

persuasive, Dollinger reminds us that the personal sacrifices of the average people who led the labour fight are stories worth telling.

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Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

Kristin Hoganson's study of gender and U.S. imperial politics ranks among the most important contributions to the recent wave of scholarship on U.S. empire in the Caribbean and the Pacific. Over the past century, historians have debated the motivations behind the burst of expansionist projects that emanated from the United States at the end of the nineteenth century. Until recently, however, scholars of "1898" have treated the issue of gender as a marginal concern, if they have addressed it at all. In this provocative study, Hoganson sets out to show how gender politics played a pivotal role in the formation of U.S. policy and political culture at the turn of the century.

Hoganson seeks to redefine the parameters of a historical debate that long revolved around the question of whether U.S. intervention in 1898 was driven by "rational" or "irrational" motivations. She rejects these categories and proposes instead to explain how putatively "irrational" preoccupations regarding the preservation of "American manhood" became central to the geopolitical strategies of U.S. officials in the late 1890s.¹ The book begins with an interpretation of the rise of the "jingo," who played a critical role in advocating U.S. intervention in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and other domains of Spanish empire in the Pacific. The jingoes included Civil War veterans, journalists, and military strategists such as Alfred Thayer Mahan, who gained fame in the 1890s as author of *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*. United by sex (nearly all jingoes were men), this loose coalition shared a belief that the strength of the republic depended on its masculine character, and that war and other strenuous activities were essential for the cultivation of manly virtues. Influenced by Social Darwinism, this concept of manhood was also closely bound up with beliefs in the superiority of whites over other racial groups.

Hoganson's analysis of the advent of the jingoes focuses on the debate surrounding the arbitration treaty signed by the United States and Great Britain in 1897. She attributes the failure of the treaty in the U.S. Senate to increasing concern among many men regarding the growing influence of women in electoral politics. Opponents of arbitration raised alarms about the feminization of the republic and pointed to the prominence of women among the arbitrationists to bolster their case against the treaty. She then considers how the

debate over arbitration influenced the controversy surrounding U.S. intervention in Cuba in 1898. Despite the jingoists' enthusiastic advocacy for war, considerable reluctance to intervene existed in the United States until the sinking of the *U.S.S. Maine* in the port of Havana. Hoganson elucidates how concepts of male honour shaped the responses of interventionists and anti-interventionists to the widespread perception that Spain was to blame for the ship's destruction. Jingoists benefited from the widely shared notion that the preservation of national/masculine honour required retribution for the alleged treachery of the Spanish. Rather than face questions regarding his party's and his own manliness, the initially hesitant President McKinley ultimately chose war.

Hoganson goes beyond the now-familiar story of how Theodore Roosevelt and other white men sought to capitalize on their war-time adventures in Cuba, discussing how white women from the United States also sought to reap benefits from their participation in the war effort. Her analysis of the controversy surrounding the U.S. Senate's decision to honour Clara Barton illustrates the limits to women's claims in the arena of electoral politics in the aftermath of the war. African American men also found themselves largely excluded from the vision of martial citizenship that prevailed in the dominant U.S. political culture, which privileged white men as the ultimate exemplars of military valour.

Similarly racialized and gendered notions of citizenship played a critical role in U.S. intervention in the Philippines. As with the earlier controversy over the arbitration treaty with Great Britain, jingoists derided their opponents as unmanly and pointed to the presence of women and older men among the ranks of the so-called "antis" as evidence of their alleged weakness. But as Hoganson shows, opponents of empire proved more successful in exploiting contemporary gender anxieties as the occupation of the Philippines dragged on. Critics of U.S. expansion in the tropics cited the effects of disease on soldiers' health as well as atrocities committed by U.S. troops as evidence that intervention in the Philippines was leading to the degeneration of otherwise decent white boys from the United States. These fears of degeneration, according to Hoganson, contributed to the decline of the "militant strain of the imperialist impulse" in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Hoganson's study makes an important contribution to the research agenda set out by Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease in the introduction to their edited collection of essays entitled *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (1993). Kaplan and Pease called for scholars to pay closer attention to the role of empire in U.S. history and to the role of culture in U.S. imperial projects. Hoganson's book succeeds admirably in this sense, skillfully linking "domestic" issues such as women's suffrage to the course of U.S. foreign policy. In doing so, she builds on other recent scholarship on gender and imperialism in the late nineteenth century, including works by Amy Kaplan, Gail Bederman, and E. Anthony Rotundo.²

