers," NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 807.

¹⁵⁵ Governor Magoon to Mr. Secretary, Havana, Cuba, July 14, 1908, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 807.

the arrival of the *Nautilus* in an attempt to encourage the Spanish inhabitants of Havana to increase their involvement in the political process on the island. However, the events actually demonstrated how, much like in Puerto Rico, Spain's former colonial inhabitants still felt a cultural bond with Spain's imperial past and were willing to appropriate Spain's imperial legacy in an attempt to oppose American rule.

CONCLUSION

Prior to Leonard Wood and his family leaving Havana in May of 1902, the president of the Casino Español spoke with the former Governor-General of Cuba. As was noted earlier, during their meeting, the president requested that Wood's family travel to Europe aboard the Spanish mail steamer, the *Alfonso 13*, and that they enter the continent through a Spanish port.¹⁵⁶ Wood certainly appreciated the gesture from the Spanish inhabitants of Havana and in his diary entry from May 20, 1902, Wood reiterated his gratitude when he commented that, "it was a rather fine ending of a war to be able to send the family to the country of our late enemy, Spain, on one of their ships."¹⁵⁷

Following Wood's brief return to the United States, he traveled to Spain to holiday with his family in Valdecilla at the summer home of Ramón Pelayo, a Spanish businessman who had become a wealthy landowner in Cuba during the second half of the

¹⁵⁶ Leonard Wood to Lou (his wife), Palace of Governor General, Santiago de Cuba, July 21, 1898, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box: Leonard Wood Papers Personal Correspondence of Gen. Wood – 1862-1901/2 – 190, Folder: Personal Correspondence – 1898; Leonard Wood to Mother, Santiago de Cuba, July 30, 1898, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box: Leonard Wood Papers Personal Correspondence of Gen. Wood – 1862-1901/2 – 190, Folder: Personal Correspondence – 1898; Leonard Wood's Diary, May 20, 1902, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906.

¹⁵⁷ Leonard Wood's Diary, May 20, 1902, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906.

nineteenth century. Wood arrived in Valdecilla on August 2 and immediately continued his relationship with representatives of Spain's former empire by spending time with Spanish military officers who had previously served in Cuba.¹⁵⁸ Wood's comments and his interactions demonstrated that the conflict between the United States and Spain did not sour the relationship between several influential representatives of the two imperial powers because despite making war on one another, both sides realized that a transfer of imperial power had taken place, in an attempt to benefit both parties. In turn, the positive relationships between well-educated, influential Americans and their Spanish counterparts, which had initially been established by Juan de Miralles and General George Washington during the time of the American Revolutionary Era, continued throughout the early decades of the twentieth century.

The Spanish-American War was not a drastic shift in the foreign policy of the United States. Nor did the conflict disrupt the positive perceptions that influential representatives of the American Empire had towards the Spanish Empire or Spain's imperial legacy. Influential policymakers in Washington, Madrid, and Havana worked tirelessly to avoid the conflict, and when the war became inevitable, it was not fought to rid Cuba from the Spanish Empire but to avoid a successful, Cuban-led revolution that would adversely affect the pride of the Spanish people and would lead to further political instability on the island. These actions, as well as the occupation of Puerto Rico, followed the beliefs of American foreign policymakers, which dated back to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Also, once the U.S. military had successfully taken over the islands, they relied on the Spanish expertise in the region, in much the same way that the United

¹⁵⁸ Leonard Wood's Diary, August 2-3, 1902, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906.

States depended on this knowledge base in both Guam and the Philippine Islands, which will be the main focus of the forthcoming chapter.

Despite the fact that the U.S. military's occupations of the islands came to an end in Puerto Rico in 1900 and in Cuba in 1902, the United States' formal (Puerto Rico) and informal (Cuba) role in the region continued. Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, Spanish laws and legal practices were progressively eliminated and replaced by U.S. style laws; Spanish infrastructure was updated by American companies; Spanish bureaucrats were replaced by either American or local officials; and in the classrooms on the islands, teachers encouraged the Americanization of their young colonial inhabitants through the use of the English language and the celebration of the American past. However, the implementation of these Americanized policies did not signify a complete break with Spain's imperial past in the region.

As American teachers in the Caribbean Basin attempted to instruct their new colonial inhabitants the English language and the history of the United States, they continued to appropriate Spain's imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative. As was discussed earlier, the appropriation of Spain's imperial legacy began in the metropole and was brought to the periphery by U.S. military officers and colonial administrators. This was done in the Caribbean Basin by appropriating the images and narratives associated with Christopher Columbus and Ponce de León, in an attempt to present a Whiggish based continuity, which would symbolize the passing of the torch of civilization from Spain to the United States. In response to these attempts made by U.S. representatives, the inhabitants of Cuba and Puerto Rico drew on their own connections with Spain's imperial legacy to justify their level of civilization and ability to

control their own political matters. In summation, rather than creating both an entirely new historical narrative and imperial experience for the inhabitants of the Caribbean Basin, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators continued to depend on the Spanish imperial legacy to justify their own positions in colonial society; however, they encountered unexpected challenges to this narrative in the periphery of their empire.

Chapter 6

“Our Interests Here are Identical”: The American Overseas Empire Encounters the Spanish Imperial Legacy in Guam and the Philippine Islands¹

During the first half of the twentieth century, the Manila Carnival became an annual event. The carnival was held in the capital of the Philippine Islands and was created to present the mutually beneficial relationship that had developed between the American and Filipino people. Emulating the international expositions that had increased in popularity throughout Europe and the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Manila Carnivals celebrated the progress that was made by colonial administrators in the Philippine Islands as they attempted to transform the Filipino people into modern and productive members of the U.S. colonial empire.²

The Manila Carnival of 1921 was also referred to as the Carnaval Magallanico or the Celebración Del Cuarto Centenario Del Descubrimiento De Filipinas Por Fernando de Magallanes. It was created by American and elite Filipino carnival organizers to venerate Spain’s imperial legacy by celebrating the four-hundred-year anniversary of Ferdinand Magellan’s “discovery” of the Philippine Islands.³ Held on Wallace Field and in the

¹ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume II* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 372.

² For more information on world’s fairs, international expositions, and great exhibitions see: Chapter 3. For more information on the Americanization of the Philippine Islands: Cristina Evangelista Torres, *The Americanization of Manila, 1898-1921* (Quezon City, Manila, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 2010); Stanley Karrow, *In Our Image: America’s Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Random House, 1989); Peter W. Stanley, *A Nation in the Making: The Philippines and the United States, 1899-1921* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974); Stuart Creighton Miller, “Benevolent Assimilation”: *The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1982).

³ Philippine Carnival Association: Magallanes Carnival and Exposition, *Official Program: Magallanes Carnival and Exposition – January 29th to February 6th – 1921* (Special Collections Library – University of Michigan).

Luneta Auditorium on the Paseo de Luneta, the Manila Carnival of 1921 was highlighted by a play representing Magellan's discovery of the Philippine Islands; a performance by the Philippine Constabulary Band, which welcomed the Carnival Queen by playing the Spanish, American, and Filipino national anthems; and an address by the Associate Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court, George A. Malcolm, that was entitled "Democracy in the Philippines – Magellan to Dewey."⁴ Within his address, Malcolm credited the Spanish for advancing the level of civilization of the native inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, which he believed greatly assisted the U.S. colonial project in the region. Additionally, Malcom also integrated the Philippine Islands into an imperial narrative, based on the Whiggish belief associated with the east-to-west movement of civilization. By presenting this story, Malcolm was essentially evoking the same narrative that had previously been developed in the United States, which was associated with Christopher Columbus's "discovery" of the New World and the subsequent transfer of Spanish civilization to the region. Malcolm also referred to the Spanish as "our friends" and honored the Kingdom of Spain for supporting the journey that brought Magellan into contact with the Philippine Islands.⁵

⁴ Philippine Carnival Association: Magallanes Carnival and Exposition, *Official Program: Magallanes Carnival and Exposition – January 29th to February 6th – 1921* (Special Collections Library – University of Michigan); "Manila to Celebrate 400th Anniversary," *Ellensburg Daily Record*, December 28, 1920, p. 3; "Great Event Now Planned," *Los Angeles Times*, November 29, 1920, p. 14; George A. Malcolm, "Democracy in the Philippines – Magellan to Dewey," Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, George A. Malcom Papers, 1896-1965, Box 10, Bound Volume: *Occasional Addresses and Articles – Volume II; Celebración Del Cuarto Centenario Del Descubrimiento De Filipinas Por Fernando de Magallanes* (Manila, P.I.: Bureau of Printing, 1921), NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 1171.

⁵ George A. Malcolm, "Democracy in the Philippines – Magellan to Dewey," Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, George A. Malcom Papers, 1896-1965, Box 10, Bound Volume: *Occasional Addresses and Articles – Volume II*, 312; *Celebración Del Cuarto Centenario Del Descubrimiento De Filipinas Por Fernando de Magallanes* (Manila, P.I.: Bureau of Printing, 1921), NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 1171.

Rather than ignoring or criticizing Spain's past administration of the region, American and elite Filipino carnival organizers celebrated Spain's imperial legacy and "rendered homage" to Spain's civilizing mission.⁶ This Whiggish based imperial narrative, which was presented over twenty years after the United States had taken possession of the Philippine Islands, illustrated that U.S. colonial administrators continued to appropriate Spain's imperial legacy as the foundation of America's own historical narrative. In turn, much like they had in the United States and in the Caribbean Basin, representatives of the American Empire in the Philippine Islands depended on their various imperial connections with the Spanish past to justify America's position in colonial society.

On April 25, 1898, Congress declared that the United States and Spain had officially been in a state of war since April 21. Heavily influenced by the perceived poor treatment of Spain's colonial subjects in Cuba, many Americans believed that the war against Spain was being fought to liberate the island of Cuba from Spain's oppressive colonial rule.⁷ Over 8,000 miles away in Hong Kong, Commodore George Dewey and the U.S. Asiatic Squadron received news from the acting British governor on April 23 that the United States and Spain appeared to be in a state of war.

On May 1, Dewey and his squadron of ships engaged with the Spanish fleet in the Battle of Manila Bay. By the early afternoon, the United States had emerged victorious,

⁶ George A. Malcolm, "Democracy in the Philippines – Magellan to Dewey," Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, George A. Malcom Papers, 1896-1965, Box 10, Bound Volume: *Occasional Addresses and Articles – Volume II*, 312.

⁷ For more information relating to Cuba and the Spanish-American War of 1898: Chapter 5. For more information on the role that the yellow press played in late nineteenth century America: Bonnie Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest: The Visual and Popular Cultures of the Spanish-American War of 1898* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011); Sidney Kobre, *The Yellow Press and Gilded Age Journalism* (Tallahassee, Florida: Florida State University, 1964).

with minimal casualties. Following the engagement, Dewey was left waiting for further orders from President William McKinley and the War Department on how to proceed against the Spanish forces in the city of Manila.⁸ Those orders took months to develop, frustrating Dewey and other high-ranking U.S. military officers in both the United States and the Pacific.

Adding confusion to the Pacific theatre of war was the fact that Spain claimed territorial possession over the entire Philippine archipelago; in reality, Spanish imperial forces in the Philippine Islands held only nominal control of the areas outside of Manila due to the progressive weakening of the Spanish Empire, throughout the late nineteenth century, and the start of the Philippine Revolution in 1896, which was still ongoing when the United States arrived in the region.⁹ Finally, on August 13, 1898, U.S. military forces successfully defeated the Spanish military during the First Battle of Manila.¹⁰ Subsequently, the military occupied the former capital of Spanish imperial power in the region. Through the occupation of Manila and the eventual signing of the Treaty of Paris of 1898, the United States found itself in control of the entire Philippine archipelago, as well as the colonial outpost of Guam, marking the formal beginning of America's overseas empire in the region.

⁸ For more information: George Dewey, *Autobiography of George Dewey: Admiral of the Navy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913).

⁹ Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 3-5. For more information on Spain's decline: Helen Rawlings, *The Debate on the Decline of Spain* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2012); Joseph Harrison and Alan Hoyle (editors), *Spain's 1898 Crisis: Regenerationism, Modernism, Post-Colonialism* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2000).

¹⁰ A ceasefire was agreed upon by Spain and the United States on August 12, 1898 but it is believed that news of the agreement had not reached the Philippine Islands by August 13, 1898.

This chapter will focus on the creation of America's overseas colonial administrations in both Guam and the Philippine Islands. Rather than creating unique colonial administrations in the Pacific, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators depended on the knowledge and expertise of the Spanish Empire in Guam and the Philippine Islands. These individuals also comfortably integrated themselves into the pre-existing imperial narratives and hierarchies in the regions. In turn, they selectively appropriated the Spanish past as the foundation of their own imperial project, a practice that had initially been used by elite Americans in the United States, and was also occurring in the Caribbean Basin, following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War. This was done in an attempt to legitimize their national and imperial identities to themselves, their fellow Americans, their colonial subjects, and the other European imperial powers of the period.

However, it should be noted that these individuals did not directly duplicate all of the policies and actions of the Spanish Empire, nor did U.S. military officers and colonial administrators continue to depend heavily on the past policies of the Spanish Empire after several decades of their own colonial rule. Rather, out of necessity, appreciation, and practicality, in the initial years following the occupation of the regions, American empire builders leaned heavily on the omnipresent remnants of the Spanish past in both Guam and the Philippine Islands. These individuals also appropriated practices and policies from other imperial powers of the period, specifically the British and Dutch empires.¹¹ Several U.S. military officers and colonial administrators also developed relationships with the Spanish and Hispanicized-elite who remained in Guam and the Philippine

¹¹ For more information: Frank Schumacher, "Embedded Empire: The United States and Colonialism," *Journal of Modern European History* 14, no. 2 (January 2016), 202-224.

Islands, deepening the imperial ties between representatives of the U.S. colonial empire and the remnants of Spain's once great empire. Over time, as the American Empire solidified its position in colonial society and developed many of its own policies, U.S. colonial administrators still celebrated Spain's imperial legacy in an attempt to justify the United States' position in colonial society and to venerate the Spanish explorers whom Americans credited with bringing civilization to the regions.

Guam and the Philippine Islands were sites of trans-imperial exchanges throughout the over three-hundred-year history of Spain's imperial presence in the regions. During the period, Chinese workers traveled to the Philippine Islands in search of better lives for themselves and their families; European merchants frequented the port of Manila, attempting to acquire rare goods from the region; Spanish missionaries brought Catholicism to both Guam and the Philippine Islands, perhaps the most resilient aspect of Spanish imperial rule; and French scientists traveled to Guam in search of scientific data throughout the nineteenth century.¹² When the United States took over control of these regions, these encounters did not come to an end. In fact, due to the speed of transoceanic travel and the rise in European imperialism during the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, these encounters and exchanges increased. Most importantly for the purpose of this work, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators were not just overseers of these encounters and exchanges. Rather, they played an active role in engaging with the Spanish and the Hispanicized-elite that still

¹² James A. LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines – Volume I* (New York: AMS Press, 1914), 33; Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), 91-92.

remained in the regions as they attempted to construct the American overseas empire in the Pacific on the foundations of Spain's imperial past.

A FAMILIARITY WITH THE SPANISH IMPERIAL LEGACY

From the beginning of the Spanish-American War, both the U.S. Army and American politicians were equally unprepared for the conflict and the creation of the United States' overseas empire throughout the Caribbean Basin and the Pacific.¹³ Under the guidance of Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, the U.S. Navy had continuously worked to modernize itself and to prepare for America's increased role in international events throughout the closing decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ However, as military historian Brian McAllister Linn has pointed out, "Unlike the navy, the U.S. Army had not planned for a war of conquest in the Philippines and was ill prepared to shoulder the burden of empire."¹⁵

Prior to the conflict, the Regular Army of the United States was restricted by Congress to only 28,000 soldiers, most of whom were scattered throughout the American West. The majority of the army's high-ranking officers were aging Civil War veterans, often already in their fifties and sixties. The majority of these individuals were unfamiliar with both fighting in tropical jungles and establishing colonial policies in regions that had

¹³ An example of this lack of knowledge about the Philippine Islands can be found here: Mabel Pound LeRoy to Family in Michigan, April 16, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder 3: Manuscript of Travelogue Account of Trip to the Philippine Islands, April 4 – June 5 (1901). At times, the dates of Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy's letters are unclear and inconsistent.

¹⁴ Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 7.

¹⁵ Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 8.

recently been administered by a European imperial power.¹⁶ The army was also short on adequate amounts of weapons, uniforms, and training facilities. These problems were compounded by McKinley's call for 125,000 volunteer soldiers on April 23, many of whom believed that they would be serving their country by making war on the Kingdom of Spain, not as members of an occupying military force in the Philippine Islands that was assigned to combat insurgent forces outside of the city of Manila.¹⁷ However, based on the racial ideologies of the period, many military officers and soldiers who had taken part in the Indian Wars in the American West transferred their military practices and conceptualizations of "the Other" to the native inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago.¹⁸

The individuals in the Office of Military Information and many of the politicians who had supported the U.S. declaration of war were equally unprepared for the conflict. While knowing a fair amount about Cuba, these individuals were poorly informed about Spain's colonial possessions in the Pacific and the individuals that inhabited the regions. Despite the fact that two American shipping and commercial houses existed in Manila and that a U.S. consul had been established in the city under the Spanish regime, the most

¹⁶ For more information on the poor condition of the U.S. Army following the end of the Civil War: Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Eric Rauchway, *Blessed Among Nations: How the World Made America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006); Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company Incorporated, 1973); Russell F. Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1973).

¹⁷ Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 10-12.

¹⁸ For more information on the connection between America's transcontinental empire and its overseas empire: Walter L. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). For more information on conceptualizations of "the Other": Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). For more information on American conceptualizations of the Islamic Philippines: Oliver Charbonneau, "Civilizational Imperatives: American Colonial Culture in the Islamic Philippines, 1899-1942" (PhD Dissertation, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada, 2016).

up-to-date information that Commodore Dewey could find in Washington about the Philippine Islands, prior to leaving to take command of the U.S. Asiatic Squadron, came from a naval report that was published in 1876.¹⁹ Not to mention the fact that even less was known about Guam and the island chain known as the Ladrões. Therefore, any individual who knew something about either Guam or the Philippine Islands was contacted, and any type of information that could be found was collected by the War Department.²⁰

Despite knowing little about Guam, the Philippine Islands, and those who inhabited the regions, a selection of elite Americans in the United States had begun to familiarize themselves with Spain and its imperial past during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century.²¹ Rather than allowing the Black Legend narrative to dominate their thoughts, these Americans educated themselves about Spain and celebrated what they believed were Spain's national and imperial accomplishments.²² American exposition organizers and editors who controlled the

¹⁹ LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines – Volume I*, 33; Dewey, *Autobiography of George Dewey: Admiral of the Navy*, 175.

²⁰ For more information: *Military Notes on the Philippines* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, September 1898). When requesting information about the Philippine Islands, General Wesley Merritt's aide received an encyclopedia entry about the Philippine Islands from the War Department. By September of 1898, the War Department was able to distribute a book entitled *Military Notes on the Philippines*. However, the majority of the information for the work was gathered from dated Spanish sources, British Admiralty Reports, and *The National Geographic Magazine*. By the conclusion of 1898, the War Department was able to create the Division of Customs and Insular Affairs, which would later be known as the Bureau of Insular Affairs and would receive correspondences, records, legal decisions, and statistical information from America's new colonial possessions. In turn, the Bureau would organize and disseminate the information to individuals who required it in the United States.²⁰

²¹ For more information: Chapter 2.

²² Richard L. Kagan, "Introduction," in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 2-4; Richard L. Kagan, "From Noah to Moses: The Genesis of Historical Scholarship on Spain in the United States," in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

material that was read by American clubwomen continued to develop an interest in Spain and disseminated information about the country. These individuals also attempted to justify the United States' place in the world by using Spain's imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative. These Americans did this by creating and presenting an historical narrative that began with Spain's discovery of the New World, celebrated Spain's "civilization" of the Indigenous people of the region, and presented Spain as the country that allowed the United States to rise to its current position in the world. This also presented a narrative where Spain was passing the proverbial torch of imperial rule to the United States in the metropole of the American Empire.²³

This narrative of imperial succession continued to be used by U.S. military officers and colonial administrators in Guam and the Philippine Islands. These individuals, knowing little about the majority of the inhabitants of Guam and the Philippine Islands, searched for signs of imperial familiarities and found them in the Spanish past. These individuals also followed the racial ideologies of the period and ranked individuals of Spanish descent above the other inhabitants of the regions.²⁴ Many U.S. military officers and colonial administrators also ignored the anti-Catholic beliefs that existed throughout the United States, and instead they recognized Spain's

²³ For more information: Chapter 2; Chapter 3.

²⁴ For more information on social Darwinism in the United States and the American Empire: Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998).

Christianization of Guam and the Philippine Islands as a sign of civilization.²⁵

Furthermore, rather than drawing on the Black Legend narrative and allowing the narrative's belief structures to dominate their thoughts and actions in the periphery of the American Empire, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators drew on the previously established American historical narrative that appropriated the Spanish Empire as its foundation. Out of necessity, appreciation, and practicality, these individuals used this conceptualization to justify their actions of supplanting the Spanish as colonial overseers in both Guam and the Philippine Islands, a process that did not go unnoticed by their colonial inhabitants.

ENCOUNTERING SPAIN'S IMPERIAL LEGACY IN THE COLONIAL OUTPOST OF GUAM

From the colonial capital of Agaña on the early morning of June 20, 1898, the Spanish Governor of Guam, Juan Marina, suddenly heard the sound of cannon fire coming from the waters off the coast of the village of Piti.²⁶ It was reported to Marina that the vessel, which was flying the American flag, was offering its welcoming salute to the port and it appeared that the ship was waiting for a response.²⁷ Aware that the Spanish fortifications of Fort Santiago and Fort Santa Cruz had been abandoned for some time, Governor

²⁵ "What the United States has Done for the Non-Christian Tribes of the Philippines: Conditions at the time the United States Occupied the Philippines," Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume IV, Folder 40; *Census of the Philippine Islands: Taken Under the Direction of the Philippine Commission in 1903 – Volume I* (Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of the Census, 1905), 31.

²⁶ "Guam," February 12, 1900, NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 384; "History of First Regiment California: Volunteer Infantry," United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Alfred R. Dole Collection – Box 1, Folder 2.

²⁷ *The Island of Guam* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 40-41, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 30.

Marina sent an officer to San Luis D'Apra Harbor to "express his acknowledgment and regrets that he had no gun with which he could return the compliment."²⁸ At the same time, a Spanish naval officer and military physician arrived at the harbor to welcome the ship, which they still assumed was flying the flag of a friendly nation. The Spanish military officers, along with Francisco (Frank) Portusach Martínez, who was originally from Spain and had become an American citizen in 1888, took a small boat from the harbor and proceeded to make their customary boarding and inspection of the foreign vessel.

Due to the remoteness of the island, mail had not arrived in Guam since early April, and at that time, it appeared that a war between Spain and the United States would be avoided.²⁹ Therefore, once they arrived on the USS *Charleston*, Portusach and the Spanish officers were shocked to receive news from Captain Henry Glass that the shots fired at Fort Santa Cruz were not a welcoming salute but were fired with hostile intent because the United States and Spain had been in a state of war for nearly two months.³⁰ On the following morning, Governor Marina surrendered himself, the Island of Guam, and the Spanish and insular forces on the island to the U.S. Navy, officially marking the end of over three hundred years of formal Spanish colonial rule.³¹

²⁸ "Guam," February 12, 1900, NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 384.

²⁹ *The Island of Guam* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 40-41, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 30.

³⁰ LeRoy provided his father with a second-hand account of how the Americans acquired Guam: James Alfred LeRoy to his Father, November 23, 1900, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Travelogue Account of Trip to Philippines, 1900-1901.

