

satisfying military spectacle.<sup>1</sup> Among expected beneficent results were the expansion and professionalization of the American Army and Navy<sup>2</sup> and nothing less than 'the emergence of the United States as a World Power, shrinking no more from the responsibilities which the position entails upon her' - especially in the Pacific.

At the end of the first week in April, 1898 the Ballarat Courier summed up the position well: 'The great American republic is casting its Munroe [sic] doctrine to the winds.' Further,

the jingo spirit in the republic was not quelled by the removal of the Venezuelan question to the cooling chamber of arbitration. It was only diverted and it has found food for its fire in the Cuban rebellion.<sup>3</sup>

During this Easter period, the Sydney Morning Herald voiced the dilemma of Australian opinion: 'the phases are kaleidoscopic in their rapidity', it regretted, 'and at this distance all that we can be certain of is that the last words of peaceable negotiation seem to have been uttered.' But the paper went further. It visualized the struggle in abstract terms: as,

the quarrel of the Old World with the New, of the Old Order, which, though it is its proud boast that it changeth not, is yet forced to change, giving way to the New. Spain is the emblem today of monarchical institutions, of the last decaying theories of European privilege and autocratic ideals, whilst America typifies for us all the ideas that have sprouted from the first seed of modern democracy. The two countries represent the opposites of political thought and the two countries face each other today prepared for one of those stern grapples which have, time after time, made theories good or utterly exploded them.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Estimates of relative strengths were a combination of Brassey's yearly Naval Manual and guesswork, though W.F. Hindson's military commentary was perceptive and helpful during the discussion.

<sup>2</sup>The Works of Leonard D. White (1958), William R. Braisted (1958), Russel F. Weigley (1962), Stephen E. Ambrose (1964), Daniel J. Carrison (1965) and Walter R. Herrick Jr. (1966), outline in detail the nature of those military and naval changes.

<sup>3</sup>Ballarat Courier, 7 Apr. 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Sydney Morning Herald, 8 Apr. 1898.



THE FIRST SWOOP.

Melbourne Punch, 28 April 1898.

In a similar manner the Ballarat Star predicted the 'grand, instructive and ironic "Decline and Fall of the Spanish Empire in the West"'. That end it believed, would be deservedly just for,

Spain has long represented a dying cause, an effete and iniquitous system that dates from the middle ages; the United States on the other hand, brings to bear the broad and liberal ethics of modern Christianity and civilization.<sup>1</sup>

Australian press opinion gathered the final summation in such persuasive, simplistic terms. Despite telling points made against America and for Spain, there was little doubt as to which side the Australian public would wish to award the honours in the wordy debate on whether the United States would be justified in intervening in Spain's colonies.

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<sup>1</sup>Ballarat Star, 13 Apr. 1898.

CHAPTER NINE

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, 1898:

AUSTRALIA'S PERCEPTION



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THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, 1898:

AUSTRALIA'S PERCEPTION

Australian readers were greeted on the morning of 21 April 1898 with the announcement: 'WAR DECLARED: TO BEGIN ON SATURDAY: AMERICA WILL ATTACK'. With maps and supplementary cover, the press informed the public of McKinley's one-day ultimatum which demanded Spanish evacuation, or hostilities to commence at 6 a.m. Saturday morning. At least one paper saw the humorous side of the declaration as 'not unlike a theatrical announcement of a new comic opera, save that it lacks the suggestion to "take tickets early to avoid the crush at the door"'. It guaranteed Australia's position as interested spectator. All early cables posted at newspaper offices were 'eagerly perused' by large crowds 'cheering for the success of the American troops'.<sup>1</sup>

At the 9 p.m. interval on Saturday night of 21 April, the proprietor of the Royal Theatre in Adelaide, Mr. Hautrey, announced that the white light hoisted on the General Post Office tower by the Chamber of Commerce, had signified the war's outbreak. The band struck up 'Yankee Doodle' to cheers from the audience and the play was forgotten. In other theatres of the city, the scene was repeated.<sup>2</sup> Interwined flags of America and Britain were common sights in the dress circles and foyers.<sup>3</sup>

From the beginning it was a stage war. To the Argus '...thousands of men...feel as if they are sitting in an opera-box at a great theatre, viewing the most exciting of dramas'.<sup>4</sup> For the Perth Morning Herald, the war satisfied

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<sup>1</sup> See cables and editorials in the following: Argus, 21 Apr. 1898; Australian Star, 21 Apr. 1898; Geelong Advertiser, 22 Apr. 1898; Mt. Alexander Mail, 21 Apr. 1898; Australasian, 23 Apr. 1898; Maitland Mercury, 23 Apr. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> South Australian Register, 25 Apr. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> Advertiser, 25 Apr. 1898.

<sup>4</sup> Argus, 1 June 1898. See also Review of Reviews, 15 June 1898.

Australians' 'appetite for sensation'.<sup>1</sup> As for more sombre minds, we were 'umpires watching experiments' in the efficiency of the latest weapons.<sup>2</sup>

On Tuesday 19 April, approximately a hundred Australians 'who have their fighting instincts strongly developed', offered their services to Colonel Bell, the United States Consul, for duties with American forces, particularly cavalry regiments. Neither Bell in Sydney, nor Bray in Melbourne, could offer such volunteers hope of service, though obviously flattered and amused by the Australian advances. The scene was repeated in other capitals. C.A. Murphy, the United States Consular Agent in Adelaide, was besieged by a 'large number' of Australians, including three trained nurses, who wished to assist in the fighting, though at least one official expressed the suspicion that their ultimate interest was more in obtaining a free passage to the Yukon goldfields.<sup>3</sup> In fact all public officials had been urged to strictly apply the provisions of the 'Foreign Enlistment Act', prohibiting Australian participation. As neutrals, 'it is useless for Australians to think of having a hand in thrashing England's ancient foe', regretted the South Australian Register.<sup>4</sup>

The Southern Cross attempted an explanation: 'It is perhaps the mere effervescence of youthful blood which makes so many Australians offer their services to the American government. There must be a passionate fighting strain in the native-born Australian, since he cannot hear of fighting going on under any sky without being eager to take part in it!'<sup>5</sup> Brisbane's Evening Observer added: '...it must be galling to these enthusiastic souls to find themselves

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<sup>1</sup>Perth Morning Herald, 4 July 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Mt. Alexander Mail, 8 Aug. 1898. See also Queenslander, 20 Aug. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>See cables in following: Argus, 20 Apr. 1898; Age, 28 Apr. 1898, rumoured that a thousand Canadians had volunteered; Ballarat Courier, 26 Apr. 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 30 Apr. 1898. F.B. Freehill, the Spanish Consul claimed that several Spaniards in Sydney had volunteered, Advertiser, 27 Apr. 1898.

<sup>4</sup>South Australian Register, 26 Apr. 1898.

<sup>5</sup>Southern Cross, 29 Apr. 1898.

pulled sharply up by the remonstrances and warnings of Major General French, or even by the proclamation of our Deputy-Governor in the Government Gazette Extraordinary'.<sup>1</sup>

More soberly, other papers accused the volunteers of a range of impure motives from insincere gasconading, to want of prospects at home, vain women hunting and a desire for a military pension.<sup>2</sup>

With memories of the Shenandoah in mind, Captain Currie, Chairman of the Department of Trade and Customs, read a memo at the Marine Board meeting warning all pilots, light-house keepers and ship-owners that 'the country and the British Empire might be involved in serious consequences if any Victorian shipowner had business contracts with either of the belligerent powers'.<sup>3</sup> The warning was typical of those issued in other ports in Australia.

All social forces in Australia seemed to contrive toward sympathy for America. A pro-Federation audience in the Centenary Hall, Sydney, was led in three cheers for America by A. Copeland, M.L.A., from 'brothers in Australia', for a 'campaign in the interests of humanity'.<sup>4</sup> In Stuart Street, Ballarat, on the Saturday night of the outbreak of war, a huge crowd assembled outside the Star office, to gather the latest bulletins and listen to the playing of Prout's band in the rotunda opposite. At 9 p.m., a programme of American airs was begun amid cheers; a rocket display from Burrows' Union Hotel; coloured lights and the discharge of pistol shots from the top of Davies and Franklin's warehouse. Spectators on the Hotel Balcony led 'Marching Through Georgia', changing the words from 'Hurrah, hurrah, we bring the jubilee', to 'Hurrah, hurrah, the Cubans shall be free'. As the Ballarat Star put it: 'The demonstration was throughout spontaneous, as well as of a highly exciting character and left no doubt as to the

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<sup>1</sup>Brisbane Evening Observer, 30 Apr. 1898.

<sup>2</sup>E.g. editorials in, Advocate, 30 Apr. 1898; Australian Star, 30 Apr., 3 May 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 17 June 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Age, 30 Apr. 1898. For the Shenandoah incident in Melbourne, see Footnote one in Introduction.

<sup>4</sup>Australian Star, 23 Apr. 1898.



BLOOD'S THICKER THAN WATER.

Melbourne Punch, 12 May 1898.

sympathies of the bulk of the local public being with the Stars and Stripes'.<sup>1</sup> A special war issue of that paper attracted a stream of people to the newspaper office for five hours, until another edition of many thousands of copies were run. In this, there was shades of the United States' own jingo press.

Elsewhere there were similar scenes. In Sydney, the Australian Star claimed, 'the feeling of intense sympathy with America was without disguise; perfect strangers addressed each other in the streets on the subject and the general anxiety to learn the latest intelligence was never more keenly marked'.<sup>2</sup> Many felt with Castlemaine's leading paper, 'that the present duel...is our war'.<sup>3</sup> To Adelaide's great press conservative, 'in the colonies of Great Britain, the popular manifestations of feeling within the last few days have been even more marked than in the United Kingdom itself'.<sup>4</sup>

Interest was not without humour. One wag scrawled over the cabled capture of a Spanish ship on a Melbourne news-board: 'America - won by six wickets'. 'The White Squadron', a play with an international diplomatic theme, showing at the Sydney Lyceum had an 'American night', 1 May, attended by Colonel Bell, W.C. Rennie and a 'wildly enthusiastic audience'.<sup>5</sup> Norton's Truth ran funny fictitious cables on the war.<sup>6</sup> The Melbourne Punch reported the witticisms of two fictitious observers in balloons above the action in the Caribbean and South China Seas.<sup>7</sup> Madame Melba, singing Rossini's Il Barbiere in San Francisco, compromised by singing the 'Star Spangled Banner' during the lesson scene

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<sup>1</sup>Ballarat Star, 25 Apr. 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Australian Star, 25 Apr. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Mt. Alexander Mail, 26 Apr. 1898.

<sup>4</sup>South Australian Register, 26 Apr. 1898. See also Brisbane Evening Observer, 29 Apr. 1898.

<sup>5</sup>Australasian, 30 Apr. 1898.

<sup>6</sup>Truth, 24 Apr., 1 May, 12, 26, 30 June, 21 Aug. 1898.

<sup>7</sup>Melbourne Punch, 5, 12 May, 9, 16 June, 7 July 1898.

in her costume of a Spanish senorita, with 'amazing effect'.<sup>1</sup>

Colonel Bell at this time seemed the very embodiment of an expansive America. Constantly interviewed, he saw the volunteering of 300 members of New South Wales' defence forces and 17 trained nurses in one week, as 'an evidence of the good feeling on the part of your people toward us'. He raged against F.B. Freehill, the Spanish Consul in Sydney for claiming that Spain was better prepared for war than America, and at Major General French for suggesting that Australian troops were superior to America's volunteer corps. 'It is a good thing the duello is not in fashion, or we might have the eloquent Colonel challenge both Consul and General', joked the Sydney Mail.<sup>2</sup> Bell was soon to add Cardinal Moran to his list of combatants. Many papers found it enjoyable to 'draw' the peripatetic Colonel. This was done only teasingly, as he was in fact widely admired for his sincere interest in developing Australian-American trade.<sup>3</sup>

All the anti-Spanish sentiment building up during the preceding three years was now released in a journalistic flood during 1898, mitigated only by a little sympathy for the country's open humiliation in the eyes of the world. Following Manila Bay, the Bendigo Independent claimed,

'Australian boys of today should (now) readily understand why the old British buccaneers held the Spaniards in contempt and why their compatriots of a couple of centuries of later growth, the frontiersmen of the Western States, had much the same feelings of regard and admiration for their Spanish neighbours as a Queensland shearer has for the Chinese cook on the station....'<sup>4</sup>

Norton vilified the Spaniards as 'personally and morally dirty, traitorous, cruel, vindictive, lazy scoundrels'.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Age, 25 June 1898. Melba's letter to a friend in London was republished in the Age. She hoped her action would work for 'a pleasanter state of affairs for both countries in the far-off future'.

<sup>2</sup>Sydney Mail, 30 Apr. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>See comment in, Australian Star, 23 Apr., 13 May 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 6 May 1898; Truth, 8 May 1898; Freeman's Journal, 14 May 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Bendigo Independent, 7 July 1898.

<sup>5</sup>Truth, 8 May 1898.

It was Australian racial prejudice in full flower.<sup>1</sup>

Catholic attitudes were often ambivalent. Catholic newspapers in Australia were openly proud of the patriotism shown by Catholic-Americans in their country's cause and equally embarrassed that the backward transgressor was a Catholic country par excellence. A division occurred. The Sydney Freeman's Journal, taking a lead from Archbishop Ireland, McKinley's intermediary with the Pope, became clearly biased toward the concept of an American humanitarian mission.<sup>2</sup> Melbourne's Advocate was just as clearly biased toward defending Spain's reputation and criticising the notion of an Anglo-American alliance.<sup>3</sup>

Most confused of all was Cardinal Moran. His dilemma was satirised by the Melbourne Punch:

Was ever Cardinal so undecided?  
With other foes I could have prayed  
for either,  
But as it is - I'd better pray for  
neither.<sup>4</sup>

At the annual breakfast of the Hibernian Society in Sydney, the Cardinal attacked prejudiced Protestant reports. In an interview with the Catholic Press, in early May, he lashed out at American jingoes for undermining Spain's position in Cuba and grossly exaggerating the nature and extent of the Filipino insurrection. He warned of America's involvement of the Empire in a war for China's markets.<sup>5</sup> Colonel Bell instantly attacked him for muting the role of Spanish

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<sup>1</sup>See comment in, Southern Cross, 29 Apr. 1898; War Cry, 19 Nov. 1898; Australian Star, 9 May 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 10 May 1898; Launceston Examiner, 9 May 1898; Melbourne Punch, 16 June 1898; Ballarat Star, 7 July 1898; Advertiser, 15 July 1898; Geelong Times, 15 July 1898; Warrnambool Standard, 18 July 1898; Courier, 18 July 1898; Coolgardie Miner, 21 July 1898; Mt. Alexander Mail, 22 July 1898; Bulletin, 30 July 1898; Age, 6 Aug. 1898; Spectator, 5 Aug. 1898; Sydney Mail, 13 Aug. 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Freeman's Journal, 7, 14 May 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Advocate, 30 Apr., 7, 14 May, 18, 25 June, 9, 30 July, 6, 13 Aug., 3 Sept. 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Melbourne Punch, 5 May 1898.

