

Fostering Puerto Rico: Representations of Empire and Orphaned Territories during the Spanish-American War

Kyle T. Evered

In histories of geographic thought, the years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are depicted routinely as a period dominated by environmental determinism. If the scope of inquiry is confined to the history of academic ideas among geographers, such a supposition may be accurate. There were, however, many other ideas at play during this period (e.g., concepts like social Darwinism, manifest destiny, various constructions of gender, race, and Christianity, notions of capitalist development and/or civilization, among many others). This wide array of ideas – and motives – combined variously in many ways to produce a great number of representational themes in the discourse of the era that conveyed common suppositions about the American nation, its place in the world, and the appropriate places of other people and regions. Popular geographic images commonly associated with a broader public discourse of the period – while laden thoroughly with various environmentalisms – were just as often limited to constructions of simple yet stark dichotomies. One such representational theme associated with American empire involved depictions of the United States as a courageous, civilized, sagely, and charitable adult, on the one hand, and images of other peoples – and even entire places – as orphaned children, on the other. When the Spanish colony of Puerto Rico attracted the attentions of the public in the United States, both it and its populace were subjected to being reduced within such polarized representations, with a relegation of the island and its people to being rendered as little more than wayward children.

Employing the case of Puerto Rico before, during, and immediately following the Spanish-American War as the main example, this study examines the representation of other people and places as children amid contexts of an expanding American empire with respect to both the period in question and its postcolonial legacies. Following a brief overview both of major themes in the historical geographies of the war

and of the place of the wider Caribbean region – and of Puerto Rico – amid the conflict, three major discursive spheres that conditioned and/or reflected the representations in question are examined: representations in scholarship and literature, in public discourse and policy, and in accounts (both published and archival¹) from those Americans who actually seized and occupied the island. This study, therefore, deals with a critical moment in the territorial expansion of the United States with respect to geographies of colonialism and reflects upon representations that endured long after initial contacts and that continue to condition both colonial and postcolonial relationships between the United States and other places and peoples.

The Spanish-American War and Popular American Sentiments

In 1898, the United States embarked on a course of territorial expansion which was the most striking consequence of the Spanish-American War. Whether one refers to this experience as one of colonialism, imperialism, or an act toward the liberation of others from Spanish control,² the fact remains that the territories of the United States expanded, as did the country's capacity to exert effective economic and political control over other nations, particularly those in the Caribbean and the rest of Latin America. Though the war was legitimized initially to the American public with spurious allegations that Spain sunk the battleship USS *Maine* in Havana harbor on the evening of 15 February 1898, United States politicians and military leaders had gazed longingly throughout the nineteenth century at Spain's Caribbean colonies.

War with Spain thus seemed imminent when President McKinley's April 1898 request for volunteers received a more than enthusiastic response. Despite the fact that the recruiters of the United States' regular army turned away over 75 percent of applicants for enlistment, the army had 58,688 regular troops by the end of the war. Even more impressive, by the end of August 1898, the volunteer force was estimated at having risen to over 216,000 enlisted soldiers and almost 9,000 officers. This was more than double the federal volunteer army's numbers of the previous year,³ and recruiters of state volunteers also commonly rejected far greater numbers than those they enlisted. This call to arms led to dramatically higher rates of enlistment while being looked upon by people of the time as the country's opportunity to come together nationally in a way not seen since before the Civil War. Though feelings of animosity were still apparent in north-south relations within the United States, the appearance of the country again reaching a national consensus was gratifying to many observers. As President Theodore Roosevelt recalled in his account, "Everywhere we saw the Stars and Stripes, and everywhere we were told, half-laughing, by grizzled ex-Confederates that they had never dreamed

in the bygone days of bitterness to greet the old flag as they now were greeting it, and to send their sons, as now they were sending them, to fight and die under it.”⁴

During this period of preparation for battle, when the United States navy entered into a blockade of Spanish territories and ports, popular consensus regarding the war had begun to extend far beyond any reckoning over the USS *Maine* or desires to aid Cuban revolutionaries to visions of a post-war place in the world for America that began to resemble what policymakers had envisioned for years. In essence, Americans began to “feel that they should play a leading role in the Caribbean, in order to benefit themselves, develop the region, and forestall foreign threats. Most Americans soon came to see United States hegemony as practical, right, legally justified, and even necessary.”⁵

Clearly, such sentiments about America’s place in the Caribbean indicated more than just malice toward Spain. The widespread excitement to take up arms surpassed economic explanation, as well. Many American firms were initially reluctant to see military action. Although United States business interests are often cited as one of the key sectors encouraging a strong military presence in the Caribbean and Central America, many were cautious and feared jeopardizing their recovery from the depression of the early 1890s. Moreover, those businesses with substantial investments even encouraged the reinforcements that Spain sent to fight Cuba’s rebels. The businesses which potentially had the greatest to lose desired, and some even requested, a negotiated settlement. Indeed, most investors perceived no alternative to Spanish protection from the rebel forces that resorted to a “scorched-earth policy” in order to make the island an administrative and financial canker.⁶ If not entirely political or economic, then what did the acquisition of Puerto Rico and other territories signify to most Americans and how was it justified?

This question becomes particularly interesting when considering the level of general knowledge regarding the Caribbean possessions of the United States during that period. According to one 1890s source, people in the United States tended to know more “about Japan or Madagascar” than about Puerto Rico.⁷ In coming together as a national army, the volunteers, many of whom had never left the security of their own state before, encountered different peoples and cultures of which they were entirely ignorant – and this discovery of diversity occurred well before they ever left the United States for the Caribbean or Pacific. The stereotypes of the people and places elsewhere which abound in the letters they wrote were countless: the Pennsylvanians were characterized uniformly as coal miners of “a hard reputation;” Easterners saw the troops of a long-since-tamed Illinois as “cow-boys, rough riders and reckless shooters;” and, soldiers of the northern states looked upon the white Southerners as “but little in advance of the ‘cullud’ [sic] folks.” The black population of southern states was viewed by many Northerners as something of a

curious and exotic oddity which could only exist in the South, or was at least the most striking feature of the region. In one May 1898 letter, a volunteer from Massachusetts wrote home from Camp Alger, Virginia, that, "At Baltimore, notwithstanding the cordiality, we first encountered a hint of the Southern attitude. The regiment had a negro company officered by negroes."⁸

Beyond the animosity felt toward Spain, the "splendid little war" was thus significant to most North Americans for probably one, if not both, of two major reasons that went past images of the USS *Maine*. First, it created an opportunity to civilize Spain's former colonies while simultaneously acquiring gateways to the Caribbean and the isthmus via Puerto Rico and Cuba and to Asian trade via the Pacific islands seized. In essence, there was a perceived mission for Americans both to decide the fates of others and to prosper, simultaneously. Second, it appeared to be something of an adventure which created a sense of euphoria among its potential participants and the population at large. As Roosevelt wrote, though a campaign on Santiago would be the main event for the nation's would-be soldiers, Puerto Rico was at least a decent "consolation prize" for those that did not make it.⁹ The imagined adventure thus entailed besting the Spanish empire on the field of battle, and envisioned laying claim to Spain's global territories as the rightful spoils of war. These rationalizations and justifications for permanently acquiring Puerto Rico are evident both in the written words and graphic images of the 1890s and in the records kept by members of the invasion force of more than 10,000 troops¹⁰ which actually seized and was eventually garrisoned on the island. A constant theme in the varied rationales for not just conflict but for actual conquest was the objectification of other peoples and places as beings and entities in need of care, guidance and instruction, and even discipline – essentially orphaned children.

