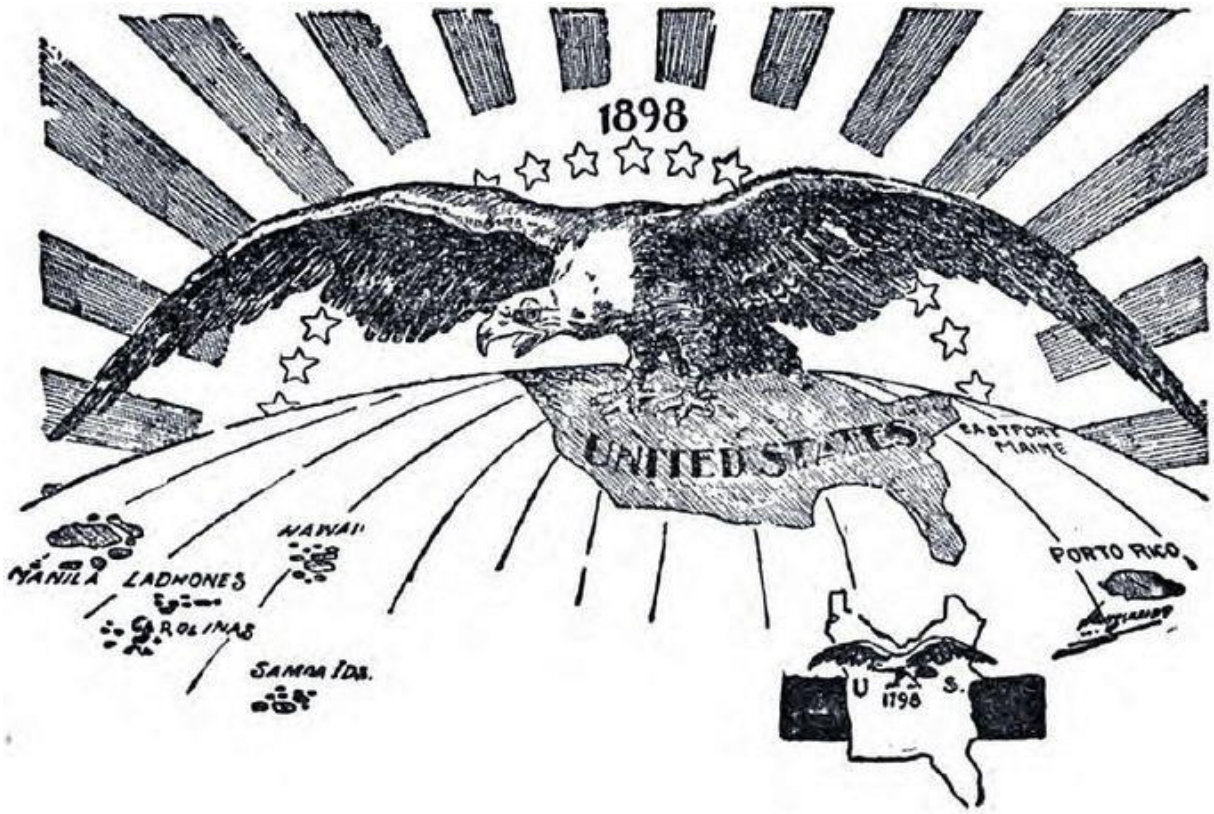
The Rhetoric of Imperialism: President McKinley, the Press, and making the Case for the Spanish-American War in Cuba



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Introduction

American presidents throughout history have persuaded the public to support a policy agenda, including the policy agenda to promote war. The Iraq War of 2003, for example, was a 'meticulously planned strategy to persuade the public…of the need to confront the threat from Saddam Hussain' (Johns 2010, p. 1). To win public support, the justification used for a war is crucial. At times, American presidents have manipulated facts and manufactured evidence to win support for their policy agenda, which, when detected, 'undermines confidence in the institution of the presidency' (Johns 2010, p. 12). Furthermore, the press has historically played an important role in this process of winning popular support for policy ideas as well as in shaping and influencing the policies pursued by political leaders. This dynamic became evident in the late nineteenth century when both the press and the president for the first time actively started trying to influence US public opinion. This thesis will focus on the first international conflict where public opinion played a major role in the decision to go to war: the Spanish-American War of 1898.

