

University of Montana

ScholarWorks at University of Montana

Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, &
Professional Papers

Graduate School

2021

"A Splendid Investment": Black Colonization and America's Pacific Empire, 1898-1904

Jolie Colette Scribner

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd>



Part of the [Africana Studies Commons](#), [History of the Pacific Islands Commons](#), [Labor History Commons](#), [Social History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

Scribner, Jolie Colette, "A Splendid Investment": Black Colonization and America's Pacific Empire, 1898-1904" (2021). *Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers*. 11804.
<https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/11804>

This Professional Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mso.umt.edu.

“A SPLENDID INVESTMENT”:

BLACK COLONIZATION AND AMERICA’S PACIFIC EMPIRE, 1898-1904

By

JOLIE COLETTE SCRIBNER

Bachelors of Arts History, University of Montana, Missoula, Montana, 2019

Professional Paper

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts
in History

The University of Montana
Missoula, MT

September 2021

Approved by:

Scott Whittenburg,
Graduate School Dean

Kyle G. Volk, Chair
History

Anya Jabour
History

Tobin Miller Shearer
African-American Studies

On February 16, 1900, a prominent “capitalist” named A.G. Greenwood called upon Congress to finance the “emigration of the whole [American] negro population” to the Philippines. To him, this was the answer to the Philippines Question that had dominated public debate since the end of the Spanish-American War. What, Americans asked, should be done with the Philippines now that the tyrannical Spanish had been defeated? Should the United States govern the islands or grant independence? Greenwood’s answer was linked to the economic benefits he hoped would follow the expansion of America’s overseas empire. He imagined the fertile Philippines supporting “almost any products of the earth,” particularly tobacco, sugar cane, and rice. What’s more, with the proper infrastructure, the islands’ natural resources could be exported to the “great markets” of nearby China and Russia. The trouble was that the native Filipinos were not up to the task. Black Americans were. Because they had benefited from “years of education” and the “example” of white Americans, they would, he predicted, “become rich and influential in the East.” As for the Filipinos, the law of “the survival of the fittest would be illustrated,” allowing black Americans to control the country and maximize its resources.¹

Yet, for Greenwood, the stakes were bigger than the Philippines. A Virginian and former Confederate general, he saw colonization as a solution to the South’s ongoing racial struggles.²

¹ “Future for the Negro,” *Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.), Feb. 16, 1900. The *Washington Post* interviewed Greenwood and then published the details of his plan. Later, that month the *New York Times* published their interview with Greenwood and his plan for African-American colonization; “Philippines for the Negroes,” *New York Times* (New York), Feb. 25, 1900. Summarized versions of his plan were reprinted across the country. In Kansas alone, 66 newspapers reprinted his colonization scheme. Greenwood was depicted as an astute businessman who was familiarized with the cultures and problems of the new American territories. At the time Greenwood was in Washington D.C. asking Congress for assistance in building the Cuban Central Railroad from La Cruz to La Ramon. He did not want to incorporate Cuba into the United States, but eagerly sought out capitalist investments in the island. Similarly, he did not express any plans to annex the Philippines following African-American colonization. For articles covering his role in Cuba, see “Bought 1,792 Square Miles,” *The Brooklyn Citizen* (Brooklyn, NY), Jun. 21, 1899. “Two Cuban Islands Sold,” *Fall River Daily Evening News* (Fall River, MA), Aug. 10, 1899. “Two Cuban Islands Sold,” *The Blue Mound Sun* (Blue Mound, KS), Jun. 22, 1900.

² In an article, “Two Cuban Islands Sold,” *Fall River Daily Evening News*, August 10, 1899, Greenwood was described as a former staff member of General Robert E. Lee during the Civil War.

Since the end of the Civil War, Greenwood bemoaned, statesmen had squabbled over the status of black Americans, but to no avail. The “negro question,” he concluded, would continue to haunt the nation as long as blacks remained. Not only would colonization rid the South of “the worst element of the negro race,” it would finally open the region to the “full tide of industrial and agricultural development.” European immigrants would replace black laborers, the region would be whitened, and the nation would be united and free of all racial conflict. This plan, he boasted, would solve “the puzzle” that had long flummoxed “the thinking peoples and professors of sociology in this country.” Even if it cost “two billion dollars” to transport all black Americans to the Philippines, it would, Greenwood announced, “be a splendid investment.”

He was not alone. At the end of the Spanish-American War, numerous Americans — black and white — looked to new additions to the U.S. empire as places for the nation’s black population to emigrate. Proposals for black colonization had surfaced periodically throughout the nineteenth century. Most advocated for emigration to American outposts in Africa. With racial tensions in the South on the rise in the 1890s, certain congressmen and black emigrationists reignited discussions of black resettlement outside of the continental U.S. Acquisition of new territories, especially the Philippines, reoriented these conversations towards the Pacific. What if, proponents pondered, they had found a place that could support black emigration? Then the nation could finally resolve its destructive racial conflict and simultaneously secure its global reach with African-American settlers. Proposals reached their highpoint in 1902, when after a year of correspondence, Alabama senator John Tyler Morgan persuaded the Roosevelt administration to review the feasibility of mass black emigration. For the next three years, the promise and perils of black colonization in the Pacific world became the object of public debate. Over time the Philippines dominated conversations, capturing the hopes and fears of Americans

— black and white — seeking to make sense of racial unrest at home and imperial expansion abroad.

Proposals for black colonization of the Philippines highlighted divisions within black politics, particularly by bringing black Americans to reckon with their role in expanding the American empire. From the start of the Spanish-American War, black politicians debated black soldiers' participation in the Pacific theater to help establish U.S. control. Some noted that the Philippines' proximity to East Asia and its natural resources promised unique opportunities for black economic and political advancement, yet critics protested that access hinged on American domination of local peoples. Proposals for colonization further exposed these divisions. They became even more pronounced in December of 1902, when the Treasury Department appointed prominent black newspaper editor, Timothy Thomas Fortune, to “undertake a study of conditions and opportunities for colonization.”³ This federal investigation made colonization a distinct possibility, pushing black politicians to consider the consequences of the wholesale participation of black Americans as settler-colonizers in the aggressive U.S. empire. As Fortune and his investigation became the lightning rod, plans for colonization of the Philippines strained against black political disunity while sinking widespread support of government-led colonization.

Colonization plans and the subsequent investigation also laid bare the complex racial framework of the Pacific. A long history of Spanish colonization and East-Asian immigration in islands like the Philippines had created a motley group of inhabitants. American expansionists classified Chinese, Japanese, and native inhabitants as infantile, uncivilized, and racially inferior to justify U.S. occupation. At the same time, Americans assigned unique characteristics to distinguish racial groups from one another. Aside from white American superiority, black and

³ “Negro Colony in Far East,” *New York (NY) Times*, Dec. 12, 1902.

white Americans did not believe there was clear racial hierarchy among local inhabitants. Proposals attempted to carve out a space for black Americans in this seemingly complicated racial cocktail. Implementation of these plans depended on acceptance that black Americans were racially compatible with, *and* racially superior to “the little brown and yellow people” residing in the Philippines. Proponents reasoned that their life in the U.S. had equipped black Americans for colonization and their African heritage would generate an interracial alliance. Thrown into these perplexing racial dynamics, Fortune wrestled with these abstract constructions of race to advocate for black immigration, but the racial complexity of the Pacific Empire constrained proposals for black colonization.

Bound to capitalist exploitation of the territories, colonization schemes further diminished black Americans’ hope for interracial unity with indigenous peoples living in the Pacific. Colonization of the Philippines, black supporters hoped, would advance black land ownership, economic participation, and political influence. Their presence in the region, consequently, would spawn a global alliance to defeat white supremacy. Investigations of colonization, ironically, complicated black musings on racial compatibility. Fortune’s commission forced proposals to confront the economic role of local inhabitants. Without a fixed racial hierarchy, American capitalist practices pitted racial groups against each other to determine which group was composed of cheaper and more manageable workers. Black colonization, for local peoples, threatened to incorporate another racial group into that dynamic. Black opponents of emigration, in response, protested that no other labor force could compete

with “oriental wage rates.”⁴ The threat of economic competition deterred inter-racial unity as black Americans found themselves in competition with their non-white allies.

Lastly, proposals for colonization of the Philippines and Fortune’s investigation influenced black American conceptualizations of race in the twentieth century. Along with trade opportunities, American expansion in the Pacific introduced an assortment of new racialized groups that challenged dominant American constructions of race. Proposals for colonization of the Philippines created an opportunity for black Americans to racially redefine themselves and their relationship to others. Black Americans did not colonize the islands or create a trans-Pacific alliance to destroy white supremacy. Instead, the black examination of colonization of the Philippines helped create more racial distinctions between black Americans and the islands inhabitants. Black American’s hopes that colonization could create an international-coalition to defeat white racial oppression faded. Empire — capitalist empire — they realized hinged on the competition with native inhabitants. If black Americans were to leave the continental U.S., they could not also take part in the expansion of American empire. Emigration would have to be on their terms.