<sup>5</sup>Catholic Press, 7 May 1898.

cruelty and mismanagement in bringing on the war. But the Catholic press defended the Cardinal unanimously. They did this while praising America's good intention and pointing out America's own turbulently violent past.<sup>1</sup>

What swung Catholic bias more toward the American side was the fact that Irish-Catholic opinion in Australia had moved the centre of gravity of sentiment toward that country, and the realization that by backing Spain, the Catholic argument was losing itself in a dying and dishonoured cause. An aged Timothy Fogarty of Redfern in a letter to the Freeman's Journal recounted how, as an Irish-Catholic, he had fought for Spain in 1835 and been thoroughly disillusioned with Spanish cruelty and divisiveness. He opted for America out of gratitude for the assistance rendered that country in 1846 during the frightful potato famine.<sup>2</sup> Once the argument regarding the supposed correlation between Catholicism and "national decay" had been effectively rebutted by Monsignor Vaughan and others in the pages of the Catholic Press,<sup>3</sup> Irish-Catholics felt freer to assert their nationalistic preference over and above their religious bias. Spain as underdog and former Irish refuge excited some sympathy,<sup>4</sup> but America as base for 'Home Rulers', employer and rewarder of Irish naval and military valor and subject of Archbishop Ireland's paeans of mystic national praise, attracted a far more enthusiastic response in the hearts of the many Irish-Catholics in Australia.<sup>5</sup>

Australian Jews were less equivocal about their position. Spain's expulsion of 300,000 Jews since that significant year 1492, had resulted in their viewing the New

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<sup>1</sup>E.g. Monitor, 22, 29 Apr., 27 May, 17 June, 1, 8, 22 July, 26 Aug., 16 Sept., 14 Oct., 18 Nov. 1898, 27 Jan. 1899. Attacking the Cardinal were the Liberator, 7, 14, 21 May, 16 July, 10 Sept. 1898; Truth, 8 May 1898; Courier, 12 May 1898; Tocsin, 30 June 1898; Victorian Churchman, 9 Sept. 1898; Presbyterian Monthly, 1 Aug. 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Freeman's Journal, 30 Apr., 14 May 1898.

<sup>3</sup>E.g. Monsignor Vaughan, 'National Decay and "Romanism"', 'Austral Light', Vol. VII, No. 9, Sept. 1898, pp.403-505.

<sup>4</sup>E.g. Marion Miller, 'The Spanish Mother' in Austral Light, October 1898, p.604.

<sup>5</sup>E.g. Record, 23 Apr. 1898; Monitor, 29 Apr. 1898; Advocate, 30 Apr., 21 May, 4, 18 June, 2, 8 July 1898; Leader, 4 June 1898.



World as a home of tolerance and freedom. They took pride in the fact that Rodrigo Sanchez, who first sighted the New World, was Jewish. Rabbi Landau took pains to inform the Sydney press that 50,000 out of the 700,000 volunteers in the American Army were Jewish. This evidence of Jewish patriotism should silence 'venomous tongues...for ever more', claimed the Jewish Herald.<sup>1</sup> The Sydney Mail was one paper that commented favourably.<sup>2</sup> With delight at the irony of history, the Jewish Herald remarked: 'Kinsfolk of those ill-treated Spanish Jews have joined hands with a free and liberty-loving people to bring Spain to her senses and raise her to a sense of right and wrong.'<sup>3</sup>

By contrast, worker reaction was almost invariably hostile toward America. The Tocsin republished the fraternal greetings of The People, a New York worker's journal, to its Spanish co-workers, claiming that they had no cause for quarrel except with their mutually exploitive capitalist masters. As 'G.M.B.' put it:

Than avoid this murderous confusion,  
For why should our forces be slain,  
Supporting the Fatman's delusion,  
And to crush the poor people of  
Spain?<sup>4</sup>

The Brisbane Worker quoted La Socialista of Madrid to the same effect.<sup>5</sup> Among anti-war materials from Bishop Potter, William Dean Howells and Charles Francis Adams, a petition addressed to 'The Workers Of America' claimed that American capitalists would exploit the natives of the occupied territories and that the real purpose of the war was to divert attention away from worker grievances at home.

There was other anti-American opinion. 'Uncle Sam is moving under the cover of philanthropic regard for the Cubans', held the Ballarat Courier, 'but there is not a little feeling that the United States are bullying the smaller power'.<sup>6</sup> In a sustained burst of denigration, the Tocsin claimed:

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<sup>1</sup> Jewish Herald, 29 Apr. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> Sydney Mail, 14 May 1898.

<sup>3</sup> Jewish Herald, Ibid. See also, Evening News, 6 May 1898.

<sup>4</sup> Tocsin, 6, 30 June. The 'Fatman' was Labor's shorthand for capitalist.

<sup>5</sup> Brisbane Worker, 9 July 1898.

<sup>6</sup> Ballarat Courier, 3 Apr. 1898.

A lot of low, mean and contemptible American thieves and society criminals, backed up by the most selfish of speculators and the dirtiest journalists in the whole world have set out to steal the rich lands of Cuba...The bombastic humbug, cant and hypocrisy of these Americans is very edifying. The Americans as a nation can hardly be said to have attained civilization. The people who can be made to believe that the cause of humanitarianism could be allied with a war of aggression, and a war of revenge, must be both ignorant and immoral ...If the Americans are acting like blackguards, the proper thing is to say so. Those who cannot ...because of racial sympathies are but cowards.

By becoming imperialists, Americans were joining 'the great scoundrels of the world', the paper believed.<sup>1</sup> Others were not happy with American expansion for a variety of military, social, economic and political reasons.<sup>2</sup>

As at an earlier date, jingoism was a focus for criticism of America. The 'hi-cockalarum-Hail-Columbia-Screaming Eagle' style of American patriot and his Australian barrackers came in for equal criticism. Norton re-nicknamed the Sydney Morning Herald from 'Granny' to 'Herod' for her 'new-born love of slaughterings'.<sup>3</sup> John Farrell praised the Quakers and other 'stay-at-homes' for their unusual heroism.<sup>4</sup> An amoral national madness had gripped the nation - a disappointing development in a democracy, some held. The image of 'half-naked and desperate men fighting savagely hand to hand in scrub and trenches says little for the advancement of civilization', complained the Sydney Mail.<sup>5</sup> That the excitability of Americans was a Latinate, not an Anglo-Saxon

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<sup>1</sup>Tocsin, 7, 14 July 1898.

<sup>2</sup>See editorials in: Age, 23 Apr. 1898; Capricornian, 23 Apr. 1898; Barrier Miner, 25 Apr. 1898; Tocsin, 28 Apr., 30 June 1898; Evening News, 30 Apr., 16 May 1898; Australian Star, 2 May 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 10 May 1898; Herald, 17 May 1898; Monitor, 20, 27 May 1898, 13 Jan. 1899; Advocate, 28 May 1898; Bulletin, 28 May 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 15 June, 28 Dec. 1898; Mercury, 13 July 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Truth, 1, 8 May 1898 ref. to Sydney Morning Herald, 30 Apr., 3 Aug. 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 23 Apr., 2, 14 May, 18 June 1898, 30 Jan. 1899.

<sup>5</sup>Sydney Mail, Ibid.

development in the national character, was a common observation. Hitherto, Americans had enjoyed a reputation for dourness and sobriety that had won them affectionate respect abroad. These traits were now seen in a new light as evidence of a less popular 'cold and fickle' people. To the Australian Star Americans were 'a nation of sentimentalists, jappanned with utilitarianism'.<sup>1</sup> American women were often blamed for stimulating a jingo ethos, and McKinley for not restraining it.<sup>2</sup>

That other traditional source of anti-American feeling, the 'Yellow Press', was again attacked with renewed vigour as the war advanced. Circulation battles, sensation-seeking, misleading stories, 'Steadism' (falsely generalizing from particulars), were all criticized. W.G. Smalley in particular, was deflated by Australian journalists for his 'self-advertisement and bumptiousness'. However, a vocal minority of influential newspapers defended the bulk of the American press for heroic and selfless service to humanity in providing a thorough news-coverage of the conflict.<sup>3</sup>

Economic, as well as more social manifestations, held the interest of the Australian press as the war unfolded.

Anxiety was expressed for the safety of the Mariposa on her regular mail-run from Sydney to San Francisco, carrying on her April-May voyage, £350,000 worth of Australian gold.

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<sup>1</sup>Australian Star, 1 Sept., 8 Oct. 1898.

<sup>2</sup>For varied comments, see editorials in South Australian Register, 25, 26 Apr. 1898; Herald, 23 Apr., 10 June, 2 July 1898; Advertiser, 4 July 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 7 July 1898; Evening News, 11 July, 31 Aug. 1898; Review of Reviews, 15 July, 15 Sept. 1898; Capricornian, 23 July 1898; Age, 14 May, 23 Sept. 1898; West Australian, 3 Jan. 1899; Argus, 12 Jan. 1899; Bendigo Advertiser, 23 Apr., 10 Dec. 1898; War Cry, 23 Apr. 1898; Freeman's Journal, 23 Apr. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Editorials in, South Australian Register, 23 Apr. 1898; Southern Cross, 29 Apr. 1898; Advertiser, 29 Apr., 6, 31 May 1898; Australian Star, 26, 30 Apr., 28 May 1898; Launceston Examiner, 5, 6 May 1898; Advocate, 14 May 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 25 May 1898; Mt. Alexander Mail, 23 June 1898; Argus, 25 June 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 5 May, 11 Aug. 1898; Age, 3 Sept. 1898; Maitland Mercury, 6 Sept. 1898; Ballarat Star, 5 May 1898; Australasian, 7 May 1898.

As declared contraband of war, coal was more vulnerable. At the beginning of April. it was known that ten coal ships, each carrying 50,000 tons cargo, were on the high seas from Newcastle, bound for Manila or Ilo Ilo. Fifteen were afloat from the same port, headed for San Francisco; nine under the American flag. In the first week of the war, the Saranac, with an American captain and mate, was captured by the Spanish in the Philippines. A month later, another Australian collier, the J.V. Troop, was seized by Dewey. Such interruptions to commerce suggested to many the urgent need for federation of the Australian colonies. That Spain could disrupt the valuable American trade, worth approximately £2½ million to Australia, was irritating. Ship owners worried about developments, whether the hazardous voyage of the Tythonus from Port Pirie to Cartagena in Spain, or an anticipated rise in American or Manilan demand for Australian fruit and vegetables, meat, wheat, leather and hides.<sup>1</sup>

Commercial disturbance quickly followed. In the first two weeks of the war, the price of Australian flour rose by £1 a ton; American No.2 Red Winter Wheat rose by 3d a hundredweight and American kerosene was subject to panic buying which raised its price by 3d a gallon. Broken Hill welcomed the significant rises in the price of copper, lead, spelter, tin, silver and pig-iron.<sup>2</sup>

As the war advanced, the strategic role played by coal

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<sup>1</sup>Cables and business columns of the following, contain comment: Argus, 2, 17, 18, 20 Apr. 1898; Warrnambool Standard, 28 Apr. 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 29 Apr. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 23, 29 Apr. 1898; Age, 29 Apr. 1898; South Australian Register, 27 May 1898; Courier, 18, 20 Apr. 1898; Sydney Mail, 23 Apr. 1898; Launceston Examiner, 26 Apr. 1898; Advertiser, 27 Apr. 1898; West Australian, 27 Apr. 1898.

<sup>2</sup>See cables and business columns of Brisbane Evening Observer, 29 Apr. 1898; South Australian Register, 26 Apr., 4 May 1898; Warrnambool Standard, 4 May 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 4, 18 June 1898; Age, 29 Apr. 1898.

in the new naval warfare became increasingly obvious. Shenandoah-style demands for the valuable fuel were a constant expectation. Newcastle, the coal port on Australia's east coast was now considered, 'as fine a conquest as the taking of the flagship of the enemy'.<sup>1</sup>

Insurance premiums on sea-carried goods were instantly increased by 50 per cent by the New York underwriters, for goods carried in American vessels. Since neither the United States nor Spain were signatories to the Treaty of Paris, they reserved the right to issue letters of marque and to privateer (though they actually refrained from doing so). As the commercial columns of the Melbourne dailies made clear, most Australian shipping was safe, being carried in British vessels under a neutral flag. Nonetheless, the Underwriters' Association of New South Wales, acting under cable advice from London, increased war rates on business to and from Australia, Honolulu, New York, and San Francisco, by 5 per cent in American-owned ships and a quarter per cent in British-owned ships. The rate for coal carried by American ships from Newcastle to any port on the West Coast of the United States was increased by 3 per cent. Insurance rates even for neutral vessels travelling to Manila were considered prohibitive, whilst those to Java, China and Japan were up by one per cent.<sup>2</sup>

Bloody bread riots in Italy were an unfortunate by-product of the general wheat shortages produced by the war. In mid-May wheat sold in Britain for 6/- a bushel; in New York for 5/3d and in Melbourne for 4/7d. Though this was an improvement on former prices, Australian wheat suffered by being long distances from the chief markets and from a commitment of her crop to South Africa. European shortages foreshadowed future markets and further revealed British

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<sup>1</sup>Editorial comment in, Mt. Alexander Mail, 29 Apr. 1898; Age, 29 Apr., 4, 14 May 1898; Australian Star, 23 Apr., 4 May 1898; Freeman's Journal, 7 May 1898; South Australian Register, 23 Apr., 24 May 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 28 May, 2 July 1898; Geelong Times, 30 June 1898; Bendigo Independent, 30 June 1898; Ballarat Courier, 6 July 1898; Herald, 25 Apr. 1898; Australian Star, 23 Apr. 1898; Warrnambool Standard, 25 Apr. 1898; Queensland Times, 26 Apr. 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Commerical columns of Australasian, 2 Apr. 1898; Weekly Times, 2 Apr. 1898; Barrier Miner, 22 Apr. 1898; Argus, 20 Apr. 1898; Age, 29 Apr. 1898.

vulnerability in times of war.<sup>1</sup>

That America appeared headed toward a monopoly of the world's tobacco trade with her possession of Cuba and the Philippines, was viewed as economically desirable for the good, cheap product which would result for Australia and for the stimulus it would bring to the formation of a rival Australian tobacco industry.<sup>2</sup>

Protectionists hoped that Australians could win back some markets lost to America if the war persisted. Others hoped that the flow of gold to the United States - amounting to £2,890,000 in the four months since the Maine disaster - could somehow be staunched.<sup>3</sup>

Few could have been displeased with the developments in trade with the Philippines during the latter part of 1898. Queensland meat was especially sought after, due to the greater shipping distances from San Francisco to Manila and the new needs of Puerto Rico and Cuba for American beef. George Craig was only one urging Australia to 'energy, speculation and trade courage...to arise to the happy and unexpected occasion'. Counsellor McEachern, on behalf of McIlwarth, McEachern and Co., was contracted in early September to sail the Duke of Sutherland from Queensland to Manila with 1,500 tons of meat and 700 to 800 tons of vegetables bought in Victoria and shipped to Brisbane.<sup>4</sup> Similar shipments at the end of the year came to the attention of American producers and provoked Herbert Collingwood of the Rural New Yorker to angry verse:

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<sup>1</sup>Comment in special articles and commercial columns of - Sydney Morning Herald, 5 May 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 10 May 1898; Argus, 10 May 1898; Courier, 11 May 1898; Bendigo Advertiser, 12 May 1898; South Australian Register, 14 May 1898; Age, 6 May 1898; Bulletin, 28 May, 18 June 1898; Truth, 26 June 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Geelong Times, 6 May 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 8 June 1898; Mt. Alexander Mail, 18 Aug., 25 Nov. 1898; Warrnambool Standard, 28, 30 Nov. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Freeman's Journal, 7 May, 1 Oct. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 18 June 1898.