³¹ *The Island of Guam* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 40-41, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 30; Karl Irving Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines* (San Francisco, California: The Hicks-Judd Company Publishers, 1899), 57-58, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, James A. Ross Papers, Box 1, Folder 8; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*, 110.

Following the beginning of the Spanish-American War and Dewey's victory at the Battle of Manila Bay, the Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long, had ordered Captain Glass and his fleet of four ships to proceed from Honolulu to Manila. While on his way to Manila, Glass was instructed to capture the port of Guam; take the Spanish governor, colonial officials, and military personnel prisoner; acquire any coal that may exist on the island; and destroy the island's fortifications, as well as any Spanish naval vessels in the area.³² The orders, heightened by the Spanish-American War, represented America's slow progression into the Pacific during the second half of the nineteenth century as the United States attempted to increase its presence in Asia.³³ Therefore, the acquisition of Guam was not a drastic departure from American actions in the Pacific prior to the Spanish-American War. But in June of 1898, Guam was not the U.S. military's highest priority, and the island continued to play a subordinate role to the Philippine Islands, just as it had under Spanish rule.

Following Governor Marina's surrender, the American flag was hoisted atop Fort Santa Cruz, the "Star Spangled Banner" was played, and a twenty-one gun salute was given by the *Charleston*.³⁴ At the end the ceremony, the flag was lowered and returned to the *Charleston* due to the fact that Glass had not received information from Long on what

³² John D. Long to the Commanding Officer USS *Charleston*, May 10, 1898, NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 384.

³³ In 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry made contact with Japan. In 1856, the United States claimed possession of Jarvis Island, Baker Island, and Howland Island in the Pacific. In 1867, the Americans gained control of Midway Island and the territory of Alaska. In 1887, the United States obtained rights to the use of Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*, 108.

³⁴ John D. Long to the Commanding Officer USS *Charleston*, May 10, 1898, NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 384.

to do with the island once he had fulfilled his orders.³⁵ As Glass and the American fleet steamed away from Guam, the former Spanish treasurer, José Sixto, took control of the administration of the island. It is unclear whether José Sixto or Francisco Portusach was given command of the island by Glass, as Portusach insisted, but because it was not in writing, the remaining Spanish officials on the island did not support Portusach's claim. Therefore, despite the fact that Spanish forces had surrendered Guam to the U.S. Navy, the island continued to be governed as it had under Spanish rule, with a Spanish colonial official as the head of the government.³⁶

On December 23, 1898, President William McKinley declared in an Executive Order that Guam would be “placed under the control of the Department of the Navy” and that “the Secretary of the Navy would take such steps as may be necessary to establish the authority of the United States and to give it the necessary protection and government.”³⁷ On January 1, 1899, Lieutenant Commander Vincendon L. Cottman arrived in Guam on the USS *Brutus*. Upon his arrival, Cottman was approached by two factions: those who supported José Sixto as the legitimate governor of Guam and those who did not. Unaware of the outcome of the Treaty of Paris and whether Guam was destined to become a colony of the United States or remain under Spanish control, Cottman decided to appoint Sixto as the legitimate governor of the island.³⁸ This action

³⁵ Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*, 111.

³⁶ *The Island of Guam* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 41-42, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 30.

³⁷ William McKinley to Unknown Receiver, December 23, 1898, NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 383.

³⁸ *The Island of Guam* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 42, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 30.

temporarily reinforced Sixto's position and demonstrated that U.S. military officers were comfortable with allowing former Spanish officials to continue to hold prominent positions in colonial society. It also showed that U.S. military officers were willing to default to Spain's imperial expertise, a practice that would be duplicated throughout the Caribbean Pacific and the Pacific in the years following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War.

On February 1, 1899, Commander Edward D. Taussig of the U.S. Navy brought news of McKinley's Executive Order of December 23, 1898 and the signing of the Treaty of Paris. Upon his arrival, Taussig "hoisted the American flag over the palace of Agaña," which had previously been the center of Spanish colonial rule on the island.³⁹ Taussig also removed Sixto from power and created an advisory council made up of influential individuals from the island, favoring the local Hispanicized-elite.⁴⁰ The practice of favoring Spaniards and the Hispanicized-elite over other inhabitants also occurred in the Caribbean Basin and the Philippine Islands, and was an example of the imperial familiarity that influential Americans had previously established between themselves and other representatives of the Spanish Empire throughout the long nineteenth century.

The first U.S. naval administrator of Guam, Captain Richard Leary, arrived on the island on August 7, 1899. Leary's appointment was an early blunder but an important lesson for the U.S. military officers and colonial administrators in charge of future appointments. Leary differed greatly from the former Spanish colonial officials who had previously governed the colonial administration in the region. He was of the Protestant

³⁹ *The Island of Guam* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 42, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 30.

⁴⁰ Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*, 116.

faith, was unable to speak the Spanish language, and had little previous experience with administrating a civil government.⁴¹ Compounding these issues was the fact that little was known about Guam in the United States.⁴² Therefore, Leary was left with a decision. He could either create an entirely new, unique colonial government on Guam or he could build on Spain's imperial expertise in the region and use this knowledge as the foundation of the U.S. colonial project on the island. Leary sided with the former, and his failure to adequately appropriate knowledge from Spain's imperial past resulted in the failure of many of his policies, as well as their eventual reversal.

On August 10, Leary began to implement U.S. imperial policies in Guam. He proclaimed to the inhabitants of the island that the privileged position members of the Roman Catholic clergy had enjoyed under Spanish rule would be abolished and that all public land and property that had once belonged to the Spanish was now in the possession of the United States.⁴³ Six days later, Leary outlawed the sale of "intoxicating spirituous liquors in the island of Guam."⁴⁴ On August 25, Leary went on to declare that he would no longer permit public celebrations associated with patron saints of villages and that public holidays would only include "Sundays, and the holidays authorized by the United States Statute Laws, and by the proclamation of His Excellency, the President of

⁴¹ Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*, 117.

⁴² *The Island of Guam* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 43, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 30.

⁴³ Assistant Secretary of the Navy to the Governor of Guam, June 8, 1905, NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 383; Richard P. Leary, "Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Guam and the To Whom it May Concern," NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 384.

⁴⁴ Richard P. Leary, "General Order No. 1 and General Order No. 2," August 16, 1899, Government House, NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 384.

the United States.”⁴⁵ Despite Leary’s attempts to begin to eliminate the Spanish imperial past from the island, specifically through decreasing the role and presence of the Catholic Church, Leary was forced to follow the orders that were given to him by President McKinley and the Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long; in turn, Leary proclaimed on August 10 that Spanish municipal laws would remain in practice on the island.⁴⁶

From August to November of 1899, Leary lived on the USS *Yosemite* as construction was being done on the former Spanish governor’s residence in Agaña. The residence had received a positive review from Leary, demonstrating the American reverence for Spanish architecture, which existed throughout the long nineteenth century.⁴⁷ In the interim, Leary ordered his aid, Lieutenant William Edwin Safford, to move to Agaña and to begin to address the island’s legal matters, which continued under the Spanish judicial system of law.⁴⁸ Safford took over the apartment that the former Spanish treasurer and governor, José Sixto, had once occupied. The act of U.S. military officers and colonial administrators taking over former Spanish administrative buildings was a process that was used by Americans throughout the periphery of their colonial empire as they further integrated themselves into the imperial world that the Spanish had

⁴⁵ Richard P. Leary, “General Order No. 4,” August 25, 1899, Government House, NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 384.

⁴⁶ Richard P. Leary, “Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Guam and the To Whom it May Concern,” NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 384.

⁴⁷ Assistant Secretary of the Navy to the Governor of Guam, June 8, 1905, NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 383; Richard P. Leary, “Guam,” NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 384.

⁴⁸ *Annual Report of the Naval Governor of the Island of Guam for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1905* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), 23 and 37, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 30.

once controlled.⁴⁹ These actions demonstrated the overall positive impression that U.S. military officers and colonial administrators had towards Spanish colonial buildings, as well as the continued presence of the Spanish past in America's new imperial projects.⁵⁰

Safford was better suited for his position in America's overseas empire than Leary. Safford had grown up as a Roman Catholic, had served in Latin America, and was fluent in Spanish. Upon arriving in Agaña, Safford immersed himself in Spain's imperial past by conducting research in the Spanish archives that remained on the island and speaking with individuals that had resided in Guam during Spanish colonial times, another practice that was duplicated throughout the Caribbean Basin and the Pacific by U.S. military officers and colonial administrators. He found that the local Hispanicized-elite were well educated and he gathered a great deal of information from them.⁵¹ He also discovered that the local elite preferred Spanish rule over that of the United States, most likely due to Leary's attempts to minimize the role of the Catholic Church on the island.⁵²

On July 19, 1900, Commander Seaton Schroeder and Ensign A.W. Pressey replaced Leary and Safford in Guam. Both Schroeder and Pressey were proficient in

⁴⁹ For more information on U.S. military officers and colonial administrators living and working in former Spanish buildings: Paul A. Kramer, "Historias Transimperial: Raíces Españolas del Estado Colonial Estadounidense en Filipinas," in *Filipinas, Un País Entre Dos Imperios*, edited by María Dolores Elizalde y Josep M. Delgado (Barcelona, Spain: Edicions Bellaterra, 2011), 125-144.

⁵⁰ Joseph Wheeler, *Report on the Island of Guam* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 384. For more information: *Annual Report of the Naval Governor of the Island of Guam for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1905* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), 28, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 30.

⁵¹ *Annual Report of the Naval Governor of the Island of Guam for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1905* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), 140, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 30; "Annual Report of the Governor of Guam," June 30, 1907, NARA, RG 126, Entry 1 – General Records – Central Classified Files, 1907-1951, Box 536, Folder 931 – Reports – Annual, 4-5.

⁵² For more information: Richard P. Leary to the Secretary of the Navy, February 10, 1900, NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 384.

Spanish and were more willing to borrow from Spain's imperial policies and practices than Leary had been. Pressey was familiar with Spanish laws and procedures, making him an ideal overseer of the local courts.⁵³ Schroeder understood the importance that the Catholic Church held in the lives of the people of Guam, which Commander Edward D. Taussig had also realized in 1899; in turn, Schroeder welcomed back the priests that had been exiled by Leary.⁵⁴

As time went on, the U.S. Navy was able to solidify its position on Guam and the Spanish imperial legacy began to fade but not completely disappear. In 1903, a new American land tax replaced the Spanish tax; slowly, American laws replaced Spanish laws, and by 1914, for the most part, English had replaced Spanish in schools and within the government.⁵⁵ Despite the Americanization of Guam, the Spanish imperial legacy continued to be preserved in a variety of different ways.⁵⁶ For example, the names of many of the areas and streets in Agaña either retained their Spanish names or were renamed to venerate the Spanish past, such as the Plaza de España, and when the reconstruction on the largest domed cathedral in Guam was completed in 1917, it maintained its original name as the Dulce Nombre de María.⁵⁷

⁵³ *Annual Report of the Naval Governor of the Island of Guam for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1905* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), 28 and 92, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 30; Roberts, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*, 122.

⁵⁴ Edward D. Taussig to the Secretary of the Navy, February 22, 1899, NARA, RG 80, General Correspondence, 1897-1915, Box 384.

⁵⁵ Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*, 128-134.

⁵⁶ For more information on the Americanization of Guam and other islands in the Pacific: Roger W. Gale, *The Americanization of Micronesia: A Study of the Consolidation of U.S. Rule in the Pacific* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America Incorporated, 1979); Henry P. Beers, *American Naval Occupation and Government of Guam, 1898-1902* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Records Administration, Administrative Office U.S. Navy Department, 1944).

⁵⁷ Roberts, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*, 133.

During the early days of the colonization of Guam, U.S. military officers quickly learned from Captain Leary's initial administrative errors. Rather than attempting to eliminate Spain's imperial legacy on the island, Lieutenant William Safford, Commander Seaton Schroeder, and Ensign A.W. Pressey decided to appropriate Spain's imperial past as the foundation of America's colonial administration on the island. This occurred in much the same way that intellectual Americans had earlier appropriated the Spanish past as the foundation of the American historical narrative in the United States. U.S. military officers in Guam did this in an attempt to benefit both their own administrations and their ability to work with the Hispanicized-elite of the island. As time went on, U.S. naval officers on the island continued to Americanize Guam; however, they did not fail to venerate the work done by their imperial predecessors in the region. They did this by continuing to include Spanish songs during formal ceremonies; erecting monuments in honor of the "discoverer" of the island, Ferdinand Magellan; and continuing to celebrate Magellan Day in an attempt to pay homage to the "Spanish" explorer who brought "civilization" to Guam.⁵⁸

U.S. MILITARY CONTROL AND THE CONTINUATION OF SPANISH IMPERIAL PRACTICES AND POLICIES IN MANILA, 1898-1899

The war in the Philippine Islands between Spain and the United States, and the subsequent occupation of the Philippine archipelago by the U.S. military, differed from the actions that were taken on the Island of Guam for two main reasons. First, the inhabitants of Guam were not in a state of rebellion against the Spanish colonial forces when the U.S. Navy arrived in June of 1898. Second, the Spanish Empire possessed an

⁵⁸ Harold B. Edgar (editor), *The Guam Recorder*, April 1940, p. 7-8 and p. 16.

adequate number of troops in the Philippine Islands to defend the city of Manila, while on Guam, the rag-tag group of Spanish and insular troops numbered only approximately 110 men.⁵⁹ Once Dewey and the U.S. Asiatic Squadron defeated Spain's Pacific Squadron in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, Dewey awaited orders from both President McKinley and the War Department. This was a result of Dewey being unaware of what was to be done with the Philippine Islands and the roughly 13,000 Spanish troops that were located throughout the archipelago.⁶⁰

Much like Guam, the Philippine Islands were first claimed for the Spanish Empire by Ferdinand Magellan in 1521. However, it took until 1565 for the Spanish navigator Miguel López de Legazpi and the Augustinian friar Andrés de Urdaneta to establish a permanent Spanish settlement on the island of Cebu, officially beginning the Spanish colonization of the archipelago.⁶¹ With the Spanish military came missionaries, and while the majority of the Spanish military, merchants, and colonial administrators established themselves in Manila, missionaries and soldiers also traveled throughout the archipelago as they attempted to “subdue wild tribes and bring them under the influence of civilization and Christianity.”⁶² Interestingly, despite criticizing the Spanish friars for their abuse of power in the Philippine Islands, a clear reference to the Black Legend

⁵⁹ For more information: Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*.

⁶⁰ Karl Irving Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines* (San Francisco, California: The Hicks-Judd Company Publishers, 1899), 71, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, James A. Ross Papers, Box 1, Folder 8; Dewey, *Autobiography of George Dewey: Admiral of the Navy*, 269.

⁶¹ LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines – Volume I*, 6.

⁶² “What the United States has Done for the Non-Christian Tribes of the Philippines: Conditions at the time the United States Occupied the Philippines,” Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 4, Folder 40.

narrative, several U.S. colonial administrators later commented that they were thankful that they were able to occupy the only region in Southeast Asia that was inhabited by Christianized inhabitants. This not only demonstrated that U.S. colonial administrators made a connection between Christianity and the narrative associated with civilization but that Roman Catholicism, rather than Protestantism, would serve as an adequate proxy for the purposes of the American historical narrative in both Guam and the Philippine Islands.⁶³

Throughout the nineteenth century, Spain and the Spanish Empire suffered from a great deal of instability. As Spain's remaining colonial possessions struggled to increase their own level of self-government within the Spanish Empire, competition for political supremacy led to civil unrest in the metropole of the empire. At the same time, the power of Spain's government was being challenged by the liberal ideals that had been born out of the Age of Enlightenment.⁶⁴

In the Philippine Islands, small rebellions broke out in the archipelago throughout the nineteenth century but the Spanish imperial forces in the region were always able to subdue the uprisings. However, in 1896, a group known as the Katipunan began challenging Spanish imperial rule in the archipelago, setting off the conflict known as the Philippine Revolution. By 1897, the conflict had come to a temporary end and Spanish forces were able to reestablish nominal control over the region.

⁶³ *Census of the Philippine Islands: Taken Under the Direction of the Philippine Commission in 1903 – Volume I* (Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of the Census, 1905), 31.

⁶⁴ For more information on Spain's political instability during the nineteenth century: Sebastian Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire, 1898-1923* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1997); Simon Barton, *A History of Spain – Second Edition* (London, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Following Dewey's defeat of Spain's Pacific Squadron at the Battle of Manila Bay, the Katipunans, under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo, believed the fall of the Spanish Empire in the Philippine Islands was imminent. Aguinaldo subsequently established the First Philippine Republic and was able to gain control of the area surrounding the city of Manila.⁶⁵ Similar to the events that occurred outside of the city of Santiago de Cuba in July of 1898, Aguinaldo was unaware that an imperial relationship designed to maintain the region as a colonial possession had already developed between Spanish and U.S. military forces stationed in the region.

By July of 1898, the Spanish Governor-General of the Philippines, Don Basilio Augustín, had come to the conclusion that the Spanish position in Manila was hopeless. In turn, Augustín sent a message to Commodore Dewey through the Belgian consul, Édouard André, requesting that the Spanish be able to surrender Manila to the U.S. military and that the Filipino insurgent forces not be able to take control of the city. Hearing word of Augustín's plan, the Spanish government subsequently removed Augustín from power and appointed Fermín Jáudenes in his stead. Once he occupied the position, Jáudenes simply continued to follow the same plan as his predecessor.⁶⁶

On August 7, both General Wesley Merritt and Commodore Dewey gave notice to Fermín Jáudenes that the U.S. military was planning to attack the city in the coming days.⁶⁷ By this time, the imperial relationship had continued to develop between the Spanish Governor-General and the high-ranking Americans in the region. Basing their

⁶⁵ Cameron W. Forbes, *The Philippine Islands – Volume I* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), 54-62.

⁶⁶ Dewey, *Autobiography of George Dewey: Admiral of the Navy*, 269-274

⁶⁷ General Wesley Merritt was the commanding officer of the U.S. Eight Army Corps. Forbes, *The Philippine Islands – Volume I*, 71.

relationship off of their shared imperial interests and their belief that any involvement from the racially inferior, Filipino insurgents would cause instability, the two sides agreed that if the insurgents were not allowed to enter the city, then the Spanish batteries would not open fire on the American forces and the Spanish would quickly surrender.⁶⁸ Both the Americans and the Spaniards hoped that this staged battle would maintain Spanish honor and the dignity of Spanish military officers, both of which had fascinated U.S. Hispanists and was a concern for U.S. foreign diplomats and military officers throughout the nineteenth century.⁶⁹

The American attack on Manila began at 9:30am on August 13. As had been arranged by Jáudenes, Merritt, and Dewey, the white flag of surrender was raised above the walls of the city between 10:30am and 11:20am, ending the bombardment of Manila.⁷⁰ At the gates of the city, General Francis Vinton Greene and Frank Bourne received information that Spanish officials had requested their presence at the Palace of the Captain-General.⁷¹ On his way to the palace, Bourne commented that all of the Spanish officials that the Americans encountered “were dressed in their best, with their side arms and ornaments” and that they were “really very civilized looking people.”⁷²

⁶⁸ Dewey, *Autobiography of George Dewey: Admiral of the Navy*, 274

⁶⁹ For more information: Chapter 1; Chapter 2; Chapter 5.

⁷⁰ Dewey, *Autobiography of George Dewey: Admiral of the Navy*, 72; Karl Irving Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines* (San Francisco, California: The Hicks-Judd Company Publishers, 1899), 97, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, James A. Ross Papers, Box 1, Folder 8.

⁷¹ Frank Bourne had previously accompanied Dean Worcester to the Philippine Islands and was acting as a member of General Francis V. Greene’s staff. Bourne was one of the few Americans who was familiar with the Philippine Islands. Letter written by D.C. Worcester, August 23, 1898, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 17, Folder: p. 1-39.

⁷² Letter written by D.C. Worcester, August 23, 1898, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 17, Folder: p. 1-39.

Acting as the interpreter, Bourne assisted with the articles of capitulation between the Spanish and American forces.⁷³ Over three hundred years of Spanish colonial rule had ended in Manila with the capitulation of the city; however, the administration of the Philippine Islands changed little in the following months. In fact, the U.S. military forces in Manila quickly realized that they were in nearly the exact same position that the Spanish had been in prior to the Battle of Manila, surrounded by insurgent forces in the periphery of their empire.⁷⁴

Following the capitulation of the city, General Merritt took over as the U.S. Military Governor of the Philippine Islands and went about integrating himself into Spanish colonial society in Manila. General Merritt established his headquarters at the former Spanish Governor-General's Palace, while General Greene took over possession of the Spanish Admiral's former residence. This practice of inhabiting former Spanish buildings would continue to occur in Manila once the First and Second Philippine Commissions arrived in the years following the capitulation of the city.⁷⁵ These buildings, particularly the Governor-General's Palace, continued to be decorated with Spanish furniture and Spanish art, signifying the American interest in Spanish art and architecture that was on display at several international expositions throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century and continued during the early decades of the twentieth

⁷³ Karl Irving Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines* (San Francisco, California: The Hicks-Judd Company Publishers, 1899), 101, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, James A. Ross Papers, Box 1, Folder 8.

⁷⁴ Letter written by D.C. Worcester, August 23, 1898, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 17, Folder: p. 1-39.

⁷⁵ Letter written by D.C. Worcester, August 23, 1898, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 17, Folder: p. 1-39.

century.⁷⁶ It is unclear what effect Merritt and Greene's living arrangements had on their colonial policies in Manila; however, their selection of residences reinforces the belief that they found a familiarity between themselves and their imperial predecessors. It also symbolized to their colonial inhabitants that the U.S. military was directly taking over the imperial role that the Spanish Empire once held in the region, a process that also occurred in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam in the years following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War.

On August 14, 1898, General Merritt officially began his governorship of the Philippine Islands. At this point, Merritt had already become frustrated by the fact that President McKinley and the War Department were under the incorrect assumption that because the U.S. military was able to destroy the Spanish fleet and occupy the city of Manila, the war in the Philippine Islands was over. In actuality, Merritt was surrounded by the Filipino insurgents, who were demanding entrance into the city. Additionally, the U.S. military was in possession of no territory outside of Manila, nor did Merritt or Dewey have an adequate amount of men to control the remainder of the archipelago.⁷⁷ Therefore, rather than focusing on civil issues, as those in Washington had requested, Merritt dealt primarily with military matters and allowed many aspects of civil life to

⁷⁶ Letter written by Russell A. Alger to Elwell Stephen Otis, April 15, 1899, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 88. For more information on the American interest in Spanish art and architecture: Richard L. Kagan, "The Spanish *Craze* in the United States: Cultural Entitlement and the Appropriation of Spain's Cultural Patrimony, ca. 1890-ca. 1930," *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 36, (2010), 37-58; Stanley Payne, "The Reencounter between Spain and the United States after 1898," in *When Spain Fascinated America*, edited by Ignacio Suárez-Zuloaga (Madrid, Spain: Fundación Zuloaga, 2010), 11-25; Mitchell Coddling, "Archer Milton Huntington: Champion of Spain in the United States," in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 142-170; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, "The Broken Image: The Spanish Empire in the United States after 1898," in *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, America's Dream*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 160-169.

⁷⁷ Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 26-30.

continue as it had under the Spanish colonial regime. For example, in his “Proclamation to the People of the Philippines,” on August 14, Merritt outlined that Spanish municipal laws would remain in practice as long as they did not contradict the laws established by the American military government. Also, realizing the importance of the role of the Catholic Church in the lives of the inhabitants of Manila, Merritt proclaimed that the U.S. military would protect the churches of the city, as well as other places of worship.⁷⁸

Merritt followed up this proclamation with General Order Number 8, which was announced on August 22. Within the order, Merritt commanded that the local courts in Manila would continue to operate as they had under the Spanish colonial regime.⁷⁹ The four judicial districts were also divided in Manila along the same lines as they had been during the Spanish period.⁸⁰ Even the highest court in the Philippine Islands continued to operate in the same way it had prior to the American occupation of the city, the only difference being that a Hispanicized-Filipino, rather than a Spaniard, was placed in charge.⁸¹ All of these measures were put into place by Merritt in an attempt to return stability to the region with minimal disturbance to the lives of the individuals living in Manila. Furthermore, as was stated in the previous chapter, when the Secretary of War, Elihu Root, proclaimed in 1899 that the Spanish laws in practice in Spain’s former

⁷⁸ Wesley Merritt, “General Merritt’s Proclamation of Occupation of Manila,” Headquarters Department of the Pacific, August 14, 1898. <http://filipino.biz.ph/history/proc-occupation.html>.