These proposals for colonization have been a side note in the scholarship. National conversation over colonization proposals following the Spanish-American War has yet to be explored. Exploration of these proposals and debates provides new insights about the relationship between American imperial expansion, black politics, and the construction of race following the Spanish-American War. Scholars highlight how overseas expansion altered physical and ideological conceptions of race, as political pundits debated whether or not to keep

⁴ See Harry H. Pace, “The Philippine Islands and the American Negro,” *Voice of the Negro*, Oct. 1904, 482-85; T. Thomas Fortune, “Politics in the Philippine Islands,” *Independent*, Sep. 1903, 2266-68; R. B. Lemus, “The Negro and the Philippines,” *Colored American Magazine*, Feb. 1903, 314-18.

the Gulf and Pacific territories.⁵ So, too, have scholars documented that debates among anti-imperialists and imperialists frequently revolved around the treatment of Filipinos and the ability of Filipinos to assimilate to American culture.⁶ Historians have also examined African-American involvement in imperial expansion, noting concentrated efforts to prevent the spread of white supremacy.⁷ More recently, scholars have argued that white supremacy pitted African Americans and Filipinos against one another, combating racialized science that tried to categorize the two.⁸ These historians, however, focus primarily on African-American soldiers as agents of imperial expansion. Examination of African-American responses to proposals for colonization demonstrates what various black Americans thought they would gain from expansion and how that informed the construction of race.⁹ Additionally, these debates show that international

⁵ On legal constructions of race in regards to Filipinos and the United States see Paul Kramer, *Blood of Government: Race, Empire and the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), and Eric J. Pido, "Property Relations: Alien Land Laws and the Racial Formation of Filipinos as Aliens Ineligible to Citizenship," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol 39, No. 7, 1205-1222. On racial ideology and the creation of U.S foreign policy, see Hazel M. McFerson, *The Racial Dimensions of American Overseas Colonial Policy* (Westport CN: Greenwood Press, 1997), Rubin Francis Weston, *Racism in the U.S. Imperialism: The Influence of Racial Assumptions on American Foreign Policy, 1893-1946* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1972).

⁶ On treatment of Filipinos by white Americans stationed in the Philippines, see David Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (New York: Farrar, Stratus, and Giroux, 2019), Edited by Julian Go and Anne L. Foster, *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives* (London: Duke University Press, 2003), Stuart Creighton Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: The American conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1985).

⁷ On the role of African Americans in imperial expansion at the turn of the century, see, Gatewood, Willard B. "Black Americans and the Quest for Empire, 1898-1903." *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 38, No. 4, Nov. 1972, 545-566, Gatewood, Willard B., *Black Americans and the Whites Man's Burden 1898-1903* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1975), Gretchen Murphy, *Shadowing the White Man's Burden: Imperialism and the Problem of the Color Line* (New York: New York University Press, 2010).

⁸ Paul Kramer, *Blood of Government: Race, Empire and the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), Stuart Creighton Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: The American conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1985).

⁹ Thomas Holt, "Marking: Race, Race-making, and the Writing of History," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 1, (Fall 1995), 1-20, Barbra Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York: Oxford university Press, 1982), 143-78.

expansion directly impacted internal discussions on racial strife, as well as white and black conceptions of race.

Undergirding these debates was the United States' long history of racial conflict and growing frustration over the failures of Reconstruction in the South. Widespread disenfranchisement in the South following the Civil War, scholars have noted, encouraged emigrationism and racial uplift among African Americans.¹⁰ Scholarship on the development of Jim Crow and segregation highlights how white supremacy's expansion at the turn of the century exacerbated black resistance. Reaction to colonization proposals demonstrates how conversations about expansion were tied to domestic concerns about racial strife. Examination of these proposals shows that disenfranchisement and imperial expansion were intimately connected.

While African American emigrationism has garnered much scholarly attention, no one has touched this episode. Scholars have studied colonization movements throughout the nineteenth century, tracing their contributions to black nationalism in the early twentieth century.¹¹ Black emigrationism, historians have detailed, became a powerful means of resistance among black Americans as large swaths of African Americans moved out of the South.¹²

¹⁰ On black political organizing, see Stephen Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), Stephen Hahn, *the Political Worlds of Slavery and Freedom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution: 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1988), William Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism: 1880-1930* (Raleigh, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Movements in America* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

¹¹ Christine Whyte, "Between Empire and Colony: American Imperialism and Pan-African colonialism in Liberia, 1810-2003," *National Identities*, Vol. 18, 2016, 71-88, Sebastian N. Page and Phillip W. Magness, *Colonization After Emancipation: Lincoln and the Movement for Black Resettlement* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2011), Eric Bruin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (University of Florida Press, 2008), Beverly Tomek, *Colonization and its Discontents: Emancipation, Emigration and Antislavery in Antebellum Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).

¹² See James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), Neil Fligstein, *Going North: Migration of Blacks and Whites from the South, 1900-1950* (New York: Academic Press, 1981), Bryan M. Jack, *The St. Louis African American Community and the Exodusters* (Columbia, MI: University of Missouri Press, 2007), Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1986).

Colonization of the Philippines, unlike previous plans, promised that African Americans would remain a part of the United States. These proposals are situated in a unique moment that speaks to the long history of emigrationism and colonization movements in American history.

* * *

Proposals for black colonization of the Philippines, like Greenwood's, followed a long history of colonization attempts to relocate black Americans. Throughout the nineteenth-century, colonization societies — black and white — periodically sprang up across the United States to support black emigration. These colonization schemes aimed to physically and politically separate white and black Americans and depended on American expansion to resettle the nation's black population in a region uninhabited by white Americans. An assortment of Americans, throughout this period, suggested black colonization in Liberia, the Congo, and other regions in Africa. Territories acquired at the end of the Spanish-American War opened a host of new places and redirected plans for black colonization. These acquisitions, especially the Philippines, became another place for black Americans to emigrate.

Undergirding all these colonization plans was racial conflict in the United States. American support for colonization proposals fluctuated with concerns about racial relations. The abolition of slavery, for example, marked a low point for black colonization proposals, but increased racialized violence and disenfranchisement following Reconstruction compelled some Americans to consider an alternative home for the black populous. American interest in colonization proposals intensified throughout the 1890s as race relations deteriorated, especially in the South.¹³ Thirty-years after the United States abolished slavery, southerners bemoaned that

¹³ White Southerners' abuse of black Americans following Reconstruction, to reclaim political and economic power, encouraged black colonization. The destruction of the Civil War hindered Southern economy and Republican control of the country during Reconstruction stalled modernization efforts across the South. Desperate to regain political and economic control of the South, white Democrats repealed black enfranchisement. Mississippi's black

no peace had developed between black and white residents. Southern states were fraught with the lynching, disenfranchisement, and exploitation of black Americans, and some African Americans believed it might be better to leave than fight. White southerners, on the other hand, argued that black entitlement and inherent criminality destroyed any chance of a peaceful coexistence. Many hoped for a black exodus.

Leading up to proposals for colonization of the Philippines in the 1890s, proponents — black and white — suggested that black emigration to Africa could resolve the troublesome Negro problem. In response to the Federal Elections Bill in 1890, South Carolina Senator, Matthew C. Butler, urged Congress to finance the wholesale emigration of African Americans to the Congo. While Butler proposed an emigration bill to protest the Federal Elections Bill, Senator John Tyler Morgan, of Alabama, earnestly advocated for its consideration in the senate.¹⁴ Despite his efforts, Congress never seriously considered the proposal and sponsorship. In the meantime, a figurehead of black emigration in the post-Reconstruction era, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner advocated for a black exodus to Africa. He contended that the Republican Party had abandoned black Americans and their only hope for freedom was to leave the United States. Turner travelled to Africa four times throughout the 1890s visiting Liberia, Sierra Leone, and South Africa championing black emigration to the continent. Turner even supported racist Democratic leaders, like Morgan, in hopes that the Senate would finance the venture.

registered voters, for example, fell from 190,000 to 8,615 in two years. Embittered white Southerners increasingly lynched African Americans throughout the 1890s and white vigilante groups patrolled rural areas threatening or murdering black farmers. By the end of the nineteenth century, some black Americans even remarked that slavery was a better alternative than post-Reconstruction South. Facing increased violence and political disenfranchisement, black Southerners sought means to escape. For more information see Stephen Hahn, *Nation Under Our Feet*, (2003).

¹⁴ Thomas A. Upchurch, "Senator John Tyler Morgan and the Genesis of Jim Crow Ideology, 1889-1898," *Alabama Review*, Vol. 57, No. 2, (Apr. 2004), 110-31, 123; Edwin, S. Redkey, *Black Exodus: Black nationalist and Back-to-Africa Movements, 1890-1910* (New Haven, CT, 1969).

Early proposals for the Philippines, therefore, focused, almost exclusively, on resolving the nation's troublesome race problem. Rising interest in black colonization throughout the decade propelled public interest, and the novelty of a new territory promised unique opportunities. Black proponents suggested the islands could protect African Americans from white oppression and create new economic and political opportunities. Initial proposals from black Americans focused on escaping white oppression while white advocates earnestly hoped they could remove black Americans. In November of 1898, for example, Senator Donaldson Caffery of Louisiana proposed the U.S. "deport" black Americans to "a climate and a country" more suitable like the Philippines.¹⁵ Two years later, Senator John Tyler Morgan of Alabama announced African Americans would soon "draw off to the Philippines," opening room for Southerners to be "free and happy people."¹⁶

Bound up in questions about American expansion, these plans hinged on whether the United States would maintain control of the islands. Questions about the U.S. foreign policy in the Philippines featured prominently in the presidential election in 1900. How or should the United States remain in the Philippines? Republican candidate and incumbent, William McKinley, argued that evacuation from the islands would leave the Philippines vulnerable to anarchy and reinstatement of European colonial rule. Therefore, the United States must remain in the Philippines to civilize native inhabitants and establish republican government. Anti-imperialists wanted to grant Filipinos their independence because they felt the Philippines were "a constant drain and small return" on the United States' military and economy. McKinley's

¹⁵ "Send the Negroes There," *Tennessean* (Nashville, TN), Nov. 19, 1898. A month later, Donaldson opposed annexation of the islands, signifying that he wanted to permanently separate African Americans from the United States. "Against Annexing Philippines," *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), Dec. 3, 1898.

¹⁶ "Senator Morgan gives Advice on the Alabama Suffrage Question," *Age Herald* (Birmingham, AL), Mar. 22, 1900.

opponent, William Jennings Bryan, also urged the United States to grant the Philippines independence as Americans had yet to demonstrate any “extraordinary genius in dealing with inferior races.”¹⁷ President William McKinley’s reelection in 1900 confirmed that the United States would remain in the islands, which encouraged black colonization schemes.