<sup>4</sup>See comment in - Brisbane Evening Observer, 26 Aug. 1898; Maitland Mercury, 27 Aug. 1898; Mt. Alexander Mail, 1 Sept. 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 7 Dec. 1898; South Australian Register, 24 Aug. 1898; Age, Correspondent's letter published 3 Dec. 1898; Geelong Advertiser, 17 Jan. 1899; Warrnambool Standard, 31 Jan. 1899.

What's this I hear? Australia has the job of  
 selling sheep  
 To feed our Yankee boys in blue? That makes my  
 dander creep!... (etc.)..<sup>1</sup>

But the general economic boom anticipated at war's end, was intimated by the representations of T. Green of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce who suggested via the good offices of F. Goding the United States Consul in Newcastle, the extension of Australian trade to Hawaii.<sup>2</sup>

Total costs of the war were variously computed. By one estimate, the war was costing each combatant £1 million a day. 'More triumphant democracy!' scoffed Sydney's Daily Telegraph when it was learnt that 90 per cent of the extra American taxation was taken up by the wage-earners and middle class, while plutocrats absorbed only 10 per cent of the burden which had increased from £30 million to £520 million.<sup>3</sup> These costs reminded Australians of the relative cheapness of the armed peace and were a warning of the costs to be anticipated from a general European conflict.<sup>4</sup>

Military affairs occupied a large field of attention in the press coverage of the war.<sup>5</sup> Most pressing was the matter of Australia's own defence, given the prospect of European intervention. Debate between Sir Saul Samuel, Sir Henry Norman and Colonel Hutton at the Royal Colonial Institute, London, on Imperial Defence, aroused interest, as did the series of articles in the Argus on Australian defence written by the naval strategist H.W. Wilson.<sup>6</sup> Major General French exploded a mine in Sydney Harbour to test the efficacy

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<sup>1</sup>Poem appears in Robert L. Beisner, Twelve Against Empire, (New York, 1968), pp. 179-80.

<sup>2</sup>Newcastle Morning Herald, 22 Aug., 18 Nov. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 13 June, 10 Aug., 28 Dec. 1898.

<sup>4</sup>See editorials in - Mt. Alexander Mail, 30 May 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 1 June 1898; Freeman's Journal, 4 June 1898; Liberator, 5 June 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 7 June 1898; Melbourne Punch, 9 June 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 15 June, 31 Aug. 1898; Advertiser, 18 June 1898; Maitland Mercury, 12 July 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 10 Oct. 1898; Geelong Times, 29 Oct. 1898; West Australian, 3 Jan. 1899.

<sup>5</sup>See e.g. Australian Star, 21 Apr. 1898; Mt. Alexander Mail, 21 Apr. 1898; Southern Cross, 22 Apr. 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 23 Apr. 1898; Melbourne Punch, 5 May 1898; Warrnambool Standard, 28 May 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 21 July 1898.

<sup>6</sup>E.g. Argus, 21, 25 Apr. 1898.

of this means of defence. On all sides, federation, if for defence only, was urged. George Craig held that Australia must have relatively more trained men in readiness than America at the time of her attempted invasion of Cuba.<sup>1</sup>

A Queensland paper warned:

Unless we can do better with our money and enthusiasm than Spain has done, both will be wasted...we must face the music of paying for our posterity...The best way to ensure the colony from collapse at some critical juncture is to let the world see we are ready for war.<sup>2</sup>

Unpreparedness and bungling in American army preparations provided a stark commentary on the Australian situation. Slackness in coastal defences, batteries, mines, fortresses, militia, training, equipment, reinforcements and general fitness, aroused much adverse comment. Frank X. Cicott, a prominent New York financier visiting Sydney in July 1898, claimed that such ill-preparation betokened America's sincere peaceableness. America, most agreed, had been lucky in drawing Spain as an opponent.<sup>3</sup> Melbourne Punch moralised: 'A good lesson to America is a good lesson to Australia and we shall be lucky if we do not live to regret the neglect from which our defences suffer'.<sup>4</sup> Craig compared sections of Australian discipline with that of the 'cowboy' attitude of Roosevelt's 'Rough Riders'.<sup>5</sup>

An egotistical interest in observing the 'dash and

<sup>1</sup>Maitland Mercury, 25 June 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Capricornian, 14 May 1898; Courier, 26 May 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 1 Aug. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>See comment in - Coolgardie Miner, 25 Apr., 14 June 1898; Mercury, 3 May 1898; West Australian, 5 May 1898; Bendigo Independent, 24 May 1898; Herald, 29 Apr., 27 May, 11 June, 12 Nov. 1898; Coolgardie Miner, 28 May 1898; Bulletin, 4 June 1898; Australian Star, 6 June 1898; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 8 June 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 2 July 1898; Geelong Times, 5 July 1898; Australasian, 9 July 1898; Argus, 8 Aug. 1898; Leader, 27 Aug. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 27 Aug. 1898; Herald, 12 Nov. 1898; Evening News, 28 June 1898; Australian Star, 29 June 1898; Herald, 7 Dec. 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 29 Nov. 1898, 3 Jan. 1899.

<sup>4</sup>Melbourne Punch, 9 June, 1 Sept., 5 Nov. 1898.

<sup>5</sup>Maitland Mercury, 20 Sept. 1898.



courage of the race' animated much of the war interest. American's special aptitudes in invention, mechanics, chemistry and natural science it was hoped, would come to their aid. Advances in submarine torpedo boats, wireless telegraphy and aerial dirigibles were expected. Names such as Short, Holland, Langley and Maxim did provide some evidence of 'alertness, intelligence and audacity' generally expected, though explosive shells and quickfiring guns did little to hasten the era when war was unthinkable.<sup>1</sup>

It was hoped that the war would be 'short, sharp and decisive'. Yet America's slow mobilization seemed to mock that hope. Nonetheless, America had destroyed its image of 'all bluster and no fight'.<sup>2</sup> Stephen Bonsal's 'The Night After San Juan' illustrated how bloody the struggle could be.<sup>3</sup> Though the United States' marines were praised by the Evening News, 'there are...tens of thousands of men in Australia who would campaign till further orders on bread, milk and coffee and feel better off when they left than when they began', scoffed the same paper, when American soldiers on Cuba complained of their rations.<sup>4</sup> Discussions of strategy attracted comment in the Australian press by Admiral Colomb, Fred T. Jayne and especially George C. Craig, author of Federal Defence. Writing for the Maitland Mercury, he had sent to Washington for the most recent copy of the Army Register and was able to make accurate assessments. He praised American adoption of the Australian 'bushranger hat'

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<sup>1</sup>Mt. Alexander Mail, 24 Aug. 1898; Evening News, 25 Apr., 7 May 1898; Argus, 3 May 1898; Capricornian, 21 May, 2 July 1898; Australasian, 21 May 1898; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 23 Apr. 1898; Launceston Examiner, 2 July 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 23 Apr. 1898; Queensland Times, 28 Apr. 1898; Herald, 30 May 1898; Advertiser, 1 June 1898.

<sup>2</sup>See editorials in - Australasian, 23 Apr. 1898; Ballarat Star, 11 June 1898; Age, 25 Apr., 9 July 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 25, 26, 30 Apr., 2 Aug., 24 Sept. 1898; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 2 Aug. 1898; Barrier Miner, 16 Aug., 31 Dec. 1898; South Australian Register, 25 Apr., 4 May 1898; War Cry, 30 Apr. 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 6 May, 23 Sept. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Review of Reviews, 15 Jan. 1899.

<sup>4</sup>Evening News, 9 May, 17 June, 11 Aug. 1898.

on service.<sup>1</sup>

American ships, because of their newness and the revolution in naval tactics, were expected to provide much interest. Manila Bay quieted all debate regarding the relative values of the men or their capacity to handle new machines. T.A. Brassey, son of Lord Brassey and one of the world's leading naval experts, claimed when he arrived in Australia in early June, that 'brains in the conning tower' would decide future battles at sea. Americans had shown how battles could be fought with 'energy, despatch and the minimum of cost'. With £10 million expenditure scheduled by the United States Navy Board following the war, many predicted that the American navy could become the 'first navy in the world'. 'R.C.B.', a Melbourne columnist, described to his fellow-Australians the impressiveness of the battleships such as the Brooklyn, with their high speeds and great coal supplies. To many, the war had reconfirmed the necessity of strengthening the British navy both in Atlantic and Pacific waters.<sup>2</sup>

All realised that the war's result would turn on sea-power. Mahan's appointment to the United States Naval Board affirmed this and assured an aggressive policy for the American navy.<sup>3</sup> The Advertiser hoped that a great American naval victory would bring the war to a rapid close.<sup>4</sup> Even

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<sup>1</sup>Maitland Mercury, 23 Apr., 3, 17, 30 May, 17 June 1898.

<sup>2</sup>These and allied materials in special articles and editorials in - Mt. Alexander Mail, 21 Apr. 1898; South Australian Register, 23 Apr., 10 June 1898; Australasian, 23 Apr., 20 Aug. 1898; Courier, 25 Apr. 1898; Age, 27 Apr., 11 June 1898; Evening News, 29 Apr., 20 Aug. 1898; Coolgardie Miner, 3 May 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 4 May, 15 Aug. 1898; Melbourne Punch, 5, 12 May, 22 Dec. 1898; Truth, 15 May 1898; Maitland Mercury, 20 June 1898; Liberator, 27 Aug. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>See editorials in - Leader, 23, 30 Apr. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 29 Apr., 20 June 1898; Ballarat Courier, 29 Apr. 1898; Argus, 6 May 1898; Evening News, 4 May 1898; Mt. Alexander Mail, 13 May 1898; Perth Morning Herald, 18 May, 17 Sept. 1898; Southern Cross, 20 May 1898; Warrnambool Standard, 27 July 1898; Melbourne Punch, 28 July 1898; Review of Reviews, 15 Sept. 1898; Mercury, 2 Jan. 1899; Sydney Morning Herald, 21 Jan. 1899.

<sup>4</sup>Advertiser, 25 Apr. 1898.

before the battle at Manila, the Launceston Examiner predicted that 'every nation with pretensions to power will, within the next decade, be possess of a strong navy'. The battle had affirmed that 'never in recent times has there been afforded a finer lesson of the value of the sea-keeping power'.<sup>1</sup> At the end of 1898, the Sydney Mail predicted a visit by splendid American warships sometime after the war.<sup>2</sup>

Because of Australia's own vulnerability as an island open to invasion, intense interest was aroused by the projected American invasion of Cuba. Complicating the Cuban situation were the intractable insurgents themselves, the difficult climate and the tropical diseases, especially yellow fever. Slow preparations for the invasion were blamed on the general difficulties of democracies in waging wars. Nonetheless, Australia's press was rudely impatient at the delays of General Miles and at the prolongation of Cuban suffering. When finally landed (14 June) the force was criticized for confusion and ill-discipline. As the struggle ensued, the value of the Cuban insurgents as combatants and their intractability as the end of American fighting against Spain was ending, provoked warm debate.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Launceston Examiner, 28 Apr. 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Sydney Mail, 30 Apr., 23 July, 10 Dec. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Sydney Mail, 23 Apr., 10 June, 2 July 1898; Advertiser, 25 Apr., 21 May, 20 June, 7, 16 July, 13 Aug. 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 26 Apr., 7, 25 May, 5, 6, 21 July, 8, 13 Aug., 17, 20, 25 Nov. 1898; Singleton Argus, 26 Apr., 5 May 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 25 Apr., 9, 24 June, 5 July 1898; Evening News, 27 Apr., 27 May, 7 June, 4, 6 July, 28 Aug. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 28, 30 Apr., 9, 16 June, 6 July, 11 Oct. 1898; Perth Morning Herald, 30 Apr., 18 July 1898; Age, 30 Apr., 5 May, 30 July 1898; Warrnambool Standard, 9 May, 3, 29 June, 6 July 1898; Australasian, 7, 28 May, 9 June 1898; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 28 Apr., 6 July 1898; Capricornian, 28 May, 16 July 1898; South Australian Register, 16 May, 1 June, 5, 8 July 1898; Leader, 21 May, 4 June 1898; Argus, 28 June, 9, 29 July, 10 Oct. 1898, 28 Jan. 1899; Freeman's Journal, 6 Aug. 1898; Bulletin, 30 Apr., 21 May 1898; Geelong Times, 4 May, 28 June, 11, 18 July 1898; Launceston Examiner, 19, 26, 27 May, 6, 9 July, 1 Nov. 1898; Courier, 29 Apr., 7, 16 July 1898; Ballarat Star, 2 May 1898; Mt. Alexander Mail, 3, 7, 24 May, 1 June, 6, 8 July, 25 Oct. 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 24, 26 May, 17 June, 7, 12, 14, 28, 30 July, 12 Aug., 3 Sept., 1898, 13 Jan. 1899; Liberator, 11 June, 9 July 1898.

'Rumours of war have an unaccustomed interest for Australians', asserted the Maitland Mercury.<sup>1</sup> The rumours regarding possible naval actions in the Mediterranean or North Atlantic, provoked an undue interest. The action off Santiago (3 July), whose harbour fortifications were said to resemble Melbourne's in their impregnability, caused much jubilation when Commodore Schley destroyed Admiral Cervera's escaping fleet. The discrepancy in losses was as great as in the Manilan action and it was seen that to all purposes, the struggle was over. Sydney's American citizens cabled McKinley: 'Humanity triumphs. Sydney rejoices. We salute "Old Glory"'. The heroism of Lieutenant Hobson in attempting to blockade the harbour entrance, and in the courteous Spanish reception of him as prisoner, fascinated the Australian press in the same way as did Dewey's halt for breakfast before completing the destruction at Manila Bay.<sup>2</sup>

While the cable was still intact to Hong Kong, Australians on 25 April were among the first to know of the sailing of Dewey's Pacific Squadron. As well, it was known that Manila was defended by 6 Spanish cruisers, 11 gunboats and 12,000 regular Spanish troops. Admiral Pearson, commander in chief of the Australian Royal Naval Squadron, when interviewed in Sydney, anticipated an important clash in Manila Bay. The press in Australia waited expectantly.<sup>3</sup>

Early reports were of a Spanish victory. The Advertiser

<sup>1</sup>Maitland Mercury, 21 Apr., 5, 11 July 1898.

<sup>2</sup>See following editorials: Queenslander, 23 July 1898; Coolgardie Miner, 30 June, 9, 20 July 1898; Bendigo Advertiser, 18 May, 18, 23 July 1898; Review of Reviews, 15 July, 15 Sept. 1898; Southern Cross, 10 June 1898; Ballarat Courier, 10 June 1898; Advocate, 4, 11 June 1898; Bendigo Independent, 30 June, 19 July 1898; Herald, 16, 21 June, 6 July 1898; Australian Star, 26 May 1898; West Australian, 5 May 1898; Mercury, 13 July 1898; Truth, 22 May 1898.