Representations in Scholarship and Literature of the Era

In both academic literature and in literary representations from the period when Puerto Rico was seized, derogatory racial stereotypes of the peoples of Spain's former colonies were omnipresent.¹¹ Articles in popular magazines of the times that assumed scholarly authority, and that bore titles such as "Are the Filipinos Civilized?," underscore these racial themes and provide an indication of the 'clash of civilizations' debates that were carried on in an earlier era of American empire.¹² Such racial imagery was also common within the nineteenth and early twentieth century academic dogma that is commonly referred to today as environmental determinism. An example from a significant text just preceding the period in question reveals how ideas of environment were associated with notions of civilization and race. It also demonstrates how authors, like

Guyot and others, attempted to ground their arguments in suppositions of both scientific fact and morality.

Tropical nature cannot be conquered and subdued, save by civilized man, armed with all the might of discipline, intelligence, and of skilful industry. It is, then, from the northern continents that those of the south await their deliverance; it is by the help of the civilized men of the temperate continents that it shall be vouchsafed to the man of the tropical lands to enter into the movement of universal progress and improvement, wherein mankind should share... We owe to the inferior races the blessings and the comforts of civilization; we owe them the intellectual development of which they are capable; above all, we owe them the gospel, which is our glory, and will be their salvation...¹³

A review of texts written during the war and even well after indicates the enduring resonance of ideas and sentiments echoed earlier, like those above from Guyot. In particular, this imagined calling for white men to both civilize and develop the tropics was still present well after the Spanish-American War. As Huntington wrote, "When the white man stays out of the tropics, the people there feed themselves, or else die. When the white man goes to the tropics, he raises some luxuries for himself, but no grain or meat or vegetables worth mentioning. In return for the luxuries, he feeds part of the tropical people with good food grown in his own temperate region." In this argument, Cuba was held up as an example of this exchange; "Cuba ranks as another of the most highly developed tropical regions." In Huntington's view, Puerto Rico was also making progress in this direction; "Under Spanish rule Porto Rico long fed itself. Now it imports about the same amount of food per inhabitant as does Cuba, and most of it comes from us."¹⁴

Attendant to both this perceived mission and declarations of masculine exertion was also an imagined risk posed by the tropics to one's health and potency. Indeed, this was a risk that commonly went far beyond an acknowledgment of malaria, yellow fever, or any other regional maladies. This danger was all too frequently portrayed as one that would affect the white man's industriousness, reason, and morality, as well. The assumed attributes of western science, medicine, and civilization were, however, commonly depicted as adequate safeguards amid the temporary yet essential forays into the warmer latitudes, though permanent relocation would be foolhardy.

Even if the most competent people of the white race are not willing to settle permanently in most parts of the tropics and cannot, perhaps, maintain their full ability, is it not safe for white people to go temporarily to tropical regions and superintend the work of other races? Yes, indeed, modern hygiene and medicine certainly permit this, and in due time will make it still more feasible than at the present... Yet Porto Rico is more attractive to

the white man than are most parts of the tropics.¹⁵

Beyond the pseudo-scholarly literature of the era, the fictional writing of the day also carried these themes. Moreover, fictional sources often went even further than the academic works by making connections between not just Western civilization's masculine missions in the tropics but by articulating those of an emergent American nation, as well. Indeed, the 1890s genre of historical novels provide ample indication of how North Americans perceived the cultural landscapes of Puerto Rico and of the other tropical places that the Spanish-American War would bring them into contact with. These books were the major best-sellers between 1895 and 1902. In summarizing their content, Kaplan noted that they tended to be "swashbuckling romances about knights errant [that] offer a cognitive and libidinal map of U.S. geopolitics during the shift from continental conquest to overseas empire... More than neat political allegories that transpose international conflict into chivalric heroism, the novels refigure the relation between masculinity and nationality in a changing international context... In the 1890s the lament for the close of the frontier loudly voiced such nostalgia for the formative crucible of American manhood; imperial expansion overseas offered a new frontier, where the essential American man could be reconstituted."¹⁶

Further elaborating on these themes, like those observed by Kaplan that were of a decidedly masculinist orientation in the cultural norms expressed in the United States during the 1890s – ones with clear linkages to particular imperial and martial mindsets of the day, Hoganson's study¹⁷ traced these currents in the context of foreign policies that influenced – and may have even contributed to – the conduct of the Spanish-American War. As noted by Mosse,¹⁸ notions of respectability and morality were actively redefined in Europe particularly at those moments when Western nationalisms evolved and most forcefully asserted themselves. Moreover, such concepts were highly gendered; "the dynamic of modern nationalism was built upon the ideal of manliness."¹⁹ The fact that gendered imagery and related notions of appropriateness would coincide with representations of an American nation's relationships with its own newly colonized subjects should not, therefore, be especially surprising.

Echoing the principles of Turner's frontier thesis – and his own prediction that once America reached the limits of its continental westward expansion, it would then re-create Western frontiers in the Caribbean, the Pacific, and elsewhere²⁰ – Kaplan's characterization of the literature of the 1890s is consistent with the assertions that this study makes about popular geographic perceptions of the same period. The concepts of a wild and undeveloped space implicit in this usage of the term "frontier" contrasted with the prevailing image of America; a distinct, developed, and civilized place. The notion of the "essential American man" was

also revealed as an alien but necessary presence in these frontier lands. Clearly, the peoples indigenous to these spaces were deemed not just untamed and/or feminine but childlike, as well.²¹ The likening of tropical peoples to wayward children in a dark alley who needed a strong man to protect and care for them was obvious. That these “exotic” people and places would have stories of their own seemed untenable. The Puerto Ricans and other colonized peoples were more often cast to serve in the storylines of accounts and novels as a part of the setting rather than as actual participating actors entitled to their own opinions, perspectives, or aspirations. In this role, the Puerto Ricans were limited to appearing as either one of the many spoils of war (i.e., with respect to the products from their lands and/or their potential labor) or as children – simple, docile, in need of civilizing, and awaiting enlightenment.

These instances of derogatory “othering” of different places and peoples were not at all unique to the American imperial example, either. Conceptualizations of and images from landscape and nature were constant tools in the arsenals of colonizers.²² As Pratt noted in her study of European travel writing in the Americas, “Such a litany of criticism is anchored, of course, in the sheerest hypocrisy, for it is América’s purported backwardness that legitimates the capitalist vanguard’s interventions in the first place. Ideologically, the vanguard’s task is to reinvent América as backward and neglected, to encode its non-capitalist landscapes and societies as manifestly in need of the rationalized exploitation the Europeans bring.”²³ The “West” (i.e., Europe and eventually the United States) thus depicted itself as not only the principal source of development, political order, and morality, but as the mediating source of any future civilization, too.

