Lesson 1 Student Handout 1—Readings on Motives and Justifications for Colonial Conquests

1. British Perspective: Charles Wentworth Dilke, 1868

Many who are aware of the power of the English nations are nevertheless disposed to believe that our own is morally, as well as physically, the least powerful of the sections of the race or, in other words, that we are overshadowed by America and Australia. The rise to power of our southern colonies is, however, distant, and an alliance between ourselves and America is still one to be made on equal terms. Although we are forced to contemplate the speedy loss of our manufacturing supremacy as coal becomes cheaper in America and dearer in Old England, we have nevertheless as much to bestow on America as she has to confer on us. The possession of India offers to ourselves that element of vastness of dominion which, in this age, is needed to secure width of thought and nobility of purpose; but to the English race our possession of India, of the coasts of Africa, and of the ports of China offers the possibility of planting free institutions among the black-skinned races of the world.

Source: Excerpted from Charles Wentworth Dilke, "Greater Britain," in John L. Heineman, ed., *Readings in European History: 1789 to the Present: A Collection of Primary Sources*, 2nd ed. (Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt, 1994), 177.

2. British Perspective: Karl Pearson, 1901

History shows me one way, and one way only in which a high state of civilization has been produced, namely, the struggle of race with race, and the survival of the physically and mentally fitter race. If you want to know whether the lower races of man can evolve a higher type, I fear the only course is to leave them to fight it out among themselves, and even then the struggle for existence between individual and individual, between <u>tribe</u> and tribe, may not be supported by that physical selection due to a particular climate on which probably so much of the Aryan's success depended. ... There is a struggle of race against race and of <u>nation</u> against nation. In the early days of that struggle it was a blind, unconscious struggle of barbaric tribes. At the present day, in the case of the civilized white man, it has become more and more the conscious, carefully directed attempt to fit itself to a continuously changing environment.

Source: Excerpted from Karl Pearson, "National Life from the Standpoint of Science," in Heineman, *Readings in European History*, 171.

3. French Perspective: Edouard Guillon, 1881

[The natives] are great children who are just being admitted to civilization. Our task is traced out in advance. Is it not our duty to direct them, to instruct them, to educate them morally? In Indochina, as in Senegal or in Algeria, as everywhere that we find ourselves in the presence of

primitive or corrupt societies, our most useful auxiliaries will be missionaries and schoolmasters. What force can resist the two levers of religion and science? Let us know how to use them, and we shall have accomplished a useful and patriotic work. ...

Source: Edouard Guillon, "Les Colonies Francaises," in Heineman, Readings in European History, 180.

4. French Perspective: Jules Ferry, 1890

Colonial policy is the child of the industrial <u>revolution</u>. For wealthy countries where capital abounds and accumulates fast, where industry is expanding steadily, where even <u>agriculture</u> must become mechanized in order to survive, exports are essential for public prosperity. Both demand for labor and scope for capital investment depend on the foreign market ... All over the world, beyond the Vosges, and across the Atlantic, the raising of high tariffs has resulted in an increasing volume of manufactured goods, the disappearance of traditional markets, and the appearance of fierce competition. Countries react by raising their own tariff barriers, but that is not enough ... The protectionist system, unless accompanied by a serious colonial policy, is like a steam engine without a safety valve ... The European consumer market is saturated; unless we declare modern society bankrupt and prepare, at the dawn of the twentieth century, for its liquidation by revolution (the consequences of which we can scarcely foresee), new consumer markets will have to be created in other parts of the world. ... Colonial policy is an international manifestation of the eternal laws of competition.

Source: Excerpted from Jules Ferry, "Tonkin et la Mère-Patrie," in Heineman, Readings in European History, 184.

5. German Perspective: Friedrich Fabri, 1878

The fact is that England tenaciously holds on to its world-wide possessions with scarcely onefourth the manpower of our [German] continental military state. That is not only a great economic advantage but also a striking proof of the solid power and cultural fiber of England. Great Britain, of course, isolates herself far from the mass warfare of the continent, or only goes into action with dependable allies; hence the insular <u>state</u> has suffered and will suffer no real damage. In any case, it would be wise for us Germans to learn about colonial skills from our Anglo-Saxon cousins and to begin a friendly competition with them. When the German Reich centuries ago stood at the pinnacle of the states of Europe, it was the Number One trade and sea power. If the New Germany wants to protect its newly won position of power for a long time, it must heed its culture-mission and, above all, delay no longer in the task of renewing the call for colonies.