<sup>3</sup>See the following editorials: Bendigo Advertiser, 25 Apr. 1898; Australasian, 30 Apr. 1898; Perth Morning Herald, 30 Apr. 1898; Evening News, 30 Apr. 1898; Courier, 30 Apr. 1898; Age, 30 Apr. 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 2 May 1898; especially George Craig in Maitland Mercury, 27 Apr. 1898.

in particular, was completely misled (3 May).<sup>1</sup> Adelaide's second morning daily newspaper, working from a different cable service and exercising its traditional caution, hailed what it called 'The Battle of Cavite' as a brilliant victory, comparing it with Nelson's performance at Aboukir Bay.<sup>2</sup> To many, it rendered the Australian Labor Day celebrations 'the most memorable for half a century', due to the battles' symbolism as a victory for humanity at the very doors of Australia. At a stroke the Americans had gained valuable coaling and naval stations in the North Pacific from a 'decadent' European power; proved their naval superiority; presaged their ultimate victory, and repeated the British record of emerging as a world power by first defeating Spaniards at sea. The smashing victory had been gained with a panache that appealed strongly to the Australian imagination. For Australians who viewed the result as guaranteeing Australian security in a strategically vital area, the victory was received, in the words of the Maitland Mercury, as though it was 'our own'.<sup>3</sup>

An annoying silence followed, due to Dewey's cutting of the cable to Hong Kong. In a letter to the Age, W. Warren, Australian manager of the Eastern Extension and China Telegraph Co., defended the bravery of Australian and other cable operators in the area.<sup>4</sup> When Robert Wright of Singleton wrote to his father from Belinas and Manila as a cable employee, he was as much interested in discussing the

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<sup>1</sup>Advertiser, 3, 6 May 1898.

<sup>2</sup>South Australian Register, 3, 4, 5 May, 5 July 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Maitland Mercury, 25 June, 27 Aug. 1898. For other comments see: Brisbane Evening Observer, 3, 11, 14 May 1898; Evening News, 3, 4 May 1898; Bendigo Advertiser, 4 May 1898; Australian Star, 3, 11 May 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 3 May 1898; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 4 May 1898; Ballarat Star, 4 May 1898; Ballarat Courier, 4 May 1898; Argus, 4 May 1898; Queensland Times, 5, 14 May 1898; Melbourne Punch, 5, 12 May 1898; Launceston Examiner, 5 May 1898; Australasian, 7 May 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 7 May, 5 July 1898; Geelong Times, 10 May 1898; Coolgardie Miner, 12 May 1898; West Australian, 5 May 1898; Sydney Mail, 4 June 1898; Mt. Alexander Mail, 4 July 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Age, 25 July 1898.

results of the Australian cricket tests against England, as he was in recounting his adventures. Despite Dewey's forbearance and tolerance in an awkward international situation, a confrontation situation with Aguinaldo, the insurgent leader, was seen to be developing. Spain's military and national reputation was at the nadir.<sup>1</sup>

Spain's internal domestic situation was expected to be at such a pass as to make peace a daily possibility. Others predicted at least another attempt at rescuing the national honour by military means. Following the Santiago victory by the Americans, newspapers summed up the military lessons of the war: the swift torpedo destroyer had been rendered innocuous. America's capacity to mobilize quickly had been found wanting. Vigilant scouting had paid naval dividends. The efficiency of a heavier ratio of guns to armour and the necessity for accurate fire had been illustrated in the naval battles. Dynamite shells, delivered by the Vesuvius on Matanzas were frightening, but generally, shore fortifications had proved remarkably effective under fire. The value of coal and of taking the war to the enemy were also lessons to be learnt. Above all, vigilance was pressed by strategists such as Mahan writing for the London Times and Vice-Admiral Colomb in the Pall Mall Gazette.<sup>2</sup> Commander

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<sup>1</sup> See comment in: Bendigo Advertiser, 11 May 1898; West Australian, 12 May 1898; Australasian, 14 May 1898; Warrnambool Standard, 16 May 1898; Perth Morning Herald, 4 July 1898; Evening News, 5, 22, 25 July, 14 Sept. 1898; Geelong Times, 25 July 1898; Advocate, 28 May, 6 Aug. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 8 Aug., 15 Sept. 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 5 Dec. 1898; Freeman's Journal, 16 July 1898, 14 Jan. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 14 Jan. 1899.

<sup>2</sup> Editorials and articles in the following: Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 14, 30 May 1898; Bendigo Advertiser, 3 June 1898; Ballarat Star, 11 June 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 16 June 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 1 July 1898; Courier, 9 July 1898; Evening News, 19 July 1898; Geelong Times, 4, 21 June 1898; West Australian, 4 June 1898; Mt. Alexander Mail, 16 June 1898; South Australian Register, 17 June 1898; Australasian, 18 June, 9 July 1898; Barrier Miner, 21 June 1898; Maitland Mercury, 22 June 1898; Southern Cross, 8 July 1898; Argus, 9, 18 July, 10 Aug., 5 Sept. 1898; Courier, 8 Aug. 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 10 Aug. 1898, 24 Jan. 1899; Melbourne Punch, 11 Aug. 1898; Launceston Examiner, 11 Aug. 1898, 21 Jan. 1899; Perth Morning Herald, 6 Sept. 1898; Review of Reviews, 15 Sept. 1898; Australasian, 9 June 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 22 Aug. 1898; Warrnambool Standard, 23 Aug. 1898; Australian Star, 29 Nov. 1898; Freeman's Journal, 1 Oct. 1898.

Tickwell in the Age cautioned: 'To Australians who may one day have to repel invasion by a formidable seapower, the matter [ of defence ] is of absorbing importance'.<sup>1</sup> As anticipated, the war meant the stimulation of large naval and military organizations in the United States on a permanent footing - a prospect 'enough to make [ Monroe ] weep', in the opinion of the Bulletin.<sup>2</sup>

Most important was the Australian perception of the political effects of the war.

Evidence of a great racial power alliance, which had been building up for over three years, now appeared likely of consummation. As the Ballarat Courier put it following the battle at Manila:

We have had here in Ballarat, raptures of anticipatory joy over the prospect of union, of the larger than our own Australian federation, which shall weld together all the English-speaking races. We have sung 'Yankee Doodle' and 'Hail Columbia' and 'God Save The Queen' all in one unbroken strain of the bigger patriotism which includes the whole composite race in the same grand aspiration after a family compact of peace.<sup>3</sup>

On his arrival in Britain just following the battle of Manila Bay, Lord Brassey claimed: 'These colonies would gladly welcome common action between Britain and America in the large affairs of the world'. During May, the concept of a 'Pan Anglican League' as the Sydney Morning Herald called it, continued to fascinate Australians:<sup>4</sup>

...To crown their work, the Stars  
and Stripes  
And Southern Cross unfurled,  
United with Old England's flag,  
Shall dominate the world.

wrote John Plummer in his 'A Song of Anglo-Saxon Union';

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<sup>1</sup>Age, 6, 10 Aug. 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Bulletin, 10 Sept. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Ballarat Courier, 23 Apr., 6 May 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Sydney Morning Herald, 25 Apr. 1898.

typical of the enthusiasm of the times.<sup>1</sup>

Detraction was inevitable. The Advocate scoffed that the new amity arose from British insecurity and from common anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic sentiment.<sup>2</sup> Michael Davitt spoke for many Catholic Irish in Australia when he telegraphed a New York newspaper that an alliance would 'ill-serve the Irish cause'. The 'Anti-British Alliance Association' of New York was frequently mentioned for its influence. C.W. Dilke was quoted for his belief that Britain's troubles with the French in West Africa and the Russians in the Far East were responsible for the courting of America.<sup>3</sup> Norton believed that the British elite actually despised Americans for their crass materialism and believed that their expressions were hypocritical. As for Australian enthusiasm for an alliance, it was bathetic, a 'temporary hysteria, a mental affliction to which people of young countries are remarkably prone'.<sup>4</sup> The Bulletin published J. Liddell Kelly's 'Anglomurkan National Anthem' to satirize gush of the 'Anglo-Saxon Idyll' variety:

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<sup>1</sup>Australian Star, 25, 29 Apr., 14 May 1898. See also editorials and articles in the following: Mt. Alexander Mail, 21 Apr, 13 May 1898; Perth Morning Herald, 22 Apr., 7, 19 May 1898; Leader, 23 Apr. 1898; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 23, 26 Apr. 1898; Weekly Times, 23 Apr. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 25, 26 Apr., 10 May, 10 June 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 20 Apr. 1898; 20, 23 May 1898; Maitland Mercury, 26 Apr., 2, 16 May 1898; Bendigo Advertiser, 26 Apr. 1898; Geelong Times, 26 Apr. 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 27 Apr., 16 May 1898; Advertiser, 28 Apr., 19 May 1898; Launceston Examiner, 29 Apr., 4 May 1898; South Australian Register, 4 May 1898; Age, 7, 14 May 1898; Queensland Times, 17 May 1898; Sydney Mail, 11 June 1898; Argus, 9 May 1898; Evening News, 16 May 1898; Courier, 16 May 1898; Perth Morning Herald, 16 May 1898; Inquirer, 20 May 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Advocate, 23, 30 Apr., 4 June 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Freeman's Journal, 23 Apr., 28 May 1898; Monitor, 20 May 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Truth, 22, 31 May, 12 June 1898. See also, Herald, 25 May 1898.



...Hurrah for Bullanjonathan!  
 Three cheers for Johnansam!  
 The Anglomurkan nation  
 Is bound to lick creation;  
 Geewilkins! Tarnation!  
 Godam! and likewise Damn!...<sup>1</sup>

But the overwhelming weight of opinion favoured union. George Craig urged: 'Australians should favour with all their might the inevitable Anglo-American alliance...This Anglo-American sentiment should be continuously cultivated throughout the colonies...'<sup>2</sup> Several events seemed to favour the development: Chamberlain and Salisbury were well received in America when their speeches hinted at alliance prospects; the Queen's birthday was cheered by American soldiers in camp at Tampa; the United States' ambassador spoke of a mutual 'sacred mission of liberty and progress' at the Mayor's Banquet at Mansion House; Olney spoke of 'a patriotism of race, as well as of country' to the students at Harvard; Alfred Austen wrote 'A Voice From The West' and Grace Ellery Channing answered with a frankly racist appeal in September's Scribner's.<sup>3</sup> Anglo-American understanding in the face of German pretension at Manila; the Penny Post; the Anglo-American Commission meeting in Quebec to arbitrate Canadian-United States differences; the American wives of Curzon, Chamberlain, Bryce and Churchill, were all taken as portents. Two dinners held simultaneously in early June were meant to encourage the impulse. One was held at the Hotel Cecil; the other at the Colonial Club, the latter arranged by several active and ex-Agents-General of Australasia. Henry Norman, Sir Horace Tozer and Lord Brassey were prominent at both. Letters, postcards, visitors and magazines from overseas were all encouraging. The Mt. Alexander Mail spoke of America as a 'sister

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<sup>1</sup>Bulletin, 4 June 1898, 28 Jan. 1899.

<sup>2</sup>Maitland Mercury, 30, 31 May, 15 Nov. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Review of Reviews, 15 June, 15 July, 15 Aug., 15 Sept. 1898.

commonwealth'.<sup>1</sup>

At least one conservative swung away from the alliance notion. The article in the Times on 27 May called 'Union of the British Empire' was attacked by the Hobart Mercury for stating: 'Next after our relations with the United Kingdom, our relations with the United States are the most important to our welfare'. This, the Mercury believed, was misleading and inaccurate. Australia cared as much for the Cape as for the United States, the paper held. It could not see how America fitted into schemes of Imperial Federation. Davies' daily as usual overstated the position: 'There is no special tendency toward the United States in the colonies', it said, 'and what is more, no great liking for their doings or belief in their public honesty'. To talk of reliance on the United States was 'unmitigated nonsense and (an) insult to the people of these colonies (who have)...their own sense of loyalty, their own perception of what is to their advantage and they will think and act for themselves, in the future as they have done in the past'.<sup>2</sup>

The Age attempted a balanced view when it saw from reading copies of the Chicago Chronicle and the Pittsburgh Despatch that the United States' press was far from enthusiastic regarding an alliance. It believed that Australian press opinion had been misled by the unrepresentative Anglophilism of spokesmen such as Depew and

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<sup>1</sup>Mt. Alexander Mail, 6 Aug. 1898. See comment in following editorials: Barrier Miner, 27 May 1898; Argus, 27, 28 May, 13, 23 June, 2, 10, 26 Sept. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 28 May 1898; Australian Star, 26, 28 May 1898; Courier, 2, 28 June 1898; Sydney Mail, 4 June 1898; Southern Cross, 10 June 1898; Ballarat Courier, 10 June, 19 July, 24 Oct. 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 10, 20 June, 6 July, 26 Aug., 5 Oct. 1898; Age, 26, 27 May, 11, 21 June, 6 Aug., 17 Sept. 1898; Leader, 18 June 1898; Coolgardie Miner, 27 June, 15 July 1898; Evening News, 17 May, 8 Aug. 1898; Liberator, 2 July 1898; Melbourne Punch, 7 July 1898; Geelong Advertiser, 14 July 1898; Australasian Independent, 15 July 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 15 July, 8 Aug., 7 Oct. 1898; Capricornian, 23 July 1898; Geelong Times, 12 Aug. 1898; Warrnambool Standard, 13 Aug., 14 Nov. 1898; South Australian Register, 29 Aug. 1898; Perth Morning Herald, 10 Sept. 1898, 31 Jan. 1899; Mt. Alexander Mail, 17 June, 3 Oct., 29 Nov. 1898; Spectator, 30 Sept. 1898; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 10 Oct. 1898; Launceston Examiner, 12 Nov. 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Mercury, 16 May, 1 July 1898.



Illustration by R. P. Heim

*SHOULDER TO SHOULDER.*

South Australian Critic, 7 May 1898.

Smalley.<sup>1</sup> The Advocate praised the Age for 'courage and honesty' in correcting perceptions.<sup>2</sup> The Melbourne Punch criticized the Age's 'cheap and nasty' views.<sup>3</sup> Some pessimists however, wished to warn Britons that due to the Monroe Doctrine's belligerent and unpredictable developments, they were either on a collision course with America, or would be drawn into a China conflict by them.<sup>4</sup>

But with various counterbalancing pro-alliance tendencies - meetings, visits, cavalcades, messages, contributions - continuing to receive good publicity in the press, especially Chamberlain's flattering article in Scribner's (December),<sup>5</sup> the Launceston Examiner ventured at the end of 1898: 'The race never stood in a stronger position before the world than it does at this moment'.<sup>6</sup>

'What has become of Federation since the dailies began to run to large frantic headlines about America and Spain?' asked the Bulletin and several others.<sup>7</sup> Some claimed that the local variety of federation was but a prelude to the 'grand world Federation of the English-speaking races'. As the Argus put it: 'he who votes "No" on June 3 (1898) casts his ballot against both'.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, wrote the Warrnambool

<sup>1</sup>Age, 21 June 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Advocate, 4, 25 June 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Melbourne Punch, 7 July 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Argus, 23 June 1898; Coolgardie Miner, 27 June, 15 July 1898.

<sup>5</sup>Review of Reviews, 15 Jan., 15 Feb. 1899.

<sup>6</sup>Launceston Examiner, 28 Nov., 28 Dec. 1898. See editorials and cables in: Leader, 18 June 1898; Australian Star, 14 Nov., 26 Dec. 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 23 Nov. 1898, 7 Jan 1899; Coolgardie Miner, 24 Nov. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 29 Nov. 1898, 5 Jan. 1899; Freeman's Journal, 3 Dec. 1898; Courier, 3 Dec. 1898; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 5 Dec. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 17 Dec. 1898; Age, 2 Jan. 1899; Advertiser, 6 Jan. 1899; Brisbane Evening Observer, 31 Jan. 1899; Geelong Advertiser, 17 Jan. 1899; Warrnambool Standard, 31 Jan. 1899.