The Spanish-American War of 1898 between Spain and the United States began as part of the struggle over Spanish rule in Cuba. The war lasted from April 21 until August 13, 1898. After starting the war with Spain, the cause of Cuban independence was turned on its head; the US now claimed it to be in the Cubans' own best interest if they, after the Spanish rule, would be subjected to American rule. The Cubans were not seen as capable of self-government (Perez 2008, p. 38). During the war, the US occupied the other Spanish colonies Puerto Rico and Guam. Under the Paris Peace Treaty of December 10th, 1898, Puerto Rico, Guam, as well as the Philippines were obtained by the US. Although the US had promised for Cuba to be independent once the Spanish-American War had ended in the Teller Amendment of 1898, the Platt Amendment of 1901 that remained in force until 1934 made sure that Cuba after all did not obtain full independence from the U.S (Herring 2010, p. 31).

The Spanish-American War was the beginning of 'an imperial presidency' as well as the start of a relationship of mutual influence between the president and the press (Ponder 1994, p. 823). Moreover, 'the means used by the US in Cuba constitute a microcosm of the American imperial experience' (Perez 2008, p. 1). The American intervention in Cuba which started the Spanish-American War of 1898 can be seen as the starting point of imperialist US politics on the world stage.

This thesis examines the relative roles of the press and the president in influencing US public opinion in favour of war against Spain. Understanding this dynamic is important for seeing how this dynamic continues to shape policy including military intervention in the United States. In fact, many of the very same metaphors that were used to justify the Spanish-American War were used in 2003 to justify the war in Iraq. This thesis will particularly focus on the use of metaphor in understanding this dynamic in order to answer the research question: What were the similarities and differences between the discourse of President William McKinley and the pro-war press in making the case for the Spanish American War? By examining if the two actors (press and president) used the same rhetoric and if perhaps the one adopted the other's rhetoric, this thesis will shed light on their interplay in propagating war.

Literature review

There has been significant historiographical debate on the role of the press versus the president in propagating and starting the Spanish-American War. A report on President McKinley from 1898 in *McClure's Magazine* praised how 'it is undoubtedly as a War President that he will be known to history…In no particular, in fact, has President McKinley shown more farsighted wisdom, more flexibility, more patience, than in his preparations for the war which he so resolutely opposed and which he so long struggled to avert' (Tarbell 1898). Historians, however, subsequently often described President McKinley as a 'weak', or even 'passive', president (Leech 1959), who was pressured into the Spanish-American War because of US public opinion (Pratt 1936, Beard 1927). From the 1960s on, however, revisionist historians increasingly portrayed McKinley as the opposite: 'a cunning and manipulative leader bent on expanding American influence in the world' (Brewer 2009, Ponder 1994). In other scholarship, McKinley is described as a president who tried actively to avoid war (Gould 1981, Trask 1981). It is clear that throughout time different roles of agency have been ascribed to President McKinley.

The idea of McKinley as a passive president is connected to the notion of him being led by the press and pushed into the Spanish-American War. From the 1920s on, historians have pointed at the role of the sensationalist press in starting the Spanish-American War

(Kapur 2011, p. 19). The often written-about sensationalist newspapers of Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst, the *New York Journal* and the *New York World,* were not the only newspapers who were active in propagating (and sensationalizing) the Spanish-American War to the US people; this dynamic was taken on by most regular newspapers as well. Wisan (1934) was among the first historians to argue that had it not been for this sensationalist journalism, the Spanish-American War would not have occurred (Wisan 1934, p. 458). Wisan describes McKinley as a passive follower of the press and adapter of the press's rhetoric. According to Wisan, the 'high emotional pitch' of the public following the destruction of the Maine can be ascribed to the press, which led to the decision of McKinley to start the Spanish-American War (Wisan 1934, p. 458). Immerwahr (2019) mostly describes McKinley's successor and at the time assistant secretary of the navy, Theodore Roosevelt, as an important actor in starting the war (Immerwahr 2019, p. 68). He describes how Cuba was portrayed as 'a damsel in distress, her dusky virtue besmirched by the rapacious Catholics of Spain' (Immerwahr 2019, p. 65). He concludes that 'predictably, McKinley succumbed to popular sentiment and agreed to war' (Immerwahr 2019, p. 67). This again implies that McKinley decided to go to war because of the fact that the press had created a public that wanted interference in Cuba and war with Spain.