Source: Excerpted from Friedrich Fabri, Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien, in Heineman, Readings in European History, 179.

6. German Perspective: Wilhelm II, 1897

The voyage on which you are starting and the task you have to perform have nothing essentially novel about them ... May our countrymen abroad, whether priests or merchants or of any other calling, be firmly convinced that the protection of the German Empire, as represented by the imperial ships, will be constantly afforded them. Should, however, anyone attempt to affront us, or to infringe on our good rights, then strike out with mailed fist, and if God will, weave round your young brow the laurel which nobody in the whole German Empire will begrudge you.

Source: Excerpted from Wilhelm II's speech, in Heineman, Readings in European History, 183.

7. United States Perspective: Albert T. Beveridge, 1900

God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish systems where chaos reigns ... He has made us adept in government that we may administer government among savages and senile peoples.

Source: Excerpted from Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought, in MaryAnn Janosik-Ghiandoni and Roberta Leach, eds., U.S. History: The Emergence of Modern America, 1866 – 1920, Book 2 (Culver City, CA: Center for Learning, Social Studies School Service, 2007), 115.

8. United States Perspective: Alfred T. Mahan, 1890

Whether we will it or no, Americans must now look outward. The growing production of the country demands it. An increasing volume of public sentiment demands it. The position of the United States, between the two Old Worlds and the two great oceans, makes the same claim which will soon be strengthened by the creation of the new link joining the Atlantic and Pacific. The tendency will be maintained and increased by the growth of the European colonies in the Pacific, by the advancing civilization of Japan, and by the rapid peopling of our Pacific States ... Three things are needful: First, protection of the chief harbors, by fortifications and coast-defense ships ... Secondly, naval force, the arm of offensive power, which alone enables a country to extend its influence outward. Thirdly, no foreign state should henceforth acquire a coaling station within three thousand miles of San Francisco.

Source: Excerpted from Alfred T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, in Janosik-Ghiandoni and Leach, U.S. History: *The Emergence of Modern America*, 116.

9. Japanese Perspective: Okubo Toschimichi, 1874

If the people are adequately wealthy, it follows naturally that the country will become strong and wealthy ... If so, it will not be difficult for us to compete effectively against major powers. This has always been your subject's sincere desire. He is even more convinced of the necessity of its implementation today, and is therefore submitting humbly his recommendations for Your Majesty's august decision.

Source: Excerpted from Okubo Toschimichi, "Recommendation on Industrialization," in Merry E. Wiesner et al., eds., *Discovering the Global Past: A Look at the Evidence*, Vol. II: *Since 1400*, 2nd Ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 255.

10. Japanese Perspective: Ito Hirobumi, 1895

What then is the aim of the nation? It is the imperial aim decided upon at the time of the [Meiji] Restoration of imperial rule ... The aim of our country has been from the very beginning, to attain among the nations of the world the status of a civilized nation and to become a member of the comity of European and American nations which occupy the position of civilized countries.

Source: Excerpted from Ito Hirobumi, "Speech at a Homecoming Celebration," in Wiesner, Discovering the Global Past, 257.

Lesson 2 Student Handout 2.2—The Situation in West Africa among the Malinke People

Samori Touré had a vision of unity for the Malinke people, and thus started organizing his empire using traditional and innovative methods. He effectively organized Malinke chiefdoms into a single state under his authority, at the core of which was the army. He managed to increase loyalty to the state in the Malinke people who now thought as one united people ... this intensified their allegiance to him. His state was well-organized and efficient. Samori's army was powerful, disciplined, professional, and trained in modern day warfare. They were equipped with European guns. The army was divided into two flanks, the infantry or *sofa*, with 30,000 to 35,000 men, and the cavalry or *sere* of 3,000 men. Each wing was further subdivided into permanent units, fostering camaraderie among members and loyalty to both the local leaders and Samori himself. ... His empire reached his apogee between 1883 and 1887, and he took the title of *Almami* or religious leader of a Muslim empire.