After McKinley’s reelection, proposals for colonization quickly became a possible resolution for how the United States should govern the Philippines. Two years into the Philippine-American War, the government had yet to suppress movements for Filipino independence. Anti-imperialists criticized Republican assertions that the United States saved the islands from monarchical oppression as the war carried into the twentieth century. Expansionists, they argued, were no different than the Spanish imperialists from whom the United States had fought to free the Philippines, and further involvement in the islands violated America’s republican ideals.¹⁸ Wanting to maintain political and economic influence in the Pacific, the McKinley administration and fellow expansionists searched for new means to control the Philippines. Some turned to black colonization and tailored their plans for the islands as opposed to earlier proposals that focused on removing black Americans from the United States. Building off earlier conversations that lofted black emigration to the Philippines as a solution to the Negro Question soon suggested that colonization could solve another troublesome problem: the Philippines Question.

The most fundamental roots of these proposals developed alongside the substantial black military service during the war. During the Spanish-American War, black troops earned notoriety for their bravery and service, especially in Cuba. Escalation of the Philippine-American War

¹⁷ William Jennings Bryan, *Republic, or Empire? The Philippines Question*, Chicago: Independence Co., 1899, 439-40.

¹⁸ George McA. Miller, “What I am Opposed to Imperialism,” *The Arena*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, Jul. 1902, 1-4.

brought black infantries to the Pacific to serve in a similar capacity. Regiments like the 25th Infantry served in Missoula, Montana and Cuba before the military shipped them to the Philippines. Within the first year of the war, the number of black servicemen in the islands more than tripled.¹⁹ As the war continued, black colonization proponents used the success of black soldiers to legitimate their calls for colonization of the Philippines.

Racialization of soldiers in the military helped colonizationists construct narratives to convince the public that black Americans were natural inhabitants of the Philippines. Filipino nationalists' use of guerilla tactics brought the U.S. military deep into the Philippines' warm and densely covered islands. These conditions complicated American war efforts because troops had to combat diseases and unfamiliar territory. U.S. military leaders stationed black soldiers in remote areas riddled with yellow fever because they believed that black men were better suited to tropical climates than white men.²⁰ The military's discriminatory placement of white and black troops reinforced racial constructions that affirmed assumptions black Americans would colonize the islands more easily. Some generals in the Philippines, like Thomas J. Morgan, supported the use of black troops in the Philippines and even urged the military to appoint black officers.²¹ If the U.S. were to colonize the Philippines, Morgan believed it would be in the best interest of the country to send mostly, "if not exclusively," black troops.²² The *Chicago Daily Tribune* was just one newspaper to broadcast this perspective to the nation. While outside of

¹⁹ Willard B. Gatewood, *Black Americans and the Whites Man's Burden 1898-1903* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 263.

²⁰ Mark A. Youngren. "A Sickly Little War: Epidemic Disease, Military Campaigns and the Spanish American War," (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 2016), 188.

²¹ Thomas J. Morgan, "Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic," *The Independent*, (Jun. 30, 1898).

²² *Ibid.*

camp black troops are “liable to boisterousness or dissipation,” they announced, under the proper command “negro troops are better fitted to sustain the climate.”²³

Beyond adaptability to the climate, proponents of mass black emigration attempted to prove that Filipinos and black Americans were racially equal and could peacefully coexist. While proposals maintained that black Americans and Filipinos were racially distinct, some asserted that there was a natural brotherhood between the two groups, therefore black presence in the Philippines might make colonization easier. Reports from black men stationed in the Philippines asserted that African Americans effectively developed relationships with Filipinos and transplanted American patriotism and democracy. As Theophilus G. Steward, a black chaplain with the twenty-fifth infantry, wrote to *The Colored American*, “The coming of the colored soldiers has done much... to uphold the honor of the nation’s soldiery” and aid Filipinos “to get on their feet,” adding that Filipinos “thronged” black camps because the soldiers had “won their confidence.”²⁴ In another telling moment, *The Colored American* republished Lt. David Gilmer’s address to native peoples following the raising of an American flag over a small Filipino community. Gilmer announced, in front of President Pulido and five hundred Filipinos, that the flag marked the arrival of the “highest ranks of civilization, education, and opulence.”²⁵ Not only did this interaction “breath... of patriotism,” the paper stated, it also verified that “the presence of colored troops created a most-favorable impression” among Filipinos. Pulido’s closing remarks thanking Gilmer and announcing, “long live the champion liberator, the great North

²³ “Negro Soldiers for Islands,” *Chicago (IL) Daily Tribune*, Oct. 9, 1898.

²⁴ Theophilus G. Steward, “The Philippines and their People,” *Christian Recorder* (Philadelphia, PA), Mar. 29, 1900. Theophilus G. Steward, “In Luzon,” *Independent*, (Feb. 1900), 312-314, 313.

²⁵ “Honor Old Glory,” *Colored American* (Washington, D.C.), Jan. 21, 1900.

American Nation” proved that Filipinos welcomed American presence if it was presented properly.²⁶

Black military service promoted various black commentators’ goals that hoped African American involvement in expansion and the war would legitimize calls for political, social, and economic rights. As in previous wars throughout the nineteenth century, some hoped that black service would validate black citizenship. As white southerners created laws and policies that made the 15th Amendment practically obsolete, some black Americans hoped to capitalize on the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars. If an African-American man would die for the United States, then they deserved equal treatment and protection from the American government. According to these advocates, black servicemen’s “dauntless courage and sufferings in Cuba and the Philippines” evidenced their “patriotic love of country” and commitment to its expansion.²⁷

Recognition of black soldiers’ contributions to the war effort created a more tangible framework for some to imagine an even bigger role for black American in fostering U.S. expansion. In December of 1901, Alabama senator, John Tyler Morgan, wrote to the Secretary of War, Elihu Root, asking that the government investigate the feasibility of establishing black paramilitary colonies in the Philippines to precede mass black emigration. In January, Root forwarded Morgan’s plan to Major General Adna R. Chaffee, Commandant of the Division of the Philippines, for his evaluation of the proposal. Chaffee then asked General George W. Davis, Commander of the Department of Mindanao, to weigh in on the proposal. Davis analyzed Morgan’s plan in April 1902 and determined that black colonization of the Philippines was ill-

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ John P. Green, “Negro in the Wars,” *Colored American* (Philadelphia, PN), Jun. 5, 1902.

advised.²⁸ The resources required to fund this plan would burden the U.S. government, and Davis concluded that the Philippines could not sustain an influx of millions of immigrants.²⁹

Despite Davis's critical response, Morgan persisted because he believed that the acquisition of the Philippines provided an opportunity to expand Southern American trade and end racial conflict among black and white Americans. Morgan argued whites and blacks were inherently different, making it impossible for the two races to coexist peacefully. Embittered by emancipation and Reconstruction, Morgan worked tirelessly to strip black Americans of their power. Republicans, asserted Morgan, had encouraged "individual negroes to demand a social equality which they [were] not prepared to enjoy."³⁰ Morgan determined that African Americans were "no stronger as a race, and... no better as individuals" than before the Civil War.³¹ Therefore, he asserted that Filipinos and black Americans were of the same race. He posited, however, that "the climate [of the Philippines was] exactly suited to the negroes" because "negroes were the original inhabitants" before "the Malays drove them back from the seacoast."³² For Morgan's plan to be executed, it would have cost the federal government millions of dollars to send blacks from across the South to the Philippines.

This plan also coincided with his desire to make the Philippines an epicenter for trade in the Pacific. An Alabama senator from 1877 until his death in 1907, Morgan continuously advocated for southern autonomy, which often hinged on the expansion of the American empire.³³ The indomitable senator served on the Foreign Relations Committee most of his

²⁸ Baylean, "Senator John Morgan and Negro Colonization" 67.

²⁹ General George Davis to Major General Adan R. Chaffee, Apr. 17, 1902.

³⁰ John Tyler Morgan, "The Future of the Negro," *North American Review*, Vol. 139, No. 332 (Jul. 1884), 81-84, quote on 82.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² "Negro Colonization Plan," *New York Times*, Dec. 15, 1902.

³³ Joseph Fry, "John Tyler Morgan's Southern Expansionism," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Fall, 1985), 329-46; Radke; Prior to his senatorial career Morgan challenged discriminate railroad practices which favored Northern

senatorial career, challenging tariffs and economic policies that he believed placed the South in “vassalage.”³⁴ Morgan contended that northeastern industrial capitalists prevented the agricultural West and South from industrialization, stunting postwar development.³⁵ He wanted the United States to establish a strong presence in the Philippines and use the islands as a trading port with the rest of the Pacific and East Asia. In 1899, along with Senator Thomas H. Carter from Montana, Morgan urged congressmen to consider the potential economic and trading power of the Philippines. Morgan promised that the Philippines would give American capitalists direct access to “two thirds of the cotton consuming population” in Asia and the Pacific without having to pay the extra expense of going through Liverpool.³⁶ Morgan wanted to expand Southern industry and exporting cotton through Europe and the Mediterranean incurred charges for brokerage, insurance, storage, and tariffs. The Philippines, as a trading port, would bolster the Southern economy. Morgan believed his proposal expanded American trade, protected white Americans from race mixing, and found a permanent solution for racial conflict.

Morgan, indifferent to initial rejections, continued to advocate for government-funded black colonization and at the end of 1902, the Roosevelt administration formed a commission to determine if conditions in Hawaii and the Philippines were favorable to African-American emigration. Morgan proposed that millions of African Americans emigrate to the Philippines and the government grant them twenty acres per family, access to trade, and “protection under the

Industry. One case going to the Supreme Court. Then in 1881, Morgan proposed a bill to help fund the Warrior and Tennessee Railroads. Congress Rec 46 3rd session 380 and 1709.

³⁴ Fry, “John Tyler Morgan’s Southern Expansionism,” quote from McKee papers in the Library of Congress. 331. JTM to McKee, 15 October 1890, McKee Papers. See also JTM to Clopton, 31 March 1895, Clay Papers.

³⁵ Fry, 332.

³⁶ “Will Pay in the End,” *Washington Post*, Sept. 5, 1899.