⁷⁹ Karl Irving Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines* (San Francisco, California: The Hicks-Judd Company Publishers, 1899), 121-122, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, James A. Ross Papers, Box 1, Folder 8.

⁸⁰ Karl Irving Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines* (San Francisco, California: The Hicks-Judd Company Publishers, 1899), 122, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, James A. Ross Papers, Box 1, Folder 8.

⁸¹ Winfred Lee Thompson, *The Introduction of American Law in the Philippines and Puerto Rico, 1898-1905* (Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 1989), 18.

colonial possessions were “an excellent body of laws,” it became more evident that U.S. military officers and colonial administrators had come to value Spanish laws and were willing to work through Spanish imperial precedents in America’s new colonial possessions.⁸²

Frustrated by officials in Washington, Merritt requested to be reassigned on August 25, 1898. On August 29, General Elwell S. Otis became the second American Military Governor of the Philippine Islands. Much like Merritt, Otis was concerned with securing the U.S. military’s position in the Philippine archipelago; in turn, many civil issues continued as they had under the Spanish colonial regime. For example, business and commerce continued as it had prior to the American occupation of Manila. Spanish merchants continued to trade, Spanish shop owners had their property protected by Merritt’s proclamation of August 14, and the American tariff that was imposed on goods imported into the Philippine Islands was described by the Americans as being “virtually the old Spanish tariffs, with its surtaxes, official values, and cumbrous methods for assessment of duties.”⁸³ Additionally, Spanish physicians who had been hired by the U.S. Army continued to inspect the houses of prostitution in Manila, in much the same way they had under the Spanish colonial regime.⁸⁴

⁸² Thompson, *The Introduction of American Law in the Philippines and Puerto Rico, 1898-1905*, 12.

⁸³ *Annual Report of the Chief of the Division of Insular Affairs to the Secretary of War for the Year 1901* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 6, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 14.

⁸⁴ Paul A. Kramer, “The Darkness That Enters the Home: The Politics of Prostitution during the Philippine-American War,” in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, edited by Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006), 366-404.

This is not to say that Merritt and Otis did not change anything that affected the daily lives of the inhabitants of Manila. Yet, many of the changes that were made, such as the health and sanitation issues that were addressed in General Order Number 15, were done to protect U.S. troops and to benefit those living in the city.⁸⁵ More specifically, Otis was determined to improve the disease-ridden barracks that many members of the 8th Corps found themselves living in. Additionally, through his health and sanitation reforms, Otis hoped to turn Manila into a beacon of U.S. imperial rule. However, many in Washington, including President McKinley, did not understand the dire conditions that the U.S. military found itself in after the transfer of imperial power occurred between Spanish and American representatives, and in turn, they immediately demanded that the military occupy the entirety of the archipelago.⁸⁶ This misunderstanding has perpetuated views associated with both American exceptionalism and the belief that U.S. military officers and colonial administrators were able to start an entirely new colonial regime in the Philippine Islands, which was clearly not the reality of the situation.

As the U.S. military encountered and took over for the Spanish colonial regime, they began integrating themselves into the Spanish imperial past out of necessity, appreciation, and practicality. As they embarked on establishing themselves within the city of Manila, they also borrowed heavily from their imperial predecessors and allowed the civilians of Manila to conduct business and live their lives under the same laws that had dictated their way of life under the Spanish colonial regime. These actions reinforced

⁸⁵ "Sanitation in the Philippines: With Special Reference to the Effect upon Other Tropical Countries," Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 3, Folder 3.

⁸⁶ Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 30-31.

the imperial dependency that the United States had on the remnants of Spain's imperial past as they attempted to establish their own colonial empire in the Philippine Islands.

“TO INVESTIGATE AFFAIRS IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS”: DEAN WORCESTER AND THE FIRST PHILIPPINE COMMISSION ARRIVE IN MANILA⁸⁷

On January 20, 1899, President William McKinley appointed the First Philippine Commission and later instructed the commission to “examine into the conditions existing in the Philippine Islands.”⁸⁸ As was noted earlier, both McKinley and the members of the War Department in Washington knew little about Spain's past colonial rule in the Philippine Islands, the non-Hispanicized inhabitants living outside of Manila, or how the military government on the island could eventually become a civil government. The process of establishing commissions to investigate conditions in the colonial theatre occurred throughout the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. These commissions provided both U.S. and European colonial administrators with a greater depth of knowledge and often allowed them to gather information from not only their own colonial possessions but also from the other imperial powers of the period.⁸⁹ In keeping with this pre-established framework, the goals of the First Philippine Commission were to “facilitate the most humane and effective extension of the United

⁸⁷ William McKinley, “Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting Report of a Commission Appointed to Investigate Affairs in the Philippine Islands,” February 2, 1900. This message can be found in: *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume I*.

⁸⁸ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume I*, 1.

⁸⁹ Schumacher, “Embedded Empire: The United States and Colonialism,” 211.

States' authority over the Philippine Islands, and to secure with the least possible delay to the people the benefits of civil government."⁹⁰

The commission was made up of five members, all of whom were selected for their perceived expertise in specific aspects of creating and administering a colonial civil government in the Philippine Islands, or for their experiences dealing with aspects of Spanish or Filipino culture. The five member commission included Jacob G. Schurman, who was appointed Head of the Commission, Commodore George Dewey, Colonel Charles Denby, General Elwell S. Otis, and Dean Worcester, who was appointed due to his familiarity with the Spanish past as well as his connections with influential Spanish and Filipino people throughout the archipelago.⁹¹

After receiving their orders from President McKinley, Schurman, Denby, Worcester, and the support staff associated with the commission arrived in North Bay, Ontario, on January 26, 1899, and began their trip to the Philippine Islands.⁹² Having previously traveled to the archipelago, Worcester was the only member of the commission who was familiar with the Spanish language. Throughout their journey, Worcester noted that the other members of the commission were preparing for their eventual contact with their new colonial inhabitants when he stated that "the crowd was all studying Spanish diligently."⁹³ This desire to learn Spanish hints to who the members

⁹⁰ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume I, 2.*

⁹¹ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume II, v.* Worcester traveled to the Philippine Islands from 1887-1888 and from 1890-1893.

⁹² For more information on the other members of the First Philippine Commission: Letter by Dean C. Worcester, January 26, 1899, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 16 – Copy 1, Folder 1 of 6. Dewey and Otis were already in the Philippine Islands.

⁹³ Letter by Dean C. Worcester, January 28, 1899, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 16 – Copy 1, Folder 1 of 6.

of the commission would be engaging with once they arrived in Manila, primarily Spaniards and members of the Hispanicized-elite. It is also another example of the interest that many influential Americans had in Spain and the country's culture.

On March 4, Schurman, Denby, and Worcester finally arrived in Manila Bay and were met by Commodore Dewey. Upon their arrival in Manila, the civilian members of the commission set up residence in the district of Malate and Worcester immediately reintegrated himself into his previous life in Manila. During his first full day in the city, he encountered a gentleman by the name of "old Tom Collins," who he had rented a house from in 1890. Later that day, Worcester also met with Frank Bourne, who had previously traveled to the Philippine Islands with Worcester as part of an expedition from the University of Michigan. On March 7, Worcester visited with Felix Fanlo, Don Pedro, and their families, as well as an individual whom Worcester referred to as an "old Spaniard" who had been driven off his plantation by the Filipino insurgents. Worcester's letters clearly illustrate that he was delighted to visit with his old friends and that he was happy to be reintegrating himself into the lives of the members of the Spanish and Hispanicized-Filipino society in Manila, reestablishing the same social position that he previously held during the Spanish colonial era.⁹⁴ Worcester's connections with the Spanish and Hispanicized-Filipinos in Manila allowed him to develop a greater understanding of how the United States should proceed in Philippine Islands, which also benefited the research being done by the First Philippine Commission.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Letter by Dean C. Worcester, March 8, 1899, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 16 – Copy 1, Folder 2 of 6.

⁹⁵ Appendix xi.

The members of the First Philippine Commission began their work immediately following their arrival. Establishing their headquarters at the Audiencia building in Manila, the members of the commission worked out of the same offices where Spanish colonial officials had previously made decisions on how to administer laws to Spain's colonial possessions in the Pacific.⁹⁶ The members of the commission started by consulting Spanish books and archival sources, which the commission reported as being in "unexpected abundance."⁹⁷ They also began by using official Spanish statistics, particularly when attempting to estimate the number of individuals that made up the Negrito, Indonesian, and Malayan races outside of Manila.⁹⁸

The members of the commission realized early on that many of the buildings in Manila, particularly the hospital and educational buildings, were going to need to be renovated; however, those endeavors would take time and financial support. Therefore, not only did an early dependency exist on the use of Spanish buildings and Spanish sources, members of the commission also realized that they were going to come up against many of the same obstacles that Spanish colonial administration had encountered prior to 1898, such as a lack of funding for major infrastructure projects and an inability to efficiently govern an area that was so ethnically and geographically diverse.

During the early years of U.S. colonial rule, members of both the First and Second Philippine Commissions also developed a dependency on the Dominican friars and the Jesuit priests who were primarily located in Manila. During the Spanish colonial

⁹⁶ Letter by Dean C. Worcester, March 8, 1899, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 16 – Copy 1, Folder 2 of 6.

⁹⁷ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President, Volume II*, vii.

⁹⁸ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume I*, 13-15.

period, these individuals would commonly come from Spain, establish themselves within a parish, and remain there until they retired. In comparison, Spanish civil and military officers would rarely spend longer than four years in the Philippine Islands. Therefore, U.S. colonial administrators felt that the friars and priests were more familiar with the region, and in turn, could provide additional information.⁹⁹ The friars and the priests assisted with translations and presented papers to the First Philippine Commission on a variety of different topics ranging from orography and hydrography to ethnography and the state of culture in various areas throughout the Philippine Islands.¹⁰⁰

As the primary controllers of Spain's educational system in the region, the Spanish friars and priests provided a wealth of knowledge to the commission about the educational system in the Philippine Islands. Outside of the commission's standard meeting hours, Worcester traveled to the Jesuit college in Manila to meet with priests and to "hear their account of things."¹⁰¹ In April of 1899, forty-one Jesuit priests, including Padre Sanchez, who was "good friends" with Worcester, visited Manila from Mindanao. These individuals provided information to the commission about their experiences and personally assisted Worcester as he attempted to locate an individual by the name of "Mateo," who had worked for him during one of his previous journeys to the Philippine Islands.¹⁰² This visit by the Spanish friars and priests from the Southern Philippines

⁹⁹ *Reports of the Taft Philippine Commission* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 24-27.

¹⁰⁰ *Reports of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume II*, iv-vi.

¹⁰¹ Letter by Dean C. Worcester, March 23, 1899, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 16 – Copy 1, Folder 3 of 6.

¹⁰² Letter by Dean C. Worcester, April 10, 1899, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 16 – Copy 1, Folder 4 of 6.

established a positive relationship between themselves and U.S. colonial administrators, a relationship that was renewed by General Leonard Wood during his initial tour of the Southern Philippines in 1903.¹⁰³ In a region of the archipelago inhabited by Muslim Filipinos, Spanish friars and priests represented a familiar sign of “civilization” for the U.S. military officers and colonial administrators who ventured into the Moro Province during the early years of America’s colonial rule in the region.¹⁰⁴

On July 9, 1899, the Jesuits formally met with the commission to discuss the “education question” in the Philippine Islands.¹⁰⁵ U.S. colonial administrators and the members of the commission spent a great deal of time pondering the “education question,” which was seen as essential to creating a stable and productive civil government in the Philippine Islands.¹⁰⁶ Although the commission recommended that the educational system in the Philippine Islands be updated and that the teaching of English occur throughout the archipelago, the commission also concluded that the normal school in Manila, which was run by the Jesuits, “had done good work in training teachers.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ For example: Leonard Wood’s Diary, September 19, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906.

¹⁰⁴ For more information: Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1973); Charbonneau, “Civilizational Imperatives: American Colonial Culture in the Islamic Philippines, 1899-1942,” 355-359.

¹⁰⁵ Letter by Dean C. Worcester, July 10, 1899, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 16 – Copy 1, Folder 6 of 6.

¹⁰⁶ For more information on education in the periphery of the American Empire: Chapter 5; Solsirée del Moral, “Negotiating Colonialism: ‘Race,’ Class, and Education in Early-Twentieth-Century Puerto Rico,” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 135-144; Pablo Navarro-Rivera, “The Imperial Enterprise and Educational Policies in Colonial Puerto Rico,” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 163-174.

¹⁰⁷ “Non Christian Tribes of the Philippines,” Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, Dean C. Worcester Papers, 1900-1924, Box 1, Folder: Articles, 1898-1915 and Undated, Concerning the Philippines; *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume I*, 34.

This sentiment was echoed in 1902 by the Governor of the Philippine Islands, William Howard Taft, when he stated that “the Jesuits make good instructors.”¹⁰⁸

The Jesuits in Manila also ran a “school of primary instruction” that allowed academic scholars to specialize in advanced courses that would prepare them for their future professions. During the Spanish colonial era, the government provided \$8,880 (Mexican) in annual funding to the institution. Following the American occupation of the city, the commission reported that U.S. authorities had continued to support the school with the same amount of funding, mirroring the Spanish practice.¹⁰⁹ Rather than allowing the anti-Catholic and anti-modern beliefs associated with the Black Legend narrative to cloud their thought processes, the members of the commission developed a dependency on the Dominican friars and Jesuit priests in the region, as they attempted to create an efficient and productive colonial government.

When examining the interactions mentioned earlier, the image of Dean Worcester becomes somewhat confusing and paradoxical. Despite occasionally criticizing Spanish authority in the Philippine Islands, Worcester commented in a letter to his wife that a Dominican friar called on him at his home and that he “enjoyed talking to him.”¹¹⁰ Worcester was also a major supporter of the use of the English language in the new school system that the commission was attempting to establish; however, much like many U.S. Hispanists before him, Worcester clearly held the Spanish language in high regard

¹⁰⁸ “Catholic Church Matters, Friars, Etc., in P.I.: Of Testimony Introduced at Hearings Before the Senate Committee on P.I., 57th Congress 1st Session, Between Jan. 21, and June 28, 1902,” NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 232.

¹⁰⁹ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume II*, 36.

¹¹⁰ Letter by Dean C. Worcester, March 23, 1899, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 16 – Copy 1, Folder 3 of 6.

because he once stated, “I regret that the great language of Cervantes is to suffer at my hands.”¹¹¹ As was mentioned earlier, Worcester visited the Jesuit college in Manila during an evening, and he also spent a great deal of his time dining with members of the Spanish and Hispanicized-Filipino elite.¹¹² Worcester and the other members of the commission understood the importance of developing both an understanding of Spain’s earlier colonial policies and relationships with individuals who were familiar with those policies, particularly the Dominican friars and Jesuit priests. The members of the commission were also aware that through a process of borrowing, duplicating, and modernizing Spain’s colonial practices and policies, the United States could develop an efficient colonial project on the foundations of Spain’s imperial past.

THE UNITED STATES’ IMPERIAL DEPENDENCY OUTSIDE OF THE WALLED CITY¹¹³

An examination of Dean Worcester’s personal papers and the Report of the First Philippine Commission demonstrate that during the early years of the U.S. colonial project in the Philippine Islands, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators depended a great deal on the remnants of the Spanish Empire. Despite the fact that the members of the commission clearly took issue with some of the Spaniards that had

¹¹¹ James A. LeRoy quoting Worcester in a letter, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1875-1909, Box 1, Folder: Manuscript of Travelogue Account of Trip to the Philippine Islands, 1901, January 31 – February 11 and February 12 – March 9.

¹¹² Letter by Dean C. Worcester, March 23, 1899, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 16 – Copy 1, Folder 3 of 6; Letter by Dean C. Worcester, March 11, 1899, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 16 – Copy 1, Folder 3 of 6; Letter by Dean C. Worcester, March 14, 1899, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 16 – Copy 1, Folder 3 of 6; Letter by Dean C. Worcester, April 3, 1899, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 16 – Copy 1, Folder 3 of 6.

¹¹³ Manila was often referred to as the “Walled City” because of the defensive walls that surrounded the city.

previously controlled the Philippine Islands, they still relied on the experiences and knowledge that the Spanish priests could offer, the cooperation of the individuals who were interviewed by the commission, the hospitality and information that Worcester's friends and associates provided, and the logistical support given by countless Spanish merchants and ship captains that continued to enable the colony to function on a daily basis.¹¹⁴

Aside from questions revolving around education, the members of the commission dealt with a variety of different issues, including potential structures for colonial government, the legal system, the racial makeup of the Filipino people, public property, currency, and the environmental conditions in the Philippine Islands.¹¹⁵ From a political perspective, the Maura Law, which the Spanish passed in 1893 to provide the rural pueblos of Luzon Island and the Visayan Islands with a level of home governance, was enhanced by both the U.S. military and the commission but was clearly not "entirely new or exorbitant."¹¹⁶ The commission also concluded that the chief American executive in the Philippine Islands should hold many of the same responsibilities as the former Spanish Governor-Generals, specifically their veto powers.¹¹⁷ Also, by February of 1905, the U.S. Secretary of War, William H. Taft, renamed the head of the Insular Government

¹¹⁴ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume II*, 22-24, 290-291, 300.

¹¹⁵ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume I*, 2.

¹¹⁶ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President, Volume I*, 44-91

¹¹⁷ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume II*, 10.

in the Philippine Islands the “Governor-General,” emulating the title that had previously been used by Spanish colonial authorities.¹¹⁸

When it came to infrastructure projects and labor practices, the commission suggested that the United States continue to use the pre-existing Spanish naval bases at Cavite and Subig Bays, as well as the Spanish coaling stations at Balabac, Port Isabela, an unnamed station in the Visayan Islands, and another near the San Bernardino Strait.¹¹⁹ The commission concluded that the Spanish had built several strong bridges and roads that the United States colonial project could continue to develop.¹²⁰ The members also believed that Chinese coolies should continue to be used to build many of these structures, as well as the new U.S. military barracks in the Philippine Islands.¹²¹

As part of a larger series of economic and public reforms, the Spanish government had attempted to take some power out of the hands of the parish priests when it passed the “law of registration” on June 17, 1870. During the Spanish colonial period in the Philippine Islands, the parish priests were able to oppose the new law, which dealt primarily with the registration of births, marriages, and deaths. However, the commission concluded that it may not be necessary to “provide an entirely new system if the existing Spanish law was adopted.”¹²² With the registration law of 1870, we see another example

¹¹⁸ For more information: Kramer, “Historias Transimperiales: Raíces Españolas del Estado Colonial Estadounidense en Filipinas,” 15; *Annual Report of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1904 – Volume I* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 60-61.

¹¹⁹ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume I*, 128-129.

¹²⁰ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume II*, 45-46.

¹²¹ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume II*, 18 and 220.

¹²² *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume I*, 137-138.

of the direct borrowing process that the members of the First Philippine Commission suggested should carry over from the Spanish imperial period.

On February 4, 1899, the Second Battle of Manila began between U.S. troops and members of the First Philippine Republic. The conflict marked the start of the Philippine-American War, which caused members of the American Anti-Imperialist League, such as William Jennings Bryan, Andrew Carnegie, and Mark Twain to question the role of the United States as a colonial power.¹²³ The conflict came to an end in July of 1902 but not before approximately 5,000 U.S. troops, 20,000 Filipino insurgents, and 200,000 civilians were laid to rest.¹²⁴ Throughout the war, both sides accused the other of both torturing and shooting prisoners, adversely affecting U.S. attempts at “benevolent assimilation.”¹²⁵ The Americans learned one of these methods of torture, known as the “water cure,” from the Spanish. Other U.S. military policies and practices had been first tested in the American West on the Indigenous inhabitants of the region and were now being used in the Philippines Islands, creating a similar racial divide between U.S. troops and their “racially inferior” colonial subjects. In total, the war cost the United States roughly

¹²³ For more information on anti-imperialists: Ian Tyrrell and Jay Sexton (editors), *Empire's Twin: U.S. Anti-Imperialism from the Founding Era to the Age of Terrorism* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2015); Michel Gobat, “The Invention of Latin America: A Transnational History of Anti-Imperialism, Democracy, and Race,” *American Historical Review* 118, No. 5 (2013); Arun W. Jones, “Pragmatic Anti-Imperialists? Episcopal Missionaries in the Philippines, 1933-1935,” *Anglican and Episcopal History* 82, No. 1 (2013), 1345-1375; Robert L. Beisner, *Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists, 1898-1900* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968); David Mayers, *Dissenting Voices in America's Rise to Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹²⁴ Karrow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*, 194.

¹²⁵ Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 30.

\$600,000,000 and despite officially coming to an end in July of 1902, fighting between U.S. troops and the Moro people of the Southern Philippines continued until 1913.¹²⁶

Following the American victory during the Second Battle of Manila, the military began to establish a presence throughout the island of Luzon in an attempt to eliminate the existence of the insurgent forces, to provide the loyal inhabitants with stability, and to rescue both Spanish and American prisoners who had been taken by the insurgent forces.¹²⁷ Demonstrating the military's lack of preparedness, officers were not provided with maps of the regions they had been ordered to occupy. Therefore, they decided to create their own, which were based on the old Spanish maps that they had been able to acquire.

As General Theodore Schwan's Expeditionary Brigade moved throughout the island of Luzon, the U.S. military rescued both Spanish and American prisoners from the insurgent forces. These Spanish prisoners included men who had fought for the Spanish military in the Philippine Islands, as well as women and children. Statistics show that the brigade rescued a total of 315 Spanish men, eight Spanish women, and eight Spanish children, as Schwan's Expeditionary Brigade took control of the provinces of Cavite,

¹²⁶ Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 115-127; Karrow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*, 194. For more information on the Philippine-American War: Henry F. Graff (editor), *American Imperialism and the Philippine Insurrection* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1969); Brian McAllister Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989); David J. Silbey, *A War of Frontier and Empire: The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007); Angel Velasco Shaw and Luis H. Francia (editors), *Vestiges of War: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of an Imperial Dream, 1899-1999* (New York: New York University Press, 2002).

¹²⁷ Headquarters Schwan's Expeditionary Brigade Report, February 8, 1900, NARA, RG 395, Department of Pacific and 8th Army Corps, Reports of Operations, April 1899 – April 1900, Box 1.

Batangas, Laguna, and Tayabas during January and February of 1900.¹²⁸ After being rescued, many of these former Spanish prisoners provided the U.S. military with useful information about the insurgent force's movements, their level of supplies, and the number of prisoners that they still held.¹²⁹ Also, as General James Franklin Bell's Expeditionary Brigade moved throughout Southern Luzon, they rescued forty-eight Spanish prisoners near the city of Nueva Cáceras, twenty-four of whom were Spanish friars.¹³⁰ The U.S. military's desire to rescue Spanish prisoners throughout the island of Luzon speaks to the larger relationship that military personnel had with the Spanish people throughout the periphery of the empire during the years following the Spanish-American War.¹³¹

The American practice of using Spain's imperial past as the foundation of their own imperial projects also occurred in the islands of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago during the early years of the U.S. military's attempts to control the region. As was noted earlier, military officers and colonial administrators perceived Spanish priests and friars as familiar representations of civilization in the region and worked to acquire all of the

¹²⁸ Headquarters Schwan's Expeditionary Brigade Report, Exhibit F: Insurgent Casualties and Released Spanish Prisoners, February 8, 1900, NARA, RG 395, Department of Pacific and 8th Army Corps, Reports of Operations, April 1899 – April 1900, Box 1.