While path-breaking in many respects, Hoganson's work reproduces what Louis A. Pérez has identified as a long-standing tendency among U.S. historians

of 1898 to ignore archival sources and historiography produced outside their own country.³ In Hoganson's defense, her book is principally about political culture in the United States. Yet the paucity of references to Cuban and Filipino archival sources and historiography make it difficult for her to give an entirely convincing account for transformations in U.S. political discourse in the aftermath of intervention. Hoganson notes that after U.S. troops landed in Cuba, U.S. officials and journalists increasingly portrayed Cubans in racialized terms that questioned the rebels' capacity to govern themselves. She explains this change primarily in terms of the workings of U.S. political discourse, arguing that "martial theories of citizenship worked in tandem with racial and class assumptions to justify U.S. control over Cuba and, indeed, other former Spanish colonies acquired in the war" (132). This observation is no doubt accurate. But once U.S. troops were on the ground, officials from the United States could no longer act as if Cubans and Filipinos were mere abstractions of their imperial imaginations. A fuller accounting of transformations in U.S. political discourse following intervention would have also considered relations on the ground between the forces of occupation and actual Cubans, as well as tensions within the rebel army itself, particularly over the question of race. Such an investigation would in turn have required an engagement with the voluminous writings that Cubans themselves have produced on that subject over the past century.⁴

Other works published on or near the one hundredth anniversary of 1898 provide a closer look at what Mary Louise Pratt (borrowing from Fernando Ortíz) has identified as the "transcultural" aspects of the imperial encounter.⁵ In a contribution to *Close Encounters of Empire*, a recent collection of articles on the cultural history of U.S.-Latin American relations, Gilbert Joseph calls for an international history that goes beyond the study of diplomats and other members of the governing elite to consider the broader range of interaction between the peoples of the United States and other societies, including issues such as organized labour, medicine, and the visual arts.⁶ Working in this vein, Eileen J. Suárez's recent study of sexuality and race in Puerto Rico examines how U.S. attempts to reform the institution of marriage on the island were themselves shaped by Puerto Rican women and men who were the targets of those reforms. Men and women from the United States were not the only veterans to make citizenship claims based on military service in Cuba. Similar arguments were advanced by Afro-Cuban veterans of the Cuban insurgency, as Ada Ferrer and Rebecca J. Scott have discussed in their respective contributions to a recent special issue of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*.⁷

Taken as a whole, Hoganson's book and these other important contributions to the historiography of "1898" point toward an exciting direction in scholarship on U.S. empire in the Caribbean and the Pacific, one that moves beyond the dichotomy of "home" and "abroad" to reveal the larger dynamics of imperial struggles over gender, race, and citizenship in the nineteenth and twentieth

century. For scholars of international relations, Hoganson's work will remain both an inspiration and a model for understanding the importance of gender politics in U.S. expansion.

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¹ For important recent reflections on this historiography, see Charles Bergquist, *Labor and the Course of American Democracy* (London 1996) and Walter LaFeber's preface to the most recent edition of his 1963 classic, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca 1998).

² Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago 1994), Amy Kaplan, "Black and Blue on San Juan Hill," in *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham 1993), 219-36, and E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York 1993).

³ Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill 1998), x. In works such as *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902* (Pittsburgh 1983) and *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture* (Chapel Hill 1999), Pérez has set the standard for studies of U.S. involvement in Cuba that fully consider both Spanish-language and English-language sources and scholarship. For a bibliographical essay that reviews recent contributions to the voluminous Spanish-language scholarship on turn-of-the-century Cuba, see Antonio Santamaría García and Consuelo Naranjo Orovio, "La historia social de Cuba, 1868-1914. Aportaciones recientes y perspectivas," *Historia Social* 33 (1999), 133-158.

⁴ On questions of race and inclusion in Cuban independence struggles, see Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill 1999) and Aline Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912* (Chapel Hill 1995).

⁵ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London 1992),

6. For a call for scholars of empire to consider metropole and colony within the same frame of analysis, see Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in Cooper and Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Stanford 1997).

⁶ Gilbert M. Joseph, "Close Encounters: Toward a New Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations," in Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine C. LeGrand, and Ricardo D. Salvatore, eds., *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Durham 1998).

⁷ Ada Ferrer, "Rustic Men, Civilized Nation: Race, Culture, and Contention on the Eve of Cuban Independence," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 78 (November 1998), 663-686, and Rebecca Scott, "Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Cuba: A View from the Sugar District of Cienfuegos, 1886-1909," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 78 (November 1998), 687-728. Recent works on the United States in the Philippines that pursue a more interactive approach include Vicente Rafael, "Colonial Domesticity: White Women and United States Rule in the Philippines," *American Literature*, 67 (December 1995), 639-66, and Paul Kramer, "The Pragmatic Empire: U.S. Anthropology and Colonial Politics in the Occupied Philippines, 1898-1916," Ph.D. Thesis, Princeton University, 1998.