On the other hand, various scholars describe McKinley as a more active president in regard to his agency towards the press in the period of the Spanish-American War. In contrast to Wisan and Immerwahr, Kapur (2011) argues that McKinley was not forced into the war by sensationalist journalism, but rather that McKinley's actions were based on his values of arbitration, pacifism and humanitarianism (Kapur 2011, p. 18). Herring (2010) argues that McKinley evaluated and sought to manipulate public opinion and that he in this way marked the start of a new, modern presidency (Herring 2010, p. 19). He argues that McKinley made the White House the 'centre for news in ways it had not been before' by using the newspapers to pay attention to public opinion in shaping policy and making decisions (Herring 2010, p. 22). Brewer (2009) argues that McKinley 'enhanced the power of the chief executive to build a public consensus in support of an expansionist foreign policy' (Brewer 2009, p. 14), and that McKinley made the presidency the producer of news (Brewer 2009, p. 44). Ponder (1994) argues that President McKinley 'was able both to expand and to shape the news…that reached the public with far greater success than his predecessors (Ponder 1994, p. 832). With the previously described measures, according to Ponder, McKinley used the news correspondents

to shape public opinion and 'for the first time made the presidency a predictable news beat for correspondents' (Ponder 1994, p. 824). This seems to oppose the idea of McKinley being passively 'pushed into' the Spanish-American War by the press.

Moreover, the notion of McKinley 'leading' the press has developed throughout time, according to some scholars. Saldin (2011) also argues the opposite of McKinley being a 'passive' president. President McKinley, according to many, falls in the 'old way' of rhetorical presidency (Saldin 2011, p. 122). In this 'old way', presidential rhetoric to the public was general and lacked specific policy (Saldin 2011, p. 121). Saldin argues that McKinley does not fall in the old way of rhetorical presidency; he argues that McKinley played an important role in the development of rhetoric used by presidents and that this role has often been overlooked (Saldin 2011, p. 119). He does, however, argue that McKinley took on this role mostly *after* the Spanish-American War. Other authors, such as Johns (2010) and Harpine (2008), also make the case that it was not until after the war that McKinley adopted the same rhetoric that had been used by the press to refer to (policy regarding) Cuba. Johns argues that this was because McKinley only needed to sustain already existing support for the Spanish-American War, rather than persuade the US public. Harpine describes McKinley's rhetoric after the war as influencing public opinion in a subtle manner while becoming 'manifest destiny''s 'greatest apostle' (Harpine 2008, p. 324). This implies that McKinley changed his agency and therewith his rhetoric over time.

Regarding the specific rhetoric used concerning Cuba and the Spanish-American War, Perez (2008) focuses within this rhetoric on metaphor because 'metaphor was central to the US imperial project as a way of transforming the pursuit of national self-interest into the lofty, disinterested purpose of moral duty' (Perez 2008, p. 1). Perez describes how metaphor was used to embed the Spanish-American War in existing moral systems of gender relations, racial hierarchies and age hierarchies, causing the US people to rally behind the war. (Perez 2008, p. 17). Johns (2010) likewise argues that the most effective tool for propagating war is linking the importance to the war to core values (Johns 2010, p. 3). By placing metaphors within moral systems, metaphor transformed moral norms into a prescription to act upon (Perez 2008, p. 13). Hoganson (1998) similarly argues that casting the Cuban revolution in metaphorical terms helped build the case for US military intervention, by helping Americans to not only sympathize with the Cubans but also oppose the Spanish (Hoganson 1998, p. 55).

Metaphors of Cuba were used by the press, reaching the US public through printed text and cartoons and spoken language (Perez 2008, p. 22). Written text 'provided visual form to the discourse, and vice versa' (Perez 2008, p. 132). Metaphors of Cuba were not only used by the president, according to Johns, who argues that all presidents, starting with McKinley, have simplified stories by using metaphors to sell a policy to the US public, by making it more 'identifiable and emotionally powerful' (Johns 2010, p. 3).

The moral authority used to justify the start of war can also be connected to a religious sense of mission. McCartney (2012) argues that the decision to interfere in Cuba was motivated mostly by the idea of the religious American mission (McCartney 2010, p. 277). This sense of mission implied 'the belief that the United States has a destiny to improve and enlighten the world' (McCartney 2012, p. 259). All in all, McCartney argues that the US people believed that their actions reflected the nation's values, just like Perez argues, but emphasizes that this was equated with 'divine will' (McCartney 2012, p. 265). Translating this into specific rhetoric, Brewer describes how McKinley portrayed the acquisition of Cuba and the Philippines as Manifest Destiny (Brewer 2009, p. 15). Religious metaphor, then, could be another rhetorical strategy to propagate the Spanish-American War to the people.

Metaphors are important in understanding the role of the president and the press in making the case for war against Spain because the use of metaphor helps to promote war by rallying the people behind a larger, often moral cause. While it seems like the press played a large role in influencing public opinion in favour of the Spanish-American War, scholars have been divided on how to understand the role of McKinley and the relationship between McKinley and the press in making the case for war. Some argue that McKinley was led by the press, others ascribe to McKinley his own agency in influencing the people as well as the press when it comes to Cuba. By comparing the use of metaphorical rhetoric regarding Cuba by the press on the one hand, and by the president on the other, this thesis will examine McKinley's agency in framing the Spanish-American War.