American flag.”³⁷ Morgan told the *Washington Post* he had support from the Secretary of War, Elihu Root, and the Governor of the Philippines, future President William H. Taft.

To investigate the feasibility of black colonization, the Treasury Department appointed black newspaper editor Timothy Thomas Fortune as a temporary Special Immigrant Agent. Fortune was born enslaved in 1856, to Emanuel and Sarah Jane Fortune, in Marianna, Florida. Fortune made a name for himself as a newspaper editor and civil rights advocate. In 1881, Fortune began editing his own newspaper which eventually became *The New York Age*, one of the most widely read black newspapers. His newspaper criticized lynching, voter disenfranchisement, segregation, inadequate funding for black education, and the convict lease system. As a newspaper editor and civil rights advocate, Fortune developed relationships with leading figures of the day like Ida B. Wells, Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. DuBois. Fortune’s primary aim was unifying African Americans across the United States through newspapers, political agitation, and formal organizing.

To financially support his newspaper, the *New York Age*, Fortune pursued a federal appointment from the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations. Fortune hoped his relationship with Booker T. Washington would help him earn an appointment, but Republicans were hesitant to work with the notorious editor. Fortune, like many black newspaper editors of the day, relied on advertising money from the Republican Party and candidates. Fortune, however, would refuse to print articles that supported Republican candidates because he felt they abused black political support. In turn, he was not afraid to criticize the party or candidates which strained his relationship with statesmen. Despite his contentious relationship with Republicans, General

³⁷ “Philippines for Negro: Senator Morgan Advocates Colonization Project,” *Washington Post*, Dec. 16, 1902.

James S. Clarkson, an old white abolitionist, helped Fortune secure the appointment.³⁸ It is likely that the Roosevelt administration created the commission to assuage Morgan's plea to investigate black colonization and appease Fortune's demands for an appointment without any intention of funding the broader emigration project. This is made even more likely considering evidence suggests that Fortune and Morgan never discussed these proposals with one another.³⁹

While the administration may not have seriously considered proposals for black colonization of the Philippines, the investigation became a conduit for black politics to discuss the role of black Americans in overseas expansion. Prior to the investigation, black Americans had heavily debated their role in American expansion. American and European expansion during the 1890s generated discussions in the black political community that informed debates over black colonization of the Philippines. At the first Pan-African Conference held in London in 1900, W.E.B. DuBois first announced, "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."⁴⁰ The difficult question, for black Americans, was should they try to stop expansion or attempt to guide colonization efforts? By the end of the nineteenth century, some black political leaders predicted that expansion could not be stopped, and it was more effective to join and shape policies. Participation in expansion, others argued, condoned American exploitation of non-white peoples. Colonization proposals were caught in the middle of these debates.

Wealthier and formally educated black Americans spearheaded colonization proposals that generated new discussions which highlighted class and racial discrimination in the black

³⁸ Thornbrough, *T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist*, 149.

³⁹ "Philippines for the Negro," *Yorkville* (SC) News, Dec. 17, 1902; "Would give Free Homes to Negroes," *San Francisco* (CA) *Caller*, Dec. 17, 1902. In fact, Morgan and Fortune had a heated exchange in 1890 over sexual integration in the South. See T. Thomas Fortune, "Afro Americans are here to Stay," *Arena*, (Mar. 1890), 113-16.

⁴⁰ W.E.B. DuBois, "To the Nations of the World," <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/1900-w-e-b-du-bois-nations-world/> (accessed, Apr. 15, 2021).

political community. William S. Scarborough, an accomplished classicist, for example, suggested that just “the educated... capable Negro,” who possessed an entrepreneurial spirit, emigrate to the Philippines and capitalize on the new possessions⁴¹ He held middle-class blacks as evidence of African-American progress and a sign they could thrive in an environment without white American government, but he did not trust black workers to make the transition.⁴² In a similar vein, middle and upper-class black Americans also reified racial constructions that denigrated the civility of indigenous peoples to justify black involvement.⁴³

Fortune’s association with the investigation heightened divisions, as black politicians folded the controversial newspaper editor and colonization proposals together. Black editors chastised Fortune’s appointment along with proposals for black colonization of the Philippines. *Washington Bee* editor, Calvin Chase, predicted that Fortune would write a “long-winded” report about the beauty of the “yellow fever country” and conclude it was just right for black Americans. If, the editor added, “he is not attacked with the yellow fever before he returns.”⁴⁴

Criticisms of Fortune and the investigation were also wrapped up in political rivalries. Fortune’s connection with Washington and the Tuskegee Institute fueled public denunciations of Fortune’s commission.⁴⁵ Booker T. Washington and Fortune developed a working relationship with one another in the 1890s; Washington backed Fortune’s financially unstable paper and Fortune printed articles commending Washington’s work, and on occasion, wrote Washington’s speeches. Washington advocated for racial uplift and promoted accommodationism, which seemed antithetical to Fortune’s earlier works. Washington’s opponents accused Fortune of

⁴¹ William S. Scarborough, “The Negro and Our New Possessions,” *Forum*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3, May 1901, 134-40.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 136.

⁴³ Michele Mitchell, “The Black Man’s Burden’: African Americans, Imperialism, and Notions of Racial Manhood 1890-1910, *International Review of Social History*, Vol 44, (1999), 77-99.

⁴⁴ “Mr. Fortune’s Mission,” *Washington (D.C.) Bee*, Dec. 20, 1902.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

selling out to join the Tuskegee machine. In September of 1902, for example, the *Boston Guardian* asserted, “It is held by knowing ones that much of the fat that now greases the way for the *Age* comes out of the Tuskegee larder.”⁴⁶ In association with Tuskegee, some black Americans feared colonization of the Philippines merely meant they would become a labor force for the islands and white Americans would reap the rewards.

Newspapers announced across the United States Morgan’s proposal for mass migration of black Americans. The wide array of sharp criticisms, black and white, foreshadowed the difficulties Fortune would face in his attempts to garner public support. White southern newspapers criticized the Alabama statesman’s plan. The *Arkansas Democrat* accused Morgan of being “a dreamer whose schemes are as chimerical as those who would search for a bag of gold at the end of the rainbow.”⁴⁷ *The Wilmington (NC) Messenger*, ridiculed his plan as “a dream of a dotard and utterly without the bounds of consideration and reason.”⁴⁸ Even papers that had historically supported Morgan offered criticism, with *Our Mountain Home* stating that they “never had an occasion to oppose any” of Morgan’s decisions until he suggested black colonization of the Philippines.⁴⁹ The *Lexington Standard*, a black newspaper, quipped, black Americans should colonize the islands, “then sell out to England or Germany, and return home and loaf all summer.”⁵⁰ Prominent attorney, T. L. Jones wrote an article in the *Washington Post* and presented at the Bethel Literary and Historical Association denouncing the absurdity of Morgan’s Plan.

⁴⁶ *Boston (MA) Guardian*, Sept. 27, 1902.

⁴⁷ *Arkansas Democrat* (Little Rock, AL), Dec. 19, 1902.

⁴⁸ *The Wilmington (NC) Messenger*, Dec. 30, 1902.

⁴⁹ “In the long able and brilliant service of Senator Morgan in the United States Senate, covering a period of more than twenty-five years, the *Home* never had occasion to oppose any measure he has advocated, but on the contrary it has modestly given support in all his heretofore sound views of statesmanship.” “Solving the Negro Problem,” *Our Mountain Home* (Talladega, AL), Dec. 24, 1902.

⁵⁰ “Negroes a Present of the Philippines,” *Lexington (KY) Standard*, Jan. 27, 1902.

White farmer unions, politicians, journalists, and capitalists questioned how these proposals for colonization would impact the white political order at home. Senator Tillman, shortly before Fortune left on his envoy, contested black colonization. He argued that African Americans were incapable of self-government, and incorporation of the Philippines would only burden the United States.⁵¹ To fund such an outrageous plan, Tillman protested, “would tax the people to the point of oppression.”⁵² He closed his argument stating that even if the U.S. sent black Americans to the Philippines, they “breed so fast” that “the gap would be filled in no time.”⁵³ Certain groups of African Americans capitalized on Tillman’s rejection of colonization plans to emphasize black contributions to national greatness. *The Christian Recorder*, for example, quipped that Tillman “hates negroes worse than he does his Satanic Majesty, but he finds he cannot live without them.”⁵⁴

* * *

On December 16, 1902, Fortune arrived in Honolulu to assess Hawaii’s labor shortage and investigate the use of black workers. Sugarcane plantations fueled Hawaii’s economy throughout the nineteenth century with foreign businessmen controlling larger tracts of land and labor. In 1893, a coalition of missionaries, white planters, and international businessmen overthrew Queen Liliuokalani and established the Republic of Hawaii. Five years later, the United States annexed the islands as an incorporated territory. After annexation, sugarcane plantations rapidly expanded. According to a report by the U.S. Commissioner of Labor, Carroll D. Wright, in 1902 the sugar industry covered over ninety percent of the four main islands and

⁵¹ “It Won’t Work: What Senator Tillman says about Senator Morgan’s Scheme,” *The Manning Times*, (Manning, SC) Dec. 24, 1902.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Christian Recorder*, (Philadelphia, PN) Dec. 25, 1902.

“contained ninety-eight percent of the population.”⁵⁵ A labor intensive crop, plantation owners struggled to find and keep workers. Chinese immigrants worked the plantations, but American annexation came with a ban on Chinese immigration to the islands. While Japanese, Native Hawaiians, and Filipinos also harvested sugarcane, employers scrambled to find enough workers.⁵⁶ Long before Fortune’s arrival, government officials and businessmen had searched in vain to find a solution to their labor shortage.⁵⁷

Plantation owners and employers in Hawaii developed racialized labor practices and staunchly opposed black immigration from the South before Fortune’s commission. In January of 1901, black workers from Louisiana and Alabama arrived in the islands to work on plantations. Initially, newspaper reports indicated that plantations welcomed black laborers, but over the course of the year, tensions rose between African American immigrants and the island's diverse inhabitants. Few immigrants became field hands, and according to Wright’s report, many left the islands or found employment in towns. The *Hawaiian Star* reported that the black arrivals were difficult, lazy, and demanding, and concluded they were “a fair sample of negro laborers.”⁵⁸

Fortune, then, faced an uphill battle in suggesting African American laborers, and the press covered planters’ dissatisfaction and rejection of any further attempts to bring black workers to Hawaii. The *Honolulu Advertiser* printed eleven American businessmen and plantation owners’, almost all of which rebuffed further contemplation of black immigration. Most noted that all previous attempts had failed, with J.A. Gilman of Castle and Cooke stating,

⁵⁵Carroll D. Wright, *Report: Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii*, 1902 (Government Printing Office, 1903), 12.