This notion of a modern civilization that emanated entirely from a “West” and that – at least in its more idealistic articulation in both scholarship and popular media – could be conveyed through the colonial process was precisely the sort of “Eurocentric diffusionism” confronted in Blaut’s classic text. As Blaut wrote in his confrontation of the mythologies of empire and Eurocentrism, “remember that diffusionism defined the colonial process as beneficial for the colonized as well as the colonizer, and the technical and other personnel involved in the new colonial development activities were utterly convinced that they were working for the advancement of the colonized people.”²⁴ Indeed, it is precisely this mindset that makes this study not so much one of any grand imperial conspiracy, but rather one of a widespread and highly varied culture of empire. As Phillips noted in his study of adventure fiction and empire, the stories themselves did not compel the quest for empire, but they were clearly part of the imperial endeavor – and not infrequently, they even discursively “mapped the course” of conquest and subsequent administration.²⁵

Representations in Public Discourse and in Policy and Literature of the Era

These civilizing and child-like generalizations were indeed consumed and rearticulated by both the public and policymakers at the time that Puerto Rico came more prominently into America's gaze, and the United States did readily assume paternalistic control of the island. The vehicle for asserting this influence would be a strong occupation force composed primarily of volunteers which would represent the intentions of the American people in the name of Uncle Sam. Nowhere were these attitudes pertaining to the Puerto Rican island and peoples more graphic than in some of the caricatures of the period that were sketched just prior to and during the occupation. Illustrations of this sentiment were common in many newspapers, regardless of whether their source was pro- or anti-expansionist. Portraits conveying a juvenile – and often mischievous – demeanor that bore consistently the phenotypic attributes common to racial stereotypes were employed routinely to depict both Puerto Rico and the Puerto Ricans, among other colonized places and peoples. At the same time in England's history, very similar images of Africans and Asians appeared in the popular media in concert with British imperialistic operations and policies.²⁶ As Duara wrote about such imagery in the British example, "In the Indian context, the 'natives' were marked variously as cowardly, effeminate, naively childlike, superstitious, ignorant and the like. In turn, the West was characterized by the images of youthfulness, aggressiveness, and mastery, exemplified so well in the British public school."²⁷

In addition, these unruly and orphanlike youngsters in tattered clothes were often coupled with a tall, well-groomed, and sagely Uncle Sam figure. In most cases, he represented a responsible guardian and capable disciplinarian who was their guide in leading them down the straight and narrow. It is clear from the drawings that, without Uncle Sam, the lives of Puerto Ricans and their counterparts elsewhere would not progress beyond their preoccupations with sin, childish waste, and wanton self-destruction. As a contemporary author wrote in 1898, "there never has been, and there never will be, within any time with which we are practically concerned, such a thing as good government, in the European sense, of the tropics by the native of these regions."²⁸

The images presented in this article (Figures 1 through 5) ran in *The Minneapolis Journal* in 1898 and typify these depictions. They were all drawn by a cartoonist named Charles Lewis Bartholomew, who is better known simply as "Bart." His cartoons were selected for presentation and analysis in this study for several reasons. First, Bart both maintained a particular focus on events surrounding the Spanish-American War and had a large number of related contributions throughout 1898. Second, additional details associated with Bart's juvenile characterizations of places



Figure 1. “Will Wear the Stars And Stripes. Uncle Sam – Here Sonny, Put on These Duds” (May 7, 1898).

and peoples demonstrated particular depth in terms of shifts in related racial and gendered stereotyping that corresponded with contemporary events (i.e., there was not one static “Puerto Rico” representation throughout the period of conquest and occupation). Third, usage of images published in a newspaper of the American Midwest – albeit a larger city – complemented the geographic derivation of many of the participants in the island’s occupation; it was their letters, associated muster reports, and subsequent memoirs that were analyzed for this study. Fourth, Bart’s works both received national professional recognition in this period and were republished as a special collection of images from the Spanish-American War in 1899; his work had critical praise and could also be viewed as having resonated in the popular consciousness during the era of its publication. Finally, though his works contain obvious stereotypes of juvenility, race, gender, and civilizational development, they are not at all “simple” renderings of an obvious perspective. Indeed, many of his cartoons may be read as quite critical of an American empire and the associated ambitions – economic and political – of some of its more notorious participants. In this sense, were his characterizations of other relationships (e.g., imperial, age-related, racial, gendered, and others)



Figure 2. “Something Lacking. Uncle Sam – Well Sonny, What Is It? Phil Ippines – Where do I Come in on This?” (July 30, 1898).

simply reflective of his time, or were they conveying his own potential views on wider American sentiments that he also sought to critique? These factors of complexity in the cartoonist’s possible intentions, in the representational themes and shifts that emerged over time within the large volume of his works, and in the presumed audiences that he attracted all contribute to make his works ones of particular interest.

The first image selected for this study, in Figure 1, displays Uncle Sam extending to Puerto Rico an offer to enter the United States. The cartoon itself was printed 7 May 1898 and revealed early in the war that the United States had a keen interest in aiding – or at least acquiring – Puerto Rico. Though the island may have “seemed willing,” what its people acquired in return, aside from a mini-Uncle Sam suit, was much less clear. Apparently, the possibility that this poor male child would simply be happy to be rid of Spanish control – and not necessarily welcome becoming a ward of another master – was not a matter of much consideration in the cartoonist’s depictions of current events, concerns, and sentiments.

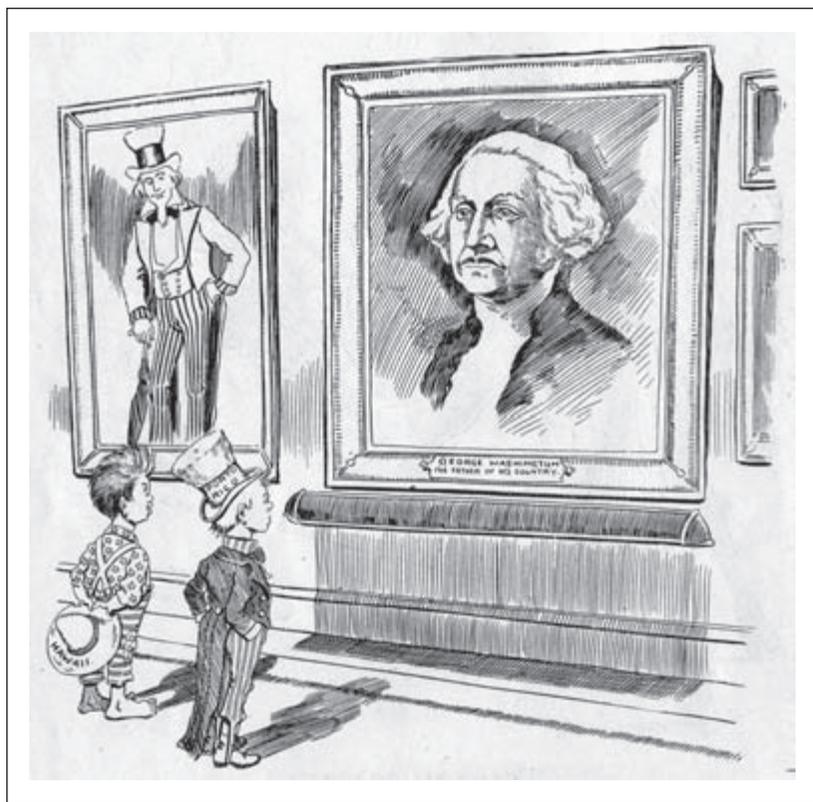


Figure 3. “Overheard in the National Art Gallery. Porto Rico – I Reckon He Must Be our Step Father – Eh, Hawaii?” (August 18, 1898).