Methodology

To research McKinley via primary sources is a challenge, since he wrote very few personal letters and left no journals or memoirs or a personal diary. McKinley was, however, a 'prolific speechmaker' (Kapur 2011, p. 24) and this thesis concentrates on analysing his public speeches. In particular, the thesis will focus on metaphorical discourse within propagandic discourse.

By comparing the rhetoric of McKinley to that of the press, this thesis will evaluate McKinley's agency in framing the war. Evaluating McKinley's speeches against press coverage will show whether McKinley adopted the rhetoric of - and therefore was plausibly 'forced into' the war by - the press. Alternatively, the thesis will determine if it appears that McKinley made independent use of metaphoric discourse which perhaps in turn influenced how the press framed the war. This way, this thesis will connect to the historiographic debate on whether McKinley was a passive follower of the press.

Looked at for this thesis are the speeches that were available to the public and that were aimed at influencing public opinion, rather than congress, in the run-up to and during the Spanish-American War. The thesis will also include the speeches that McKinley gave in the aftermath of the war to see how McKinley referred back to Cuba, in order to show how his rhetoric regarding Cuba possibly changed in the aftermath of the war, as opposed to in making the case for the war. The analysis will start around a week before the Maine explosion and end in December 1898.

This thesis will compare the rhetoric of McKinley's speeches to the rhetoric in the press of the time, as well as look at how this rhetoric evolved over time. To provide context, first the broader 'Cuban question' that framed US intervention in Cuba will be described. Next, the focus will be on how the press made the case for war in Cuba, and on the rhetoric of the press and the specific aspect of its use of metaphor in propagandic rhetoric. Then, this thesis will focus on how President McKinley made the case for war, firstly looking into the relationship between McKinley and the press and secondly looking into McKinley's use of metaphor and how this compares to the rhetoric of press. Finally, this thesis will describe the similarities and differences between the discourse of President McKinley and the pro-war press in making the case for the Spanish-American War. In doing so, it will show whether McKinley adopted the metaphorical discourse of the press in making the case for the Spanish-American war or

developed his own rhetoric, shining a light on the role of President McKinley's own agency in influencing US public opinion and making the case for war.

1. The context of intervention in Cuba

In the late nineteenth century, big changes were happening in the United States. Urbanization accelerated and the railroad network developed (Perez 2008, p. 130). The Civil War had ended in 1865 and the North and South were more united than before. Moreover, more information was made accessible to the people because of the telegraph and the telephone, and combined with more rapid transportation, resulted in a 'communications revolution' (Perez 2008, p. 130). This dynamic meant that the US people were more (literally) connected to each other and to foreign policy than ever before.

The 'Cuban question' entered into the public consciousness as a humanitarian cause, and subsequently entered into the political domain. In the run up to the Spanish-American War, Cubans had been revolting since 1895 against Spain's repressive colonial rule in Cuba. Spain's empire had been faltering and during the waves of rebellion 'Spain's grip was slipping' (Immerwahr 2019, p. 65). The Spanish response to the rebellion was a 'reconcentrado' campaign; to stop the rebellion, Cubans were sent to camps in large numbers, so that they could not help the rebels. Hundreds of thousands of Cubans suffered mass illness, starvation, and death (Immerwahr 2019, p. 65). The *reconcentrado* camps were an initiative by Spanish general Valeriano Weyler, who subsequently 'confirmed Americans' worst prejudices about Spanish civilization as cruel and morally primitive' (McCartney 2012, p. 267). Therefore, although the Spanish-American War had strategic implications for the US decision-makers, the US people mainly thought of the war in motives of humanity (Perez 2008, p. 5).

In general, this notion of humanity should be nuanced by the general consensus about hierarchy of race and development in the nineteenth century. Since the 1850s, the American logic of imperialism combined notions of progress and race, drawing on an interpretation of Charles Darwin's 1859 book *The Origin of Species* in which he connected progress to biology (Perez 2008, p. 108). The Cuban population consisted for a large part of black people, whether free or enslaved, and of mixed racial people (Perez 2008, p. 39). This meant that however they

sympathized with the Cubans, the majority of the US people, influenced by racist thought, felt that full independence for the Cubans was implausible (Perez 2008, p. 38).