⁵⁶ Brian Schott, “Forty-Acres and a Carabao,” 102.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ “About Negro Labor,” *Hawaiian Star* (Honolulu, HI) Dec. 31, 1901.

“that the men who would come so far away were always the undesirable ones.”⁵⁹ Henry Waterhouse, head of a trust company, feared that black immigration might introduce the same racial problems that he had experienced travelling in the South. “It would not be wise,” he concluded, “to introduce this element” to the islands. Meanwhile, the *Hawaiian Gazette* bolstered this criticism by reprinting an article from a Missouri newspaper documenting the “deterioration” of black labor and production since slavery. Such commentary, they deemed, should be a topic of “special interest in Honolulu.”⁶⁰ F.A. Schaefer, owner of a major sugar plantation, said “the negroes could not affiliate with the Hawaiians” and black workers “produced an ill effect upon the minds of the people.”⁶¹ W.M. Giffard expressed that the employment of black laborers “could bring no other result than disorder.”⁶² For the planter elite who controlled Hawaiian industry, economy, and politics, proposals for African-American immigration were non-starters.

Fortune initially suggested that more careful immigration of black Americans to the islands would yield better results. Within three days after his arrival in the islands, local newspapers reported Fortune’s initial conclusions about the labor shortage. Fortune suggested plantations “make room for American citizens,” specifically African Americans.⁶³ In reference to previous attempts to import black laborers, Fortune believed “that the negroes that were brought [to Hawaii] as an experiment naturally drifted into the jails” and would have been imprisoned where they came from had they stayed.⁶⁴ He guaranteed “that 95 percent of the negroes who

⁵⁹ “Fortune Talks Labor Exchange,” *Honolulu (HI) Advertiser*, Dec. 19, 1902.

⁶⁰ “How the Negro Retrogrades in the South,” *Hawaiian (HI) Gazette*, Dec. 23, 1902.

⁶¹ “Fortune Talks Labor Exchange,” *Honolulu (HI) Advertiser*, Dec. 19, 1902.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

could be brought” to Hawaii “after being properly selected” would make ideal plantation workers.⁶⁵ “20,000 to 300,000 negro laborers, not the vicious from the slums,” but “true agriculturists” Fortune promised, “could be secured to work in the fields of Hawaii and the Philippines.”⁶⁶ Fortune proposed that black men of “national reputation,” like Booker T. Washington and himself, select the workers to ensure that they were “qualified to perform manual labor of the cane fields, just as they have been accustomed in the fields of the South.”⁶⁷

Upon touring sugar plantations in Oahu, Fortune confronted a widespread desire for Chinese workers. “The Chinaman,” Fortune agreed, was a desirable laborer because he lived inexpensively forgoing “expensive cigars... twenty-five cent drinks” and wearing clothes “that cost less for a year than most men’s monthly laundry bill.”⁶⁸ Fortune warned, however, that the United States would not exempt Hawaii from the Chinese exclusion, especially considering earlier that year Congress made Chinese immigration permanently illegal.

Concerned about economic and political advancement of black workers, sugarcane’s domination in the islands tarnished Fortune’s optimism. Beyond addressing the labor shortage, Fortune also investigated options for economic and political independence. For Fortune, land ownership guaranteed access to the economy and could secure political power, two things that he believed were crucial to African-American uplift.⁶⁹ Therefore, Fortune looked for available land where black men could grow coffee, vanilla, rubber, cacao, and other “semi-tropical” products that would bring “big returns.”⁷⁰ Sugar plantations, and the Christian missionaries and American

⁶⁵ “Fortune Talks Labor Exchange,” *Honolulu (HI) Advertiser*, Dec. 19, 1902.

⁶⁶ “He will Investigate Our Labor Conditions: T. Thomas Fortune to Report on Chinese in Hawaii and Philippines to the Treasury Department,” *Hawaiian Gazette*, (Honolulu, HI), Dec. 19, 1902.

⁶⁷ “Fortune Talks Labor Exchange,” *Honolulu (HI) Advertiser*, Dec. 19, 1902.

⁶⁸ “Fortune and the Homesteads,” *Hawaiian Star* (Honolulu, HI), Dec. 30, 1902.

⁶⁹ In 1884, Fortune wrote *Black and White: Land, Labor, and Politics in the South*. He argued land ownership, migration, and industrial education were essential tools to secure African-American civil rights.

⁷⁰ “Fortune and the Homesteads,” *Hawaiian Star* (Honolulu, HI), Dec. 30, 1902.

investors who owned them, however, were too well established and powerful. Fortune would eventually conclude that, overrun by white businessmen, Hawaii had become a land that was only good “for a rich man to dream in” and offered little opportunities for black advancement.⁷¹

Fortune’s foray through Hawaii revealed the ever-increasing racial complexity that confronted the United States as it expanded into the Pacific. The dominance of the sugar plantations made it clear that African Americans would have remained workers, and colonization there, Fortune concluded, would not be a profitable venture. His expedition also revealed that businessmen and the U.S. government were attempting to find the race that would be content as laborers, slow to strike, and maintain racial hierarchies. As Fortune would discover in the Philippines, capital enterprises developed frameworks to racially classify Japanese, Chinese, and Native inhabitants, and their propensity for work. Not only did Fortune have to assess whether African Americans could immigrate to Pacific territories and create a better life, he had to determine how they would fit into economic life alongside Japanese, Chinese, Native inhabitants, and white Americans.

On February 17, 1903, Fortune arrived in Manilla to a hostile reception from American newspapers in the city, which caused him grave concern. Staying in the Oriente Hotel, a porter left the famed newspaper editor a “large batch” of local papers for him to read. Greeted with similar sentiments as in Hawaii, newspapers denounced black immigration in favor of Chinese laborers.⁷² The press, according to Fortune, were “as violently Democratic and race-hating as” papers in the Deep South.⁷³ The *Manilla American* even called upon its readers to meet Fortune’s boat and tell him to return to the United States because black Americans were not welcome in

⁷¹ “The Negro and the Filipino,” *Washington (D.C.) Post*, Jun. 27, 1903.

⁷² Fortune, “Politics in the Philippine Islands,” 1903, 2666-8.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 2667.

the islands.⁷⁴ Fortune later remarked that walking into Manilla the first morning after his arrival he was “possessed by the same feeling” he experienced walking “into the prejudiced air of Washington or other Southern cities.” White Americans from all walks of life, he stated, “confronted [him] with coldness of manner, hauteur and curtness of speech, and nervous impatience not induced by the perpetual heat and humidity.”⁷⁵

After two and a half weeks in Manilla, Fortune set out to traverse Luzon to analyze the landscape, climate, and conditions in more remote parts of the island. Fortune, to establish his thorough investigation of Luzon, boasted that he did not find another American who had made the same journey and added that many had discouraged him all together. He set out with his guide and interpreter, Capt. Robert G. Woods. Woods, considered an expert on the islands, came to the Philippines at the beginning of the Philippine-American War with the 49th Infantry. While stationed there, Fortune claimed Capt. Woods familiarized himself with the “mongrel language” and the “character of people” they would encounter along the way.⁷⁶ Woods, Fortune, and five Filipino “servants” set off on the morning of March 7 loaded down with supplies and ready to explore.

Travelling by train, boat, horseback, and on foot over six weeks, the east coast newspaperman and his guide covered the length of Luzon. Along the way they encountered and stayed with white and black expatriates, U.S. government officials, local Filipinos, and Filipino nationalists living across the territory. The expedition posed numerous challenges for the men. Six days into the trip, for example, the men “lost all [their] provisions” while fording a mountain

⁷⁴ Fortune, “Politics in the Philippine Islands,” 1903, 2666-2268; Brian Schott, “Forty Acres and a Carabao,” 111.

⁷⁵ Fortune, “Politics in the Philippine Islands,” 1903, 2667.

⁷⁶ T. Thomas Fortune, “The Filipino: Some Incidents of a Trip through the Island of Luzon,” *The Voice of the Negro*, May 1904, 241.

stream and were then forced to sleep on the ground at the top of the mountain.⁷⁷ Their last stop before Aparri, a town at the north tip of Luzon, was shut down because of black smallpox, forcing the men to carry on for fear they would contract it themselves. Yet Fortune also mentioned that various groups welcomed their arrival, especially the town in which Woods had been stationed in the Isabela province. Joined by a black teacher and his wife, Fortune took a steamer back to Manilla on April 8, concluding his investigation in the interior.

The investigation concluded in infamy when the Manilla police arrested Capt. Woods, Fortune, and possibly two other African Americans. According to news reports, Fortune had stopped his carriage in the middle of the street to talk to another man, and when the police asked him to move, he refused. Fortune's brief comments afterward said that the police unjustly arrested him and the other men, which served as another sign to black Americans that white supremacy had contaminated the Philippines. Taken to the Analogue Police Station, Fortune protested his innocence to police Captain Shattuck. Imprisoned for one night, the Vice Governor of the Philippines, Luke E. Wright, intervened the following day and had the hearing dismissed. The date of the altercation is unknown, but reports indicated that Fortune returned home shortly after on May 10. His investigation and commission had ended.