By 30 July 1898, just after the first United States troops landed, we would see (in Figure 2) an Uncle Sam wearing a “World’s Humane Agent” badge. In addition to this representation of America, there was also emerging a representational theme carried on throughout these cartoons. Namely, there is a discernable pattern of portraying a process of “civilizing” the youngsters, a process made evident by their taking on the trappings of the United States. Even more interesting than any change in their clothes, however, was the gradual change in their facial features and skin color (i.e., a process of whitening that came with colonization by the United States). There would also emerge a possible pattern of highly gendered domesticity, as rather rough boys would transform into domesticated girls amid further subjugation and education. Though still dark-skinned, Figure 2’s Puerto Rico has facial features and hair much more like those of a “typical” Anglo American than Figure 1’s far darker child.

With the child image of 18 August 1898 (Figure 3), after United States troops came into control of most of the island, the child’s hair essentially lacked any color, his facial features were more like those of



Figure 4. “The Old Pupil Turns out to Be the Worst One in the Class” (October 7, 1898).

a North European than before, and his skin was white, as well. It is important to again note that all of these pictures were drawn by the same artist in a short time. In this image, the children of Puerto Rico and Hawaii are together in the National Art Gallery. Looking at a painting of George Washington, Puerto Rico comments, “I reckon he must be our step father – eh, Hawaii?” The expression on Washington’s face gives emphasis to the “great deal of speculation [that] was indulged in as to what George Washington would think of the country adopting these island peoples.”²⁹ Given this expression of Washington, one can only guess that the artist imagined that not everyone assumed the “Father of His Country” would have been entirely pleased. This speculation aside, however, note again the recurring metaphors of not only childhood but also of orphanhood (or step-/foster children) as applied to colonized territories and societies.

On 7 October 1898 (Figure 4), domestic instability within the United States and another colonized minority came into the picture due to an Indian uprising in Minnesota. Uncle Sam, the vigilant and capable disciplinarian, took a long switch to the Indian boy in this illustration



Figure 5. “Their First Thanksgiving. Uncle Sam – Hawaii, Will You Have Some of the White Meat?” (October 31, 1898).

and established the lesson that the other new pupils had better keep in line and not digress from his training “in the ways of civilization.”³⁰ As the most unruly of Uncle Sam’s children, the stereotyped Indian had many material trappings and all the ascribed phenotypic attributes of his “race.” Puerto Rico, arguably the most docile of the lot at this time, was no longer even depicted as a boy but was converted into a well-behaved girl in a clean and untattered dress.

The illustration of 31 October 1898 (Figure 5) offered a continuation of these images and the impression that this expansionist episode was now turning to one of consolidation. Hawaii was not a boy in overalls but a girl in a dress with earrings because of good behavior – though not good enough yet to merit a “whitened” appearance. Accompanying text to the cartoons stated, “No one would have dreamed a year before that when the President issued his thanksgiving proclamation for 1898 it would call so many little island urchins to [the] table to be thankful for being under his protection.”³¹ These cartoons evidently implied that:

If the island children ignored Uncle Sam's instruction, punishment was merited; if his rules were broken, it would be uncivilized behavior; and, to have been uncivilized, was to return to the not-so-distant and savage past whence they were rescued from and to where they would undoubtedly regress in their uncle's absence. At no time, however, was their obedience equated with a process of maturation; obedience simply merited a whitening of their young faces and would sometimes be depicted in terms of effeminate domesticity and emasculation. Apparently, by North American standards, these islands were to remain as "civilized" children, at best, and the imperial and masculine Uncle Sam was to foster them in perpetuity.

Both prior to the war and afterward, United States leaders seemed to envision this perpetual state of control, though with different arrangements depending on the locations and peoples in question. A critical reading of a contemporary author's remarks on this situation reveals highly subjective conditions for any eventual consideration of autonomy or independence: "If they can maintain government as we understand the term, – that is, if they can give security to persons and property, assure religious toleration, and guarantee freedom of thought and expression, – our specific obligations to them are at an end; if not, then we shall have to continue to regard ourselves as their guardians."³²

With respect to specific policies regarding Puerto Rico – even prior to the island's invasion, there was always a clear goal to acquire and occupy it. Indeed, this was a sentiment that could be traced back to expansionist discourse evident at the highest levels during the presidential administration of Ulysses S. Grant, if not earlier. Bolstered, at least in part, by the rationale of Mahan³³ and the explosion that sunk the USS *Maine*, opportunity finally arrived in 1898 on the doorsteps of American expansionists. Once the war began, a major concern for many policymakers and proponents of expansion suddenly became the question of how to make the most of this opportunity (i.e., how to seize as many Spanish territories as possible before Spain would eventually surrender). In discussing the conduct of the Spanish-American War during the early days of its preparation and prosecution, there was serious concern expressed from many both in and out of the government that the war not be concluded until Puerto Rico would be in the hands of the United States. In contemporary correspondence between Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, for example, Roosevelt urged that no peace be concluded "until we get Porto Rico." Lodge responded, "Unless I am utterly and profoundly mistaken the Administration is now fully committed to the large policy that we both desire."³⁴ America's proprietary interest in seizing and later managing the island and its peoples was well demonstrated in a report submitted the following year to President William McKinley: "The difference between Oklahoma and Puerto Rico is chiefly geographical. The former provided for an

overflow of population from surrounding states, the latter will furnish a field for American capital and American enterprise, if not for overflow of population. It is American and must and will be Americanized.”³⁵

Representations from the “Contact Zone”³⁶

On July 21, United States Army General Nelson A. Miles, a former Indian fighter, landed a 3,000-man force at Guánica, Puerto Rico, and rapidly moved on to take the port at Ponce. In their reports, letters, and memoirs, United States soldiers who were deployed contrasted what was essentially Anglo-America with “undeveloped” space and people. It was as if most of them could not move beyond questioning, “Why can’t these places and peoples be as they are in our own homelands?” In general, this question was asked for their own convenience rather than in an effort to understand another cultural landscape. By simply assuming a pervasive condition of underdevelopment in places like Puerto Rico, it was easy to justify their assumed duty to protect the Puerto Ricans from potential dangers and to promote among them the “advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization,” as promised by General Miles.

PROCLAMATION.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Ponce, Porto Rico, July 28, 1898.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF PORTO RICO:

In the prosecution of the War against the Kingdom of Spain by the People of the UNITED STATES in the cause of Liberty, Justice and Humanity, its military forces have come to occupy the Island of PORTO RICO. They come bearing the banner of Freedom, inspired by a noble purpose to seek the enemies of our country and yours, and to destroy or capture all who are in armed resistance. They bring you the fostering arm of a nation of free people, whose greatest power is in its JUSTICE AND HUMANITY to all those living within its fold. Hence the first effect of this occupation will be the immediate release from your former political relations, and it is hoped a cheerful acceptance of the government of the United States.