<sup>7</sup>Bulletin, 7 May 1898.

<sup>8</sup>Argus, 28 May 1898.

Standard: '...let us ring out the cause of disunion and ring in that of union, not only in this island continent, but throughout the lands where the British people or their descendants dwell.'<sup>1</sup> In these and other ways the Spanish-American war was made to serve the cause of federal union in Australia.<sup>2</sup>

One ostensible reason for the intensity of Australia's focus on events was apprehension at European intervention, with the fear of invasion and the precipitation of an Anglo-American alliance as results. This involved a fascination with the defeat of once-powerful Spain, with all the internal upheavals that that was expected to produce and the fear of aid by Austria, France and particularly Germany on behalf of the monarchic principle, but especially to share in the dispersal of Spain's Empire. Regarding the latter development, the Australian Star moaned, 'from the Australian point of view America would be a better neighbour than Germany, but we fear that our wishes are not likely to be consulted'.<sup>3</sup> George Craig insisted that 'a strong Australian protest should be sent to Lord Salisbury and Mr Chamberlain against any German seizure of Spanish soil in the Pacific'.<sup>4</sup> Others considered it 'Teuton arrogance' that Germany should meddle in the Philippines or intend taking compensatory territory in Samoa.<sup>5</sup>

The worst insult that newspapers could produce against

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<sup>1</sup>Warrnambool Standard, 17 May, 7 June 1898.

<sup>2</sup>See editorials in: Melbourne Punch, 5 May 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 23 Apr. 1898; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 14 May 1898; Bendigo Advertiser, 17 May 1898; Evening News, 23 June 1898; South Australian Register, 23 June 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Australian Star, 6 May 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Maitland Mercury, 21 June 1898.

<sup>5</sup>See editorials in: Perth Morning Herald, 25 Apr. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 4 May 1898; Herald, 6 June 1898; Coolgardie Miner, 22 June 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 22 Nov. 1898; Advertiser, 7 June 1898; Launceston Examiner, 13 June 1898; Geelong Times, 25 Apr. 1898; Courier, 18 June 1898.

apathy toward military or federal efforts, was to convict Australians of a Spanish 'tiredness' in their approach. Two anarchist explosions in Melbourne on 1 June aroused some sympathy toward Spanish and European domestic problems. Better estimates had it that the Spaniards were a simple, brave people sadly misled by an arrogant elite with antiquated approaches. It was ultimately considered charitable to Spain herself to relieve her of troublesome possessions. Australians, it was argued, could then return to their simple kindly estimates of Spain as either the home of brave discoverers such as De Quiros, or as the original breeder of the inimitable merino.<sup>1</sup>

Equal concern was shown with the fate of specific Pacific possessions. Hawaii had long been expected to fall to America. Its annexation would 'not appreciably stir Australian pulses' thought the Advertiser.<sup>2</sup> The observation was accurate. Most Australian newspapers had exhausted the topic of Hawaiian annexation by 1898. When annexation became a reality on 7 July, comment revolved around Hawaii's strategic location athwart the British Columbia-Australian mail and cable run and the desirability of this being in 'Anglo-Saxon' rather than Japanese hands. Its significance was not lost, however. The Australasian saw it as 'probably the most important event in the modern history of the United States...the birth of a new policy'.<sup>3</sup> 'Ave Caesar!' gloomed the Bulletin: 'Now the Yankee will want to be in the China pie and all over the globe'.<sup>4</sup> But Major General French, who was in charge of the defence of New South Wales, speaking

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<sup>1</sup>The bulk of references for this section on Spain is really overwhelming. A very small sample is Ballarat Star, 25 Apr. 1898; Spectator, 29 Apr. 1898; Courier, 4 May 1898; Mercury, 10 May 1898; Freeman's Journal, 30 Apr., 7 May, 11 June 1898; Advocate, 30 Apr., 14 May 1898; Victorian Churchman, 13 May 1898; Liberator, 9 July 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 12 May 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Advertiser, 18 May 1898, 16 Jan. 1899.

<sup>3</sup>Australasian, 16 July 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Bulletin, 16 July 1898.

at the New South Wales Commercial Travellers' Dinner  
(1 August) held:

...there is no Power we would rather see dominating the Pacific Oceans. Established as a great military and naval Power in the Pacific, the American Republic would surely safeguard the Australian Commonwealth from the predatory designs of alien peoples intent upon territorial aggrandisement...Australia will have abundant reason to bless the Stars and Stripes.<sup>1</sup>

Interest after this focused on the three commissioners travelling on the Mariposa bound for Sydney from San Francisco and the methods whereby they would convert the island into a distantly governed American dependency.<sup>2</sup>

Of even greater concern was the fate of the Philippines. To retain those would mean 'a new chapter in the world's history will have begun', claimed the Evening News.<sup>3</sup> A host of factors argued against American withdrawal: the leaving of an undesirable power vacuum in an internationally tense area and the unpreparedness of the natives for self-government being the most commonly stressed. Yet the awkwardness of governing this difficult and distant terrain, with hostile natives and a primitive civil service, was instantly recognized. As Stead put it: 'The Americans have not got the Philippines. It is rather the Philippines that have got them'.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, Americans resident in Sydney

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<sup>1</sup>Australian Star, 2 Aug. 1898.

<sup>2</sup>In general, see editorials following: Perth Morning Herald, 7 May, 13 Sept. 1898; Mt. Alexander Mail, 1 June, 13 Aug. 1898; Evening News, 17 June 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 20 June 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 13 July, 15 Dec. 1898; Maitland Mercury, 16 July 1898; Herald, 2 Aug. 1898; Australian Star, 2 Aug. 1898; Geelong Times, 11 Aug. 1898; Monitor, 9 Sept. 1898; Age, 17 Sept. 1898; Geelong Advertiser, 27 Sept. 1898; Inquirer, 12 Aug. 1898; Argus, 30 Dec. 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 16 Dec. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Evening News, 4, 5, 10 May 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Review of Reviews, 15 July, 15 Aug., 15 Dec. 1898.

cabled McKinley after Manila Bay: 'Our prayer is: Hold the Philippines.' This Australian sympathy was recognized by the Boston Congregationalist.<sup>1</sup>

Even before the battle of Manila, Sir George Clarke, Agent-General for Victoria in London, suggested to his State's Premier Sir George Turner, that representations be made to Her Majesty's Government regarding the future of the Philippines. From Melbourne, on 12 May, Sir George replied to the effect: 'It is most important on strategical grounds that the Philippine Islands, which dominate the Australian trade route to the East, should be in the possession of a friendly power.' This message Clarke presented to Chamberlain. Lord Brassey, the Victorian Governor and W.P. Reeves, Agent-General of New Zealand, were also asked to assist in those representations. Other Australian Colonial Premiers were telegraphed by Turner, inviting them to support his initiative. Of those Premiers asked, Kingston of South Australia, Byrnes of Queensland and Reid of New South Wales were unenthusiastic, the latter even rude, regarding the proposal. Only Braddon of Tasmania and Seddon of New

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<sup>1</sup>See editorial comment in the following: South Australian Register, 28 Apr., 19 Nov. 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 4, 5 May, 9, 22 July, 27 Aug. 1898; Maitland Mercury, 5 May, 20 Sept. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 6, 12 May, 17 Aug., 1, 23 Sept., 30 Nov. 1898; Age, 16 June 1898, 4, 16 Jan. 1899; Southern Cross, 17 June 1898; Bendigo Advertiser, 23 May, 21 June 1898; Monitor, 24 June 1898; Bendigo Independent, 24 June 1898; Liberator, 13 Aug. 1898; Courier, 2 Aug., 20 Sept., 3, 17, 30 Nov. 1898; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 19 July, 17 Aug., 20 Sept. 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 15, 16 June, 7 Oct., 2, 16 Nov., 1 Dec. 1898; Evening News, 29 Sept. 1898; Launceston Examiner, 24 May, 1 Nov. 1898; Barrier Miner, 7 May, 12 Dec. 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 11 May, 3 Nov. 1898; Mercury, 12 May 1898, 5 Jan. 1899; Melbourne Punch, 12 May, 7 July, 10 Nov. 1898; Ballarat Courier, 12 May 1898; Sydney Mail, 4 June, 6 Aug., 22 Oct. 1898; Perth Morning Herald, 4 July 1898; Geelong Times, 19 July, 24 Nov. 1898; Australian Star, 16 Nov. 1898, 18 Jan. 1899; Australasian Independent, 15 Dec. 1898; Freeman's Journal, 14 Jan. 1899.



Zealand promised any aid. All viewed the message as premature.<sup>1</sup>

Though the Brisbane Evening Observer praised Turner's action as a 'bold stroke of policy', it added that 'public opinion will be inclined to think that Victoria's interference has been unwarranted'.<sup>2</sup> The Australian Star saw it as 'a clever and remarkable thing...Turner's representations...have not been made too soon'. Yet it criticized the action for alarming other powers; increasing Australia's Imperial responsibilities and as a piece of blatant self-advertisement.<sup>3</sup> To Sydney's Daily Telegraph, it was a ridiculous and embarrassing piece of misrepresentation and trouble-making.<sup>4</sup> The Coolgardie Miner saw it as an inducement to American expansion.<sup>5</sup>

Brisbane's Courier was frankly astounded. Turner's action was 'injudicious...indecent...(and) so unlike (Turner) that we are tempted to ask who is really behind him pulling the wires of this business?'<sup>6</sup> Perhaps Turner had been misled into thinking that Clarke was paving the way for a well-planned political coup; or, in the jockeying for positions in the coming Federation, that he needed to balance the public effect of Reid's telegram concerning the Maine disaster. In any event, all agreed that the matter was best left until the war's end. The Advocate saw it as being potentially misread by the Americans as an attack on their possible stewardship.<sup>7</sup> Others claimed that it was stupid to protest about the existence of every Power athwart an Australian trade route

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<sup>1</sup> Age, 17, 18 May 1898; Sydney Morning Herald quoted telegram 21 May 1898. For full text see Australasian, 21 May 1898. R.G. Neale, Britain and American Imperialism 1898-1900 (Brisbane, 1965) p.100 is inaccurate when stating that the press made no mention of Turner's proposal. See Raymond Wellington, 'Australian Attitudes to the Spanish-American War', J.R.A.H.S., Vol.56, Pt.2, June 1970, pp.114-15 and John R. McIntosh, 'Australia and the Spanish-American War of 1898', unpublished B.A. Honours Thesis, University of New South Wales, 1968, pp.88-95.

<sup>2</sup> Brisbane Evening Observer, 17 May 1898.

<sup>3</sup> Australian Star, 17 May 1898.

<sup>4</sup> Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 18 May 1898.

<sup>5</sup> Coolgardie Miner, 18 May 1898.

<sup>6</sup> Courier, 18 May 1898.

<sup>7</sup> Advocate, 21 May 1898.

and further, that it was presumptuous for a mere colony to do so. 'We ought to be certain our interests are involved before we speak,' cautioned the Sydney Morning Herald.<sup>1</sup> Turner had really only served to reconfirm to a sensitive group of distant and disunited colonies, how little voice they had as yet in the councils of Empire. Maybe that had been his intention.

Viewed along with the situation in the Philippines, most other concerns with American military occupancy seemed minor. It was recognized that behind that archipelago loomed the China market and its myriad problems of control and rivalry. That American ownership of the Philippines would assist Australian exploitation of that market, was taken for granted.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding Samoa, with the news of the renewed Malietoa-Mataafa rivalry and the breaking down of the tripartite condominium at the end of the year, it was hoped that the Americans would fill the breach being vacated diplomatically by Britain in the face of new German pressure. Dr. Brown, Secretary of the Australian Wesleyan Missionary Society was only one who believed that Australians should themselves be more concerned about this slipping away of their Oceanic

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<sup>1</sup>Sydney Morning Herald, 21 May 1898. See also: South Australian Register, 24 May 1898.

<sup>2</sup>For editorial comment see: Argus, 25 Apr. 1898; West Australian, 9 May 1898; Mercury, 12 May 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 14 June 1898; Geelong Times, 17 June 1898; Leader, 18 June 1898; Advertiser, 20 June 1898; Melbourne Punch, 11 Aug. 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 12, 13 Aug., 17 Dec. 1898; Maitland Mercury, 20 Aug. 1898; Australian Star, 16 Dec. 1898; Herald, 29 Dec. 1898; Age, 2 Jan. 1899; Table Talk, 13 Jan. 1899; Perth Morning Herald, 30 Dec. 1898.

heritage.<sup>1</sup>

What had made the capture of remote Guam interesting to some Australians were the letters of 'G.E.C.', an Australian bandsman-volunteer who had somehow entered an American cavalry regiment and had been present when the American warships Australia, City of Sydney and Charleston had confronted the unprepared Spanish officials on the island.<sup>2</sup> German pretension in the Carolines and Ladrões was as resented as the American presence was welcomed.<sup>3</sup>

Puerto Rico's seizure was praised for the efficient and relatively bloodless way the Americans had taken a strategically important, richly endowed and well-defended Caribbean island.<sup>4</sup>

Much interest now flowed in the direction of the Central American Canal scheme. Senatorial concern was praised for imagination and criticized for belligerence toward Britain. That a canal would shorten distances from New York to Melbourne by 3,290 miles and allow Australian agriculturalists to exploit the winter-bound markets of the northern hemisphere were seen as points in the scheme's favour, even