Newspapers in Manilla happily covered Fortune's arrest and exuberantly celebrated his departure re-affirming the widespread rejection of his investigation. "When the strong arm of the law," announced the *Manilla American*, confronted "T. Thomas Titmouse... the representative of the down-trodden slave... the cause of the racial trouble in Dixie land," he "soon found out where he fit." "All the bravado of the Special Agent of the U.S. Treasury," they added, "did not

⁷⁷ Ibid.

avail him [*sic*] anything as he was thrown into a cell.”⁷⁸ The *Manilla Times* initially reported that Fortune and the other men were “under the influence of liquor,” and once the court dismissed his case he “folded his tent and quietly slipped away.”⁷⁹ The same Hawaiian papers that chastised Fortune while he visited there reprinted these articles a month later. While some mentioned that Fortune rejected any implications he was drunk, many reveled in the turbulent end to his investigation.

The story of Fortune’s encounter reached papers in the United States as well, tarnishing his character and implicitly the respectability of all black Americans which created more ammunition for opponents of colonization. Many newspapers printed a short synopsis of the event along with an overview of the commission.⁸⁰ Others, however, seized the opportunity to comment on Fortune’s character and his investigation. The *Wilmington Morning Star* scoffed that “Turbulent Thomas... was so noisy and bothersome that he was shipped across the Pacific.” Indeed “the only thing he did worthy of notice... was get into an altercation with the police.”⁸¹ Meanwhile the *Broad Ax*, a black newspaper that condemned Fortune’s appointment from the beginning, wrote, “we were right in predicting,” “the five thousand dollars... was not enough money to supply him with fighting whisky” and “that before he returned home he would disgrace himself, and the entire Afro-American race.”⁸² It is not possible to know how the arrest impacted

⁷⁸ Originally printed in the *Manilla American* on May 6, 1903, but found in “T. Thomas Fortune Shocked Dignity of Americo-Filipino Dictatorship,” *Evening Bulletin* (Honolulu, HI), Jun. 5, 1903.

⁷⁹ Originally printed in the *Manilla Times* but found in “Fortune in Street Fight; Story of Trouble with Police in Manila,” *Honolulu (HI) Advertiser*, Jun. 3, 1903.

⁸⁰ See “Fortune in a Fight” *Washington (D.C.) Post*, Jun. 5, 1903; “T. Thomas Fortune in Row with Police,” *New York (N.Y.) Times*, Jun. 15, 1903; “Fortune is Unfortunate,” *Chicago (IL) Live Stock World*, May 15, 1903; “Fortune is Unfortunate,” *Kenosha (WI) News*, May 15, 1903; *Great Falls (MT) Tribune*, May 15, 1903.

⁸¹ *Wilmington (N.C.) Morning Star*, Jun. 7, 1903.

⁸² *Broad Ax* (Salt Lake City, UT), Jun. 6, 1903.

consideration of mass emigration to the Philippines after Fortune returned, but it did serve as a confirmation to those who opposed proposals from the beginning.

Aside from Fortune's journal articles published after his return to the U.S., no other accounts of his investigation exist. Written for educated black Americans and sympathetic white Americans, it is difficult to disentangle the realities of his trip and the persuasive tactics he utilized to encourage black investment and immigration to the Philippines. These articles covered his overall journey and observations. Ultimately, Fortune hoped that expansion into the Pacific would elevate black Americans' class status and political power, developing a global color alliance to dismantle white supremacy. By advancing his hopes for black Americans, Fortune attempted to manipulate conversations about race and certain racial groups' propensity to work.

In assessing the potential for black settlement in the United States' most eastern outpost, Fortune's summations inform historical interpretations of the complex dynamics of race and its construction in America's Pacific empire. In his articles, he centered on the relationship among Filipinos, white Americans, and black Americans occasionally addressing Chinese and Japanese immigrant workers. To encourage black emigration, Fortune challenged racial construction which discouraged African American investment, but he also reinforced certain racial distinctions that proved beneficial. Caught in murky, albeit entrenched, racial classifications, Fortune attempted to make room for African-American businessmen and politicians amongst all the other inhabitants in the Philippines.

Similar to his white imperial counterparts, he asserted that Filipinos were simple minded people and incapable of modernization. Filipinos, "uncorrupted by Americans and Europeans"

materialism were impervious to work and content with growing enough food to survive on.⁸³ During his 700-mile trek through Luzon, he did not find any “evidence of industry or prosperity,” yet the land was capable of growing crops year-round. Shockingly, he noted, the Philippines had the “richest soil in the world,” but it laid untouched. In fact, according to Fortune, Filipino men “born tired,” spent most of their time “sleeping... staring into space or training” roosters for cock-fighting.⁸⁴ Expanding on American assumptions about Filipinos, Fortune used the racialization of native inhabitants to legitimate the need for black colonization.

By infantilizing Filipinos, Fortune portrayed them as another victim of white supremacy. In agreement that Filipinos could not be left to their own devices, Fortune set out to prove that white exploitation, left unchecked, would create a Southern outpost in the Pacific. Fortune claimed to have found “few white Americans and Europeans, engaged in legitimate business enterprises.”⁸⁵ Throughout his journey, Fortune stated, he often heard criticisms of Filipino work habits, but he had only seen white men “working with their mouths” and never with “their hands.”⁸⁶ Descriptions of his interactions with white expatriates, served as evidence that white men did not contribute towards the industrialization and development of the islands. One man from Texas boasted about land he owned throughout the Philippines, yet there was no evidence to prove the man was physically working. Fortune surmised he was a “micawber bluff,” living off the work of his Filipino wife’s family.⁸⁷ In reconstructing the Philippines for his black

⁸³ Fortune, “A Social Study in Three Parts,” 1904, 95.

⁸⁴ Fortune, “Some Incidents of a Trip through the Island of Luzon,” 1904, 242.

⁸⁵ Fortune, “Politics in the Philippines Islands,” 1903, 2668.

⁸⁶ Fortune, “A Social Study in Three Parts,” 1904, 94

⁸⁷ Fortune, “Some Incidents of a Trip through the Island of Luzon,” 1904, 245. Micawber is a reference to a character in Charles Dickens' novel, *David Copperfield*, Wilkins Micawber. Micawber became a term for someone who is poor, but still optimistic that something will turn up.

readership, Fortune was clear to highlight how white Americans had replicated white supremacy across the Pacific.

Yet by reinforcing racial conceptions of Filipinos painting them as indolent children in need of help, Fortune could also justify African-American colonization. The Spanish-American War and American expansion divided black politics into two camps: those who hoped participation might legitimize black citizenship and generate black political advancement and others who denounced American expansion claiming it to be anti-republican and in aid of white global order. Fortune, caught in the middle, had to appeal to both sides. In the first article in his series, Fortune announced, “It is written on the wall that... if the American flag remains in the Philippines, the Afro-Americans will have to be drafted to hold it up in civil and military establishments,” as well as provide labor, because “the white American does not find either the climate or the people and their ways to his liking.”⁸⁸ Independence of the Philippines, at that time, he implied, was not an option, therefore unless African Americans took an active role, white Americans would continue to oppress Filipinos. At least, African Americans could lead by example, civilizing Filipinos while working alongside them.

Fortune detailed sexual relations among white men and Filipino women drawing similarities to the treatment of black women in the United States, likely hoping to inspire black men. He criticized white men who were intimately involved with Filipino women, yet displayed “no abiding affection” and often abandoned these women and their children.⁸⁹ He concluded it was a continuation of the way white men had treated “black, yellow, and red women” in the United States.⁹⁰ Fortune did not oppose sexual relationships between whites and Filipinos, but,

⁸⁸ Fortune, “A Social Study in Three Parts,” 1904, 97.

⁸⁹ Fortune, “The Filipinos Do Not, Understand the Prejudice of White Americans Against, Black Americans,” 1904, 200.

⁹⁰ Fortune, “Some Incidents of a Trip through the Island of Luzon,” *The Voice of the Negro*, May 1904, 245.

according to him, these relationships often ended with white men profiting off these women and then leaving once they decided they were done.⁹¹ Black Americans needed to colonize the region to prevent the abuse of Filipino women and ensure successful incorporation of the islands.

Demands for an east Asian immigrant labor force also threatened Fortune's hopes for black emigration to the islands. Just as in Hawaii, employers relied on Chinese laborers, because as Fortune noted, they would work for "Oriental wage rates, with which no other labor force in the world [could] compete."⁹² White businessmen did not want African Americans immigrating to the Philippines out of fear they would transplant racial conflict from the South. To try and denounce east Asian immigrants, Fortune doubled down on racial distinctions between black Americans and the Japanese and Chinese. African Americans of all classes, he declared, had "superior... intellect, morality, and industrial force" as well as "aggregate wealth."⁹³ While the Japanese, and Chinese especially, were a cheaper labor force, Fortune believed African American workers were a better investment. Not only did he believe that they could be a useful labor force, he also promised they would help build and develop the Philippines.

Most importantly, Fortune supplied examples of African Americans succeeding in the Philippines to entice black emigrants and challenge mischaracterizations of black Americans. Highlighting the success of former soldiers and black emigrants, Fortune signaled that African Americans could relocate in the Philippines and establish economic independence. As he detailed his journey through Luzon, he pointed to black soldiers who, after the war, had remained on the island and enmeshed themselves in local communities. Throughout his journey Fortune

⁹¹ Fortune had long advocated for sexual amalgamation of white and black Americans, for white enslavers who raped black women began this inevitable process of blending the two races.

⁹² Fortune, "Politics in the Philippines Islands," 1903, 2668.

⁹³ Fortune, "The Filipinos Do Not, Understand the Prejudice of White Americans Against, Black Americans," 1904, 200.

did not meet one African American “begging bread.”⁹⁴ In fact, each black man that Fortune included in his articles owned land and had begun a business with no plans to return to the United States. One man in particular, Fortune mentioned, was “coal black” who ran a general store, which notably didn’t sell liquor, and “cultivated a large rice plantation.” As Fortune traveled across Luzon, he emphasized that the vast expanses of uncultivated land contained soil that could support a wide variety of agricultural goods to be sold year-round.⁹⁵ Black laborers, especially in the South, had little chance of owning and operating their own plots of land. Fortune pointed to the success of black Americans who inhabited the Philippines and had made substantial financial gains to encourage those in the United States to follow. The islands presented, Fortune believed, an opportunity blacks had been long fighting for — to work their land and own their own business for their own financial gain.