The chief object of the American military forces will be to overthrow the armed authority of Spain and to give to the people of your beautiful island the largest measure of liberty consistent with this military occupation. We have not come to make a war upon the people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed, but, on the contrary, to bring you protection, not only to yourselves but to your property, to promote your prosperity and bestow upon you the immenition and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government. It is not our purpose to interfere

with any existing laws and customs that are wholesome and beneficial to your people so long as they conform to the rules of military administration of order and justice.

This is not a war of devastation, but one to give all within the control of its military and naval forces the advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization.

NELSON A. MILES,
MAJOR GENERAL COMMANDING
UNITED STATES ARMY.³⁷

Promises, such as those made by Miles, that would be viewed as having been unfulfilled would later create a basis for tensions between the United States and many Puerto Ricans – and they are still referred to today. Such promises would seem essential, however, according to Scott: “...we know that any ideology which makes a claim to hegemony must, in effect, make promises to subordinate groups by way of explaining *why* a particular social order is also in their best interests. Once such promises are extended, the way is open to social conflict.”³⁸ As one soldier from Wisconsin who served in Puerto Rico would note in his published account, such obligations to the island and its peoples – whom he also depicts as children – should not be undertaken lightly.

Great numbers of the Porto Ricans gave one the impression that they were simply grown up children, with all a child’s natural affection and trust, and it always seemed to The Corporal that we had assumed a great responsibility, and must be careful to live up to the promises made them by General Miles upon our landing, at which time we were instructed by orders from General Miles, through General Wilson, to treat Porto Rico as though it were one of our own States, to pay for everything we got, and be careful to foster mutual good feeling. This was the tenor of the order issued by General Wilson on the Obdam even before we landed.³⁹

Sentiments similar to those found in Miles’ proclamation and in the above description – ones that expressed an obligation to the Puerto Rican people – would be evident in the correspondences and reports of troops stationed in Puerto Rico in the months following the initial invasion of the island. They were convictions that were evident in the below passages from a letter written by Brigadier General Sheridan to the Ohio volunteer troops in Rio Piedras. Again apparent, however, were references to the perceived “manhood” – or lack thereof – of the military’s wards.

It has been the policy of the former rulers to furnish guards for haciendas, sugar and coffee plantations and other property,

billeting soldiers at such places, and in very small villages. This has been the rule to such a degree that these property owners and the people of some small communities have lost their self-reliance and the courage to protect themselves. It is intended that they shall recover these essential qualities of manhood as early as possible and requests for such guards will be denied unless there is convincing evidence and absolute necessity that they should be provided. It will be the exception rather than the rule to furnish such guards and they will be recalled when the danger is passed.⁴⁰

This mission to defend a people from their enemies – and from themselves – created a number of paradoxes for American troops. As Puerto Rican historian Picó noted, the military set itself up to both police a population and force it to work for landowners while it was simultaneously claiming to be setting it free from the “Spanish yoke.” For this reason, he wrote, 1898 was the “year of illusions” – recalling the enthusiastic welcome United States soldiers received when they landed.⁴¹ There were, however, more tangible inconsistencies. Such inconsistencies are evident from the juxtaposition of those promises to nurture and liberate the people and those realities of the United States military’s own logistical preparedness and involvement in even the most local levels of politics.

Despite the zealous attitude of the War Department and the volunteers to engage the Spanish – and expansionists’ long-time gaze upon the island – Puerto Rico must have been a sudden goal for actual military planners based on the army’s pervasive logistical deficiencies. Not only were adequate food supplies lacking – as indicated by the numerous orders instructing unit commanders to acquire provisions from local civilian markets in both the United States and abroad with promises that the War Department would repay⁴² – but the equipment that soldiers received was not even field tested in most cases and was generally ill-suited for use in tropical climates. Though there were very few war-related hostilities involving American soldiers and Puerto Ricans, relations were not conflict-free. The following General Field Order’s provisions regarding purchase and respect of Puerto Rican’s property underscore the officers’ early recognition of potential problems arising from supply deficiencies:

General Field Order, Number 6. 1st Division, 1st Army Corps Headquarters, on-board U.S. Transport Number 30, at sea, July 25, 1898.

It is intended that this command will disembark on the island of Puerto Rico, tomorrow, July 26th.

Officers and enlisted men are reminded that while nominally in a hostile country it is expected that the island will shortly pass

under the control of the United States, and in order that the inhabitants may come to regard the Americans as friends and not enemies the troops will treat them in a friendly and conciliatory manner. Supplies of every description when necessary for the command will be bought by the supply department. Articles of whatever nature for private use, can be taken only with the consent of the owner, and must be paid for at their fair market value.

Straggling, pilfering and marauding are beneath the character of the American soldiers, and are positively prohibited.

Regimental and Company Officers will be held to a rigid accountability for the strict observance of this order, and same will be read to each company and detachment upon disembarking.⁴³

Criminal – and sometimes violent – incidents often arose between Puerto Ricans and United States soldiers over unauthorized acquisitions of supplies, what troops considered to be “fair market value,” and the military’s delinquency in payment for provisions. That this conflict-promoting dynamic entered into relations almost as soon as the troops arrived seems tragically ironic given that while United States policymakers and military leaders were justifying the war by underscoring the Cubans’ – and even the Puerto Ricans’ – immiseration at the hands of the Spaniards, they sent thousands of military troops into the islands with the expectation that their needs would be taken care of by a people that they were simultaneously depicting as “starving.” The individual soldier often supplemented his meager army diet with whatever he could get from the “natives.” Because the prices were initially cheap, most soldiers had no qualms about paying for their extra provisions and anything else that was available.

You can buy as good a cigar here for 1 cent in their money as we can buy at home for 5 cents. One dollar in our money is equal to two dollars in theirs. So we get our smoking pretty cheap. Fruits are sold accordingly.⁴⁴

In addition, the soldiers also tended to view the Puerto Ricans as a childlike people with a natural capacity for performing menial chores. On 4 August 1898, Joe Bohon, a soldier based in Ponce, wrote in a letter home that, “It’s a wonderful sight how the natives respect us... Our company have four with us since we landed. They wash our dishes, carry water and make themselves useful.”⁴⁵ Frequently, when the military leaders in command of a certain area felt the need to have any construction done, it was authorized to be completed by “locals at not more than \$1.00 per day in Puerto Rican money.” Comparisons were made between the Puerto

Rican and the Irish immigrant, who was still regarded by many in the United States as an individual with a natural aptitude for servitude.⁴⁶ This image of a groveling peasant, however, made some troops customarily suspicious of the Puerto Ricans.