¹²⁹ Headquarters Schwan's Expeditionary Brigade Report, February 8, 1900, NARA, RG 395, Department of Pacific and 8th Army Corps, Reports of Operations, April 1899 – April 1900, Box 1.

¹³⁰ Headquarters Bell's Expeditionary Brigade, First Division, Eight Army Corps, March 3, 1900, NARA, RG 395, Department of Pacific and 8th Army Corps, Reports of Operations, April 1899 – April 1900, Box 2; Headquarters Bell's Expeditionary Brigade, First Division, Eight Army Corps, March 3, 1900, NARA, RG 395, Department of Pacific and 8th Army Corps, Reports of Operations, April 1899 – April 1900, Box 2.

¹³¹ Headquarters Bell's Expeditionary Brigade, First Division, Eight Army Corps, March 3, 1900, NARA, RG 395, Department of Pacific and 8th Army Corps, Reports of Operations, April 1899 – April 1900, Box 2.

sources that they could about Spain's previous administration of the area.¹³² Relying on the Spanish imperial past, General John C. Bates based both his treaty and relationship with the Sultan of Sulu on the agreements that had been signed between the Spanish imperial forces in the region and representatives of Sulu in both 1851 and 1878. Much like the Spanish Treaty of Peace of 1878, the Bates Treaty, which was eventually signed on August 20, 1899, accepted the Sultan's semi-autonomy over the area, paid the Sultan to allow the United States to fly the American flag over the region, and allowed the U.S. military to occupy the islands.¹³³ The Bates Treaty was established because, much like the Spanish imperial forces before them, the American forces were limited by the number of troops that they were able to maintain in the Philippine Islands and they were primarily concerned with the fighting on the island of Luzon. Essentially, all three treaties were designed as stopgaps in the region. By 1902, the conflicts between the Americans and the Moros increased, and the Bates Treaty was later repealed. Regardless, Bates had learned from the Spanish imperial past and used the knowledge that he had acquired to allow the United States to assume the position that the Spanish had previously held in the region.¹³⁴

¹³² For example: Francisco X. Baranera, *Compendio de la Historia de Filipinas* (Manila, Philippine Islands: Establecimiento Tipo-Litografica de M. Perez, hijo, 1884).

¹³³ *Treaty with the Sultan of Sulu*, Senate Document 136, 56th Congress, 1st session (Washington, D.C.: 1900), 3-5.

¹³⁴ "The Social Conditions of the Moros of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago," July 8, 1901, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 402; Memorandum from Elwell Otis to John Bates, July 3, 1899, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, John C. Bates Papers, Box 2, Folder 1; Memorandum from Elwell Otis to John Bates, July 11, 1899, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, John C. Bates Papers, Box 2, Folder 1. For more information on the United States in the Southern Philippines: Charles Byler, "Pacifying the Moros: American Military Government in the Southern Philippines, 1899-1913," *Military Review* 85, no. 3 (2005), 41-45; George William Jornacion, "Time of the Eagles: United States Army Officers and the Pacification of the Philippine Moros, 1899-1913" (PhD Dissertation: University of Maine, Orono, Maine, 1973).

In the northern portion of Mindanao, General Bates was also placed in charge of occupying the regions of Surigao, Cagayan, Iligan, Misamis, and Dapitan during March and April of 1900. In these areas, Bates developed a relationship with two Spanish military officers, receiving a great deal of information and assistance from Lieutenant Colonel Cristobal Aguilar y Castaneda and General Prudencio Garcia. On March 25, Bates met with Gaspar de la Cruz, an individual of Spanish descent who had lived in the region for the past twenty years and was recommended by Aguilar. Cruz had recently been a pilot for the USS *Panay* and his “thorough familiarity with the ports, country, and people” provided Bates’s troops with a great deal of information about the region and allowed them to successfully free 160 Spanish prisoners, twenty-four of whom were priests.¹³⁵

In an attempt to maintain imperial rule throughout the island of Mindanao, General Garcia waited for the arrival of General Bates and his troops before directly handing over control of the region to the U.S. military.¹³⁶ This established practice of directly transferring regions of imperial control from the Spanish to American forces speaks to the imperial relationship that had developed between the two militaries, not only on Mindanao but also in the Floridas, Manila, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. This act occurred because neither imperial power desired independence for their colonial subjects. Therefore, U.S. and Spanish troops assisted one another in maintaining imperial control.

¹³⁵ Report of Major General J.C. Bates of An Expedition to Northern Mindanao, Philippine Islands, March 20th to April 2nd, 1900, NARA, RG 395, Department of Pacific and 8th Army Corps, Reports of Operations, April 1899 – April 1900, Box 2; Report by J.C. Bates, Headquarters First Division, Eight Army Corps, March 8, 1900, NARA, RG 395, Department of Pacific and 8th Army Corps, Reports of Operations, April 1899 – April 1900, Box 2.

¹³⁶ H.W. Reeve from the Headquarters Expedition to Northern Mindanao, March 31, 1900, NARA, RG 395, Department of Pacific and 8th Army Corps, Reports of Operations, April 1899 – April 1900, Box 2.

Also, as was noted earlier, these transfers of power presented an image that Spanish military forces had not been defeated by their “racially inferior” colonial subjects, but by an established imperial power; in turn, Spanish officers believed that they would be able to maintain their honor once they returned to the metropole of their empire.¹³⁷

During the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, medical experts from both Europe and the United States, who were influenced by the scientific beliefs of the period, held that the damp heat of the tropics often “debilitated white men who were continually exposed to it and made them nervous, irritable, and sometimes forgetful.”¹³⁸ Representatives of the British, Dutch, and Spanish empires were familiar with these issues, and in an attempt to avoid having their colonial administrators and soldiers affected by any type of tropical malaise, the British built hill stations in India, the Dutch constructed rehabilitation facilities in Java, and the Spanish established plans to build a sanitarium at Baguio, north of Manila.¹³⁹ These hill stations and sanitariums, which the members of the U.S. colonial administration would later refer to as a “health

¹³⁷ For more information on Spanish honor: Chapter 1; Chapter 2. For more information on direct imperial transfers in the periphery of the empire: Chapter 5.

¹³⁸ Government Center at Baguio, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, Dean C. Worcester Papers, 1900-1923, Box 2, Folder: Articles, 1898-1915 and Undated, Concerning the Philippines (3). For more information about tropical diseases and the perceived deterioration of whites in the tropics: Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006); *Annual Report of Major General George W. Davis, United States Army Commanding Division of the Philippines from October 1, 1902 to July 26, 1903* (Manila, P.I.: Headquarters, Division of the Philippines, 1903), 266.

¹³⁹ Extract From a Memorandum Prepared by Colonel William H. Arthur, Department Surgeon, Department of the Philippines, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 3, Folder 2; Government Center at Baguio, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, Dean C. Worcester Papers, 1900-1923, Box 2, Folder: Articles, 1898-1915 and Undated, Concerning the Philippines. For more information: Frank Schumacher, “Creating Imperial Urban Spaces: Baguio and the American Empire in the Philippines, 1898-1920,” in *Taking up Space: New Approaches to American History*, edited by Anke Ortlepp and Christoph Ribbat (Trier, Germany: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2004), 59-76.

resort” and the “summer capital of the Philippines,” were designed to allow colonial administrators to rejuvenate their Anglo-Saxon bodies while enjoying cooler, fresher air at higher elevations.¹⁴⁰ The hope was that avoiding the summer heat and humidity would increase the physical and mental vigor of colonial administrators and allow them to remain in the tropics for a longer period of time.¹⁴¹

During his earlier trips to the Philippine Islands during the Spanish colonial period, Dean Worcester had heard a great deal about the climate of Benguet; therefore, it is not surprising that the members of the First Philippine Commission often asked individuals who had traveled or lived there about the area.¹⁴² In certain areas of Benguet, specifically near Baguio, elevations reached 5,000 feet above sea level, and during the hottest month of the year, the average temperature was sixty-four degrees Fahrenheit, approximately sixteen to twenty degrees cooler than the area below.¹⁴³ After speaking with Horace Longwood Higgins and F.H. Dolandson-Sim, the members of the commission learned that the Spanish colonial government had originally planned to establish a sanitarium for their soldiers at Baguio and that Spaniards and Hispanicized-

¹⁴⁰ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume II*, 316.

¹⁴¹ Extract from a Letter of Major P.M. Ashburn, Medical Corps, U.S.A., President of the Army Board for the Study of Tropical Diseases, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 3, Folder 2.

¹⁴² For more information: Howard T. Fry, *A History of the Mountain Province – Revised Edition* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 2006), 1; Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present – Volume I* (London, England: Mills & Boon Limited, 1914), 408-487.

¹⁴³ Government Center at Baguio, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, Dean C. Worcester Papers, 1900-1923, Box 2, Folder: Articles, 1898-1915 and Undated, Concerning the Philippines. For more information on hill stations, sanitariums, and health resorts in the periphery of empires: David Brody, *Visualizing America Empire: Orientalism and Imperialism in the Philippines* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 2010); Rebecca Tinio McKennan, *American Imperial Pastoral: The Baguio Scheme and United States Designs on the Philippines, 1898-1921* (ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing, 2010); Queeny Pradhan, “Empire in the Hills: The Making of Hill Stations in Colonial India,” *Studies in History* 23, no. 1 (January 2007), 33-91.

Filipinos often traveled to the region to recuperate from diseases such as dysentery, diarrhea, and fever.¹⁴⁴ The commencement of the Philippine Rebellion meant that the Spanish colonial government was unable to build the sanitarium and complete the roads to the location; however, Higgins provided copies of the Spanish plans to the commission. After visiting the area in July of 1900, Worcester, along with Luke Edward Wright, concluded that the American insular government offices of the Philippine Islands would be moved to Baguio during the summer months and that the area would become “the great health resort of the Far East.”¹⁴⁵ Through the process of acquiring knowledge from Spain’s imperial past, U.S. colonial administrators were educated about the plans that Spain had made for the area and decided to continue with the Spanish decision to build a health resort in the region.

By January of 1900, the First Philippine Commission had submitted their report to President William McKinley.¹⁴⁶ The report clearly stated that several aspects of the colonial administration of the Philippine Islands, such as sanitation, healthcare, the role that the Roman Catholic Church played in the colonial government, and the language

¹⁴⁴ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume II*, 316, 331. Horace Longwood Higgins was an Englishman who was an engineer and the general manager of a railroad company that ran from Manila to Dagupan. F.H. Dolandson-Sim was a tea and coffee planter from Benguet. For more information on the Spanish sanitarium in the area pre-1898: Robert R. Reed, *City of Pines: The Origins of Baguio as a Colonial Hill Station and Regional Capital* (Baguio City, Philippines: A-Seven Publishing, 1976), 31-48.

¹⁴⁵ “What the United States has Done for the Non-Christian Tribes of the Philippines: Conditions at the time the United States Occupied the Philippines,” Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 4, Folder 40; Government Center at Baguio, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, Dean C. Worcester Papers, 1900-1923, Box 2, Folder: Articles, 1898-1915 and Undated, Concerning the Philippines.

¹⁴⁶ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume I*, i.

used in the various school systems, needed to be updated.¹⁴⁷ However, as U.S. military personnel and civilians began moving throughout both Manila and the areas outside of the city walls, it became clear that they felt an imperial connection existed between themselves and what remained of Spain's imperial past. In an interview with Señor Loyzaga, Colonel Denby made reference to this connection between the United States and Spain when he stated that "our interests here are identical."¹⁴⁸ It was not only the Americans who saw and felt this connection; the commission reported that many Filipinos believed that the Americans were simply taking over the position that the Spanish had previously held in the region.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, rather than creating an entirely new colonial administration in the Philippine Islands, Americans comfortably integrated themselves into the remnants of Spain's colonial empire and used the Spanish Empire's expertise in the region as the foundation of their own administration.

THE SECOND PHILIPPINE COMMISSION AND MR. AND MRS. LEROY'S IMPERIAL EXPERIENCES IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

On the suggestion of the First Philippine Commission, President William McKinley appointed members to form the Second Philippine Commission on March 16, 1900. The Second Philippine Commission was originally made up of five members. William H. Taft led the commission and on July 4, 1901, he became the Governor of the Philippine

¹⁴⁷ For more information on the innovations in healthcare and sanitation that the United States brought to the Philippine Islands: Health Reports in Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 3, Folder 1; "Sanitation in the Philippines: With Special Reference to the Effect upon Other Tropical Countries," Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 3, Folder 3.

¹⁴⁸ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume II*, 372.

¹⁴⁹ *Report of the First Philippine Commission to the President – Volume II*, 1; "Memorandum of talk with Tavera on the San José matter," Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 17, Folder: 164-204.

Islands. The remaining members of the commission included Luke Edward Wright and Henry Clay Ide, both of whom later succeeded Taft as civil governors of the Philippine Islands; Bernard Moses, an academic from the University of California; and Dean Worcester, the only returning member from the original commission.¹⁵⁰ The goal of the Second Philippine Commission was to implement civil governments in regions of the Philippine Islands that had been controlled by the U.S. military and now were no longer in need of military overseers. In turn, this would reduce the number of U.S. troops in the subdued areas and allow them to be transferred to engage with the Moro Rebellion, which had begun in 1899 throughout Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago.¹⁵¹

The members and support staff of the commission traveled across the Pacific from April to June of 1900. Included among the support staff was James Alfred LeRoy, who was accompanied by his wife, Mabel Pound LeRoy. Mr. LeRoy had graduated from the University of Michigan in 1896 and was serving as Worcester's official secretary on the trip. Worcester had previously been LeRoy's professor and the two had developed a friendship during their time at the University of Michigan.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ *Reports of the Taft Philippine Commission*, 15. For more information on Bernard Moses: Bernard Moses, "Colonial Policy with Reference to the Philippines," *Proceedings of the American Political Science Association*, Vol. 1 (1904), 88-116; Bernard Moses, *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America: An Introduction to the History and Politics of Spanish America* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1898).

¹⁵¹ Contents from February 5, 1901 to July 2, 1902, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 4, Folder 1; United States Philippine Commission President to Adna R. Chaffee, July 8, 1901, Special Collections Library – University of Michigan, WPC Papers, Volume 4, Folder 7. For more information on the Moro Rebellion and American involvement in the Islamic world at the turn of the twentieth century: James R. Arnold, *The Moro War: How America Battled a Muslim Insurgency in the Philippine Jungle, 1902-1913* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2011); Michael C. Hawkins, *Making Moros: Imperial Historicism and American Military Rule in the Philippines' Muslim South* (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois Press, 2013); Karine V. Walther, *Sacred Interests: The United States and the Islamic World, 1821-1921* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

¹⁵² Glòria Cano, "LeRoy's The Americans in the Philippines and the History of Spanish Rule in the Philippines," *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 61, No 1 (March 2013), 8; Harry Coleman, "James Alfred LeRoy," in *The Americans in the Philippines – Volume I* by James A. LeRoy (New York: AMS Press, 1914), xv.

On June 3, 1900, the members of the commission arrived in Manila. Unlike the men of the original commission, who had taken up offices at the former Audiencia building, the members of the second commission established their headquarters at the Ayuntamiento. Under the Spanish regime, the Ayuntamiento served as the building that housed the administrative offices of the Governor-General and his staff. At the Ayuntamiento, the Second Philippine Commission examined witnesses in an attempt to gain more information about the archipelago and to develop a better understanding of how best to govern the region.¹⁵³ Not only were these Americans occupying a building that represented one of the centers of Spanish colonial rule in the Philippine Islands, they also continued to employ Spanish civil servants, engage with Spaniards outside of working hours, build on Spanish construction projects that had not been completed prior to the transfer of power in 1898, and either directly duplicate or only slight change Spanish legislation such as the laws controlling tariffs, taxation, and the use of Filipino troops.¹⁵⁴ In turn, many Filipinos continued to believe that their new colonial overseers seemed rather similar to their former Spanish rulers.¹⁵⁵

Outside of official commission hours, Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy immersed themselves into Spain's imperial past in both Manila and the surrounding area. Mrs. LeRoy spent a

¹⁵³ *Reports of the Taft Philippine Commission*, 15.

¹⁵⁴ *Reports of the Taft Philippine Commission*, 19, 23, 39, 65-73, 75-76, 80-81; Letter from Mabel Pound LeRoy to family at home, August 12, 1900, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Travelogue account of trip to the Philippines, 1900-1901; Report by James A. LeRoy, July 2-3, 1905, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1 Folder: Manuscript of Travelogue account of trip to the Philippine Islands, 1905.

¹⁵⁵ Letter from James A. LeRoy to Luke E. Right, December 23, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Philippine Islands Correspondence, 1900-1902.

great deal of time developing her Spanish at the Loban Convent near her home in Manila, while Mr. LeRoy studied Spanish at the Santa Catalina convent under the tutelage of a woman named Sister Carmen.¹⁵⁶ Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy often toured Manila and drawing on the romanticized narrative created by U.S. Hispanists during the nineteenth century, described the city as being “a perfect sample of a city in feudal days.” They were also impressed by the “great buildings” that had been built by the Spanish government and the Spanish religious orders.¹⁵⁷ Contrary to the negative presentation of the Spanish people and Spanish policies that James LeRoy later included in his work entitled *The Americans in the Philippines*, both Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy became active participants in Spanish social circles and developed an appreciation for the Spanish imperial legacy in the Philippine Islands.¹⁵⁸

Approximately two months after their arrival, Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy attended a Spanish Ball in Manila that was held by Don Fernando Carbo, the President of the Spanish Casino. Reminiscent of clubwomen in the United States who celebrated both Spanish culture and the Spanish past through Spanish-themed parties, the event in Manila was attended by Spaniards, Americans, and Filipinos who were attempting to advance their positions in society by claiming Spanish ancestry. Additionally, this does not appear

¹⁵⁶ Letter from Mabel Pound LeRoy to family at home, August 12, 1900, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Travelogue account of trip to the Philippines, 1900-1901; Letter from Mabel Pound LeRoy to family at home, May 6, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Travelogue account of trip to the Philippines, 1900-1901; From the Diaries of Frederick George Behner, October 16, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, Frederick G. Behner Papers, Folder: Frederick G. Behner Biographical Information – Diaries (Transcripts) 1901.

¹⁵⁷ Letter from Mabel Pound LeRoy to family at home, June 20, 1900, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Travelogue account of trip to the Philippines, 1900-1901.

¹⁵⁸ For more information on LeRoy’s comments: Cano, “LeRoy’s *The Americans in the Philippines* and the History of Spanish Rule in the Philippines,” 10.

to be an isolated incident of Spaniards and Filipinos claiming Spanish ancestry during the early years of America's occupation of the Philippine Islands. For example, as the members of the Second Philippine Commission traveled throughout the Visayan Islands during the early months of 1901, they met with Señor Reyes of the Federal Party of Catbalogan. Reyes had become the Governor of Samar in 1898, and he arrived at the meeting wearing a full dress uniform, including the Spanish medals that he had been awarded prior to the capitulation of Spanish forces in the region.¹⁵⁹ It can be inferred from these accounts that both Spaniards and Filipinos believed that U.S. military officers and colonial administrators felt an imperial bond between Spain and the United States and valued Spaniards and Hispanicized-Filipinos more than the other inhabitants of the region. In turn, many non-Spaniards attempted to claim an advanced level of civilization through their associate with Spain's imperial legacy.

Much like the Spanish-themed parties that were held in the United States, the guests who attended Don Fernando Carbo's party found themselves surrounded by an atmosphere that venerated Spain and the country's culture. In a letter home, Mrs. LeRoy stated that there was a "beautiful Moorish room" at the ball, large Spanish flags trimming the main hall, and that the women who attended the party wore brightly colored gowns; some of the gowns were red, white, and blue, while others were red and yellow, reflecting the national colors of the United States and Spain.¹⁶⁰ This integration into Spanish culture and engagement with the Spaniards and Hispanicized-Filipinos who still

¹⁵⁹ Report by James A. LeRoy, April 23, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Manuscript of Travelogue Account of Trip to the Philippine Islands, 1901 (April 4 – June 5).

¹⁶⁰ Letter from Mabel Pound LeRoy to family at home, August 12, 1900, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Travelogue account of trip to the Philippines, 1900-1901.

resided in the region in the years following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War provides an example of how Americans and their family members in the Philippine Islands were comfortable engaging with the Spanish imperial past in the region.

The Spanish Ball that Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy attended in August of 1900 was by no means an isolated event. At the opening of the social season in Manila, Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy attended a ball at the governor's palace. Mrs. LeRoy commented that it was "a great function," and she made a point of noting that the Spanish crests still existed over the doors of the palace, similar to the Spanish crest that continued to adorn the wall of the Governor-General's Palace in Havana during the U.S. military's occupation of Cuba.¹⁶¹ Also, on July 4, 1901, the couple continued to integrate themselves into Spanish culture by spending William Howard Taft's inauguration in the presence of the Spanish correspondent Juan de Juan and his friends from Latin America. The entire dinner conversation occurred in Spanish and neither Mr. nor Mrs. LeRoy made any comment about not being able to engage with the Spanish speakers.¹⁶² This immersion into Spanish culture in Manila during approximately the first full year of the Second Philippine Commission's time in the city provides several examples of how the members of the commission, as well as Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy, developed an imperial relationship between themselves and the remnants of Spain's imperial past in the region.

As was noted earlier, one of the goals of the Second Philippine Commission was to transfer control of municipal governments from military rule to the Filipino people.

¹⁶¹ Letter from Mabel Pound LeRoy to family at home, January 6, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Travelogue account of trip to the Philippines, 1900-1901.

¹⁶² Letter from Mabel Pound LeRoy to family at home, July 4, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Travelogue account of trip to the Philippines, 1900-1901.

Taft believed that the only way that the members of the commission could develop an understanding of what type of government best suited the Filipino people would be to travel to each area, interview the elite members of the community in the region, and to assess the situation for themselves.¹⁶³ In turn, the members of the commission, including Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy, began traveling throughout the Philippine Islands during the early months of 1901. As the members of the commission ventured outside of Manila, they developed a dependency on the Spanish people and the Spanish imperial past in much the same way that U.S. military officers and American citizens had during the months following the commencement of the Philippine-American War.

The members of the commission, as well as Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy, were transported throughout the Visayan Islands, Mindanao, and the Sulu Archipelago by a Spanish coast steamer and American ships, which were piloted by Spanish sailors who followed the old Spanish sailing charts of the region.¹⁶⁴ Due to the fact that the Philippine-American War was still ongoing, it is clear that the commission trusted these Spaniards to keep them safe, strengthening the imperial bond between the two groups. At the city of Iloilo on Panay Island, a wealthy Spanish family welcomed the commission members into their home, where they were served lunch. Mrs. LeRoy was particularly

¹⁶³ Report by James A. LeRoy, April 14, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Manuscript of Travelogue Account of Trip to the Philippine Islands, 1901 (April 4 – June 5).

¹⁶⁴ Letter by Mr. or Mrs. LeRoy to family at home, March 21, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Travelogue account of trip to the Philippines, 1900-1901; Report by James A. LeRoy, March 19, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Manuscript of Travelogue Account of Trip to the Philippine Islands, 1901 (March 10 – April 3).

impressed with the décor of the home and the kindness offered to the Americans by the Spanish family.¹⁶⁵

At Cebu City, the commission made a point of visiting a home that was furnished with Spanish treasures and Spanish furniture, hinting at the American fascination with Spanish art that had developed during the nineteenth century and continued during the early decades of the twentieth century.¹⁶⁶ The city of Jolo also drew a great deal of attention from Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy, due to the fact that the Spanish General, Juan Arolas, had been sent to the region in the 1880s and had decided to improve the sanitation conditions in the city.¹⁶⁷ In a letter home, Mrs. LeRoy stated that:

In years past the city of Jolo was beautified by a Spaniard who was exiled from Manila in the hope that he would die in this most unwholesome spot of the archipelago but he proved himself to be a great man and set about making Jolo one of the garden spots of the world. There are no horses there and the streets are clean brushed coral paths shaded by giant trees while all the plazas are filled with bright flowers.¹⁶⁸

Throughout their journey, the commission members often stayed in local convents and engaged with U.S. military officers at their headquarters in old Spanish churches or

¹⁶⁵ Letter by Mr. or Mrs. LeRoy to family at home, March 17, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Travelogue account of trip to the Philippines, 1900-1901.