Fortune concluded his three-part series in the *Voice of the Negro* urging African Americans to emigrate to the fertile Pacific islands. Native inhabitants, he remarked, “do not seem to care to work” and there was “industrial prostration everywhere,” and “American sentiment” had ruled out the Chinese labor. Fortune declared that “Filipinos... badly need[ed] rejuvenation of blood” and “the Negro and the Filipino get along so splendidly.” Luzon, he predicted, could support seven million more people, at least five million of them could be black. He pleaded to allow African Americans to leave the South “where the white man claims that they are in the way.” The conflict in the Philippines and the South, left unsolved, would only “promise to cost the Nation more in blood and money” than they had already. He ended, saying, “Give the American Negro a chance in the Philippines Islands, if he wants to go there.”⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Fortune, “A Social Study in Three Parts,” 1904, 97.

⁹⁵ Fortune, “The Filipino: Some Incidents of a Trip through the Island of Luzon,” 1904, 246.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 246.

Upon Fortune's arrival in Washington D.C, he recounted his observations at a banquet celebrating his return from the Pacific. Held in Gray and Costely's Cafe, the *Washington Post* reported "the best-known colored men in the country gathered" to hear Fortune present for the first time his conclusions. Fortune opened his speech, "We stand upon the threshold of great events." The Philippines, Fortune informed his audience, were "rich beyond the dreams of avarice in agricultural and mineral resources." They needed revitalization of people unafraid of hard work and "eternal summer." But "nature [had] ordained," he paused, that white men could not inhabit the islands "except as a parasite," but black men, "born in the sun," possessed the proper traits to reside in the tropics. Fortune then queried, "And do these facts suggest a solution of two race problems to you? Perhaps." He went on to suggest the government appoint a black governor, like Booker T. Washington, to the Philippines and endorsed African-American emigration "under proper governmental control." The *Post* reported the doctors, lawyers, businessmen, and newspaper men in attendance "enthusiastically applauded" his conclusions.⁹⁷

The celebration was short-lived. The United States government refused to pay for his last two months of travel because they said the commission was only approved for six months. Fortune refused to submit a report until he received compensation. The government never paid him, and he never filed an official report with the federal government. Already suffering from financial hardships, Fortune's influence continued to decline. Newspapers mocked Fortune's conclusions and his commission. Some sarcastically celebrated his recommendations, questioned his authority, or snidely encouraged Fortune and his "school of Afro-Americans" to leave the United States and inhabit the islands.⁹⁸ The *Savannah Morning News* commented, "If Roosevelt

⁹⁷ "The Negro and the Filipino: Two Races Outside the Constitution but Under the Flag," *Washington (D.C.) Post*, Jun. 27, 1903.

⁹⁸ For examples see "Mr. Fortune's Happy Thoughts," *Washington (D.C.) Posts*, Jul. 2, 1903; *New York (NY) Commercial*, Jul. 1, 1903; *Savannah (GA) Morning News*, Jun. 30, 1903.

really wanted to get rid of that trouble-making negro” he should have assigned him “the job of special commissioner to study gnats in Central Africa.”⁹⁹

Apart from criticisms of Fortune, black opponents also questioned if the Philippines could physically support African-American emigration. Harry H. Pace, a former student of W.E.B. DuBois, published an article outlining colonizations’ shortcomings following Fortune’s expose in *The Voice of the Negro*. While Fortune predicted that the islands could comfortably support millions of black emigrants, Pace countered that of the combined “one-hundred-thousand” square miles, the mountainous landscape made it “barely fit for cultivation” outside of regions already inhabited. On top of that, he added, half of the population was “almost totally unemployed” and living off the land.¹⁰⁰ In the *Colored American Magazine*, Rienzi B. Lemus, a black trade unionist, estimated that the territory would require 312,500 square miles to grant black Americans twenty acres each on top of the land necessary for native inhabitants.¹⁰¹ The abundance of resources quickly dissipated along with black interest as African Americans evaluated the distribution of land and goods among millions of emigrants. Pace instead, encouraged readers to migrate into the American West where they could be guaranteed enough land to go around. Colonizationists’ portrayal of a Pacific Eden quickly crumbled under scrutiny as it was seemingly impossible for the islands to support an influx of millions of immigrants, further deterring black support.

American’s racialization of island inhabitants and business practices also complicated black hopes for an inter-racial alliance. Since a wide variety of groups resided in the Philippines, many black opponents feared colonization would not secure black influence. Pace warned, for

⁹⁹ *Savannah (GA) Morning News*, Jun. 29, 1903.

¹⁰⁰ Harry H. Pace, “The Philippine Islands and the American Negro,” *The Voice of the Negro*, 1904, 484.

¹⁰¹ Rienzi B. Lemus, “The Negro and the Philippines,” *Colored American Magazine*, (Feb. 1903), 316.

example, that “China, with her vast hordes” and low-wages could push African Americans out of jobs.¹⁰² And the Filipinos, he added, would burden “the intelligent portion of” African Americans who already struggled to uplift the majority of “illiterate” and “thrifless” black Americans.¹⁰³ Lemus also concluded that black Americans could not compete with native and east-asian workers, stating that all the “blood mixing” that the “nepotist” native peoples have participated in would exclude “the Negro” from business “as blood is thicker than all the water [black Americans] would cross” to get to the Philippines.¹⁰⁴ Black men, like Lemus and Pace, tied their rejection of colonization plans to the lack of economic opportunities and skepticism that African Americans could actually create an inter-racial alliance. Their commentaries revealed black Americans’ struggle to simultaneously capitalize on U.S. expansion and develop allies in the battle against white supremacy.

At the root of most black Americans’ rejection of colonization plans was the fear that white supremacy had already infiltrated the Philippines and destroyed any hopes that black Americans could create a better life outside of the continental U.S. If the Pacific outpost contained as many riches as Fortune had promised, some black Americans predicted that once the black emigrants had settled the island white American entrepreneurs would reclaim control. Pace concerned that these emigration schemes merely sought to escape “color discrimination,” cautioned, “so let us see before we leap from the frying pan if the fire is not lighted where we leap.”¹⁰⁵ Throughout the Spanish and Philippine-American War, African Americans tracked the similarities between white treatment of racialized groups at home and abroad. Shortly after

¹⁰² Pace, “The Philippine Islands and the American Negro,” 1904, 484.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 485.

¹⁰⁴ Lemus, “The Negro and the Philippines,” 315.

¹⁰⁵ Pace, “The Philippine Islands and the American Negro,” 1904, 483.

Fortune returned from the Pacific, the Roosevelt administration appointed Luke E. Wright as governor of the Philippines. As a Tennessean and former confederate, Wright's appointment affirmed black Americans' fears that white Southerners would poison new territories. Black Americans then had to question if the Philippines could help dismantle white supremacy. Fortune used Wright's appointment to try and incite action among black Americans, while others like Pace and Lemus took it as a sign that it would be more beneficial to combat white supremacy at home.

* * *

For black Americans in particular, these possessions and their inhabitants generated new avenues to reconsider black racial identity and their role in the United States empire. Initially, many black Americans hoped that colonization would grant them control of the Philippines' resources and develop an alliance with the people living there, but the economic and political realities of the islands dashed proposals. Colonization proposals also informed black politicians' responses to and conceptualizations of racial groups in the Pacific. African Americans, like Fortune, struggled to create a space for black Americans within the Philippines racial framework and ultimately, many black Americans determined that white supremacy would ruin any black colonization attempts that were attached to the expansion of empire.

The federal government did not investigate black colonization once Fortune returned from the Pacific and millions of black Americans remained in the continental United States. Senator Morgan quietly stopped advocating for the deportation of black southerners and focused on creating a canal across the isthmus until his death in 1907. Fortune remained optimistic that the Philippines could help black Americans combat white supremacy, but his political influence waned as his financial burdens and bouts with alcoholism pulled his energy away from

colonization plans. It is unclear whether the Roosevelt administration ever seriously considered sponsoring black emigration to the Philippines but their decision to send Fortune helped distinguish these colonization proposals from past attempts. While black Americans never emigrated en masse to the Philippines, Fortune's commission and ensuing debates joined a wider conversation about the future and racial makeup of American overseas empire.