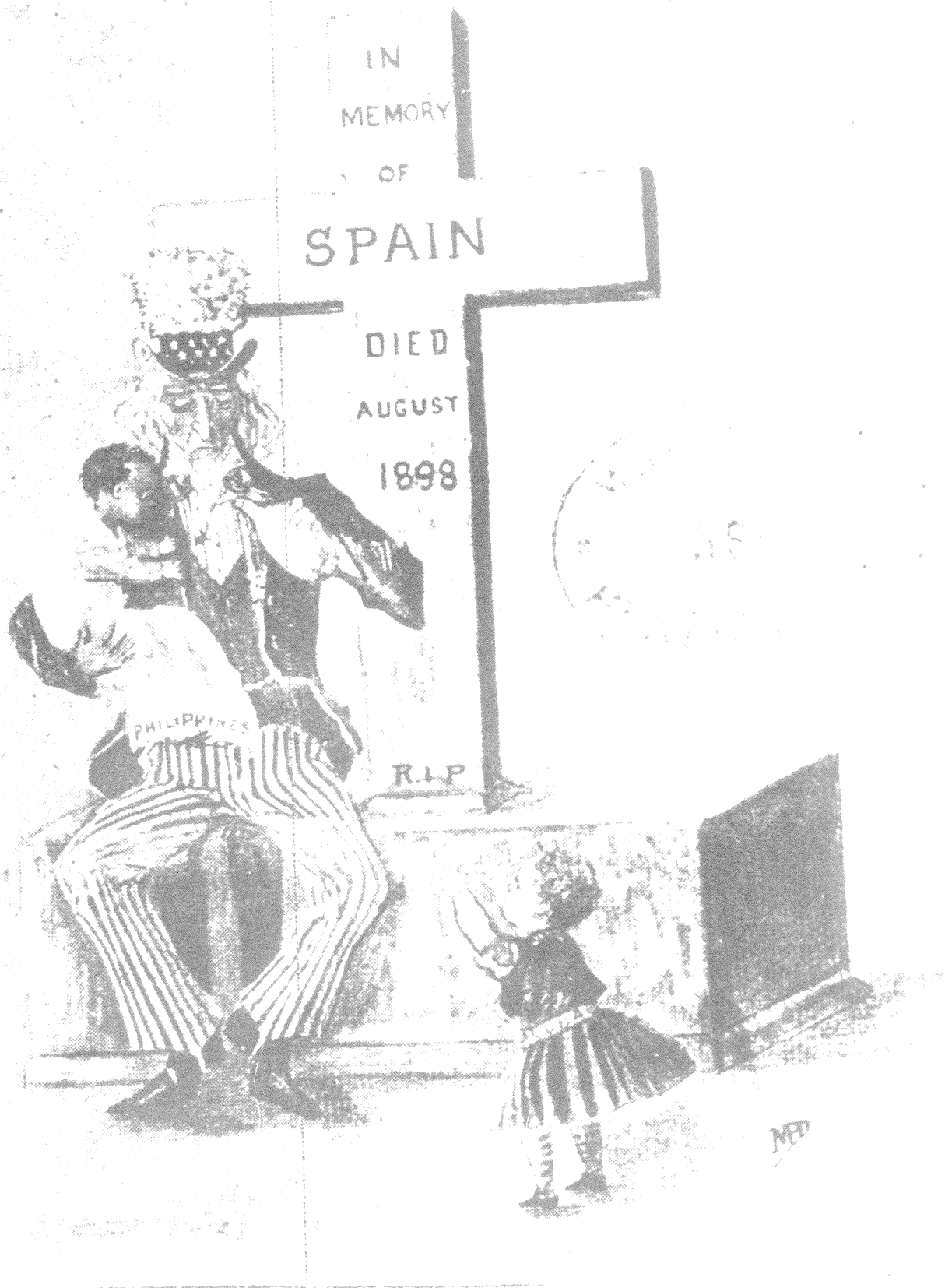
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<sup>1</sup>The body of editorial comment on Samoa is great. For a sample see: Evening News, 28 May 1898; Australian Star, 31 Aug. 1898, 19, 24 Jan. 1899; Sydney Morning Herald, 2 Sept., 10 Nov. 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 11 Nov. 1898, 19, 21 Jan. 1899; Launceston Examiner, 18 Nov. 1898, 25, 27 Jan. 1899; South Australian Register, 21 Nov. 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 30 Dec. 1898, 19, 26, 27 Jan. 1899; Geelong Times, 4, 20 Jan. 1899; Sydney Mail, 7 Jan. 1899; Argus, 19, 24 Jan. 1899; Evening News, 19 Jan. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 19 Jan. 1899; Courier, 20 Jan. 1899; Coolgardie Miner, 20 Jan. 1899; Newcastle Morning Herald, 20, 25 Jan. 1899; Mt. Alexander Mail, 21 Jan. 1899; Barrier Miner, 21 Jan. 1899; Advocate, 21 Jan. 1899; Truth, 22 Jan. 1899; West Australian, 23 Jan. 1899; Maitland Mercury, 23 Jan. 1899; Melbourne Punch, 26 Jan. 1899; War Cry, 28 Jan. 1899; Freeman's Journal, 28 Jan. 1899; Australasian, 28 Jan. 1899; Leader, 28 Jan. 1899; Catholic Press, 28 Jan. 1899; Sydney Mail, 28 Jan. 1899. Much of it is repetitiv

<sup>2</sup>Evening News, 28 June, 11 July, 7, 15 Dec. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>See editorial comment in: South Australian Register, 29 June 1898; Geelong Times, 7 July 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 7 July 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 3 Aug. 1898, 11 Jan. 1899; Age, 11 Jan. 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Brisbane Evening Observer, 5 May 1898; Warrnambool Standard, 16 May 1898; Maitland Mercury, 20, 30 July 1898.



## A ROWDY FAMILY.

Melbourne Punch, 1 September 1898.

if Americans decided to dominate the Canal's construction. The American traveller T.D. McKay on his arrival in Sydney reaffirmed the advantages of travel that the Canal would have for those wishing to visit the United States' Southern and Eastern seaboard before continuing on to Europe. The Pacific cable proposed to link America's West Coast, Honolulu, the Philippines and Japan, was encouraged for the linkages it would form with projected Australian Pacific cable networks.<sup>1</sup>

Almost immediately after the battle at Manila Bay, the Sydney Morning Herald gave expression to what was to become an increasingly common opinion:

Whatever else may happen it is clear that the States are now an international force that must be reckoned with, not only at sea, but by Europe.... Now that the United States have burst the fictitious swathes of the Monroe Doctrine it is apparent that no great question can be settled in future without reckoning on an active American interference as a factor in the situation. All this works good for England and for British interests at home and abroad. Ours is an age of great international combinations, of enormous overseas expansion and of eager trade rivalry.

America it was held, was at a crisis point in her development. Her heritage both racial and national suggested that she should go on, with the approval of her Anglo-Saxon peers, to 'civilize' the Philippines and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For the large body of editorial comment on the Canal scheme, much of it repetitive, see: Launceston Examiner, 11 May 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 25 June, 21 July, 10 Dec. 1898, 27 Jan. 1899; South Australian Register, 16 Aug. 1898; Review of Reviews, 15 Oct. 1898, 15 Jan. 1899; Freeman's Journal, 3 Dec. 1898; Australian Star, 7 Dec. 1898, 24 Jan. 1899; Newcastle Morning Herald, 10 Dec. 1898; Age, 8 Dec. 1898, 2 Jan. 1899; Sydney Morning Herald, 8, 21 Dec. 1898, 30 Jan. 1899; Argus, 8 Dec. 1898; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 13 Jan. 1899; Sydney Mail, 31 Dec. 1898; Australian Star, 4 Jan. 1899; Warrnambool Standard, 27 Jan. 1899; West Australian, 26 Jan. 1899; South Australian Register, 24 Jan. 1899.

<sup>2</sup>Sydney Morning Herald, 9 May 1898. See also, Australian Star, 11 May 1898; West Australian, 12 May 1898; Mt. Alexander Mail, 13 May 1898.

This new power excited hopes of future humanitarian benefits and assistance to weak or worthy countries. But it was also recognized that the exercise of such power would excite jealousy and should teach humility. Others feared it would encourage Americans to be even more assertive, aggressive and corrupt.<sup>1</sup>

Joseph Symes judged that 'World Power' must revolutionize American thought, politics and institutions.<sup>2</sup> Ever the most astute commentator on American affairs, the Launceston Examiner agreed:

The United States is on the eve of a politico-industrial revolution. It is fast approaching that condition when its progress and its foreign trade expansion will become synonymous. It wants outside markets and trade and to get them must accept foreign responsibilities.<sup>3</sup>

Bonython recognized that all along the difficulty for the United States had been 'to distinguish between an expansion which is legitimate and necessary and a policy of simple aggrandisement which has no excuse at all'.<sup>4</sup> McKinley's Message to Congress in early December 1898, was therefore greeted as the most important since the time of Monroe, 63 years before. Gratifyingly, it appeared to reconfirm friendship with the British Empire, as well as officially announce the beginning of America's course as an Imperial power.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See editorials in: South Australian Register, 6 July 1898; Age, 2 Aug. 1898; Geelong Times, 13, 27 June 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 14, 28 June, 6 July 1898; Courier, 21 June 1898; Ballarat Courier, 22 June 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 2 July 1898; Ballarat Courier, 5 July, 2 Aug. 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Liberator, 13 Aug. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Launceston Examiner, 8, 10 Oct., 20, 31 Dec. 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Advertiser, 13 Aug. 1898.

<sup>5</sup>Supporting editorials in: Ballarat Courier, 17 Aug. 1898; Geelong Times, 20 Aug. 1898; Review of Reviews, 15 Sept., 15 Oct. 1898; Courier, 20 Sept., 8 Dec. 1898; Age, 29 Nov. 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 23, 27 Sept. 1898; Coolgardie Miner, 27 Sept., 7 Dec. 1898; Southern Cross, 7 Oct. 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 29 Nov., 8 Dec. 1898; Argus, 15 Oct., 8 Dec. 1898; Ballarat Star, 17 Oct. 1898; Evening News, 7 Dec. 1898.

Though events had made 1898 'a critical year in the history of the century' in the opinion of many, it had produced for America a collection of problems not easily disposed of. In Cuba and the Philippines the natives were taking less kindly to America's presence than had been anticipated. America had inherited the bitter dregs of an Empire it was claimed: mullattoes would exacerbate the already tense racial problem at home. A lack of trained officials would make government difficult for some time, while increasing the powers of the Executive in an unfortunate way. Imperial power was expected to change the temper of Americans to a more martial character.<sup>1</sup>

Aguinaldo's declaration of independence against the American occupying forces (5 Jan. 1899) brought into sharp relief the dilemmas of the new American Empire. To some Australian observers it was a gross ingratitude. To others the cry, 'The Philippines for the Filipinos' was understandable. With the appointment of a Philippine Commission to study this situation (20 Jan. 1899) and the Cubans under Gomez becoming restive, it was clear that America's problems had only just begun.<sup>2</sup>

Anti-Imperialist ideas began to stir some Australian imaginations from mid-July 1898 and grew in appeal in the

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<sup>1</sup>Editorial opinion in: South Australian Register, 10 Aug. 1898, 6 Jan. 1899; Australasian, 7 Jan. 1899; Advertiser, 13 Jan. 1899; Evening News, 14 Jan. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 15 Dec. 1898, 14 Jan. 1899; Ballarat Courier, 14 Jan. 1899; Review of Reviews, 15 Jan. 1899; Australasian Independent, 15 Jan. 1899; Coolgardie Miner, 13 Aug. 1898, 17 Jan. 1899; Maitland Mercury, 10 Sept. 1898, 17 Jan. 1899; Geelong Times, 31 Jan. 1899; Argus, 12 Aug., 13 Dec. 1898, 30 Jan. 1899; Australian Star, 9 Aug. 1898; Brisbane Evening Observer, 9, 11 Aug. 1898; Courier, 10 Aug. 1898; Age, 10 Aug., 6 Dec. 1898; Mt. Alexander Mail, 11 Aug. 1898; Sydney Mail, 20 Aug. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 5 Dec. 1898, 12 Jan. 1899; Sydney Morning Herald, 7 Dec. 1898, 4 Jan. 1899; West Australian, 12 Jan. 1899; Launceston Examiner, 13 Jan. 1899.

<sup>2</sup>See the following editorials: Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 13 Dec. 1898; Maitland Mercury, 16 Dec. 1898; Age, 10 Jan. 1899; Argus, 30 Jan. 1899; Herald, 30 Jan. 1899; Sydney Morning Herald, 30 Jan. 1899; Evening News, 28 Jan. 1899; Brisbane Evening Observer, 28 Jan. 1899; Coolgardie Miner, 28 Jan. 1899; Newcastle Morning Herald, 27 Jan. 1899; Freeman's Journal, 21 Jan. 1899; Liberator, 21 Jan. 1899.

early new year, 1899. The Mt. Alexander Mail was one of the first to predict that the election of 1900 would turn on the question of acceptance or rejection of the new imperialism. At war's end, the paper announced:

Though successful, [ the United States ] is in no wise to be envied. She has lost a large number of brave men by military slaughter and camp sickness, has expended an enormous amount of money, and has regained in return only some wasp hives.<sup>1</sup>

To the Mercury, an American Empire was the abnegation of all the human ideals which America stood for: freedom, equality, and the 'repudiation of the royal vices and national ambitions of the old world'. That paper later deplored the precedent of 'benign interventionism', which America had introduced, for its mischief-making potential.<sup>2</sup> The Review of Reviews introduced a wider audience in Australia to the anti-imperialist writings of Carnegie, Schurz, Bryce, Goldwin Smith and others, and the work of the Anti-Imperialist League.<sup>3</sup>

Yet at first, the American peace terms were accepted in Australia as being welcome and magnanimous. From mid-July it was known that preliminary negotiations, using the good offices of Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador at Washington, were being undertaken. These efforts were applauded. The Advertiser believed it would be a satisfactorily contracted peace, knowing the 'dour patience' of the Americans as negotiators. Further, 'The establishment of any loose claims on the islands, or handing them back to Spain would be a

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<sup>1</sup>Mt. Alexander Mail, 18 July, 8 Aug. 1898.

<sup>2</sup>Mercury, 5 Oct. 1898, 17 Jan. 1899.

<sup>3</sup>Review of Reviews, 15 Aug. 1898, 15 Jan. 1899. See also, Launceston Examiner, 15 Aug., 21 Nov. 1898, 27 Jan. 1899; Queensland Times, 16 Aug. 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, N.Y. letter sent 30 Sept., published 2 Nov. 1898, 3 Jan. 1899; South Australian Register, 6 Jan. 1899; Sydney Mail, 7 Jan. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 3 Jan. 1899; Catholic Press, 7 Jan. 1899; Argus, 12 Jan. 1899.



cause of alarm to Australia...the progress of negotiations is therefore full of interest to these colonies.<sup>1</sup> European interference in the peace terms, resulting in a squabble over the spoils, was also feared. From 12 August, a protocol provided that a proper peace treaty be signed.<sup>2</sup>

When the peace commission met at Paris (1 October), it was criticized for its tardiness. When signed on 10 December, the peace was hailed by the Newcastle Morning Herald as concluding 'an important chapter in the annals of human history'.<sup>3</sup> The Senate debate over the treaty (concluded February, 1899) demonstrated to some observers the power of such a body in deciding the destiny of a nation. Whereas the ratified treaty (6 February) ensured Cuba's ultimate freedom, it took in the Philippines (for which \$20 million was paid Spain in compensation), Guam and Puerto Rico in a way that made their futures ambiguous.

Among the happier results of the war were seen to be the new solidarity of the Northern and Southern, Eastern and Western sections of the United States. Other gains were the advent of a neutral hospital ship service (e.g. the Solace) and the supposed rise in status of negroes and women due to their contribution to the war effort. The urbanity

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<sup>1</sup>Advertiser, 15 July 1898.

<sup>2</sup>See editorials in: Mercury, 13 July 1898; Geelong Advertiser, 14 July 1898; Southern Cross, 22 July 1898; Sydney Morning Herald, 1 Aug. 1898; Warrnambool Standard, 3 Aug. 1898; Launceston Examiner, 5 Aug. 1898; Sydney Mail, 6 Aug. 1898; Geelong Times, 9 Aug. 1898; Herald, 9, 15 Aug., 7 Dec. 1898; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 8 Aug. 1898; Courier, 12 Aug. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 11 Oct. 1898; Melbourne Punch, 10 Nov. 1898; Ballarat Star, 10 Nov. 1898; Coolgardie Miner, 12 Nov. 1898; Leader, 3 Dec. 1898.

<sup>3</sup>Newcastle Morning Herald, 13 Dec. 1898.

with which the rival military leaders treated each other, was taken as an indication of an increasingly humane approach to war.

'Our American cousins are feeling good. There is no doubt about it', remarked the Sydney Morning Herald.<sup>1</sup> That the good will would generally redound to Australia's benefit was taken as grounds for quietly condoning American's euphoria.

Due to the brevity, lack of bloodshed and momentous results accompanying it, few Australians in the New Year would have argued with American ambassador John Hay's cliché-description of the struggle as 'a splendid little war'.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Sydney Morning Herald, 27 Dec. 1898.

<sup>2</sup>See especially: Southern Cross, 15 July, 19 Aug. 1898; Argus, 20 Aug. 1898; Geelong Times, 31 Dec. 1898; Australian Star, 16 Aug., 12 Dec. 1898; Ballarat Courier, 17 Aug. 1898; Newcastle Morning Herald, 17 Aug. 1898; Leader, 27 Aug. 1898.