Ponce, Porto Rico, August 2, 1898

...Yauco is a large interior town – very suggestive in its appearance of Mexico and such places. The inhabitants shouted “Viva Americanos” till our ears rang. It wasn’t very gratifying; they were partly afraid of us, and partly after our good American money.⁴⁷

At first, the Americans did not seem to be very hesitant about entering into deals with the Puerto Ricans. Some soldiers even took advantage of the Puerto Ricans by buying goods with Confederate money that they acquired as souvenirs in the South while awaiting deployment; “Thus did we assume part of ‘the white man’s burden’ by relieving the brown man of his surplus silver.”⁴⁸ In a short time, however, the United States soldiers appear to have developed a good deal of contempt for the Puerto Rican marketers, who they felt were taking unfair advantage of them:

Utuaado, Sept. 8, 1898

For a good many reasons I shall be glad to get out of Utuaado. The natives here are getting too fresh. There is going to be a great change of opinion some day about the way to handle people like these. They need a more dominant hand. When we got on the island, they were the ideal of subserviency; now they cheat us and steal from us.⁴⁹

A remorseless trooper from the Fifth Cavalry noted how he and fellow unit members countered the “wholesale buncoing at the first opportunity” of these “thieving rascals.” Several cavalrymen waited for the next market day when all the vendors would be gathered together and could be taught at once the consequences of setting their own prices.

We commenced to by [sic] systematically. First one crowd of half a dozen troopers would tackle a native, each man buying something and handing him about half the price he asked. Then another bunch of troopers would do the same thing with some other unsuspecting vendor who, seeing a crowd of “muy bueno Americano soldiero,” gathered around his basket, thought he was about to make “une grande” sale and make a big profit. They all made money but nothing like the bonanza they expected.... Henceforth they did not attempt to corner the produce market.⁵⁰

Also, credit was commonly extended under the assumption that the troops would personally settle their debts before leaving or that the United States government would do so because the purchases were supposedly authorized due to a lack of supplies. In March 1899, a letter to the B Company commander of the Forty-Seventh New York Volunteers from a local Puerto Rican official illustrated the eventual difficulties.

...communication from Morales and Sobrino in which they make complaint that the Troops at Rio Piedras have been eating at their restaurant considerably and on credit and that they now owe him 600 pesos. Implores the authorities to assist him in collecting same.⁵¹

The Massachusetts volunteer previously cited in this article for objecting to the Puerto Ricans' prices in marketing relations also readily condemned the islanders for expecting payment on their bills to the United States which were delinquent.

Utuaado, October 10, 1898

Arecibo is getting pretty hot... The natives are getting very unruly. I have samples of it every day. We owe many bills, which will be paid as soon as the Department at Ponce can get around to sending us the money. But the natives infest this office at all hours, clamoring for it. I have orders to explain to them first, send them away second, and kick them out last. It generally is the last. One burly black had to be thrown half way across the road before he developed a respect for the majesty of the American government.⁵²

The perception of children in need of discipline was thus as common in the cartoons as it was on the ground that the United States soldiers occupied. Views of the troublesome and grasping natives coupled with common environmental perceptions that depicted Puerto Rico as an undeveloped land in need of modernization. References to the "bridle paths" and "ox-cart roads" and the disgust that Americans had for traveling along them, despite the fact that they were supposedly soldiers, were common in the accounts, letters, and reports that they wrote.⁵³ In his memoirs, a regular trooper recalled his first impressions of Puerto Rico based on the view that he had of the harbor in Ponce shortly after disembarking his transport, the *Cherokee*.

...You ask a native why these improvements [to the harbor] have not been made, and he will listen to you attentively, but all the answer you will get is, an impassive shrug of his lazy good-for-nothing shoulders, and a "Si Señor mañana." [sic] "Manana"

[sic] that is the secret of Spain's downfall both in the eastern and western hemisphere. She has no one to blame but her own corrupt colonial government and "manana." [sic]⁵⁴

Under these circumstances, American soldiers were continuously reconstructing local and individual relations between themselves and the "natives" that more closely resembled the associations between the figures found in the Uncle Sam cartoons than in any of the imagery found within the humanitarian rhetoric justifying the war. Given their ill-trained, ill-equipped, and poorly officered status, their behavior had ample opportunity to degenerate into actions of coercion, intimidation, and violence against their "childlike" wards – and it often did.

Restructuring of local political relationships was also pervasive as the military embarked on an all-encompassing effort to establish rule virtually overnight. Thus, the campaign "to impress the people of the island with the good intentions of the American forces"⁵⁵ was fused with an education in government – and subordination. As the Caribbean historian Knight wrote of Brigadier General Henry, one of the successors to General Miles as the commander of forces in and military governor of the territory of Puerto Rico, he:

...saw his mission as saving the Puerto Ricans from themselves and the legacy of Spanish vices by establishing an efficient political system, improving the general sanitation of the island, and facilitating the process of Americanization by teaching English and inculcating all aspects of American culture.... he thought that by granting franchises personally to Americans he could remove graft and corruption among Puerto Ricans.⁵⁶

Many volunteer officers felt compelled to expel people from public office and replace them with their own best choices. One example is that of a Captain Potter, Commander, Company F, Fourth Infantry, Ohio Volunteers. While in Cayey, Puerto Rico, on October 20, 1898, he wrote to his superiors for a letter of instructions as to how he should proceed.

There seems to be two or more political parties, each of whom have sent representatives to me desiring to obtain control of the town affairs. I do not believe that the present mayor is a fit person for his office from the complaints of mismanagement that have been made of him. I attach a letter from a Señor Juan Candela a newly elected member of the city council and a lieutenant mayor of the town, who seems to be a good citizen, and as far as I can ascertain [sic.], the best man in the city to fill the office of mayor.

I should like instructions as to how far my authority extends

as regards my interference in the town affairs...⁵⁷

Thus, in 1898 Puerto Rico, there was ample opportunity to allow personal opinions, attitudes, and grievances to affect politics at both local and island-wide levels. To have achieved political authority on the island at that time depended far more on gaining the blessing of one's regional commander and his other favored island politicians than on building any significant amount of popular support. The acquisition of such a blessing no doubt involved appealing to the 'sensibilities' of one's 'civilized' monitors. Given this political environment that varied greatly from one regimental (and sometimes even company) commander's area of responsibility to that of another, it seems appropriate to characterize the military's initial administration of the island as decisively arbitrary.

To recall again the images of those cartoons presented earlier, the paternal yet prejudiced relationship that Uncle Sam had with his "children" serves as a fitting symbol of how many of the soldiers conducted their relations with the people of Spain's former colonies. At no time did the United States citizens (much less the policymakers or War Department administrators) see Puerto Rican independence as a viable option. Instead, they incarcerated vocal opponents and closed presses that expressed resentment over the confiscation of properties and the reordering of an established society. Aptly expressing the sentiments of one of these "urchins," eminent Puerto Rican scholar, publisher, and physician Coll y Toste wrote, "Our autonomous constitution is abolished and the Puerto Rican people changed – in fact, but without right – into a political orphan that is at the mercy of the American Congress."⁵⁸

In acts of denying the sovereignty and self-determination of others, justification would be essential. If one were adopting orphaned juveniles, however, no justification is required; what could be more beneficent than fostering a lost child as one's own ward? Contrasts of ruling adults and ruled children blend readily with other rationales that circulate in colonial cultures (e.g., ones relying on racial, gender, religious, and other stereotypes). Moreover, such rationale that would juvenilize the subjugated even finds common ground with more pedestrian articulations of environmental determinism, social Darwinism, and other pseudo-scholarly dogma. Depicting colonized peoples and places as mere children was thus as common a discursive theme amid acts of empire-building in 1898 as it still is today.

Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies: Representations of Other Peoples and Places

Given prevailing representations of Puerto Rico and its inhabitants, there was clearly an imperative to assert administrative control that most Americans both perceived and felt was appropriate. In rationalizing and

legitimizing such assertions, there was a real market for representations of civilizational and racial inferiority, underdevelopment, and the sort of irrationality otherwise regarded as being associated with women and children in the context of a highly gendered culture that promoted Western empires. In this respect, the United States was not at all unique, as a great number of authors have written with respect to European empires and their constructs of the Puerto Ricans' "Oriental" counterparts.

Political domination and economic exploitation needed the cosmetic cant of *mission civilisatrice* to seem fully commendatory. For the ideology of empire was hardly ever a brute jingoism; rather, it made subtle use of reason, and recruited science and history to serve its ends. The image of the European coloniser had to remain an honourable one: he did not come as exploiter, but as enlightener. He was not seeking mere profit, but was fulfilling his duty to his Maker and his sovereign, whilst aiding those less fortunate to rise toward his lofty level. This was the white man's burden, that reputable colonial *malaise*, that sanctioned the subjugating of entire continents.⁵⁹

Indeed, the construction of the "Porto Rican" was a phenomenon not at all unique to the late nineteenth century. It was a creation common to virtually all instances of European and American contact with "less-developed" peoples and involved a mental geography of opposites. To genuinely appreciate the nature of common geographic ideas of a period, however, present historical geographers must go beyond journals and treatises, and even travel accounts (many of which seem to have been written either by geographers or persons accustomed to the academic questions posed by contemporary geographers).

Though reading the works of environmental determinists may tell us something about the evolution of the discipline of geography and what was taught in the university classrooms during the 1890s, it only informs us partially as to how local and world events were interpreted elsewhere. For example, how did people perceive and discuss the mobilization of their local unit of National Guard Volunteers or the seizure of an island named "Porto Rico" while they congregated in the supply stores of Midwest Finnish farming communities; in the New York markets of Italian immigrants; in the black churches of the South; or, in the neighborhoods where the immigrant Irish were forced to live? How valid is it to assume that these Americans of the 1890s (or even just those who were white), who knew so little about each other, debated in-depth the concepts of determinists or conspired to risk the lives of their sons in an effort to transform Caribbean islands for the sake of "wage labor" and the marketing of "metropolitan consumer goods" that most of them could scarcely afford? Their ideas and perceptions that justified a war with Spain

and the annexation of Puerto Rico were probably more consistent with the polarized representations of people and places found, among other places, in the cartoons of their day and in the above-quoted proclamation that Miles delivered from his army's headquarters in Ponce in July 1898.

All of these depictions – and even the words of the occupying soldiers themselves – reveal constructed geographies and other ideas that were highly dependent upon stark opposites. That depictions of an adult-child relationship – with deeply embedded notions of appropriate societal roles and power relationships – would become symbolic in the minds and discourse of the colonizers for the geographic, socio-political, and even economic relationships that were evolving on the ground should not be surprising. Indeed, what could be more appropriate than having an adult assume a fostering – even parent-like – position upon encountering a child that has been orphaned?

In the many and highly varied contexts of colonialism and postcolonialism, depictions of other places and peoples – no matter how seemingly benign or detached – are never entirely disengaged from the colonial encounter itself. At the very least, they are reflective of those attitudes, sentiments, and inclinations that may be symbolic of, associated with, and occasionally even reacting against efforts to achieve and maintain dominance. In most instances, however, the imagery of colonized places and peoples historically functioned in two inter-related capacities amid colonization. First, such depictions can be viewed as rhetorical tools supporting colonialism because they were commonly employed to justify, moralize, or otherwise legitimize the act of subordination itself (e.g., as with fostering an orphaned territory and/or people). Second, the very images – be they “scientific,” prose, artistic, or even cartographic – have commonly constituted another form of subordination entirely unto themselves. Indeed, critical readings of postcolonial scholarship⁶⁰ focus particularly on this second function of colonial imagery. While the initial causes for colonization and its immediate justifications may be easily debunked in the months or years to come, the general sentiments created by those images that supported actions of subordination (e.g., the perceived need to aid/oversee less-developed places, polities, economies, and even peoples) rarely fade so quickly. Discursive domination is thus one of the major forms of subordination that persist well after outright colonialism ends, both functioning as it initially did in some ways but also manifesting itself in new forms long after past invasions and/or occupations – whether they be in Puerto Rico, Vietnam, Afghanistan, or Iraq.

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Notes

1. Archival research for this study involved analysis of the orders, reports, letters, and other records of individual units deployed to Puerto Rico during the Spanish-American War. These records were accessed at the United States National Archives, Washington, DC, and citations from and references to the information found in these sources are hereafter indicated as USNARA (United States National Archives and Records Administration).
2. The year 1898 since became a significant symbol of many things for many peoples, as noted throughout Caribbean historian Louis A. Pérez's *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). Additional histories of the war and American expansion that might be consulted include the following: Philip S. Foner, *The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism, 1895-1902*, 2 volumes (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972); J.A. (John Atkinson) Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1902); Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1963); Walter Millis, *The Martial Spirit: A Study of Our War with Spain* (Cambridge, MA: The Literary Guild of America, 1931); Ivan Musicant, *Empire by Default: The Spanish-American War and the Dawn of the American Century* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998); and, Musicant's *The Banana Wars: A History of United States Military Intervention in Latin America from the Spanish-American War to the Invasion of Panama* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1990). For specific information on the United States military in Puerto Rico during the Spanish-American War, note Edward J. Berbusse, *The United States in Puerto Rico, 1898-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1966) and María Eugenia Estades Font, *La presencia militar de Estados Unidos en Puerto Rico 1898-1918: Intereses estratégicos y dominación colonial* (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán, 1988).
3. Gregory J.W. Urwin, *The United States Infantry: An Illustrated History, 1775-1918* (New York: Blandford Press, 1991): 138.
4. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1990 reprint): 53.
5. David Healy, *Drive to Hegemony: The United States in the Caribbean, 1898-1917* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988): 37.
6. William Edmund Livezey, *Mahan On Sea Power*, second edition (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981): 140. Also, Jules R. Benjamin, *The United States and the Origins of the Cuban Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990): 35.
7. Cited in Franklin W. Knight, *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism*, second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) 266.
8. George G. King, *Letters of a Volunteer in the Spanish-American War* (Chicago: Hawkins and Loomis, 1929): 12.
9. Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders*, 6.
10. Estimates of the number of troops involved were first derived from United States Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondences Relating to the War with Spain and Conditions Growing Out of the Same, Including the Insurrection in the Philippine Islands and the China Relief Expedition, Between the Adjutant-General of the Army and Military Commanders In the United States, Cuba, Porto Rico, China, and the Philippine Islands, From April 15, 1898, to July 30, 1902* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1902). After consulting the original unit muster reports contained in military records collections in the United States National Archives and Records Administration (USNARA, Record Group 94, Entry 58, Spanish-American Volunteer Muster Roles), most figures were corrected in Kyle T. Evered, *American Environmental Perceptions of Puerto Rico and the Conduct of the Spanish-American War* (Unpublished MS thesis, Department of Geography, University of Wisconsin – Madison, 1993).
11. It should be noted that anti-Catholic statements also appeared and were often grouped with such generalizations about all Hispanics. Such "Black Legend" images seemed almost identical