¹⁶⁶ Letter by Mr. or Mrs. LeRoy to family at home, April 17, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Travelogue account of trip to the Philippines, 1900-1901.

¹⁶⁷ Report by James A. LeRoy, March 27, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Manuscript of Travelogue Account of Trip to the Philippine Islands, 1901 (March 10 – April 3).

¹⁶⁸ Letter by Mr. or Mrs. LeRoy to family at home, March 27, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Travelogue account of trip to the Philippines, 1900-1901.

Spanish provincial buildings.¹⁶⁹ Later in 1901, as the members of the commission traveled to northern Luzon, they continued to be hosted by Spaniards who welcomed them into their homes and provided them with large feasts.¹⁷⁰ These interactions and the reliance on Spain's imperial past created a dependency that continued throughout the early years of the American colonial project in the Philippine Islands. It also projected an imperial similarity that was not lost on the Filipino people who attempted to claim Spanish ancestry after recognizing the high regard that U.S. military officers and colonial administrators held towards the remnants of the Spanish Empire.

“THE DEATHLESS NARRATIVE OF HIS ACHIEVEMENTS”: THE VENERATION OF THE SPANISH IMPERIAL LEGACY¹⁷¹

As time went on, the existence of Spain as a colonial overseer in the Philippine Islands slowly dissipated. This occurred due to the natural passage of time and also because American administrators were able to solidify their positions in colonial society. Suggestions made by the members of the First and Second Philippine Commissions led to the Philippine Organic Act of 1902, which established an insular government and provided Filipinos with the opportunity to participate in governmental proceedings; American and later Filipino school teachers increasing the use of the English language throughout the archipelago; American legislation slowly superseding Spanish tariffs; the

¹⁶⁹ Report by James A. LeRoy, March 14, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Manuscript of Travelogue Account of Trip to the Philippine Islands, 1901 (March 10 – April 3).

¹⁷⁰ Report by James A. LeRoy, June 19, 1901, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, James A. LeRoy Papers, 1893-1944, Box 1, Folder: Manuscript of Travelogue Account of Trip to the Philippine Islands, 1901 (June 6 – June 30).

¹⁷¹ Philippine Carnival Association: Magallanes Carnival and Exposition, *Official Program: Magallanes Carnival and Exposition – January 29th to February 6th – 1921* (Special Collections Library – University of Michigan).

Roman Catholic Church no longer playing a formal role in the administration of the colony; and publicly celebrated feasts days for Catholic saints being discarded in favor of American holidays. However, as the Philippine Islands entered the twentieth century, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators continued to appropriate Spain's imperial legacy as the foundation of America's own imperial narrative. They did this by venerating Spain's past accomplishments through the erection of Spanish monuments and the continued upkeep of existing Spanish structures, as well as public celebrations to mark the anniversary of Magellan's discovery of the Philippine Islands.¹⁷²

Prior to the American occupation of the region, the Spanish sculptor Agustín Querol y Subirals was commissioned by the people of Manila to create a statue that commemorated Miguel López de Legazpi, the Spanish founder of the city, and Andrés de Urdaneta, the Augustinian friar who assisted Legazpi on his journey. When the U.S. military arrived in the Philippine Islands they discovered pieces of the monument in the customs house in Manila. Under the supervision of Major General George W. Davis, the monument was erected in 1901.¹⁷³ In his speech to commemorate the erection of the statue, Taft commented that “the whole, as an artistic expression, satisfies the sense of admiration that one feels in reading of the enterprise, courage, and fidelity to duty that distinguished those heroes of Spain who braved the then frightful dangers of the deep to

¹⁷² For more information on monuments in the imperial world: Dominik Geppert and Frank Lorenz Müller (editors), *Sites of Imperial Memory: Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2015).

¹⁷³ State Monuments, December 6, 1934, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 1267; *Annual Report of Major General George W. Davis, United States Army Commanding Division of the Philippines from October 1, 1902 to July 26, 1903* (Manila, Philippine Islands: Headquarters, Division of the Philippines, 1903), 266.

carry Christianity and European civilization into the far-off Orient.”¹⁷⁴ Disregarding the Black Legend narrative, U.S. colonial administrators were thankful that they were able to acquire a colonial possession in Asia that had already been inhabited by a large population of individuals who had been Christianized by their imperial predecessor. These Americans associated Christianity with civilization and believed that the work done by Spanish colonial officials had established an imperial foundation that the United States could now build on.

As Manila and its outlying areas entered the twentieth century as a colonial possession of the United States, the visual landscape of the colony began to take on a more modern, Americanized image. However, U.S. colonial administrators were conscious of keeping the Spanish imperial past alive. For example, in his 1905 “Report on Proposed Improvements at Manila,” Daniel Burnham stated that the Spanish churches and government buildings of the city should remain because of their “beauty and practical suitability to local conditions.”¹⁷⁵ Burnham, who had been the architect of the buildings at the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893, also commented in his report that the narrow streets of Manila should be maintained, as should the tiled roofing that dated back to the Spanish period.¹⁷⁶ Also, the landscape architect B.R. Slaughter believed

¹⁷⁴ *Census of the Philippine Islands: Taken Under the Direction of the Philippine Commission in 1903 – Volume I* (Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of the Census, 1905), 31; Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 211.

¹⁷⁵ D.H. Burnham *Report on Proposed Improvements at Manila* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), 627, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 265.

¹⁷⁶ D.H. Burnham, “Report on Proposed Improvements at Manila” (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), 635, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 265. For more information on Daniel Burnham’s design of Baguio: Schumacher, “Creating Imperial Urban Spaces: Baguio and the American Empire in the Philippines, 1898-1920,” 59-76.

that it would be important to maintain several of the old churches, hospitals, and forts in Manila and the surrounding area, so that the Spanish imperial past would not be forgotten.¹⁷⁷

U.S. colonial administrators were not only concerned with maintaining architecture; they also took an interest in Spanish monuments and their upkeep. As a member of the First Philippine Commission, Dean Worcester was drawn to the Anda Monument in Manila, which was later recreated at the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904. In 1906, George A. Miller wrote a book entitled *Interesting Manila* that detailed the historical landmarks and monuments of Manila for individuals in the United States.¹⁷⁸ Also, as part of the celebrations surrounding the four-hundred-year anniversary of Magellan's discovery of the Philippine Islands, the colonial government supported the refurbishment of the Magellan Monument at Cebu. This concern for documenting and maintaining the Spanish past demonstrates the imperial connections that Americans felt between themselves and the Spanish imperial legacy in the region.

Promoted as "The Year's Greatest Event in the Orient," the Manila Carnival of 1921 celebrated the four-hundred-year anniversary of Magellan's discovery of the Philippine Islands. The event was held from January 29 to February 6. As was noted earlier, a play representing Magellan's discovery of the Philippine Islands was presented; the Philippine Constabulary Band welcomed the Carnival Queen by playing the Spanish,

¹⁷⁷ B.R. Slaughter to the President, April 11, 1902, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 265. For more information on Spanish forts, government buildings, and hospitals that were maintained by the American Empire: George A. Miller's *Interesting Manila* (Manila, Philippine Islands: E.C. McCullough and Company, 1906), 171-172.

¹⁷⁸ Report by Jose Paez to the Secretary of Commerce and Communications in Manila, April 25, 1922, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 1171; "400th Anniversary of Death of Magellan this Year" *Boston Daily Globe*, June 12, 1921, p. 53; Miller, *Interesting Manila*, 1 and 173.

American, and Filipino national anthems; and George A. Malcolm gave an address that credited the Spanish with advancing the civilization of the people of the Philippine Islands.¹⁷⁹ A coronation ball was also held to represent the friendship that existed between Spain, the United States, and the Filipino people, as well as “their influence upon the formation of Philippine civilization.”¹⁸⁰

In the United States, several newspapers, including the *Boston Daily Globe* and the *Los Angeles Times*, took particular interest in the Manila Carnival of 1921. The *Boston Daily Globe* compared Magellan to Columbus and argued that “Magellan was nobler and more generous than Columbus, less fanatic, quite as persistent, and as a navigator probably surpassed him.”¹⁸¹ The newspaper also encouraged Americans to visit the Philippine Islands during the Manila Carnival.¹⁸² The *Los Angeles Times* stated that Americans living in Los Angeles should be thankful that Magellan completed the mission started by Columbus and connected the Pacific with Europe. Additionally, the *Los Angeles Times* drew on beliefs surrounding Whig history, when the newspaper connected the “discovery” of the United States with America’s colonial project in the Philippine Islands by using Spain’s imperial legacy as both the foundation of the narrative and as a connection between the two areas.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ *Celebración Del Cuarto Centenario Del Descubrimiento De Filipinas Por Fernando de Magallanes* (Manila, P.I.: Bureau of Printing, 1921), NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 1171.

¹⁸⁰ Philippine Carnival Association: Magallanes Carnival and Exposition, *Official Program: Magallanes Carnival and Exposition – January 29th to February 6th – 1921* (Special Collections Library – University of Michigan).

¹⁸¹ “400th Anniversary of Death of Magellan this Year” *Boston Daily Globe*, June 12, 1921, p. 53.

¹⁸² “In Honor of Magellan: 400th Anniversary of Discovery of the Philippines Will be Celebrated on Elaborate Scale” *Boston Daily Globe*, May 9, 1920, p. 71.

¹⁸³ “Pioneer on the Pacific,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1920, p. 114.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of the Spanish-American War, the United States was not adequately prepared to properly control colonial possessions halfway across the world in Guam and the Philippine Islands. Compounding this unpreparedness was the fact that few individuals in the United States knew anything about America's new colonial possessions in the Pacific. However, several variables benefited the early U.S. military officers and colonial administrators that arrived in the area. These variables included a familiarity with Spain and the Spanish Empire that influential Americans had developed throughout the preceding century, as well as a segment of the population in Guam and the Philippine Islands who had been Christianized by the priests and friars of the Spanish Empire. U.S. military officers and colonial administrators understood that these variables would assist the American colonial project and gave thanks to Spain's imperial legacy for their previous work in the region.

Rather than creating entirely new, exceptional colonial projects in Guam and the Philippine Islands, several military officers and colonial administrators gave little credence to the Black Legend narrative and depended on the imperial knowledge that was acquired from Spanish individuals in the region. Others rescued Spanish prisoners from Filipino insurgent forces and continued to depend on the established Spanish infrastructure in the region. Over time, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators decreased their dependency on the Spanish imperial past. However, they still continued to venerate the Spanish imperial legacy by erecting monuments to Spanish explorers and praising Spain's colonial expertise in their speeches to the Filipino people, practices that had first been developed in the United States and then transferred to America's colonial

possessions. Therefore, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators continued to depend on the Spanish Empire in an attempt to justify America's national and imperial identities in the periphery of their empire, much as influential Americans had initially done in the metropole.

Conclusion

The Consciousness of the Imperial Experience

Few Americans had a more prolific imperial career than Leonard Wood. From the mid-1880s to the late-1920s, Wood's military service took him across the imperial world, with assignments in the Arizona Territory, Cuba, the Dutch East Indies, and the Philippine Islands.¹ Throughout his journeys, Wood witnessed the completion of America's transcontinental empire, the advent of the nation's overseas empire at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War of 1898, and the U.S. military's attempts to establish imperial administrations in both the Caribbean Basin and the Pacific in the decades following the conflict.

Born in the American Northeast and educated at Harvard Medical School, Leonard Wood is a quintessential example of the influential, well-educated Americans who have made up the pages of this work.² Throughout his life, Wood developed a perception of the United States as a young, inexperienced imperial power that was joining

¹ For more information: Omar H. Dphrepaulezz, "'The Right Sort of White Men': General Leonard Wood and the U.S. Army in the Southern Philippines, 1898-1906" (PhD Dissertation: University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut, 2013); Wayne Wray Thompson, "Governors of the Moro Province: Wood, Bliss, and Pershing in the Southern Philippines, 1903-1913" (PhD Dissertation: University of California at San Diego, San Diego, California, 1975).

² For more information: James Herman Pruitt II, "Leonard Wood and the America Empire" (PhD Dissertation: Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas, 2011); Hermann Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography – In Two Volumes* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1931).

a community of well-established European empires.³ He believed that the Spanish Empire had constructed a hierarchical colonial society in Cuba and the Philippine Islands, which maintained Spain's imperial influence in the regions for over three centuries, despite instability in the metropole and the loss of the majority of Spain's other colonies at the conclusion of the Spanish American wars of independence. Wood was therefore comfortable in appropriating knowledge from America's imperial predecessor, and in trying to maintain the pre-established colonial hierarchies in America's new imperial possessions.⁴ By duplicating the Whiggish beliefs associated with the east-to-west movement of civilization, which had been developed in the United States throughout the nineteenth century, Wood saw the United States as Spain's natural successor in the country's new imperial possessions, and in turn, he was able to use this narrative to legitimize the United States' position in colonial society.

This chapter will open with two brief forays into Leonard Wood's life. Both segments will illustrate the imperial connections that he consciously made between the United States and the remnants of the Spanish Empire, first in Cuba, and later in the Philippine Islands. The two vignettes will also explore the imperial world that the United States found itself in at the turn of the twentieth century. Following these accounts, this

³ For example: Leonard Wood's Diary, June 10-11, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Leonard Wood's Diary, June 23, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Leonard Wood's Diary, June 24, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Leonard Wood's Diary, June 30, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Leonard Wood's Diary, July 2, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906.

⁴ For example: Leonard Wood's Diary, September 18, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Leonard Wood's Diary, October 22, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906.

chapter will attempt to adequately summarize this project; the individuals who made up the pages of the work; as well as the lives of individuals and the influential events, which may not have made it into the chapters of this work but certainly require further historical inquiry. Finally, it will conclude by considering both the implications and complications of the use of Spain's imperial legacy as the foundation of the United States' national and imperial narratives, as Americans continue to grapple with the conceptualization and ramifications of the national and imperial identities that they were attempting to create.

UNDERSTANDING THE SEAT OF IMPERIAL RULE AND AMERICA'S PREDECESSORS ON THE ISLAND OF CUBA

Leonard Wood became the Governor-General of Cuba in December of 1899.⁵ Limited by the Teller Amendment, Wood received a loosely defined set of orders from President McKinley, which directed him to “put the inhabitants of Cuba on their feet as best he could.” This was to be done through the implementation of several progressive reforms, such as sanitation projects and educational improvement programs, which would eventually allow the United States to “get out of the island as soon as they safely could.”⁶ However, as was often the case for both military officers and colonial administrators in America's overseas possessions, the details associated with accomplishing these goals were left with Wood. Relatively unfamiliar with their surroundings, Wood, as well as many other U.S. military officers and colonial administrators, searched for a familiar, civilized foundation in which they could begin to establish their colonial governments.

⁵ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography – Volume I*, 260.

⁶ Leonard Wood, “Cuba as Our Ward,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, July 12, 1902; Leonard Wood, “The Military Government of Cuba,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 21, (March 1903), 1-30; Howard Wayne Morgan, *William McKinley and His America* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1963), 339; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography – Volume I*, 261; For more information on Wood's progressive reforms: Pruitt II, “Leonard Wood and the America Empire,” 37-60.

Like many astute Americans in the metropole of the empire, they found this civilized foundation in the remnants of the Spanish Empire that still remained in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War.

On the island of Cuba, many colonial administrators who had served under the Spanish government were either asked to continue working or were rehired by the U.S. military government; prominent Spanish government buildings were occupied; many Spanish laws were left in place; and infrastructural practices, such as the postal service, were temporarily maintained in an attempt to establish some semblance of order after more than three decades of instability.⁷ Leonard Wood not only appropriated the title “Governor-General” from his Spanish predecessors, he and his family integrated themselves into the highest levels of Cuban society, which was made up of Spanish families who had decided to remain in Cuba, as well as the creole elites who had maintained their loyalty to Spain throughout the Cuban Wars of Independence.⁸ Left to his own devices, Wood selectively ignored the Black Legend narrative and drew on his

⁷ William Ludlow (Military Governor of the City of Havana, Cuba), “Annual Report for Fiscal Year Ended June 20, 1899, From December 22, 1898,” NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 161; L.R. 13, Civil File, 1899, Manuel Rozas y Larringa, Velazco, Havana, Cuba, January 7, 1899, NARA, RG 140, Entry 2, Letters Received, 1899-1902, Box 1, Folder: 1899 – 1-75; L.R. 15, Civil, 1899, Benito R. Castras, Havana, Cuba, January 6, 1899, NARA, RG 140, Entry 2, Letters Received, 1899-1902, Box 1, Folder: 1899 – 1-75; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography – Volume I*, 390; “Special Report of the Secretary of Finance – Island of Cuba to Major General John R. Brooke, U.S. Army, Governor General of Cuba,” NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 35; Papers “Relating to the Treaty with Spain,” NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 55; Perfecto Lacoste and Juan B. Hernandez Barreiro, “To the Citizens of Havana,” January 12, 1899, NARA, RG 350, Stack Area 150, Entry 5 – General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Box 24.

⁸ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography – Volume I*, 388; Pérez Jr., *Cuba Under the Platt Amendment, 1902-1934*, 13-20; Pérez Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*, 7; Paul A. Kramer, “Historias Transimperial: Raíces Españolas del Estado Colonial Estadounidense en Filipinas,” in *Filipinas, Un País Entre Dos Imperios*, edited by María Dolores Elizalde y Josep M. Delgado (Barcelona, Spain: Edicions Bellaterra, 2011), 125-144.

familiarity with the Spanish Empire as a symbol of civilization, as he attempted to re-establish the rule of the “old colonial elite” in Cuba, prior to the U.S. military’s withdrawal from the island in 1902.⁹

On May 20, 1902, Leonard Wood formally passed his administrative powers over to President Tomás Estrada Palma and the new quasi-independent Republic of Cuba. Wood had been in Cuba since the beginning of the Spanish-American War and had advanced from the rank of captain to brigadier general.¹⁰ During his time on the island, Wood developed an imperial understanding of power and stability, which was heavily influenced by the racial beliefs of the period. This understanding emerged in a variety of different ways, including the policies he maintained from the Spanish imperial past and the individuals with whom he engaged, such as the elite members of the Jai Alai Association and the Casino Español in Havana.¹¹

One of the most fascinating ways that Wood’s understanding of Spain as America’s imperial predecessor in Cuba emerged was with one of the souvenirs that he took with him before leaving the island. Prior to May 20, Leonard Wood requested that Tomás Estrada Palma allow him to take “the old Governor-General’s chair” with him

⁹ Pérez Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, 102; The Congress of the United States, “Platt Amendment,” in *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History – Second Edition*, edited by Robert H. Holden and Eric Zolov (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 82-83.

¹⁰ Pruitt II, “Leonard Wood and the America Empire,” 208.

¹¹ Leonard Wood to Lou (his wife), Palace of Governor General, Santiago de Cuba, July 21, 1898, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box: Leonard Wood Papers Personal Correspondence of Gen. Wood – 1862-1901/2 – 190, Folder: Personal Correspondence – 1898; Leonard Wood to Mother, Santiago de Cuba, July 30, 1898, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box: Leonard Wood Papers Personal Correspondence of Gen. Wood – 1862-1901/2 – 190, Folder: Personal Correspondence – 1898; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography – Volume I*, 388-389.

back to the United States.¹² The request, and Palma's eventual consent, initially may seem inconsequential to both our understanding of American foreign relations, U.S.-Spanish relations, and American conceptualizations of empire during the long nineteenth century. However, the arguments and examples presented in this dissertation point to the fact that actions such as these, and the motives behind them, provide us with an opportunity to increase our understanding of how representatives of the American Empire both conceptualized and perceived themselves, their nation, and their empire at the turn of the twentieth century.¹³

Conceivably, I may be completely wrong about the larger implications of Leonard Wood's desire to keep the chair from the Governor-General's Palace in Havana. Perhaps Wood simply found the chair comfortable and wanted to continue to use it after his days in Cuba had come to an end; however, one glance at a photo of Wood working in the chair suggests otherwise.¹⁴ Or, perhaps Wood found the chair to be aesthetically pleasing and wanted to put it on display in his home.¹⁵ Despite these possibilities, Wood's journal points us in a different direction.

In the pages of his journal, Wood reported that the chair was not only the "official chair of the various Governor-Generals of Cuba" but that it was specifically used by

¹² Leonard Wood's Diary, May 20, 1902, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906.

¹³ For more information: Ann Laura Stoler, "Intimidations of Empire: Predicaments of the Tactile and Unseen," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, edited by Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006), 3.

¹⁴ Appendix xii.

¹⁵ Stanley Payne, "The Reencounter between Spain and the United States after 1898," in *When Spain Fascinated America*, edited by multiple editors (Madrid, Spain: Fundación Zuloaga, 2010), 11-25; Beatrice Gilman Proske, *Archer Milton Huntington* (New York: The Trustees of the Hispanic Society of America, 1965).

“Valeriano Weyler and his predecessors.” Weyler was the former Spanish Governor-General of both Cuba and the Philippine Islands, was criticized by many Cuban sympathizers for instituting the policy of reconcentrado in Cuba, and was nicknamed “Butcher Weyler” by members of the jingoistic press in the United States.¹⁶ However, he had previously developed a relationship with General William T. Sherman, partially based his policy of reconcentrado off of Sherman’s successful Savannah Campaign during the American Civil War, and it appears that Wood clearly felt a bond between himself and the former Governor-General of Cuba.¹⁷ Therefore, not only did Wood conceptualize the Governor-General’s chair as the literal and figurative seat of imperial power in Cuba, he also held America’s imperial predecessors on the island in high regard, despite the disparaging comments made by Cuban sympathizers and members of the jingoistic press.

CONSCIOUS OF SPAIN’S IMPERIAL FOUNDATION IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS: LEONARD WOOD AND HIS TIME AS THE GOVERNOR OF THE MORO PROVINCE

After Wood’s time in Cuba, he returned to the United States to write his final reports on the island, appear at an assortment of speaking engagements, and to spend time with

¹⁶ Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1998), 49-51; Bonnie Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest: The Visual and Popular Cultures of the Spanish-American War of 1898* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 34.

¹⁷ Leonard Wood’s Diary, May 20, 1902, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906. For more information on how Weyler learned how to control rural populations from U.S. General William Tecumseh Sherman: Gabriel Cardona, *Weyler, Nuestro Hombre en la Habana* (Barcelona, España: Editorial Planeta, 1997), 34-35; Ian F.W. Beckett, *Modern Insurgencies and Counter-Insurgencies: Guerrillas and Their Opponents since 1750* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 36-37. John Finley also spoke highly of Weyler. For more information: Oliver Charbonneau, “Civilizational Imperatives: American Colonial Culture in the Islamic Philippines, 1899-1942” (PhD Dissertation: University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada, 2016).

several of his close friends, including Elihu Root and President Theodore Roosevelt.¹⁸ During the summer of 1902, Wood also traveled to Europe to review German military maneuvers and to spend time with his family members, who were vacationing in Spain.¹⁹ By November of 1902, Wood had returned to the United States; soon thereafter, he was appointed by Root and Roosevelt as the first U.S. Governor of the Moro Province.²⁰ Upon receiving his appointment, Wood left for the Philippine Islands in March of 1903. After stopping in Egypt, India, the Dutch East Indies, Saigon, and Hong Kong to meet with various European colonial officials, he finally arrived in the Philippine Islands on July 19, 1903.²¹

Upon his arrival, Wood was once again struck by the remnants of Spain's imperial legacy. Throughout July of 1903, Wood continuously alluded in his diary to the Spanish buildings that served as the homes and headquarters for the U.S. military officers and colonial administrators that were stationed in Manila. Wood was particularly impressed by the home of General George W. Davis, which was of "typical Spanish

¹⁸ Leonard Wood's Diary, May 20, 1902, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Pruitt II, "Leonard Wood and the America Empire," 209.