CHAPTER TEN

AMERICAN EMPIRE, 1899-1901:

THE AUSTRALIAN RECEPTION

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AMERICAN EMPIRE, 1899-1901:

THE AUSTRALIAN RECEPTION

Considerable debate and discussion surrounded the events of the three years 1899-1901, during which Australia finally became a federated nation, and the American Empire was consolidated.

Due to its relative proximity, Sydney-siders in particular and Australians in general, took an intense interest in the international events unfolding in Samoa. A ten day voyage from Apia, Sydney was, after Auckland, one of the first to know of latest developments on the islands and was anxious to transmit that intelligence to London and the world. An interest in the assertion of Australian, British and New Zealand interests was accompanied by a friendly concern for America and a deep hostility toward the 'treacherous' Germans. Strategically athwart the sea and projected cable route from Sydney to Vancouver, the islands were considered important, especially as coaling stations in times of peace or war. But what could replace the failing tripartite condominium that had attempted to govern them for a decade? This was the question that dominated attention as events unfolded throughout 1899.<sup>1</sup>

During the royal quarrel that sprang up as a result of a High Court decision in favour of the rule of young king Malietoa, most Australian Catholics backed the older, more popular Catholic candidate for the kingship, Mataafa. Yet they vigorously denied rumours of manipulating the chief and quoted the old Reverend Alphonse Faigle, a missionary

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<sup>1</sup>Editorial comment in the following: Evening News, 2, 4, 15 Feb. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 6 Feb. 1899; Age, 11 Feb. 1899; Australasian Independent, 15 Feb. 1899; Australian Star, 15 Feb. 1899; Sydney Morning Herald, 15 Feb. 1899; Review of Reviews, 15 Feb. 1899; Advertiser, 15 Feb. 1899; Argus, 16 Feb. 1899; Coolgardie Miner, 3 Apr. 1899.

for 33 years on the island, who died in Sydney 7 March 1899, in their support.<sup>1</sup> As the decision had been handed down by an American court, and as the Germans actively encouraged Mataafa's defiance, feelings ran high and a general tribal war, involving the European Powers on opposite sides, was expected.<sup>2</sup>

Australian newspapers took sides. The Sydney Morning Herald was the most prominent among those friendly to the German case.<sup>3</sup> The many organs backing Britain and America nonetheless found it difficult to condone the firing of their warships, on the order of the senior American commander, at the Mataafan natives. An offer by Premier Seddon of New Zealand, of a battalion of 500 infantry to assist the British cause was derided as land-grabbing and praised for its far-sightedness by the Argus<sup>4</sup> and Age<sup>5</sup> respectively. The general situation in the islands had not been so tense since the time immediately preceding the Apian cyclone in 1899.

Pleasure at the new Anglo-American co-operation, or disgust at their use of force on defenceless natives animated much of the response. The Australian squadron was poised to sail as the High Commissioners of the three Powers arrived on the island of Apia to restore order and work out a new solution. By that time several English and American sailors

<sup>1</sup>Freeman's Journal, 25 Feb. 1899; Monitor, 24 Mar. 1899.

<sup>2</sup>Sydney Mail, 25 Feb. 1899; Launceston Examiner, 25 Feb., 29 Mar. 1899; Herald, 1 Mar. 1899; Sydney Morning Herald, 3 Mar. 1899.

<sup>3</sup>Sydney Morning Herald, 30 Mar., 3, 4 Apr. 1899. See also, Evening News, 30 Mar. 1899; Brisbane Evening Observer, 1, 3 Apr. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 1 Apr. 1899; Courier, 1 Apr. 1899; Herald, 3 Apr. 1899; South Australian Register, 4 Apr. 1899; Newcastle Morning Herald, 4 Apr. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 5 Apr. 1899.

<sup>4</sup>Argus, 3 Apr. 1899.

<sup>5</sup>Age, 4 Apr. 1899.

had lost their lives in fighting Mataafa's forces.<sup>1</sup> Though Germans became placatory, Catholics in Australia with renewed belligerence and led by Cardinal Moran, attacked the London Missionary Society and the Anglo-American combination for supporting an unpopular candidate because of his religious and national prejudices.<sup>2</sup>

At the Japanese Fair in Sydney to aid the Marist Fathers in mid-May 1899, Cardinal Moran regretted that Admiral Pearson - in charge of the Australian Auxiliary Squadron - had not been allowed to proceed to the islands to prevent what he termed as being 'deliberate murder', precipitated by a third-rate commander. He labelled the United States 'a very dangerous power', bent on making the Pacific Ocean a new American lake. The natives' crime, it appeared to the Launceston Monitor, had been their desire to elect their own king.<sup>3</sup> The Protestant response was instant. Angry repudiations of Moran's charges culminated in the meeting by a hundred Protestant clergymen at the Sydney Town Hall to denounce him.<sup>4</sup> Catholic press organs sprang loyally to the defence of the Cardinal. His effect on dampening enthusiasm for the Anglo-American policing actions was marked, in the press at least. To many it seemed incredible that a collection of around 40,000 natives and 500 whites could create such national and international anxiety.<sup>5</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup>See editorial comment in: Launceston Examiner, 5 Apr. 1899; Bendigo Advertiser, 4 Apr. 1899; Maitland Mercury, 5 Apr. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 5, 14, 18 Apr., 1 May 1899; Newcastle Morning Herald, 5, 8, 15, 22 Apr. 1899; Leader, 8 Apr. 1899; Sydney Mail, 8 Apr. 1899; Sydney Morning Herald, 11, 13, 18 Apr. 1899; Evening News, 12, 13, 17 Apr., 1 May 1899; Courier, 13, 17, 19, 25 Apr. 1899; Argus, 13, 14 Apr. 1899; Australian Star, 14, 19 Apr. 1899; Ballarat Courier, 14 Apr. 1899; Australasian, 15 Apr. 1899; Bendigo Independent, 5 Apr. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 17 Apr. 1899.

<sup>2</sup>Freeman's Journal, 8, 15, 22 Apr. 1899; Advocate, 15, 29 Apr. 1899; Catholic Press, 29 Apr. 1899; Monitor, 5 May 1899.

<sup>3</sup>Monitor, 19, 26 May, 28 July 1899. See also, Advocate, 27 May, 3 June, 14 Oct. 1899; Catholic Press, 22 July 1899.

<sup>4</sup>E.g. Australasian Independent, 15 July 1899.

<sup>5</sup>Argus, 1, 16 May 1899; Advertiser, 4 May, 1 July 1899; Evening News, 5 May 1899; Sydney Mail, 13 May 1899; Age, 23 June 1899; Australian Star, 22 June 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 23 June 1899.

Review of Reviews familiarised Australians with the concern overseas. Forecasts of a settlement were pronounced during the end of June.<sup>1</sup>

A new political arrangement in Samoa placing control under the control of a single governor invited all the old intrigues and tensions. The kingship was abolished in favour of a parliament of three members, representing the three Powers. This temporary arrangement was replaced on 10 November 1899 by a broader agreement. To the dismay of some Australians, Britain withdrew from the group in favour of a division between Germany and America and was compensated by Germany with the Solomons. Though many spokesmen such as politicians Sir George Turner, William Lyne and G. Holden; religious men such as Dr G. Brown and the Reverend I. Rooney and merchants such as G.W. Waterhouse of Sydney, rationalised the decision on strategic, trading or missionary grounds, it was generally considered by the press that Germany had scored a diplomatic coup, having caught Britain off-balance due to the need to cultivate Teutonic good-will during the Boer War, just begun.<sup>2</sup>

Australians grumblingly accepted this diplomatic contingency, but resolved that after federation, Australia's interests would be more boldly made known. Seddon's annexation of the Cook group in October 1900, was viewed as a direct result of the Samoan disappointments and a desire to secure Australasia's Pacific heritage, even without the Mother Country's ponderous approval. That America had secured an excellent harbour in Pango Pango and had generally asserted 'Anglo-Saxon' interests with vigour throughout the negotiations, produced some editorial pleasure in an otherwise gloomy situation. It was often accepted among editors that America would represent the racial, perhaps

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<sup>1</sup>Review of Reviews, 15 May, 15 June, 15 July 1899.

<sup>2</sup>See editorial comment in: Maitland Mercury, 24 June 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 29 June 1899; Mercury, 29 June 1899; Sydney Mail, 1 July 1899; Sydney Morning Herald, 5 July, 19 Aug. 1899; Advertiser, 11 July 1899; Evening News, 10 July, 2, 17 Aug. 1899; Courier, 3 Aug. 1899; Newcastle Morning Herald, 29 Aug. 1899; Australian Star, 13 Oct. 1899; Brisbane Evening Observer, 14 Oct. 1899; Review of Reviews, 15 Dec. 1899, 15 Jan. Apr. 1900.

even the national, interests of Britain and Australia in that part of the Pacific.<sup>1</sup>

There was also unrest in Cuba. However, many newspapers such as the Sydney Morning Herald, believed that the 'business-like and practical spirit' of the Americans would overcome the new difficulties with the former Cuban insurgents.<sup>2</sup> A glittering economic, social and political future for the island continued to be predicted, although basic sanitation and hygiene had to first be re-established. Cubans appeared to settle down more quickly than the Filipinos - perhaps from war weariness - and were often used as an example of the beneficent rule which followed acquiescence. Yet many others agreed with General Shafter who looked upon the undisbanded Cuban insurgents as a potential source of trouble.<sup>3</sup>

General Wood had supervised a constitutional convention for the Cubans in November 1900. Senator Orville Platt's amendment, sponsored by Secretary of War Elihu Root, in effect gave the United States a quasi-protectorate over Cuba (2 March 1901).<sup>4</sup> To most of the Australian press it appeared that Cubans were being allowed to govern themselves to a degree, but the Tocsin regarded American actions as oppressive.<sup>5</sup>

Difficulties in Hawaii were also generally predicted.

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<sup>1</sup> See editorial comment in: Sydney Morning Herald, 8, 10 Nov. 1899, 21 Mar. 1900; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 10, 14 Nov. 1899, 29 Jan. 1901; Brisbane Evening Observer, 10 Nov. 1899; Evening News, 10 Nov., 11 Dec. 1899; Age, 11, 16 Nov. 1899, 12 Apr., 1 Sept. 1900; Advertiser, 13 Nov. 1899; Argus, 11 Nov. 1899; Geelong Times, 13 Nov. 1899; Maitland Mercury, 14 Nov. 1899; Freeman's Journal, 18 Nov. 1899; Perth Morning Herald, 17 Nov. 1899; Australasian, 18 Nov. 1899; Melbourne Punch, 16 Nov. 1899; Launceston Examiner, 6 Oct. 1900; Newcastle Morning Herald, 10 Oct. 1900.

<sup>2</sup> Sydney Morning Herald, 7 Feb., 21 Apr. 1899.

<sup>3</sup> See editorial comment in: Newcastle Morning Herald, 3 Feb. 1899; Advocate, 4 Feb. 1899; Review of Reviews, 15 Mar., 15 May, 15 July, 15 Sept. 1899; Australasian, 22 Apr. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 1 May 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 16, 30 May 1899; Australian Star, 29 May 1899; Brisbane Evening Observer, 8 July 1899.

<sup>4</sup> For editorial comment see: Geelong Times, 28 Feb. 1901; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 19 Mar. 1901; South Australian Register, 8 Apr., 18 June 1901; Brisbane Evening Observer, 12 Apr. 1901; Protestant Banner, 13 Apr. 1901.

<sup>5</sup> Tocsin, 11 July 1901.



The Freeman's Journal accused the Protestant missionaries of backing the Queen's downfall and believed that America had irritated Hawaii's Catholics.<sup>1</sup> Others predicted trouble with the island's 40,000 half-breeds.<sup>2</sup> The South Australian Register held that the extension to the islands of American import duties was strangling Australian trade to the island and that the use of low-paid native labour in sugar plantations was fattening wealthy corporations and lowering wages at home.<sup>3</sup>

The sale of the Carolines to Germany, instead of an American takeover, was almost universally regretted by the metropolitan press.<sup>4</sup>

Newspapers continued to be intrigued by the renewed talk of opening a canal route through Central America. Newcastle was particularly apprehensive about the loss of West Coast United States' markets in her coal trade, fearing new competition from British vessels, able to return home the shorter distances with cargoes of wheat.<sup>5</sup> Some anticipated the existence of two rival isthmanian canals. Certainly work was expected to be complete on one or other of them within a decade. Where the French had failed, it was confidently expected that the ingenious, energetic and progressive Americans would succeed. It was considered that a canal would be the visible symbol of the new Manifest Destiny thrusting America into the Pacific.<sup>6</sup>

When the first Hay-Pauncefote Treaty replaced the

<sup>1</sup>Freeman's Journal, 25 Feb. 1899.

<sup>2</sup>E.g. Review of Reviews, 15 Apr. 1899.

<sup>3</sup>South Australian Register, 11 Mar. 1899.

<sup>4</sup>Editorial comment in: Brisbane Evening Observer, 6 June 1899; Sydney Morning Herald, 6, 8, 21, 27 June 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 7 June 1898; Courier, 7 Oct. 1899.

<sup>5</sup>Newcastle Morning Herald, 7 Feb. 1899.

<sup>6</sup>Editorial comment in: Advertiser, 13 Feb. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 14 Feb. 1899; Launceston Examiner, 14 Feb., 4 Mar. 1899; Argus, 17 Apr. 1899.

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (5 February 1900), Australians responded in much the same way they had done over Samoa. They were in fact, frustrated at the British diplomatic performance and what it appeared to surrender of British power, but acquiesced, being aware of the need to keep on friendly terms with America, now that the Boer War had placed the British Empire in a vulnerable position. A swift construction of the long-delayed project was looked for as compensation.<sup>1</sup>

McKinley was attacked for allowing the Senate to ratify what was obviously an unacceptable treaty (20 December 1900). The treaty was considered unfair and insensitive to long-held British ambitions in the Panama-Nicaraguan area. The Sydney metropolitan press was anxious for work to begin on the canal. Sydney regarded itself as the first major Australian port of call by Panama shipping, reversing the old Suez situation. Others were happy enough that American and European trade competition in the Pacific might be curtailed by the Canal's construction.

Conclusion of the second Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 18 November 1901, conceded most points to the Americans, including finally, fortification of the canal. By this time in Australia, impatience had overcome scruples. There were thanks enough that the Anglo-American canal squabble had not proved serious.<sup>2</sup>

What would happen regarding Anglo-American relations during the 'scramble' for China also occupied the editorials of the Australian press. The imminence of a European clash continued to serve as a spur for racial alliance and a stimulus to colonial unity.<sup>3</sup> 'We in Australia are very especially interested in the development of the Chinese

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<sup>1</sup>See editorials in: Argus, 7 Feb. 1900; Perth Morning Herald, 8 Feb. 1900; South Australian Register, 8 Feb. 1900; Age, 9, 10 Feb., 23 Apr. 1900; Launceston Examiner, 13 Feb. 1900; Review of Reviews, 15 Apr., 15 May, 15 June, 15 July 1900.

<sup>2</sup>See editorials in: Age, 19 Dec. 1900; Geelong Times, 20 Dec. 1900; Sydney Morning Herald, 21 Dec. 1900, 14, 20 Nov. 1901; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 26 Dec. 1900, 23 Feb., 5 Oct. 1901; Argus, 27 Dec. 1901; South Australian Register, 14 Jan., 22 Feb., 26 Mar., 6 Dec. 1901; Brisbane Evening Observer, 14 Jan., 7 Mar. 1901; Review of Reviews, 20 Feb., 6 Dec. 1901.