Samori Touré created the Mandinka empire (the Wassoulou empire) between 1852 and 1882. His empire extended to the east as far as *Sikasso* (present-day Mali), to the west up to the *Fouta Djallon* empire (middle of modern day Guinea), to the north from *Kankan* to *Bamako* (in Mali); to the south, down to the borders of present-day Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire. His capital was *Bisandugu*, in present day Gambia. ... From 1882 to 1885, Samori fought the French and had to sign infamous treaties in 1886 and then 1887. In 1888, he took up arms again when the French reneged on the treaty by attempting to foster rebellion within his empire. He defeated the French several time between 1885 and 1889. After several confrontations, he concluded several treaties with the French in 1889. In 1890, he reorganized his army, and signed a treaty with the British in Sierra Leone, where he obtained modern weapons. He re-organized his army so as to stress defense, and employed guerilla tactics. ...

Between 1893 and 1898, Samori's army retreated eastward, toward the *Bandama* and *Como* (in modern day Côte d'Ivoire), conquering huge territories in the northern part of modern-day Côte d'Ivoire. He led the scorched earth tactic, destroying every piece of land he evacuated. Although that tactic cut him from his new source of weapons in Liberia, he still managed to delay the French. He formed a second empire, and moved his capital to *Kong*, in upper Côte d'Ivoire. On May 1, 1898, the French seized the town of *Sikasso* and his army took up positions in the Liberian forests to resist a second invasion. This time Samori's army fought valiantly but was no match to the power of the French arsenal. Samori, forced to fight a total war against a foreign invader, and fighting against all odds, was captured on September 29, 1898, in his camp in Gué(lé)mou in present-day Côte d'Ivoire. He was exiled to Gabon where he died two years later on June 2, 1900.

Source: Dr. Y., *African Heritage: A Blog about African History and Heritage through Audio and Video Files*, Web, 6 Aug. 2012.

Lesson 2 Student Handout 2.3—The Situation in East Africa among the Kikuyu People

In the following selection, Chief Kabongo, of the Kikuyu tribe of Kenya, describes what happened to his people when the British took control of Kikuyu land. In his lifetime—from the 1870s to the 1950s—Chief Kabongo saw the sharp changes that took place after the coming of the white man.

For some years my eldest son had been going to a school kept by some Pink Cheeks only two hours' journey away. These were not the White Fathers, to whom my brother had gone, but were quite different. ... It was in these days that a Pink Cheek man came one day to our Council. He came from far, from where many of these people lived in houses made of stone and where they held their own Council. He sat in our midst and he told us of the king of the Pink Cheeks, who was a great king and lived in a land over the seas. "This great king is now your king," he said. "And this land is all his land, though he has said you may live on it as you are his people and he is as your father and you are as his sons."

This was strange news. For this land was ours. We had bought our land with cattle in the presence of the Elders and had taken the oath and it was our own. We had no king, we elected our Councils and they made our laws. A strange king could not be our king and our land was our own. We had had no battle. No one had fought us to take away our land as in the past had sometimes been. This land we had had from our fathers and our fathers' fathers, who had bought it. How then could it belong to this king? With patience, our leading Elder tried to tell this to the Pink Cheek and he listened. But at the end he said, "This we know. But in spite of this, what I have told you is a fact. You have now a king—a good and great king who loves his people, and you are among his people. In the town called Nairobi is a council or government that acts for the king. And his laws are your laws." ...

The Council met again under the Mugomo tree. There were few, for the new laws of the Pink Cheeks had forbidden big meetings. I looked round at my friends and was sad. Their faces were anxious and their skin was loose on their bones. Even Muonji, who always used to joke, had no smile. For each one had been hungry for many days, and each one told the same story. Everywhere there was a shortage of food, for there was no land and all the time people were being sent back from distant parts. There was uneasiness and some of our tribesmen were troubling our people too much because they wanted to drive the Pink Cheeks from our country. This the Elders told in Council and were uneasy, for we wanted no war with the Pink Cheeks; we only wanted land to grow food. ... The young men are learning new ways, the children make marks which they call writing. ...

Source: Richard St. Barbe Baker, *Kabongo: The Story of a Kikuyu Chief* (Weatley, GB: George Ronald, 1955), 107-27.