Primary Sources

Newspapers

Abeville Press: Abeville, SC
Alabamian, Birmingham, AL
American Citizen: Canton, MS (3)
Afro-American Advance: Minneapolis, MN
Age Herald, The: Birmingham, AL (18)
American Star, The: Tuscumbia, AL
Appeal, The: Saint Paul, MN (2)
Arizona Republican: Phoenix, AZ
Batesburg Advocate: Batesburg, SC
Bemidji Pioneer: Bemidji, MN (3)
Billings Gazette: Billings, MT
Birmingham Times: Birmingham, AL
Blue Mound Sun, The: Blue Mound, KS
Brandon News: Brandon, MS
Broad Axe: Salt Lake City, UT (4)
Brooklyn Daily Eagle: Brooklyn, NY
Chicago Daily Tribune: Chicago, IL (17)
Christian Recorder: Philadelphia, PA (23)
Cleveland Gazette, The: Cleveland, OH (12)
Cloud Chief Beacon: Cloud Chief, OK (1)
Colored American: Washington D.C. (27)
Daily Inter-Mountain: Butte, MT
Daily Mountain Eagle: Jasper, AL
Evening Bulletin: Honolulu, HI
Evening Star: Washington, D.C. (4)
Fall River Daily Evening News: Fall River, MA
Freeman: Indianapolis, IN (18)
Hattiesburg Press: Hattiesburg, MS
Hawaiian Gazette: Honolulu, HI (3)
Hawaiian Star: Honolulu, HI (3)
Hickman Courier: Hickman, KY (2)
Hilo Tribune: Hilo, HI (2)
Honolulu Advertiser: Honolulu, HI (3)
Houston Daily Post: Houston, TX
Indianapolis Journal: Indianapolis, IN (2)
Iowa State Bystander: Des Moines, IA
Jackson Daily News: Jackson, MS
Keowee Courier: Pickens, SC

Lexington Standard: Lexington, KY
Leavenworth Herald: Leavenworth, KS
Manning Times: Manning, SC (2)
Marshall County Independent: Plymouth, IN
Minneapolis Journal: Minneapolis, MN (2)
Morning News: Savannah, GA (3)
News Herald: Winnsboro, SC
News and Observer: Raleigh, NC (3)
New York Times: New York, NY (8)
New York Age: New York, NY
Omaha Daily: Omaha, NB (2)
Pacific Commercial Advertiser: Honolulu, HI (4)
Parsons Weekly Blade: Parsons, KS
Plaindealer: Topeka, KS (2)
Progressive Farmer: Winston, NC
Recorder Spirit of the Press: Indianapolis, IN
Salt Lake City Herald: Salt Lake City, UT
San Francisco Caller: San Francisco, CA (3)
Savannah Tribune: Savannah, GA (6)
Savannah News: Savannah, GA (3)
St. Louis Palladium: St. Louis, MO (2)
Sedalia Times: Sedalia, MO (2)
Starkville News: Starkville, MS
Time Promoter: MS
Times Republican: Marshalltown, IA
Tennessean: Nashville, TN
Washington Bee: Washington, D.C. (55)
Waterbury Democrat: Waterbury, CN (2)
Washington Post: Washington, D.C. (12)
Wichita Searchlight: Wichita, KS
Wilkes-Barre Times Leader: Wilkes-Barre, PA
Wilmington Messenger: Wilmington, NC (3)
Wisconsin Weekly Advocate: WI
Yorkville Enquirer: Yorkville, SC (2)

Books

Adams, Charles Francis. *“Imperialism” and “The Tracks of Our Forefathers,”* (Boston: D. Estes & Co.) 1899.

Blair, James Lawrence. *Imperialism, Our New National Policy*, January 9, 1899.

- Bryan, William Jennings. *Republic or Empire? The Philippines Question*, Chicago: Independence Co., 1899.
- Fortune, T. Thomas, edited by William Loren Katz. *Black and White: Land, Labor and Politics in the South*, New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1968.
- Fowler, Charles H., *Historical Romance of the American Negro*, Baltimore, MD: Press of Thomas and Evans, 1902, pages 294-318.
- Johnson, Edward A., *The History of Negro Soldiers in the Spanish-American War, and Other Items of Interest*, Raleigh, NC: Capital Printing Company Publishers, 1899.
- Morgan, John T., *The Race Problem in the South*, 1890.
- Schurman, Jacob Gould. *Philippine Affairs: A Retrospect and Outlook*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.

Journals

- Fortune, Thomas. "Afro Americans are here to Stay." *Arena*, Mar. 1890, 113-16.
- , "The Filipino: A Social Study in Three Parts." *The Voice of the Negro*, Mar. 1904, 93-99.
- , "The Filipino: The Filipinos Do Not, Understand the Prejudice of White Americans Against, Black Americans." May 1904, 199-206.
- , "The Filipino: Some Incidents of a Trip through the Island of Luzon." *The Voice of the Negro*, Jun. 1904, 240-46.
- , edited by William Loren Katz, *Black and White: Land, Labor and Politics in the South*, (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1968).
- Lemus, Rienzi B. "The Negro and the Philippines," *Colored American Magazine*. Feb. 1903. 314-18.
- Mannix, Joseph T. "What an American saw in the Philippines." *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, Vol. 17. Jun. 1898. 641-649.
- Pace, Harry H. "The Philippine Islands and the American Negro." *The Voice of the Negro*. 1904. 482-85.
- Scarborough, William S. "'The Negro and Our New Possessions.'" *Forum*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3, May 1901.
- "Secular News at Home," *The Christian Work and Evangelists*, Vol. 75, No. 1899, July 11, 1903.

Speeches

- Bryan, William Jennings. "Imperialism, Flag of Empire." Indianapolis, IN, August 8, 1900.
- DuBois, W.E.B. "To the Nations of the World." London, England, 1900.

Secondary Sources

Books

- Alexander, Shawn. *An Army of Lions: The Civil Rights Struggle before the NAACP*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.

- . T. Thomas Fortune. *The Afro-American Agitator: A Collection of Writings, 1880-1928*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2008.
- Baptist, Edward E. *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*. New York: BasicBooks, 2014.
- Beckert, Sven. *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*. New York: Knopf, 2014.
- Beckert, Sven and Seth Rockman. "Introduction," to *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.
- Blight, David B. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Bruin, Eric. *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2008.
- Brundage, William Fitzhugh. *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Fligstein, Neil. *Going North: Migration of Blacks and Whites from the South, 1900-1950*. New York: Academic Press, 1981.
- Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution: 1863-1877*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1988.
- Gatewood, Willard B. *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898-1903*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975.
- . *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920*. Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press. 2000.
- Edited by Go, Julian and Anne L. Foster. *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*. London: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Grossman, James R. *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1991.
- Jack, Bryan M. *The St. Louis African American Community and the Exodusters*, Columbia, MI: University of Missouri Press, 2007.
- Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1867-1917*, New York: Hill and Wang, 2000.
- Janney, Caroline E. *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Revolution*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013.
- Hahn, Stephen. *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Hopkins, A.G. *American Empire: A Global History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018.
- Immerwahr, Daniel. *How to Hide and Empire: A History of the Greater United States*. New York: Farrar, Stratus, and Giroux, 2019.

- Link, William. *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism: 1880-1930*, Raleigh, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- Malconsom, Scott L. *One Drop of Blood: The American Misadventure of Race*. New York: Farrar, Stratus, and Giroux, 2000.
- McFerson, Hazel M. *The Racial Dimensions of American Overseas Colonial Policy*. Westport CN: Greenwood Press, 1997.
- Miller, Stuart Creighton. *Benevolent Assimilation: The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903*. New Haven CN: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Murphy, Gretchen. *Shadowing the White Man's Burden: Imperialism and the Problem of the Color Line*. New York: New York University Press, 2010.
- Page, Sebastian N. and Phillip W. Magness, *Colonization After Emancipation: Lincoln and the Movement for Black Resettlement*, Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2011.
- Pascoe, Peggy. *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Painter, Nell Irvin. *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas After Reconstruction*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1977.
- Robinson, Cedric J. *Black Movements in America*, New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Roediger, David. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, London: Verso, 1991.
- Thornbrough, Emma L. *T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.
- Tomek, Beverly. *Colonization and its Discontents: Emancipation, Emigration and Antislavery in Antebellum Pennsylvania*. New York: New York University Press, 2011.
- Weston, Rubin Francis. *Racism in the U.S. Imperialism: The Influence of Racial Assumptions on American Foreign Policy, 1893-1946*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1972.

Dissertations/ Thesis

- Alvarez, Thomas. *The Place Between: The New York Independent Colored Movement and the Democratic Party: 1883-1905*, University of Michigan, 2007.
- Anders, James M. *The Senatorial Career of John Tyler Morgan*. University of Alabama, 1956.
- Mont, Guy. *Building Multiracial Fortunes: Black Identity, Masculinity, and Authenticity through the Body of T. Thomas Fortune, 1883-1907*, San Diego State University, 2011.
- Radke, August C. Jr. *John Tyler Morgan, An Expansionist Senator, 1877-1907*, University of Washington, 1953.

Articles

- Fields, Barbra. "Ideology and Race in American History." in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York: Oxford university Press, 1982), 143-78.

- Gatewood, Willard B. "Black Americans and the Quest for Empire, 1898-1903." *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 38, No. 4, Nov. 1972, 545-566.
- Gibbs, William E. "James Weldon Johnson: A Black Perspective on 'Big Stick' Diplomacy," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 8, No. 4, Fall 1984, 329-347.
- Herd-Clark, Dawn J. "Introduction," excerpt from *After War Times: An African American Childhood in Reconstruction Era Florida*, 2014.
- Higginbotham, Evelyn B. "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race." *Signs*. Vol. 17. No. 2. Winter 1992, 251-274.
- Hollinger, David. "American Ethnoracial History and the Amalgamation Narrative." *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 153-59, 2006.
- Holt, Thomas C. "Marking: Race, Race-making, and the Writing of History." *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 1, Fall 1995, 1-20.
- Mitchell, Michele. "'The Black Man's Burden': African Americans, Imperialism, and Notions of Racial Manhood 1890-1910." *International Review of Social History*, Vol 44, 1999, 77-99.
- Pido, Eric J. "Property Relations: Alien Land Laws and the Racial Formation of Filipinos as Aliens Ineligible to Citizenship." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol 39, No. 7, 1205-1222.
- Kelley, Robin D.G. "'We are not What We Seem': Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South." *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 80, No. 1, 75-112, June 1993.
- Kramer, Paul. "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and U.S. Empires, 1880-1910." *Journal of American History*. Vol. 88, Mar. 2002. 1315-1353.
- . "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World." *American Historical Review*, Vol. 116, 2011, 1348-91.
- Russell, Timothy D. "I feel sorry for these people: African-American Soldiers in the Philippine-American War, 1899-1902." *The Journal of African American History*, Vol. 99, No. 3, Summer 2014, pp. 197-222.
- Shott, Brian. "Forty Acres and a Carabo: T. Thomas Fortune, Newspapers, and the Color-line in the Pacific," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, Vol. 17, 2018, 98-120.
- West, Elliot. "Reconstructing Race," *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 1., Spring 2003. 6-26.
- Whyte, Christine. "Between Empire and Colony: American Imperialism and Pan-African colonialism in Liberia, 1810-2003." *National Identities*, Vol. 18, 2016. 71-88.