<sup>3</sup>E.g. Bendigo Independent, 9 Mar. 1899; Newcastle Morning Herald, 13 Mar. 1899.

trade', the Perth Morning Herald stated. Anglo-Saxondom could hold open the door for Australian wool, wheat, meat and timber it held.<sup>1</sup> Final agreement by the Powers, (albeit informally), on United States' Secretary of State John Hay's 'Open Door' declaration to secure equality of commercial opportunity was announced in Australia by Stead's Review of Reviews, 15 March 1900 - five days prior to Hay's official notification. Sir Earl Grey viewed it as a significant departure from previous American diplomatic policy, but congratulated the United States on their initiative, as did some liberal-conservative newspapers in Australia.<sup>2</sup>

Some press commentators could sense the Boxer Revolt's arrival in early 1900. When it erupted later in June, the urgent need to cooperate with America and other Powers to retrieve a desperate situation was recognized. Chamberlain requested the assistance of Australia's Auxiliary Squadron and William Lyne also volunteered the New South Wales' Naval Brigade, while Victorian naval forces also expressed a willingness to go. 'England's Last Hope' - the third contingent of infantry volunteers - also showed themselves eager. Some agreed with O'Sullivan, the member for Queanbeyan, that this involvement made better strategic and commercial sense than did the South African participation.<sup>3</sup> The Maitland Mercury urged caution in the expenditure of further colonial blood and treasure.<sup>4</sup> By contrast, the Argus thought of the Australian troops as forces in 'a sacred cause...against...barbarism'.<sup>5</sup> China had startlingly awakened. For many weeks editorial attention focused on the fate of those in Pekin until their relief by the international forces, 14 August 1900.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Perth Morning Herald, 8 May 1899.

<sup>2</sup>Review of Reviews, 15 Mar., pp.302-3, 15 May, p.565, 1900. There was perhaps, little flurry regarding the 'Open Door' by the press as the principle had been long upheld by British diplomacy.

<sup>3</sup>See editorials in: Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 27 July 1900; Capricornian, 16 June, 7 July 1900; Age, 3 July 1900; Ballarat Courier, 9 Aug. 1900; Geelong Times, 3 Dec. 1900.

<sup>4</sup>Maitland Mercury, 2 July 1900.

<sup>5</sup>Argus, 1, 15, 25, 27, 30 June, 7, 10, 17, 18, 20, 26, 30, 31 July, 1, 3, 17, 20 August 1900.

<sup>6</sup>For a discussion on Australian involvement see, R.H. Wilde, 'The Boxer Affair and Australian Responsibility for Imperial Defence', Pacific Historical Review, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, February 1957, pp.51-65.

Pleasure with American military cooperation in bringing about order was replaced by irritation at her diplomatic intransigence regarding the wording of the joint note to be presented by the Powers to China. Many viewed the action as contradictory and hypocritical. Some approval of the United States returned when she stayed to 'mop up', and in the process confronted Russian ambitions in Manchuria.<sup>1</sup>

Australian press opinion regarding the Philippines was full of encouragement from the liberal-conservatives toward those newly assuming Imperial burdens. Simultaneously, and especially among the more radical-liberal press, there was sympathy for the aspirations of Aguinaldo and the insurgents who had declared an independent government, 6 February 1899, following the ratification of the Treaty of Paris by the Senate - itself assisted in passage by the loss of American lives in the Philippines. Conservatives claimed that hot-blooded, primitive Malays suffering under years of Spanish tutelage, were not ready for self-government, nor had they the national character to sustain it if won. Filipino sympathizers respected the natives' courage as warriors and as defenders of their own right to self-government and the exploitation of their own resources. Others were in a quandary. They were desirous of seeing America firmly entrenched in the islands to forestall a Japanese or German takeover, but not at the expense of a protracted guerilla conflict; the sacrifice of world opinion, or collision with British interests in the area. In some important ways, those newspapers which aligned themselves definitely on one or other side of the pro and anti-imperialist debate on the Philippines at the beginning of 1899, were to provide a clue as to their later attitudes regarding the Boers from the end of 1899 to 1902.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For editorial comment, see: Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 13, 27 Dec. 1900, 31 Jan., 2, 29 Mar. 1901; Geelong Times, 27 Dec. 1900; Catholic Press, 29 Dec. 1900; Argus, 29 Dec. 1900; Brisbane Evening Observer, 14 Jan., 11 Mar., 7 May 1901; South Australian Register, 11, 23, 29 Mar. 1901; Advocate, 7 Sept. 1901.

<sup>2</sup>Editorial comment in the following: Newcastle Morning Herald, 1, 7, 8, 10, 22, 24 Feb. 1899; Brisbane Evening Observer, 2, 11 Feb. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 2 Feb. 1899; Freeman's Journal, 4 Feb. 1899; Leader, 4 Feb. 1899; Advertiser, 6 Feb. 1899; Evening News, 7 Feb. 1899; South Australian Register, 8 Feb. 1899; Courier, 8 Feb. 1899; Geelong Times, 8 Feb. 1899; Ballarat Star, 8 Feb. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 10 Feb. 1899.

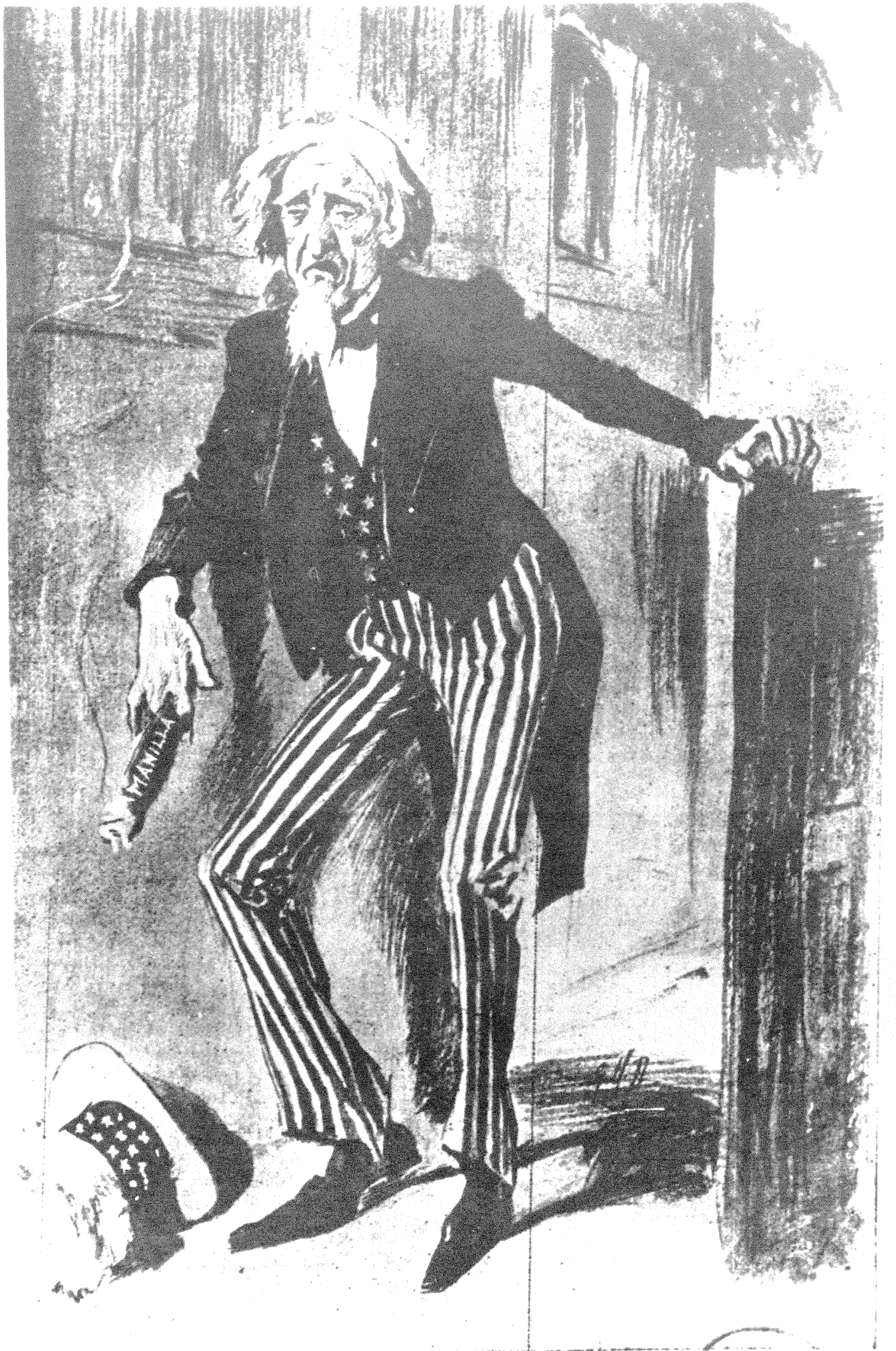
As the debate continued, some held that America would lose face if it handed the islands back to Spain, or offered them to another Power. The insurgents lost some considerable Catholic sympathy when atrocities committed by them on Catholic clergy and civilians were publicized. As a primarily conservative group, Catholic papers joined other newspapers believing that peace and stability over unruly natives needed to be asserted with the bayonet, if need be, as had been recently achieved at Omdurman. Others wondered whether elusive commercial gains would be worth an exhausting and inglorious jungle conflict. Yet another group continued to argue that American involvement was necessary to prevent other nations using the excuse of instability in order to interfere in a way unwelcome to Australian security and interests in the Far East.<sup>1</sup>

With immediate military results not forthcoming, the Catholic Press (almost alone among its peers, except for the Advocate which enjoyed the American discomfiture) argued that it was hypocrisy and murder to impose the peace of the desert on the unwilling islanders.<sup>2</sup> Others hoped that a little more determined application of force would produce the desired result. An indulgent view of the natives as 'half-devil and half-child' (Kipling's phrase) held that only a short-sightedness on behalf of the natives prevented their enjoyment of the kind of 'beneficent despotism' that the British had imposed in India. With disease and hard fighting claiming an increasing number of American lives (70,000 troops were ultimately sent), it was felt that America's

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<sup>1</sup>For editorial comment, see: Age, 14 Feb. 1899; Bendigo Advertiser, 14 Feb. 1899; Mt. Alexander Mail, 15 Feb. 1899; Capricornian, 18 Feb. 1899; Liberator, 18 Feb. 1899; Evening News, 21 Feb. 1899; Courier, 21 Feb. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 28 Feb. 1899; Newcastle Morning Herald, 2 Mar. 1899; Warrnambool Standard, 3 Mar. 1899; Freeman's Journal, 25 Feb. 1899; Advocate, 4 May 1899.

<sup>2</sup>Catholic Press, 25 Mar. 1899; Advocate, 1, 29 Apr. 1899.



NOT HIS FIRST SMOKE, EITHER.

Melbourne Punch, 31 August 1899.

marvellous luck had at last run out.<sup>1</sup> The Newcastle Morning Herald versified:

The pig has tied him up in knots,  
He don't know what to do;  
He's doubtful whether to cut the string  
Or see the business through.<sup>2</sup>

America's position was held to be increasingly 'unenviable'. General Otis's conduct of the war was censured by overseas pressmen in the Philippines for suppressing the true nature of American difficulties and losses. With the Filipino's fighting ferociously, some newspapers such as the Geelong Times and the Hobart Mercury co-opted the anti-imperialist arguments current on mainland America to accuse the Great Republic of materialistic greed and the sad abnegation of long-held ideals of freedom, equality and self-government.<sup>3</sup> When the Boer war began, such criticism became muted. Many held that Americans were labouring in the same vineyard, and criticism of American actions was usually only in retaliation for notable attacks by organs of America's press. Even Aguinaldo's capture, 23 March 1901, did not end the war. It dragged on until 16 April 1902 and was officially terminated 4 July of that year, almost immediately following the Treaty of Vereeniging, which ended the Boer War (31 May 1902). The war had been almost as sanguinary as the latter struggle: 4,234 Americans and

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<sup>1</sup>See editorial opinion in: Sydney Morning Herald, 23 Mar., 9 May 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 4 Mar., 5, 22 Apr. 1899; Argus, 28, 30 Mar. 1899; Monitor, 28 Apr. 1899; Courier, 29 Mar. 1899; Bendigo Independent, 30 Mar. 1899; Freeman's Journal, 1 Apr. 1899; Launceston Examiner, 4, 28 Apr. 1899; Mercury, 20 Apr. 1899; Evening News, 22 Apr. 1899; Australian Star, 25 Apr., 1 May 1899; Mt. Alexander Mail, 26, 29 Apr. 1899; Sydney Mail, 29 Apr., 13 May 1899; Brisbane Evening Observer, 27 Apr., 8 May 1899; Australian Star, 1 May 1899; South Australian Register, 19 May 1899; Review of Reviews, 15 May 1899.

<sup>2</sup>Newcastle Morning Herald, 29 Apr. 1899.

<sup>3</sup>Geelong Times, 12 June, 6 July 1899, 8 Oct. 1900; Mercury, 2 Aug. 1899.



20,000 natives killed at a cost of \$600 million. Americans were learning the true meaning of Empire.<sup>1</sup>

Australians continued to cultivate the Manilan market. Peace, it was hoped, would bring a progressive business government which would purchase fruit, preserves, canned goods, frozen meat and other items from Australia. Admiral Dewey's large transport, the Celtic, arrived in Sydney harbour to take on such supplies for his return trip to the United States in mid 1899.<sup>2</sup> In Brisbane, the flourishing frozen meat trade with the Americans in the Philippines was expected to increase with the return of H. Hopper, a competent Chicago meat preserver, who had returned to the city after a trip which included an assessment of Far Eastern markets.<sup>3</sup> Certainly coal markets had grown in the area. For commercial reasons alone, Australians could look forward to an established peace.<sup>4</sup>

Religious newspapers continued their mutual editorial assaults in vigorous attacks upon, and fervid defences of, the role played by the Catholic Spanish clergy in precipitating the Filipino revolt.<sup>5</sup>

Whether the 'New Imperialism' as applied to America was a healthy development or a retrograde one, was debated thoroughly in Australia's press. Conservative-liberals such as the West Australian and the South Australian Register usually stressed the need for America to develop a responsible attitude in order to rise to the occasion

<sup>1</sup> See editorial comment in: Sydney Morning Herald, 13 June, 8 July, 22 Sept. 1899; Argus, 22 June 1899; Newcastle Morning Herald, 30 June, 3 July 1899, 29 Sept. 1900; Evening News, 4 July 1899; Australian Star, 8 July 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 20 Sept. 1899, 27 Apr. 1901; Launceston Examiner, 18 Sept. 1899, 11 Dec. 1900. See Leon Wolff, Little Brown Brother (New York, 1960), pp. 359-60.

<sup>2</sup> Sydney Mail, 17 June 1899.

<sup>3</sup> Brisbane Evening Observer, 12 Apr. 1901.

<sup>4</sup> See editorials in: Launceston Examiner; 26 Mar. 1899; Evening News, 2 Oct. 1899.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Liberator, 3 June, 23 Sept. 1899, 7, 14 Sept. 1901; Monitor, 4 Aug., 1 Sept. 1899; Austral Light, 1 Apr. 1901.