¹⁹ Leonard Wood's Diary, May 20, 1902, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906.

²⁰ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography – Volume I*, 406-407.

²¹ Leonard Wood's Diary, June 10-11, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Leonard Wood's Diary, June 23, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Leonard Wood's Diary, June 24, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Leonard Wood's Diary, June 30, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Leonard Wood's Diary, July 2, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Pruitt II, "Leonard Wood and the America Empire," 211-212.

construction” and included “big windows that looked out over the Bay.”²² Wood also remarked on Malacañang Palace, which was the old home of the Spanish Governors of Manila and was now occupied by the Taft family.²³

On August 6, 1903, Wood landed in Zamboanga, the former Spanish and now American capital of the Moro Province, and assumed command of the U.S. military forces in the area.²⁴ Located on the southwestern tip of the island of Mindanao, near the Sulu Archipelago, Zamboanga had been colonized by the Spanish but maintaining control of the surrounding region had been a more difficult task for the Spanish troops and Catholic priests in the region.²⁵ As in both Cuba and Manila, Wood perceived representations of Spain’s imperial legacy in Zamboanga and the surrounding area as familiar signs of civilized imperial rule. For example, Wood commented in his diary on the old Spanish roads that existed in the region; the Spanish cathedral in Zamboanga; the Spanish layout of urban centers, specifically that of Jolo in the Sulu Archipelago; and the

²² Leonard Wood’s Diary, July 20, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906.

²³ Leonard Wood’s Diary, July 20, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906.

²⁴ Leonard Wood’s Diary, August 6, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906.

²⁵ For more information: Charbonneau, “Civilizational Imperatives: American Colonial Culture in the Islamic Philippines, 1899-1942”; Dphrepaulezz, “‘The Right Sort of White Men’: General Leonard Wood and the U.S. Army in the Southern Philippines, 1898-1906”; Thompson, “Governors of the Moro Province: Wood, Bliss, and Pershing in the Southern Philippines, 1903-1913”; Leonard Wood’s Diary, February 23-29, 1904, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Leonard Wood’s Diary, March 1-3, 1904, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906.

house of the former Spanish commanding officer in the region, which he occupied with his staff.²⁶

While he toured the Southern Philippines, Wood made a point of communicating with any Spanish priests that still remained in the region, in an attempt to inform U.S. military officers and colonial administrators on a variety of aspects about life in the Philippine Islands. This dependency on Spanish priests also existed during the early days of America's colonial project in the Philippine Islands, when the members of the First Philippine Commission requested assistance with translating Spanish documents, as well as information on a variety of different topics ranging from the climate of the region to the ethnological makeup of the inhabitants of the archipelago.²⁷ In comparison, Wood makes only a few reference in his diary to non-Spanish individuals or structures that he encountered during his initial tours throughout Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago in 1903 and 1904.

What can we learn from Leonard Wood's initial experiences in the Philippine Islands? To a certain degree, Wood, as he had in Cuba, ignored misgivings associated with the Black Legend narrative, and in turn, was willing to borrow from Spain's imperial past in the Philippine Islands. He also clearly ranked both Spaniards and the

²⁶ Leonard Wood's Diary, September 8, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Leonard Wood's Diary, August 14, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Leonard Wood's Diary, August 22, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906.

²⁷ Leonard Wood's Diary, August 12, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Leonard Wood's Diary, August 10, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906; Leonard Wood's Diary, September 15, 1903, Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, Leonard Wood Papers, Box 3, Folder: Diary – May 20, 1902 – January 31, 1906. For more information: Chapter 6.

remnants of their colonial past higher than he did the “uncivilized” Moro people of the Southern Philippines. Most importantly, Wood was conscious of the fact that he was entering an imperial world in the Philippine Islands that had previously been colonized by a European power. Spain’s colonial past was omnipresent and Wood clearly understood that the United States was the successor to that past.

Compare Leonard Wood’s conscious realization that the United States was constructing its empire on a foundation established by the Spanish Empire to John Vanderlyn’s painting of Columbus’s landing at the Island of Guanahani, in 1492, which was discussed in the opening chapter of this work. To Wood, Spain’s imperial legacy was not hidden, it was ubiquitous. Similarly, Spain’s imperial past also lived on in the minds of the individuals that make up the pages of this dissertation. These individuals recognized the existence of Spain as an imperial power and understood that celebrating aspects of Spain’s imperial legacy and appropriating it as the foundation of the American historical narrative could justify the existence of the United States on the world stage. Additionally, these individuals also understood that using Spain’s imperial legacy as the foundation of the American historical narrative, which was developed in the continental United States, could also be used in the periphery, once the country established itself as an overseas imperial power in 1898.

While in comparison, Vanderlyn’s painting of Columbus’s landing, which adorns a wall of the U.S. Capitol rotunda, presents Spain’s imperial past as the foundation of the United States. In turn, the narrative presented by Vanderlyn’s work was similar to Wood’s understanding of Spain’s imperial legacy. However, to many members of the American public who lived throughout the long nineteenth century, Spain’s narrative was

hidden in plain sight. Appropriated by the likes of Washington Irving, George Brown Goode, and John M. Hall, Spain's imperial legacy was so well integrated into the American historical narrative by these individuals, and reinforced by beliefs associated with American exceptionalism, isolationism, and the Black Legend narrative, that it nearly disappeared in the minds of the majority of Americans who lived during the period. Essentially, the Spanish imperial legacy was Americanized in the metropole of the empire; only to remerge in the periphery, as U.S. military officers and colonial administrators began to both depend on Spain's colonial expertise and attempt to justify the existence of the United States as an imperial power by likening themselves to former representatives of the Spanish imperial past.

ATTEMPTING TO MAKE SENSE OF THE SURROUNDING ENVIRONMENT: CULTURE AND TRANSNATIONALISM IN U.S. FOREIGN RELATIONS

This project has been an investigation into how influential, well-educated Americans attempted to make sense of the environments in which they found themselves during the long nineteenth century. This work has approached the field of U.S. foreign relations through the lens of transnationalism, which has provided me with the opportunity to come to three important realizations that I believe will contribute greatly to the historiography. The first is that throughout the time period under discussion, learned Americans were heavily influenced by the Spanish past. The second is that these Americans were willing to appropriate the Spanish imperial legacy in an attempt to justify their own national and imperial beliefs. Finally, being inundating with the belief that Spain's imperial legacy was the foundation of the American historical narrative, military officers and colonial administrators believed it was natural to pragmatically

adopt aspects of this narrative in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War.

Although this dissertation investigated a variety of different influential Americans and how through various “capillaries of empire” they came into contact with Spain and the country’s imperial past, there is still a great deal more to be done that will inevitably increase our understanding about the United States, American foreign relations, U.S.-Spanish relations, as well as the study of U.S. imperial history. As has been alluded to by the likes of Stanley G. Payne, Richard L. Kagan, and Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, further research still needs to be done on American interest in Spanish art, dance, and architecture in the decades following the end of the Spanish-American War. Paul Kramer has also suggested that further research still needs to be conducted on how the American Empire constructed its colonial administration on the foundation that was previously established by the Spanish Empire in the Philippine Islands; a void in the historiography that this dissertation has attempted to fill.²⁸ Additionally, I believe that adequate research has still not been conducted on U.S.-Spanish relations in the Louisiana Territory, in the Southern Philippines, at world’s fairs following the Panama-Pacific International Exhibitions of 1915, and on the Island of Guam.²⁹ Exploring these areas of research will provide academics with a greater depth of knowledge surrounding the relationship that

²⁸ Payne, “The Reencounter between Spain and the United States after 1898,” 11-25; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, “The Broken Image of Spain: The Spanish Empire in the United States After 1898,” in *Endless Empire: Spain’s Retreat, Europe’s Eclipse, America’s Decline*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 160-168; Kramer, “Historias Transimperial: Raíces Españolas del Estado Colonial Estadounidense en Filipinas,” 125-144.

²⁹ For more information on U.S.-Spanish relations on the frontier: Sylvia L. Hilton, “Loyalty and Patriotism on North American Frontiers: Being and Becoming Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1776-1893,” in *Nexus of Empire: Negotiating Loyalty and Identity in the Revolutionary Borderlands, 1760s-1820s*, edited by Gene Allen Smith and Sylvia L. Hilton (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2010), 8-38.

developed between representatives of the U.S. and Spanish empires and will allow historians to better understand the various aspects that affected the creation of the United States' national and imperial identities during the time period under discussion. Needless to say, if I have achieved the goals that I set out for myself at the beginning of this dissertation, this project will by no means be the final work written on the topic.

CLOSING THOUGHTS

From a chronological perspective, this project concludes in 1921 with the carnival that was held in Manila to celebrate the four-hundred-year anniversary of Magellan's discovery of the Philippine Islands. In the decades following this celebration, Spain, the United States, and both countries' empires traveled down divergent paths. Following the Spanish-American War, the Spanish group known as the Generation of 1898 began a period of introspection, in an attempt to comprehend where, when, and how the once great Spanish Empire had begun to crumble.³⁰ Additionally, the Spanish Empire was also severely weakened after the conflict and was reduced to a spattering of small colonial possessions in Africa, which included Spanish Morocco, Spanish Sahara, the Canary Islands, and Spanish Equatorial Guinea. From 1920-1926, the Spanish Army of Africa fought a prolonged conflict against the Berbers of the Rif region of Spanish Morocco. Known as the Rif War or the Second Moroccan War, the engagement became extremely unpopular in Spain, eventually leading to the dictatorial rule of Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923-1930); the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939); and the reign of Francisco Franco,

³⁰ For more information: Helen Rawlings, *The Debate on the Decline of Spain* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2012), 91-110; Henry Kamen, *The Disinherited: Exile and the Making of Spanish Culture, 1492-1975* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007); J.N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2003).

which did not come to an end until his death in 1975.³¹ While in comparison, a pan-Hispanic cultural rapprochement occurred between Spain and the nation's former colonies throughout Latin America after the conclusion of the Spanish-American War. This pan-Hispanic movement challenged the United States' cultural influence in the region throughout the early decades of the twentieth century. This movement came to an end during the Spanish Civil War and Francisco Franco's subsequent dictatorial reign, as Spanish Americans came to the realization that they no longer were in need of informal Spanish mentorship.³²

In contrast to the downward spiral of the Spanish Empire, the Allied victory during the Second World War left the United States as the lone democratic superpower in the world. The granting of Philippine independence in July of 1946 and the beginning of the Cold War shifted the vast majority of influential Americans' focus away from conceptualizations of formal empire-building, towards establishing hegemonic control throughout the Global South.³³ But, while it may have appeared that the formal American Empire disappeared during the Cold War, in reality, it continued to grow. Adding to its colonial possessions of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the U.S. Virgin Islands, the United States also formally absorbed the Northern Mariana Islands in 1978,

³¹ Stephen Jacobson, "Imperial Ambitions in an Era of Decline: Micromilitarism and the Eclipse of the Spanish Empire, 1858-1923, in *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, America's Decline*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 74-91.

³² Fredrick B. Pike, *Hispanismo, 1898-1939: Spanish Conservatives and Liberals and Their Relations with Spanish America* (South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971), 330-331.

³³ United States of America and the Philippines, "Treaty of general relations and Protocol, signed at Manila, on 4 July 1946, and Exchange of Notes constituting an interim Agreement, Manila, 10 and 12 July 1946," in *Treaty Series: Treaties and International Agreements Registered or Filed and Recorded with the Secretariat of the United States – Volume VII (1947)*, edited by the United Nations, 3-14.

both the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands in 1986, and the island of Palau in 1994.³⁴ This was done by referring to the American Empire's imperial possessions as "commonwealths," "unincorporated territories," and "associated states," but not colonies.³⁵ While this was occurring, an abundance of U.S. policymakers continuously denied either the existence or the self-interested nature of the American Empire.³⁶

Despite the divergent paths taken by United States and Spain following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, representatives of the two countries continued to come into contact with each other, and Spain's imperial legacy continued to emerge in a variety of different ways throughout the remainder of the twentieth century and the first two decades of the twenty-first century. For example, in an attempt to maintain the Second Spanish Republic, approximately 2,800 inexperienced American volunteers fought with Republican troops during the Spanish Civil War, continuing the American bond with Spanish republicanism.³⁷ At the 1964-1965 New York World's Fair, American exposition organizers made a point of making sure that Spain played an active role in the

³⁴ For more information: Bartholomew H. Sparrow, *The Insular Cases and the Emergence of American Empire* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2006).

³⁵ Sparrow, *The Insular Cases and the Emergence of American Empire*, 233; Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004); Daniel Immerwahr, "The Greater United States: Territory and Empire in U.S. History," *Diplomatic History* 40, no. 3 (2016), 373-391; Neil Smith, *American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2003), 16.

³⁶ Robert Kagan and William Kristol, "A Distinctly American Internationalism," *The Weekly Standard*, November 29, 1999; Barack Obama, "Text: Obama's Speech in Cairo," *The New York Times*, June 4, 2009.

³⁷ Caleb Crain, "Lost Illusions: The Americans Who Fought in the Spanish Civil War," *The New Yorker*, April 18, 2016. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/04/18/the-americans-soldiers-of-the-spanish-civil-war>. For more information on Americans' sympathies towards the First Spanish Republic: Frank Ninkovich, *Global Dawn: The Cultural Foundation of American Internationalism, 1865-1890* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), 125-127.

event. Concerned that the exposition might be void of a great deal of culture, Robert Moses, the main organizer of the event, provided Spain with a prime location to erect its pavilion, which included a variety of artifacts from the country's imperial past.³⁸ In 1992, despite criticism from Native American groups in the United States and their establishment of Indigenous Peoples' Day, celebrations were held to commemorate the five-hundred-year anniversary of Christopher Columbus's discovery of the New World and Columbus Day continues to be celebrated as a federal holiday in a majority of the states within the American Union.³⁹

Adding to these examples, according to the 2010 U.S. census, individuals of Hispanic descent make up the fastest growing ethnic minority group in the United States.⁴⁰ Most of these individuals come from Spain's former colonial possessions and not directly from the Iberian Peninsula; however, the growing number of Hispanics in the United States allows remnants of Spain's cultural past to remain omnipresent in the landscape of twenty-first century America.⁴¹ But perhaps to the Americans that made up the pages of this project, the remnants of Spain's cultural past in the United States was always prevalent.

³⁸ Julie Nicoletta, "Art Out of Place: International Art Exhibits at the New York World's Fair of 1964-1965," *Interdisciplinary Arts and Science Publications*, Paper 14 (University of Washington – Tacoma Campus, Winter 2010), 507-508.

³⁹ Molly Aloian, *Celebration in My World: Columbus Day* (St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada: Crabtree Publishing Company, 2010); Valeria Strauss, "Why is Columbus Day still a U.S. federal holiday," *The Washington Post*, October 11, 2015; Eric Malnic, "Indians Voice Columbus Day Anger...," *Los Angeles Times*, October 15, 1991; Michael S. Arnold, "Protesters Stop Mock Landing of Columbus...," *Los Angeles Times*, October 12, 1992.

⁴⁰ For more information: Alexandra Klausner, "The rise of Hispanic America...," *Daily Mail*, March 17, 2015. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2999574/The-rise-Hispanic-America-Incredible-graphs-went-negligible-biggest-minority-just-two-generations.html>.

⁴¹ Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John M. Nieto-Phillips (editors), *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations, and Legends* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

Finally, let us take a moment to conclude with an investigation into the long, and continued, colonial history of the island of Puerto Rico. As noted in Chapter 5, Christopher Columbus came into contact with Puerto Rico on his second voyage to the New World in 1493. From the late fifteenth century until 1898, the inhabitants of Puerto Rico were controlled by the Spanish Empire. Following the Spanish-American War and the signing of the Treaty of Paris, Puerto Rico passed from the Spanish Empire to the United States. Despite the Jones-Shafroth Act of 1917, which provided Puerto Ricans with partial U.S. citizenship, as well as the establishment of “commonwealth” status for the island in 1952, Puerto Rico still remains a colony of the United States.

On November 6, 2012, a non-binding referendum was held in Puerto Rico to gauge the opinions of the inhabitants of the island. The final tabulations showed that the majority of Puerto Ricans who voted in the referendum were not satisfied with Puerto Rico’s status as an unincorporated territory of the United States and the majority of these individuals preferred statehood over independence.⁴² Following this referendum, House Resolution 2000 was introduced in the U.S. Congress by the Resident Commissioner for Puerto Rico, Pedro Pierluisi. The resolution stated that a simple yes-or-no referendum should be held to decide if the inhabitants of Puerto Rico would like to become a state within the American Union. However, the resolution never made it out of committee, and despite pressure from the UN’s Special Committee on Decolonization, neither Hillary Clinton nor Donald Trump spent a great deal of time debating the status of the island

⁴² Juan Gonzalez, “Puerto Rico referendum historic, but complex: 809,000 vote for statehood, only 73,000 for independence, and 441,000 for sovereign free association,” *New York Daily News*, November 13, 2012. <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/gonzalez-puerto-rico-complex-statehood-vote-article-1.1201608>; Jason Koebler, “Despite Referendum, Puerto Rico Statehood Unlikely Until At Least 2015,” *U.S. News*, November 7, 2012. <http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2012/11/07/despite-referendum-puerto-rican-statehood-unlikely-until-at-least-2015>.

during the lead up to the 2016 Presidential Election.⁴³ In turn, Puerto Rico continues to maintain its colonial status under the control of the Congress of the United States, while still appearing to many as an independent nation at various international events, such as the Olympic Games and the World Baseball Classic.⁴⁴

How can Puerto Rico's official status as an unincorporated territory of the American Empire increase our understanding of the topic under discussion in this dissertation? To begin with, the United States continues to exist as an imperial entity but as Paul Kramer has stated, discussions of the United States as an imperial power only briefly emerge in the mainstream media during controversial events, such as the 2012 referendum, and then quickly recedes from public view.⁴⁵ Secondly, Americans who studied Spain and integrated the nation's imperial legacy into the American historical narrative did so with a purpose in mind. A great deal of Spain's past, including its poor treatment of the Indigenous inhabitants of the New World and its political and economic instabilities in the metropole, were overlooked by pro-Spanish Americans because these factors would reinforce beliefs associated with the Black Legend narrative and adversely affect the national narrative that the United States was attempting to create. Finally, U.S. military officers and colonial administrators were often willing to appropriate and test Spanish practices and policies in the periphery of the empire because they did not have to

⁴³ For more information: United Nations, *Special Committee on Decolonization Approves Text Calling upon United States Government to Expedite Self-Determination Process for Puerto Rico*, June 20, 2016. <https://www.un.org/press/en/2016/gacol3296.doc.htm>.

⁴⁴ H.R. 2000 – Puerto Rico Status Resolution Act, 113th Congress, May 15, 2013.

⁴⁵ Paul A. Kramer, "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States and the World," *The American Historical Review* 116, no. 2 (2011), 1348.

fear the public outcry that could occur if the same practices and policies were employed in the metropole.⁴⁶

Influential Americans of the long nineteenth century, much like their twenty-first century counterparts, understood that there were acceptable limits to the amount of foreign aspects they could integrate into the ethos of the United States or be appropriated to construct the American Empire, before a segment of the general public negatively responded. Selectivity was essential, as was the ability to delicately insert Spain's imperial legacy into the American historical narrative. However, for the time being, the integration of Puerto Rico into the American Union seems to be a bridge too far for U.S. politicians.

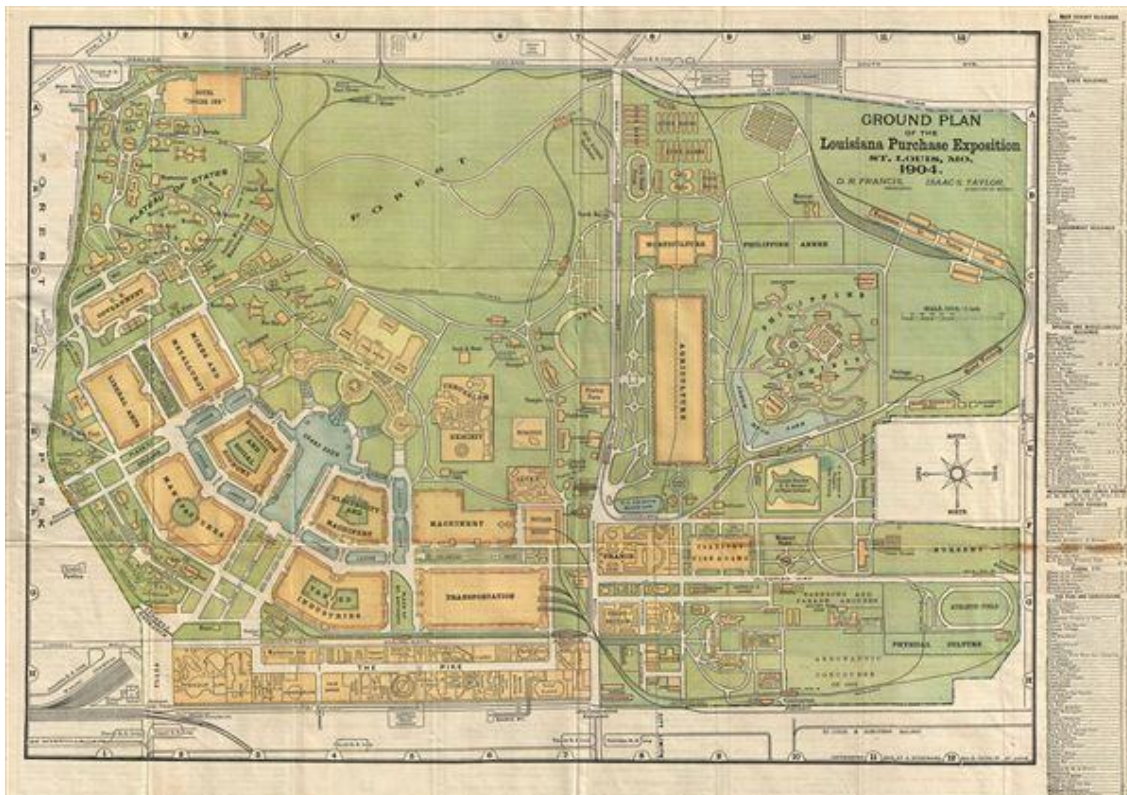
As the demographic of the United States continues to change, perhaps the integration of Puerto Rico will seem all the more natural as the Hispanic population in the United States continues to grow. Possibly learned Americans will once again ignore the stereotypes associated with the Black Legend narrative and will begin to draw on the imperial pasts that the United States and Puerto Rico share, which were previously predicated on Spain's "discovery" of the New World and the unique brand of "civilization" that was brought to the region by the likes of Christopher Columbus and Ponce de León. Of course, all of this is yet to be determined but it appears less likely after the election of Donald Trump in November of 2016, as well as the economic crisis that has adversely affected Puerto Rico since 2005. However, as long as Vanderlyn's painting

⁴⁶ Paul A. Kramer, "The Darkness That Enters the Home: The Politics of Prostitution during the Philippine-American War," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, edited by Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006), 366-404; Anne L. Foster, "Models for Governing: Opium and Colonial Policies in Southeast Asia, 1898-1910," in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*, edited by Julian Go and Anne L. Foster (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2003), 92-117.