- to ones addressed in numerous works confronted within Chicano histories. Note, for example, the works of Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, 4th ed. (New York: Longman, 2000) and David J. Weber, *Myth and the History of the Hispanic Southwest: Essays* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988).
12. F. Agoncillo, "Are the Filipinos Civilized?" *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 48 (1899): 75-85.
 13. Arnold Guyot, *The Earth and Man: Lectures on Comparative Physical Geography, in its Relation to the History of Mankind*, translated by C.C. Felton (Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1849): 306-307.
 14. Ellsworth Huntington, *The Pulse of Progress; Including a Sketch of Jewish History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926): 309-311.
 15. Huntington, *The Pulse of Progress*, 309 and 313.
 16. Amy Kaplan, "Romancing the Empire: The Embodiment of American Masculinity in the Popular Historical Novel of the 1890s," *American Literary History* 2:4 (1990): 659-690.
 17. Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998). On general aspects of American nationhood and the ideals of white masculinity, note Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). Further exploration of gendered themes of colonialism can also be found in Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995).
 18. George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985): 1-22.
 19. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, 64.
 20. Among Turner's writings, note Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Problem of the West," *Atlantic Monthly* 78 (1896): 289-297.
 21. A third element that Kaplan adjoined to these two popular conceptions of undeveloped spaces and of immature peoples was the imposition of a gender designation and/or comparison (Kaplan, "Romancing the Empire," 659-690). As will be seen, such gendered associations were also common within the geographic depictions of colonized peoples and spaces.
 22. For example, note W.J.T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," in W.J.T. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994): 5-34.
 23. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992): 151-152.
 24. James M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1993): 28.
 25. Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London: Routledge, 1997): 68.
 26. Peter Jackson, *Maps of Meaning: An Introduction to Cultural Geography* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989): 134-140.
 27. Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995): 223.
 28. Benjamin Kidd, *The Control of the Tropics* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1898): 53.
 29. "The Minneapolis Journal," *The Library of Journal Extras: Cartoons of the Spanish-American War by Bart with Dates of Important Events from The Minneapolis Journal, January, 1899* (Minneapolis, MN: Journal Printing Company, 1899): 112.
 30. "The Minneapolis Journal," *The Library of Journal Extras*, 135-136.
 31. "The Minneapolis Journal," *The Library of Journal Extras*, 144.
 32. Andrew Sloan Draper, *The Rescue of Cuba: An Episode in the Growth of Free Government* (Boston: Silver Burdett and Company).
 33. The writings of Alfred Thayer Mahan are commonly cited as highly symbolic of the expansionist movement – even causal in some texts due to the rationale he provided for acquiring overseas bases from which an emergent global power might assert and extend its military and commercial interests. Among his numerous works published prior to the Spanish-American War, note the following books and articles: *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (London: Sampson Low, 1890); *The Interest of America in Sea Power, Present and Future* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1897); "The United States Looking Outward," *Atlantic Monthly* 66 (1890): 816-824; and, "Strategic Features of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico," *Harper's Monthly* 95 (1897): 680-691.
 34. Cited in Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964 reprint): 231; quoted from Henry Cabot Lodge,

- Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge*, 2 volumes (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925): volume 1, 299 and 300.
35. Henry K. Carroll, *Report on the Island of Porto Rico; Its Population, Civil Government, Commerce, Industries, Production, Roads, Tariffs, and Currency, With Recommendations. Respectfully Submitted to Hon. William K. McKinley, President of the United States. October 6, 1899* (New York: Arno Press, 1975 reprint): 61.
 36. This section addresses the images of people and places from what Pratt discussed as the "contact zone" – a term regarded as approximately synonymous with "colonial frontier" but freed from its "European expansionist perspective." In her study, Pratt's references to this site represented her "attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect." Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.
 37. USNARA, Record Group 94, Entry 58, Spanish-American Volunteer Muster Roles. Copies of this particular proclamation were found in the records of most all units deployed in Puerto Rico that were examined.
 38. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990): 77
 39. Emanuel Rossiter, "Right Forward, Fours Right, March!" A Little Story of "Company I," *Third Wisconsin Volunteers, First Brigade, First Division, First Corps* (no place, publisher, or recorded pages – book likely printed in Superior, Wisconsin – the home of Company I, Third Wisconsin Volunteers, 1900): no pages (n.p.).
 40. USNARA, Record Group 94, Entry 58, Spanish-American Volunteer Muster Roles, Ohio Volunteers.
 41. Fernando Picó, *Historia general de Puerto Rico*, fifth edition (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán, 1990): 228-229. Also note his book *1898: La Guerra después de la guerra* (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán, 1987).
 42. USNARA, Record Group 94, Entry 58, Spanish-American Volunteer Muster Roles.
 43. USNARA, Record Group 94, Entry 58, Spanish-American Volunteer Muster Roles.
 44. Cited in Trumbull White, *Pictorial History of Our War with Spain for Cuba's Freedom* (Freedom Publishing Company, 1898): 549.
 45. Also cited in White, *Pictorial History of Our War with Spain for Cuba's Freedom*, 549.
 46. As in, for example, one letter among miscellaneous military reports contained within USNARA, Record Group 94, Entry 58, Spanish-American Volunteer Muster Roles that described the island and its people and in William H. Oliver, *Roughing It with the Regulars* (New York: William F. Parr, 1901): 94.
 47. George G. King, *Letters of a Volunteer in the Spanish-American War* (Chicago: Hawkins and Loomis, 1929): 61-62.
 48. Rossiter, "Right Forward, Fours Right, March!"; n.p..
 49. King, *Letters of a Volunteer...*, 89.
 50. Oliver, *Roughing It with the Regulars*, 173.
 51. USNARA, Record Group 94, Entry 58, Spanish-American Volunteer Muster Roles, New York Volunteers, Forty-Seventh Infantry, March 1899.
 52. King, *Letters of a Volunteer...*, 122.
 53. USNARA, Record Group 94, Entry 58, Spanish-American Volunteer Muster Roles.
 54. Oliver, *Roughing It with the Regulars*, 89.
 55. Nelson Appleton Miles, The Puerto Rican Campaign: Account by General Miles, in *Harper's Pictorial History of the War With Spain, With an Introduction by Maj.-Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Commanding, United States Army* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1899): 393-404.
 56. Knight, *The Caribbean*, 267.
 57. USNARA, Record Group 94, Entry 58, Spanish-American Volunteer Muster Roles, Ohio Volunteers, Fourth Infantry, October 1898.
 58. This quote attributed to Cayetano Coll y Toste [likely from a speech presented on 12 August 1908 and reprinted in *Boletín Histórico de Puerto Rico* 2 (1915): 134-140] is cited in Raymond Carr, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment* (New York: New York University Press, 1984): 20-21.
 59. Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient: Devise and Rule* (London: Macmillan, 1986): 6. The major secondary source of significance on the invention of "Oriental" opposites is, of course, Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). See also Said's *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993).

60. Note, for example, Derek Gregory, "(Post)Colonialism and the Production of Nature," in Noel Castree and Bruce Braun, eds., *Social Nature: Theory, Practice, and Politics* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001): 84-111. This work, in particular, helped to inform some of the perspectives presented in this article.