Lesson 2 Student Handout 2.4—The Situation in the Philippines

The Battle of Manila Bay was the first hostile engagement of the Spanish-American War. In the darkness before dawn, Commodore Dewey's ships passed under the siege guns on the island of Corregidor at the entrance to Manila Bay and by noon on May 1, 1898 had destroyed the Spanish fleet. Aguinaldo arrived back in the Philippines on May 19, 1898 and resumed command of his rebel forces. The Filipino rebels routed the demoralized Spanish forces in the provinces and laid siege to Manila. From the balcony of his house in Cavite, Emilio Aguinaldo proclaimed the independence of the Philippines on June 12, 1898. ...

By late July, 12,000 American troops had arrived from San Francisco. The Spanish governor, Fermín Jaudenes, negotiated the surrender of Manila with an arranged show of resistance that preserved Spanish sensibilities of honour and excluded Aguinaldo's Filipinos. The Americans took possession of Manila on August 13, 1898. As it became apparent that the United States did not intend to recognize Philippine independence, Aguinaldo moved his capital in September from Cavite to the more defensible Malalos in Bulacan. That same month, the United States and Spain began their peace negotiations in Paris. The Treaty of Paris was signed on December 10, 1898. By the Treaty, Cuba gained its independence and Spain ceded the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico to the United States for the sum of US\$20 million. ... Filipino nationalists were incensed at the arrogance of the imperial powers to bargain away their independence for the tidy price of US \$20 million with not so much as a pretence of consultation with Filipinos. Given its own history of colonial revolution, American opinion was uncomfortable and divided on the moral principle of owning colonial dependencies. Having acquired the Philippines almost by accident, the United States was not sure what to do with them. ... On January 23, 1899 [Aguinaldo] proclaimed the Malalos Constitution and the First Philippine Republic. The hostilities in the Philippine War of Independence began on February 4, 1899 and continued for two years. The United States needed 126,000 soldiers to subdue the Philippines. The war took the lives of 4,234 Americans and 16,000 Filipinos. As usually happens in guerrilla campaigns, the civilian population suffers the worst. As many as 200,000 civilians may have died from famine and disease.

As before, the Filipino rebels did not do well in the field. Aguinaldo and his government escaped the capture of Malalos on March 31, 1899 and were driven into northern Luzon. Peace feelers from members of Aguinaldo's cabinet failed in May when the American commander, General Ewell Otis, demanded an unconditional surrender. Aguinaldo disbanded his regular forces in November and began a guerrilla campaign concentrated mainly in the Tagalog areas of central Luzon. Aguinaldo was captured on March 23, 1901. In Manila he was persuaded to swear allegiance to the United States and called on his soldiers to put down their arms.

Source: Spanish-American War/War of Philippine Independence 1898 – 1901, http://www.ualberta.ca/~vmitchel/fw4.html, web, 6 Aug. 2012.

Lesson 2 Student Handout 2.5—The Situation in Cuba

Don José Julián Martí y Pérez was born in Havana in 1853, and sentenced to prison as a teenager for expressing his support for the revolution (during the Ten-Year War). After his sentence he traveled to Spain, where he received degrees in law and philosophy before returning to Cuba. He was banished again for supporting the idea of Cuban independence and traveled to Paris and Venezuela, before settling in New York in 1881, earning a living as a writer and teacher.

José Martí was one of the great writers of the Hispanic world. His written works include poems, children stories, plays, articles and commentaries.

In 1892 Martí dedicated himself exclusively to planning and organizing what became Cuba's second *war of independence*. Aside from enlisting the support of Ten-Year War veterans *Antonio Maceo, Maximo Gomez* and others, he started the Cuban Revolutionary Party, which raised funds for the war and established a Cuban government that would take over when the war was over.

By March 1894, Martí began to push for immediate revolutionary action. Historian Philip Foner sheds light on his urgency: "Martí's impatience to start the revolution for independence was affected by his growing fear that the imperialist forces in the United States would succeed in annexing Cuba before the revolution could liberate the island from Spain. Martí noticed with alarm the movement to annex Hawaii, viewing it as establishing a pattern for Cuba …"

Martí died in battle shortly after the war began. He is known in Cuba as the father of the *Cuban Revolution*.

Source: Jerry A. Sierra, "José Martí—A Brief Intro," 500 Years of Cuban History, History of Cuba.com http://www.historyofcuba.com/, 6 Aug 2012.