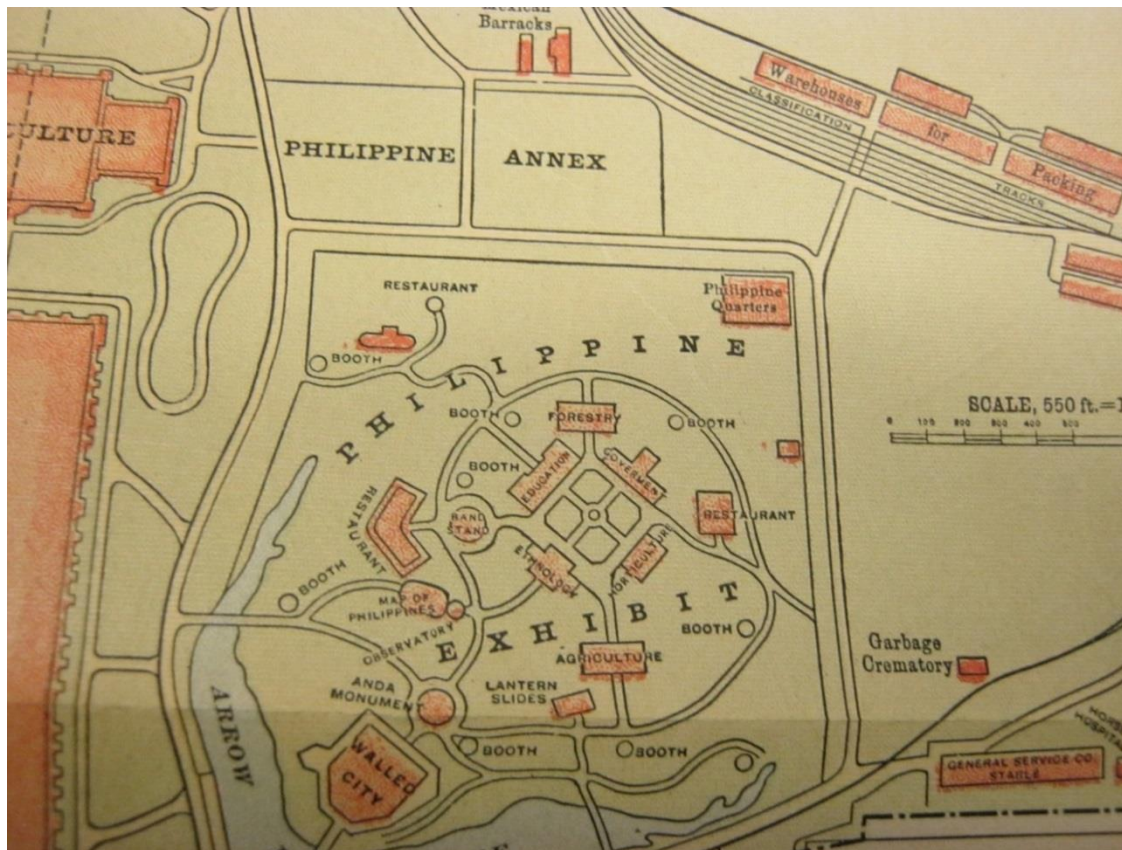
of Columbus's arrival in the New World remains on display at the U.S. Capitol building, statues of Ponce de León and Hernando de Soto continue to spot the landscape of Florida, and Spanish works of art adorn the walls of Archer Huntington's Hispanic Society of America, anything is possible.

APPENDIX: IMAGES

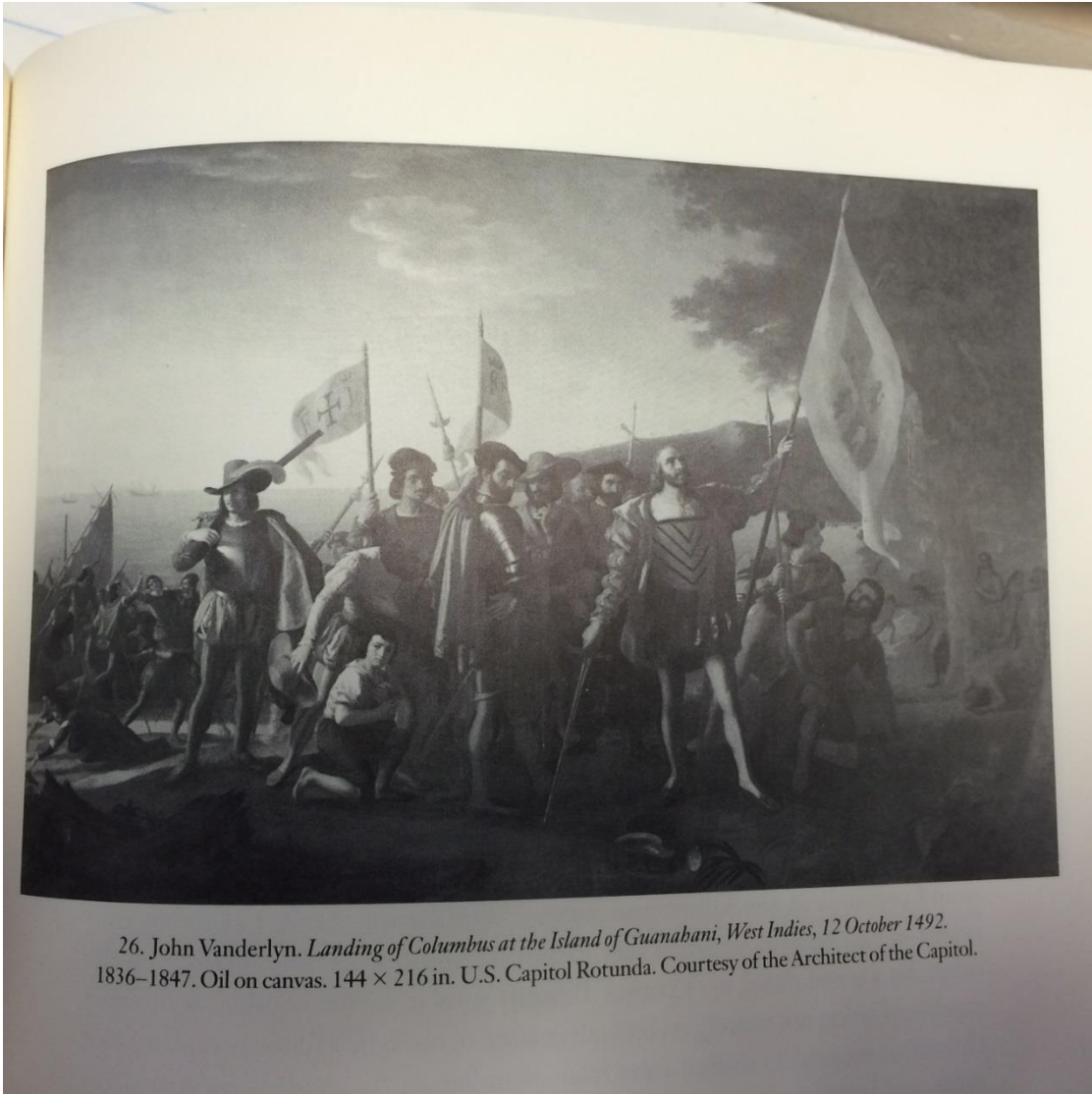
- i) Geographicus Rare Antique Maps, “1904 Schrowang Map of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, Missouri.”
<http://www.geographicus.com/P/AntiqueMap/StLouis-schrowang-1904>.



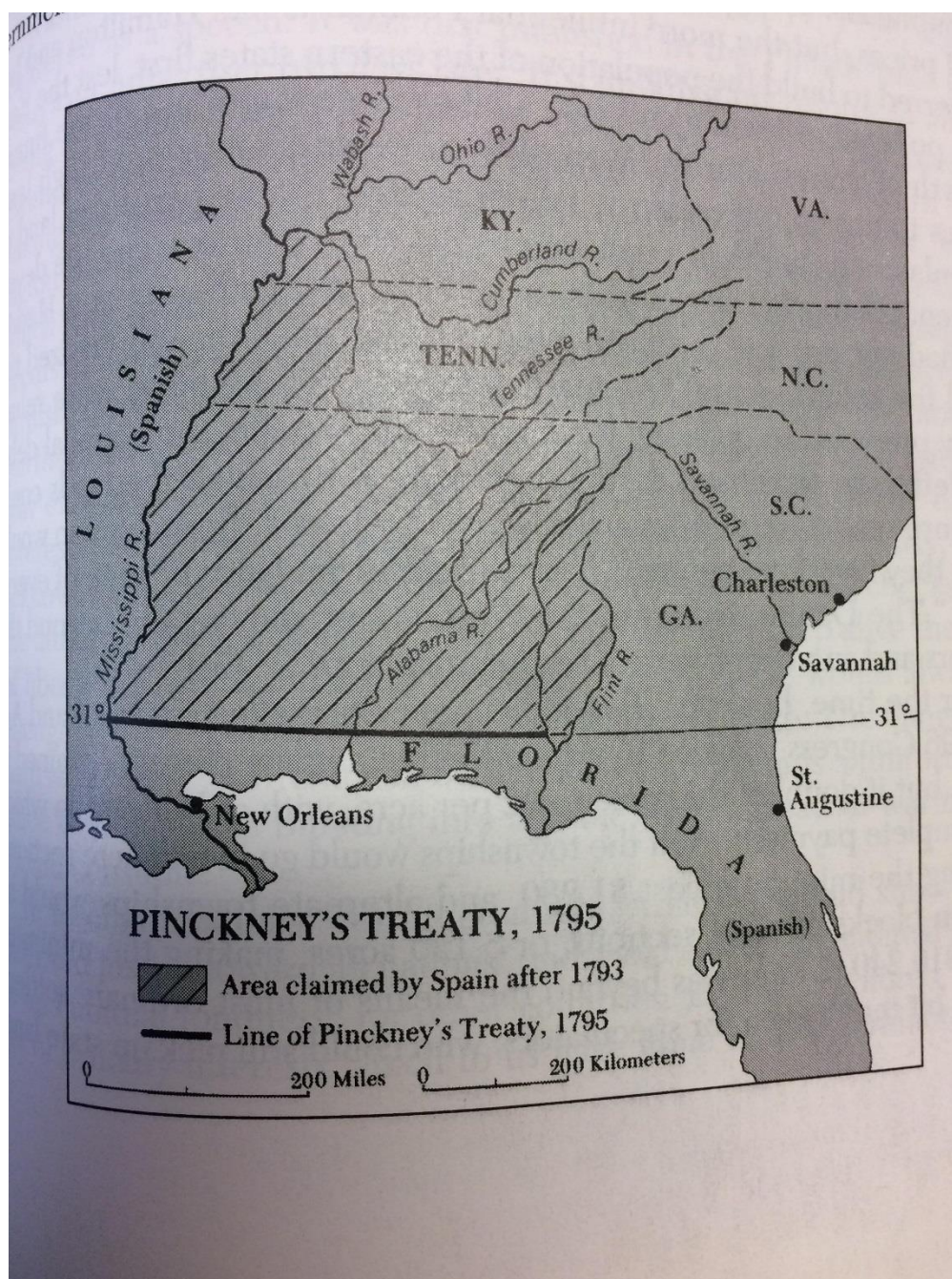
- ii) *Sights, Scenes and Wonders at the World's Fair – Official Book of Views of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St. Louis, Missouri: Official Photographic Company, 1904), No. 60, Box 11 of 18, St. Louis 1904 – Folder 2, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.



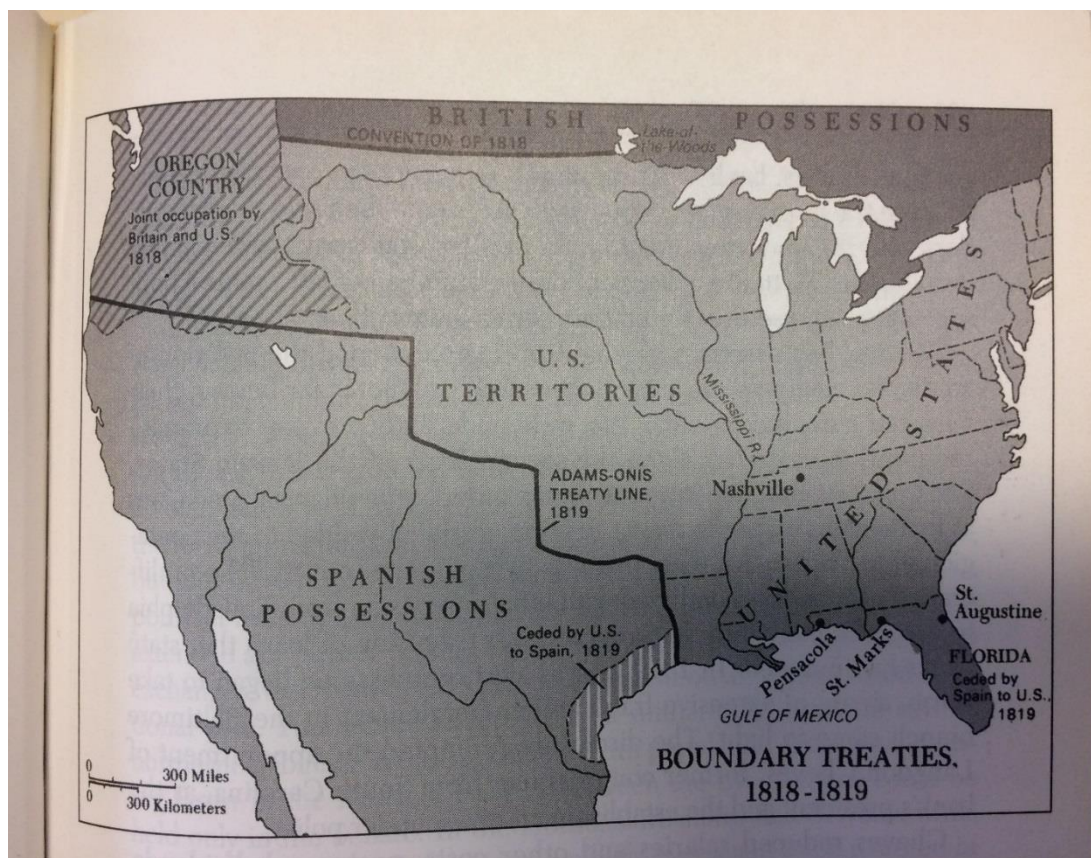
- iii) Vivien Green Fryd, *Art & Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States Capitol, 1815-1860* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1992), 55.



- iv) George Brown Tindall and David E. Shi, *America: A Narrative History – Fourth Edition* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), 345.



- v) George Brown Tindall and David E. Shi, *America: A Narrative History – Fourth Edition* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), 407.



- vi) Stephen B. Luce, *Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America, History of the Participation of the United States in the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 7-9, [Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology].



- vii) *The World's Fair Album* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Co. Publishers, 1893), Collection No. 60, Box 3 of 18, World's Fair Album, 1893 – Folder 18, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.



CONVENT OF LA RABIDA. Situated on the peninsula south of the Great Pier, with the waters of Lake Michigan and the South Pond on either hand, and the building of the Krupp Gun Exhibit on the south, is the Convent of Santa Maria de la Rabida, of which the above is a good representation. Its quaint walls and ancient appearance contrast strangely with the modern architecture seen everywhere about. This building is more closely connected with Columbus and his great work than any other, as it contains priceless relics of the great discoverer. The credit for the reproduction of this building is due largely to Hon. William E. Curtis, of the Bureau of American Republics, who traversed all Europe in search of traces and relics of the Genoese admiral. Cost, \$50,000.

- viii) *The World's Fair Album* (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Co. Publishers, 1893), 44, Collection No. 60, Box 3 of 18, World's Fair Album, 1893 – Folder 18, Warsaw Collection of Business Americana, The National Museum of American History Archives Center, Washington, D.C.



CARAVELS OF COLUMBUS. The "Pinta" and "Niña," a reproduction of two of the caravels which belonged to the historical fleet of Columbus, are moored in the South Inlet, with the east wall of the Agricultural Building for a background. They were built in Spain at the expense of the U. S. Government, under the direction of Lieut. W. McCarty Little, and will remain permanently in this country. The "Santa Maria," the third and principal vessel of this fleet, is the subject of another illustration.

- ix) Edmore B.V.R.C., "Just Among Ourselves," *The Bay View Magazine* 6, no. 8 (June 1899), 384, [Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan].



- x) Bonnie M. Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest: The Visual and Popular Cultures of The Spanish-American War of 1898* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 145.



- xi) Untitled Image, Bentley Historical Library – University of Michigan, Dean C. Worcester Papers, 1900-1924, Photographs Concerning Philippine Life, Box 4, Album – Probably taken under auspices of the U.S. Commission to the Philippine Islands, 1899-1900.



- xii) Tom Gjelten, *Bacardi & The Long Fight for Cuba*.
<http://www.tomgjelten.com/bacardi-and-the-long-fight-for-cuba/the-bacardis-and-cuba-image-gallery/>.



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CURRICULUM VITAE

EDUCATION

PH.D., HISTORY

- University of Western Ontario - Department of History
- Ph.D. Dissertation: “The Foundations of Empire Building: Spain’s Legacy and the American Imperial Identity, 1776-1921”
- Faculty Supervisor: Professor Frank Schumacher
- External Examiner: Professor Richard Kagan
- September 2011 - June 2017

M.A., HISTORY

- University of Western Ontario - Department of History
- M.A. Cognate: “From Dependency to Dominance: The Brazilian Economy within the Portuguese Empire, 1500-1822”
- Faculty Supervisor: Professor Luz María Hernández-Sáenz
- September 2009 - August 2010

HONORS B.A., HISTORY

- University of Western Ontario - Department of History
- September 2005 - April 2009

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

PART-TIME PROFESSOR

- Department of History - Saint Mary’s University
- History 1826.2: Introduction to Latin American History
- January 2018 - April 2018

ACADEMIC WRITING TUTOR

- Writing Centre - Saint Mary’s University
- September 2017 - April 2018

SESSIONAL INSTRUCTOR

- Department of History - University of Windsor
- History 43-114: Europe Encounters the World: The Age of Discovery, 15th-18th Century
- May 2017 - June 2017

SESSIONAL FACULTY MEMBER

- Centre for Global Studies - Huron University College
- CGS 1023G: Introduction to Global Development
- CGS 2004G: Critique of Capitalism
- January 2017 - April 2017

SESSIONAL INSTRUCTOR

- Department of History - University of Windsor
- History 43-272: Modern Latin America
- History 43-462: U.S.-Latin American Relations in the 20th Century
- Supervised Devon Gale's Outstanding Scholars Research Project (Undergraduate Student)
- September 2016 - December 2016

SESSIONAL INSTRUCTOR

- Department of History - University of Windsor
- History 43-272: Modern Latin America
- May 2016 - June 2016

GRADUATE SCHOOL TEACHING ASSISTANT

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- History 2186B: Zombie Apocalypse: Panic and Paranoia from the Black Death to Y2K
- Course Instructor: Professor Jonathan F.W. Vance
- January 2016 - April 2016

SESSIONAL INSTRUCTOR

- Department of History - University of Windsor
- History 43-497: Spain and Portugal in the Americas, 1580-1782
- September 2015 - December 2015

SESSIONAL LECTURER

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- History 2501E: History of Latin America
- January 2015 - April 2015

ACADEMIC WRITING TUTOR

- The Write Place - King's University College at the University of Western Ontario
- January 2015 - April 2015

GRADUATE SCHOOL TEACHING ASSISTANT

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- History 2179: The Two World Wars
- Course Instructor: Professor Andrew Iarocci
- September 2013 - April 2014

GRADUATE SCHOOL RESEARCH ASSISTANT

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- Research Coordinator: Professor Frank Schumacher
- Area of Research: Theodore Roosevelt's Foreign Policy (Latin America and Europe)
- September 2012 - April 2013

GRADUATE SCHOOL TEACHING ASSISTANT

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- History 1701E-001: Comparative History of Canada, the United States, and Mexico
- Course Coordinator: Professor Luz María Hernández-Sáenz
- September 2011 - April 2012
- University of Western Ontario Graduate Teaching Award Nominee

GRADUATE SCHOOL TEACHING ASSISTANT

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- History 1701E-001: Comparative History of Canada, the United States, and Mexico
- Course Coordinator: Professor Luz María Hernández-Sáenz
- September 2009 - April 2010
- University of Western Ontario Graduate Teaching Award Nominee

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS RESEARCH ASSISTANT

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- May 2009 - August 2009

FELLOWSHIPS/SCHOLARSHIPS/AWARDS/GRANTS

HURON UNIVERSITY COLLEGE CONFERENCE GRANT

- Faculty of Arts and Social Science Research Committee
- Conference: American Historical Association - Annual Meeting (Denver, Colorado)
- January 2017

PROFESSOR KENNETH HILBORN DOCTORAL COMPLETION AWARD

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- September 2016

OUTSTANDING RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS SCHOLARSHIP

- Public Service Alliance of Canada - Local 610
- University of Western Ontario
- July 2016

GLOBAL SCHOLARS AND DIVERSITY GRANT

- Annual Meeting - The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations
- San Diego, California
- June 2016

SOGS TRAVEL SUBSIDY AWARD

- The Society of Graduate Students - University of Western Ontario
- May 2016

UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA TRAVEL SUBSIDY AWARD

- History Graduate Student Association - University of Ottawa
- Pierre Savard Conference 2016
- Ottawa, Ontario
- March 2016

BROWN UNIVERSITY TRAVEL SUBSIDY AWARD

- History Graduate Student Association - Brown University
- “The History of the Future: Reinterpretations, Adaptations, Corruption” History Graduate Student Conference
- Providence, Rhode Island
- October 2015

SOGS TRAVEL SUBSIDY AWARD

- The Society of Graduate Students - University of Western Ontario
- September 2015

WESTERN GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOLARSHIP

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- September 2014 - August 2015
- September 2013 - August 2014
- September 2012 - August 2013
- September 2011 - August 2012
- September 2009 - August 2010

DAVID BRUCE CENTRE VISITING RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

- David Bruce Centre for American Studies
- University of Keele
- Staffordshire, United Kingdom
- June 2015 - July 2015

SOGS TRAVEL SUBSIDY AWARD

- The Society of Graduate Students - University of Western Ontario
- May 2015

THE GENERAL AND MRS. MATTHEW B. RIDGWAY MILITARY HISTORY RESEARCH GRANT

- U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center
- U.S. Army War College
- Carlisle, Pennsylvania
- November 2014 - December 2014

GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE DOCTORAL RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

- Washington, D.C.
- July 2014 - September 2014

HARRIS STEEL TRAVEL FUND AWARD

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- May 2014

BORDIN-GILLETTE RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

- Bentley Historical Library
- University of Michigan
- February 2014 - May 2014

SOGS TRAVEL SUBSIDY AWARD

- The Society of Graduate Students - University of Western Ontario
- January 2014

IVIE CORNISH MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- May 2013 - August 2013

DOCTORAL RESEARCH FUND AWARD

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- May 2013

**UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO GRADUATE TEACHING AWARD
(NOMINEE)**

- The Society of Graduate Students - University of Western Ontario
- September 2011 - April 2012
- September 2009 - April 2010

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE ALUMNI GRANT

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- April 2012

HARRIS STEEL TRAVEL FUND AWARD

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- April 2012

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO PH.D. ENTRANCE SCHOLARSHIP

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- September 2011

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO GRAD PACT '91 AWARD

- Faculty of Social Science - University of Western Ontario
- June 2009

GRANT AND PEGGY REUBER MERIT SCHOLARSHIP

- Faculty of Social Science - University of Western Ontario
- September 2008 - April 2009

PIONEER JAMIE SMIBERT AWARD

- Faculty of Social Science - University of Western Ontario
- September 2008 - April 2009

SOCIAL SCIENCE STUDENTS' COUNCIL LEADERSHIP AWARD

- Faculty of Social Science - University of Western Ontario
- September 2008 - April 2009

DEAN'S HONOR LIST AWARD (UNDERGRADUATE DEGREE)

- Faculty of Social Science - University of Western Ontario
- September 2008 - April 2009
- September 2007 - April 2008
- September 2005 - April 2006

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO CONTINUING SCHOLARSHIP

- Faculty of Social Science - University of Western Ontario
- September 2006 - April 2007
- September 2005 - April 2006

TEACHING CERTIFICATES/PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

WESTERN CERTIFICATE IN UNIVERSITY TEACHING AND LEARNING

- The Teaching Support Centre - University of Western Ontario
- January 2014

BOSCH ARCHIVAL SUMMER SCHOOL FOR YOUNG HISTORIANS

- German Historical Institute (Washington, D.C.)
- Chicago, Illinois; Madison, Wisconsin; Boston, Massachusetts; and Washington, D.C.
- September 2013

TEACHING MENTOR PROGRAM CERTIFICATE

- The Teaching Support Centre - University of Western Ontario
- February 2013

FUTURE PROFESSOR SERIES WORKSHOPS

- The Teaching Support Centre - University of Western Ontario
 - Integrating Technology into the Classroom
 - The Interest Based Approach to Setting Expectations
 - Teaching Dossier
 - Blended Learning (Winter Conference on Teaching)
 - Procrastination During Graduate School (Winter Conference on Teaching)
 - Great Ideas for Teaching (Winter Conference on Teaching)
 - The Challenges and Opportunities of Part-Time Teaching
 - Excellence in Online Teaching
 - Lecturing for Maximum Effect
 - Ethical Principles in University Teaching
- June 2012 - February 2013

ADVANCED TEACHING PROGRAM CERTIFICATE

- The Teaching Support Centre - University of Western Ontario
- March 2012

TEACHING ASSISTANT TRAINING PROGRAM CERTIFICATE

- The Teaching Support Centre - University of Western Ontario
- September 2011

PUBLICATIONS (BOOK REVIEWS)

THE PAPERS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON: REVOLUTIONARY WAR SERIES 21 AND 22

- Edited by: Benjamin L. Huggins and Edward G. Lengel
- “Understanding the Man and the General”
- Reviewed for: H-USA
- January 2016
- Book Review Editor: Donna Sinclair

TEACHING IN BLENDED LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS: CREATING AND SUSTAINING COMMUNITIES OF INQUIRY

- Written by: Norman D. Vaughan, Martha Cleveland-Innes, and D. Randy Garrison
- Reviewed for: *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*
- Volume 61, Issue 4 (2015)
- Book Review Editor: Jonathan Anuik

THE INVISIBLE WAR: INDIGENOUS DEVOTIONS, DISCIPLINE, AND DISSENT IN COLONIAL MEXICO

- Written by: David Tavaréz
- Reviewed for: *The Middle Ground Journal*
- Number 11
- Fall 2015
- Chief Editor: Dr. Hong-Ming Liang

AMERICAN UMPIRE

- Written by: Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman
- “Reinforcing American Exceptionalism in an Era of Multipolarity”
- Reviewed for: H-Empire
- July 2015
- Book Review Editor: Charles V. Reed

MATAMOROS AND THE TEXAS REVOLUTION

- Written by: Craig H. Roell
- Reviewed for: *Southern Historian*
- Volume 36
- 2015
- Editor: Kevin L. Hughes

CONFLICT AND HOUSING, LAND, AND PROPERTY RIGHTS: A HANDBOOK ON ISSUES, FRAMEWORKS, AND SOLUTIONS

- Written by: Scott Leckie and Chris Huggins
- Reviewed for: *Human Rights Review*
- Volume 16, Issue 4 (2015)
- Book Review Editor: Lilian A. Barria

AMERICA’S FIRST CRISIS: THE WAR OF 1812

- Written by: Robert P. Watson
- “America’s Forgotten War: Watson on the War of 1812”
- Reviewed for: H-War
- July 2014
- Book Review Editor: Margaret D. Sankey

EVER FAITHFUL: RACE, LOYALTY, AND THE ENDS OF EMPIRE IN SPANISH CUBA

- Written by: David Sartorius
- “Challenging the Study of Race and Loyalty on La Siempre Fiel Isla”
- Reviewed for: H-Caribbean
- June 2014
- Book Review Editor: Audra A. Diptee

UNCOUPLING AMERICAN EMPIRE: CULTURAL POLITICS OF DEVIANCE AND UNEQUAL DIFFERENCE, 1890-1910

- Written by: Yu-Fang Cho
- “Delinquents in America’s White Heterosexual Union: Yu-Fang Cho’s Literary Assessment of Cultural Politics in the American Empire, 1890-1910”
- Reviewed for: H-USA
- May 2014
- Book Review Editor: Donna Sinclair

AMERICAN SETTLER COLONIALISM: A HISTORY

- Written by: Walter L. Hixson
- “The Long and Violent History of the United States as a Settler Colonial Society”
- Reviewed for: H-USA
- May 2014
- Book Review Editor: Donna Sinclair

THE TRANSATLANTIC CENTURY: EUROPE AND AMERICA, 1890-2010

- Written by: Mary Nolan
- “Mary Nolan’s Challenge to the American Century: The Changing Tides of European-American Relations during the Long Twentieth Century”
- Reviewed for: H-Empire
- December 2013
- Book Review Editor: Charles V. Reed

THE TRUE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF NEW SPAIN

- Originally by: Bernal Díaz Del Castillo
- Translated, with an Introduction and Notes, By: Janet Burke and Ted Humphrey
- Reviewed For: *Itinerario: International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction*
- Volume 37, Issue 2 (2013)
- Book Review Editor: Laura Cruz

PUBLICATIONS (ENCYCLOPEDIA ENTRIES)

“JOSÉ QUINTÍN BANDERAS BETANCOURT”

- *Dictionary of Caribbean and Afro-Latin American Biography*
- Editors: Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Franklin W. Knight
- Oxford University Press
- 2016

“STEPHEN F. AUSTIN”

- *Imperialism and Expansionism in American History: A Social, Political, and Cultural Encyclopedia*
- Editors: Chris Magoc and David Bernstein
- ABC-CLIO Publishing
- 2015

“THE CONVENTION OF 1818”

- *Imperialism and Expansionism in American History: A Social, Political, and Cultural Encyclopedia*
- Editors: Chris Magoc and David Bernstein
- ABC-CLIO Publishing
- 2015

“THE DAWES ACT”

- *Imperialism and Expansionism in American History: A Social, Political, and Cultural Encyclopedia*
- Editors: Chris Magoc and David Bernstein
- ABC-CLIO Publishing
- 2015

“THE TREATY OF SAN ILDEFONSO (1800)”

- *Imperialism and Expansionism in American History: A Social, Political, and Cultural Encyclopedia*
- Editors: Chris Magoc and David Bernstein
- ABC-CLIO Publishing
- 2015

“COORS”

- *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Alcohol: Social, Cultural, and Historical Perspectives*
- Editor: Scott C. Martin
- SAGE Reference
- 2015

“MILLER BREWING COMPANY”

- *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Alcohol: Social, Cultural, and Historical Perspectives*
- Editor: Scott C. Martin
- SAGE Reference
- 2015

“ANDREW JACKSON”

- *Irish Americans: The History and Culture of a People*
- Editors: William E. Watson and Eugene J. Halus Jr.
- ABC-CLIO Publishing
- 2014

“ALFRED T. MAHAN”

- *Irish Americans: The History and Culture of a People*
- Editors: William E. Watson and Eugene J. Halus Jr.
- ABC-CLIO Publishing
- 2014

“JAMES K. POLK”

- *Irish Americans: The History and Culture of a People*
- Editors: William E. Watson and Eugene J. Halus Jr.
- ABC-CLIO Publishing
- 2014

“JOHN C. CALHOUN”

- *Irish Americans: The History and Culture of a People*
- Editors: William E. Watson and Eugene J. Halus Jr.
- ABC-CLIO Publishing
- 2014

IN PROGRESS (PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES)**“THE SECOND COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE: HOW AMERICAN EXPOSITION ORGANIZERS CELEBRATED SPAIN’S IMPERIAL LEGACY, 1892-1893”**

- Submitted as part of a proposed special issue entitled: “Between Empires: The United States in Global and Imperial Contexts”
- Submitted to *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*

“‘OUR FEET MAY NEVER TREAD THE STREETS’: HOW AMERICAN CLUBWOMEN EXPERIENCED AND PERCEIVED SPAIN THROUGH IMAGINARY JOURNEYS”

- This article will be submitted to *The Michigan Historical Review*
- In progress

“‘KINGLY PREROGATIVES’ AND ‘BENEVOLENT INTENTIONS’: THE UNITED STATES, SPAIN, AND IMPERIAL TRANSITIONS IN THE ISLAMIC PHILIPPINES, 1899-1920”

- This article will be submitted to the *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*
- Co-authored with: Oliver Charbonneau
- In progress

FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS (BOOK REVIEWS)

IMAGINING THE BRITISH ATLANTIC AFTER THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

- Edited by: Michael Meranze and Saree Makdisi
- Reviewed for: H-USA
- Forthcoming in: 2017
- Book Review Editor: Donna Sinclair

EMPIRES AND COLONIES IN THE MODERN WORLD: A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

- Written by: Heather Streets-Salter and Trevor R. Getz
- Reviewed for: H-Empire
- Forthcoming in: 2017
- Book Review Editor: Charles V. Reed

FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS (ENCYCLOPEDIA ENTRIES)

“SPAIN AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR”

- *The Digital Encyclopedia of George Washington*
- Editor: Joseph F. Stoltz III
- The Fred W. Smith National Library for the Study of George Washington at Mount Vernon
- Projected Publication Date: 2017

“KNOW-NOTHING PARTY”

- *The World of Antebellum America*
- Editor: Jaime Amanda Martinez
- ABC-CLIO Publishing
- Projected Publication Date: 2017

“THIRTEEN COLONIES (NORTH AMERICA)”

- *Encyclopedia of the British Empire*
- Editor: Mark Doyle
- ABC-CLIO Publishing
- Projected Publication Date: 2017

“BLACK LEGEND”

- *Encyclopedia of The Atlantic World, 1400-1900: Europe, Africa, and the Americas in An Age of Exploration, Trade, and Empires*
- Editor: David Head
- ABC-CLIO Publishing
- Projected Publication Date: 2017

“WORLD’S FAIR EXPOSITIONS”

- *Encyclopedia of The Atlantic World, 1400-1900: Europe, Africa, and the Americas in An Age of Exploration, Trade, and Empires*
- Editor: David Head
- ABC-CLIO Publishing
- Projected Publication Date: 2017

“CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS”

- *Encyclopedia of The Atlantic World, 1400-1900: Europe, Africa, and the Americas in An Age of Exploration, Trade, and Empires*
- Editor: David Head
- ABC-CLIO Publishing
- Projected Publication Date: 2017

ARCHIVED WORK

ARCHIVES OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHDIOCESE OF TORONTO (ARCAT)

- Archived Essay
- “For the Good of the Family: The Portuguese Immigrant Experience in Urban Canada, 1953-1976”
- April 2010

GUEST LECTURES

PAST TO PRESENT: UNDERSTANDING HISTORY (HISTORY 43-110)

- Department of History - University of Windsor
- “My Past, My Present, and Your Future”
- Course Coordinator: Guillaume Teasdale
- November 2016

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 2701: THE EVOLUTION AND DYNAMICS OF INTER-STATE RELATIONS IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “Spreading the Informal Empire: U.S. Involvement in Latin America During the Cold War, 1945-1989”
- Course Coordinator: Professor Geoffrey C. Stewart
- November 2014

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 2701: THE EVOLUTION AND DYNAMICS OF INTER-STATE RELATIONS IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “The Bandung Conference of 1955”
- Course Coordinator: Professor Geoffrey C. Stewart
- October 2014

HISTORY 2501E: HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “Living on the Periphery of Empire: Race, Gender, and Religion in Colonial Latin America”
- Course Coordinator: Professor Luz María Hernández-Sáenz
- October 2014

HISTORY 2501E: HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “The Creation of the United States’ Formal and Informal Empires in Latin America, 1898-1914”
- Course Coordinator: Professor Luz María Hernández-Sáenz
- February 2014

HISTORY 2501E: HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “The Many Masks of Empire: The American Empire in Latin America, 1776-1914”
- Course Coordinator: Professor Luz María Hernández-Sáenz
- January 2013

HISTORY 3709E: IBERIAN EMPIRES: PORTUGAL, SPAIN, AND THEIR AMERICAN COLONIES IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT, 1400-1810

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “The *Ilha da Vera Cruz*: An Economic History of Colonial Brazil, 1500-1822”
- Course Coordinator: Professor Luz María Hernández-Sáenz
- January 2013

HISTORY 2501E: HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “Manifest Destiny: The United States’ Foreign Policy Towards Latin America, 1800-1898”
- Course Coordinator: Professor Luz María Hernández-Sáenz
- January 2012 - February 2012

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS/CHAIRERD PANELS/PUBLIC TALKS

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS - ANNUAL MEETING

- Panel: “The Making of the Global South in the U.S. Gilded Age and Progressive Era Imaginary”
- Conference Presentation: “‘Wards of Uncle Sam’: American Clubwomen and their Imaginary Tours through Latin America, 1902-1916”
- Sacramento, California
- Forthcoming in: April 2018

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION - ANNUAL MEETING

- Organized Panel: “Colonial Connections: Comparison, Exchange, and Entanglement in the American Empire”
- Sponsored by: The Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era
- Conference Presentation: “‘The Deathless Narrative of his Achievements’: The Veneration of the Spanish Imperial Past in the U.S. Colonial Experience”
- Denver, Colorado
- January 2017

THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, HUMANITIES, AND SOCIAL SCIENCES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR - BRAINFOOD STUDY SESSION

- Panel: “Ask Your Prof Study Session”
- Department of History - University of Windsor
- November 2016

THE SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS - ANNUAL MEETING

- Panel: “Imperial Reciprocities: Strategies of Rule and Knowledge Transfer in American Foreign Relations, c. 1898-1914”
- Conference Presentation: “‘More Like Guests than Enemies’: Spain’s Imperial Legacy and American Colonial Rule in the Caribbean Basin”
- San Diego, California
- June 2016

PIERRE SAVARD CONFERENCE

- Graduate Student Conference
- Department of History - University of Ottawa
- “The Second Columbian Exchange: How American Exposition Organizers Celebrated Spain’s Imperial Legacy, 1892-1893”
- March 2016

GLOBAL HISTORY: ERODING THE BARRICADES OF HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

- Graduate Student Global History Conference
- Department of History - Tufts University
- “‘Our Interests Here are Identical’: The American Overseas Empire Encounters the Spanish Imperial Legacy in Guam and the Philippine Islands”
- March 2016

THE BRUCE McCAFFREY MEMORIAL GRADUATE LECTURE SERIES

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “‘More Like Guests than Enemies’: Spain and America’s War of Inter-Imperial Transfer in the Caribbean Basin”
- February 2016

“THE HISTORY OF THE FUTURE: REINTERPRETATIONS, ADAPTATIONS, CORRUPTION”

- History Graduate Student Conference
- Department of History - Brown University
- “‘Our Feet May Never Tread the Streets’: How American Clubwomen Experienced and Perceived Spain and the Spanish Empire through Imaginary Journeys”
- October 2015

GRADUATE TEACHING ASSISTANT WORKSHOP

- Guest Speaking Appearance
- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “Leading History Tutorials: Key Lessons for New TAs”
- September 2015

DISENTANGLING EMPIRE: THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD

- Graduate Student Conference in U.S. History
- Department of History - University of Michigan
- “Encountering the Spanish Imperial Legacy in Guam and the Philippines”
- May 2015

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH SEMINAR

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “Touching the Past: A Seminar on Conducting Research in U.S. Archives”
- Other Guest Speaker: Professor Alan MacEachern
- February 2015

HISPANIC STUDIES COLLOQUIA

- Department of Modern Languages and Literatures - University of Western Ontario
- “An ‘Instinctive Mutual Attraction’: American Perceptions of Spain and the Spanish Empire in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1776-1914”
- January 2015

THE BRUCE McCAFFREY MEMORIAL GRADUATE LECTURE SERIES

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “The Second Columbian Exchange: How Spain and the United States Celebrated the 400th Anniversary of the Arrival of Columbus in the Americas”
- November 2014

GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE DOCTORAL SEMINAR

- German Historical Institute (Washington, D.C.)
- “An ‘Instinctive Mutual Attraction’: American Perceptions of Spain and the Spanish Empire in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1776-1914”
- September 2014

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH SEMINAR

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “Become a Raider of the Archives: A Seminar on Conducting Research in U.S. Archives”
- Other Guest Speakers: Professor Alan MacEachern and Steven Marti
- April 2014

THE BRUCE McCAFFREY MEMORIAL GRADUATE LECTURE SERIES

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “Armchair Globetrotting and Imaginary Journeys: How American Clubwomen Experienced Spain and the Spanish Empire, 1868-1914”
- March 2014

DAYDREAMS AND NIGHTMARES: WESTERN HISTORY GRADUATE CONFERENCE

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- Panel Chair
- Panel Title: State Manufactured Memories
- October 2013

ROTARACT CLUB AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH: CAREER PANEL NIGHT

- Guest Speaking Appearance
- University of Guelph
- “In the Future, Do You Want to Study the Past?”
- March 2013

MAKING THE WORLD TURN: POWER AND PASSIONS THROUGHOUT HISTORY

- 9th Annual Graduate History Symposium
- The Graduate History Society of the Department of History - University of Toronto
- “Going Out for a Drink: Consumerism and Consumption in Colonial American Taverns, 1607-1775”
- February 2013

THE BRUCE McCAFFREY MEMORIAL GRADUATE LECTURE SERIES

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “Going Out for a Drink: Consumerism and Consumption in Colonial American Taverns, 1607-1775”
- January 2013

FROM HERE TO THERE: 2ND ANNUAL GRADUATE STUDENT HISTORY CONFERENCE

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- Panel Chair
- Panel Title: Competing Conceptions of City and State
- September 2012

T.A. DAY: GRADUATE STUDENT CONFERENCE ON TEACHING

- Guest Speaking Appearance
- The Teaching Support Centre - University of Western Ontario
- “Staying Organized in a Crazy New World”
- September 2012

“BORDERS, BOUNDARIES, AND BEYOND”: ANNUAL CENTRAL MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY GRADUATE STUDENT HISTORICAL STUDIES CONFERENCE

- Department of History - Central Michigan University
- “The ‘Pearl of the Antilles’: The United States’ Policy Towards Cuba, 1783-1860”
- April 2012

22ND ANNUAL FORWARD INTO THE PAST SYMPOSIUM

- Department of History - Wilfrid Laurier University
- “From Dependency to Dominance: The Brazilian Economy within the Portuguese Empire, 1500-1822”
- March 2012

NEW FRONTIERS GRADUATE HISTORY CONFERENCE

- Department of History - York University
- “The ‘Pearl of the Antilles’: The United States’ Policy Towards Cuba, 1783-1860”
- February 2012

THE BRUCE McCAFFREY MEMORIAL GRADUATE LECTURE SERIES

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- “For the Good of the Family: The Portuguese Immigrant Experience in Urban Canada, 1953-1976”
- February 2012

DEBT AND DEPENDENCE: 8TH ANNUAL GRADUATE HISTORY SYMPOSIUM

- The Graduate History Society of the Department of History - University of Toronto
- “From Dependency to Dominance: The Brazilian Economy within the Portuguese Empire, 1500-1822”
- February 2012

FILM APPEARANCES AND MEDIA INTERVIEWS

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION ARCHIVES

- Featured as a historical expert in a film that was made to promote the digitization of Record Unit 70: Smithsonian Institution, Exposition Records of the Smithsonian Institution and the United States National Museum, 1867-1940.
- “Case Study: Furthering Scholarship with World’s Fairs and Expositions”
- Production Company: Gale/Cengage Learning
- Marketing Director, Academic and Special Libraries: Jennifer Albers-Smith
- Summer 2015

CHRW RADIO / GRAD CAST INTERVIEW

- The focus of the interview was my dissertation topic, U.S-Spanish relations, and the Black Legend narrative in American history.
- Interview Coordinator: Tristan Johnson
- University of Western Ontario
- London, Ontario, Canada
- Spring 2015

WORKSTORY.NET

- In October of 2014, I was interviewed by Brandon Pedersen (WorkStory Ambassador) regarding how and why I decided to become a historian.
- Founders of WorkStory: Natalie J. Allen and David Stanley
- Fall 2014

WOMEN’S HISTORY AND RESOURCE CENTER

- “Headquarters Happenings”
- This news article informed members about my research at the General Federation of Women’s Clubs Headquarters.
- Washington, DC
- Fall 2013

RESEARCH AND TEACHING

American History
 Latin American History
 Iberian History
 U.S.-Spanish Relations
 U.S.-Latin American Relations
 Critical Reading and Writing
 Cultural History
 Race and Gender
 Global Development
 Global Resistance Movements
 History of Transatlantic Relations
 Global History
 Imperialism and Colonialism
 International Relations

ADMINISTRATIVE/PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

GREAT LAKES JOURNAL OF UNDERGRADUATE HISTORY

- Department of History - University of Windsor
- Faculty Advisor
- May 2017 - Present

H-CARIBBEAN

- Book Review Editor
- August 2014 - Present

CHIEF EXAM PROCTOR (HBA1 AND HBA2)

- The Richard Ivey School of Business
- Director, HBA Program Services: Aindrea Cramp
- February 2013 - Present

NEOAMERICANIST – AN INTER-DISCIPLINARY ONLINE JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF AMERICA

- University of Western Ontario and Carleton University
- Chief Reviews Editor
- June 2014 - June 2017

SHARED PATHS: WESTERN'S JOURNAL OF INTERDISCIPLINARY HISTORY

- Department of History - University of Western Ontario
- Reviews Editor
- April 2013 - June 2017

HBA1 AND HBA2 EXAM COORDINATOR

- The Richard Ivey School of Business
- Director, HBA Program Services: Aindrea Cramp
- September 2013 - December 2013

EXAM PROCTOR (MBA PROGRAM)

- The Richard Ivey School of Business
- Director of MBA Program Services: Larysa Gamula
- June 2012 - October 2013

NEOAMERICANIST - AN INTER-DISCIPLINARY ONLINE JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF AMERICA

- Chief Copy Editor
- October 2011 - May 2013

EXAM PROCTOR (FACULTY OF LAW)

- University of Western Ontario Faculty of Law
- Assistant Dean (Student Services): Mysty Clapton
- December 2012 - April 2013

EXAM PROCTOR (HBA1 and HBA2)

- The Richard Ivey School of Business
- Director, HBA Program Services: Aindrea Cramp
- September 2011 - December 2012

SUMMER ACADEMIC ORIENTATION COORDINATOR

- The Student Success Centre - University of Western Ontario
- June 2009 - July 2009

SOCIAL SCIENCE STUDENTS' COUNCIL VICE PRESIDENT OF ACADEMICS

- Faculty of Social Science - University of Western Ontario
- September 2008 - April 2009

SOCIAL SCIENCE STUDENTS' COUNCIL EDUCATIONAL POLICY COMMITTEE REPRESENTATIVE

- Faculty of Social Science - University of Western Ontario
- September 2008 - April 2009

SOCIAL SCIENCE STUDENTS' COUNCIL DEPARTMENT REPRESENTATIVE (GEOGRAPHY)

- Faculty of Social Science - University of Western Ontario
- September 2007 - April 2008

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP

American Historical Association
H-Net: Humanities and Social Sciences Online
Organization of American Historians
Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

LANGUAGES

English (native speaker)
Portuguese (conversational/reading)
Spanish (some conversational skills/reading)

CITIZENSHIPS

Canadian
American