In response to the public concern, the 'Cuban question' entered the US political domain. President William McKinley (1843-1901, incumbent 1897-1901) pressed Spain to act humanely throughout 1897. The president then sent the U.S.S. Maine, an American battleship, into the Havana harbour 'to show the flag and protect US interests' (Herring 2010, p. 24) at the urging of assistant secretary of the navy Roosevelt (Immerwahr 2019, p. 65). Cuba became a more pressing matter for the US government because of a series of events. On February 9, 1898, a letter of the Spanish ambassador to the United States was intercepted and published, in which he made belittling remarks about McKinley and the negotiations of the US with Spain to solve the conflict in Cuba (Thompson 2015, p. 29). Meanwhile, the Cuban rebellion against Spanish rule dragged on 'with no end in sight', with 'vast destruction inflicted on the island and its people' (Herring 2010, p. 23). Spain and the United States sought for a diplomatic solution for the 'Cuban question'. The explosion and sinking of the U.S.S. Maine in the Havana harbour on February 15, 1898, killing 260 men, was a turning point (Herring 2010, p. 24). After the explosion, 'patriotic hysteria gripped the nation', as showed in the popular rallying cry 'Remember the Maine, to hell with Spain' (Herring 2010, p. 24). Many in the United States saw the explosion as a Spanish attack, although there was no evidence for this. The acceleration of the situation in Cuba helped to reunify North and South in a common cause (Herring 2010, p. 28).

During McKinley's first inaugural address in 1897, when the Cuban revolt was already happening, McKinley explicitly argued for a peaceful policy of non-interference: "We want no wars of conquest; we must avoid the temptation of territorial aggression. War should never be entered upon until every agency of peace has failed; peace is preferable to war in almost every contingency" (Miller Center, March 4, 1897). During the Civil War, McKinley had served in the infantry. As the situation in Cuba worsened, McKinley confined to his confidants that "I have been through one war; I have seen the dead piled up; and I do not want to see another" (Immerwahr 2019, p. 66). Apart from this personal reluctance, McKinley also seemed sensitive to the argument that the Cuban revolt threatened the presumption of American succession to rule: according to Perez, McKinley had opposed independence for the Cubans from the start

(Perez 2008, p. 42). Whatever the cause of McKinley's wariness, it showed in his policy preceding the war.

McKinley's actions show that he tried to hold back the war to Congress. When the U.S.S. Maine exploded, McKinley asked for and received a suspension of judgement from Congress while he waited for the report on how the explosion happened. Of this he wrote, "I don't propose to be swept off my feet by the catastrophe…until the truth is known" (Immerwahr 2019, p. 65). He requested the Congress to not make any warlike resolutions, while he decided upon the appropriate response. He gave Spain an ultimatum on the 26st of March, of an armistice in Cuba until October the 1st, retraction of the *concentrado* policy in Cuba, and submitting the 'Cuban matter' to American arbitration if peace hadn't been achieved on October 1st (Kapur 2011, p. 28). Spain rejected the ultimatum. McKinley then asked for, and received, extensions for his reaction in the form of a message to Congress. Meanwhile, failed peace negotiations were held. By that time, US intervention in Cuba and war with Spain began to seem inevitable.

All in all, it was not until the 11th of April 1898 that McKinley gave his war message to Congress and Congress moved toward war (Kapur 2011, p. 23). In his message to Congress, McKinley cited as the main ground for intervention in Cuba humanitarian concerns. The other grounds that he gave were the American trade and business interests and US peace and security (McCartney 2012, p. 272). He focussed especially on the safety of Americans in Cuba; he had supplied food and medicine to Americans in Cuba and payed for their repatriation (Kapur 2011, p. 26). McKinley finished his message with the declaration that 'the issue was now with Congress' (Kapur 2011, p. 33). The United States officially declared war on the 25th of April 1898. All in all, after the entering of the Cuban question into the political domain, President McKinley was now involved in Cuba, together with the US press which was involved in Cuba through the engagement of the US people with the Cuban cause.

2. The Press

By the end of the nineteenth century, the US press and its readership had gone through transformative changes. Whereas newspapers had been partisan before, focussing on- and allying with regional members of Congress (Ponder 1994, p. 824), the press now attempted to

appear more objective and independent (Saldin 2011, p. 131). Another change was the emergence of news correspondents who were increasingly sent abroad to report on events (Herring 2010, p. 21). Newspapers were also increasingly interested in attracting readers (Ponder 1994, p. 824). This led to the sensationalizing of stories in newspapers. Two of the most prominent examples of this sensationalism are William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, as they battled for circulation. However, these newspapers were not the only players on the stage. In New York alone there were eight morning- and seven evening papers to choose from (Brewer 2009, p. 18). These New York newspapers 'set the standards of national journalism' that were followed by other newspapers throughout the United States (Wisan 1934, p. 459).

When it comes to the readership of these newspapers, the literacy rate of the people was higher than ever (Herring 2010, p. 21). Subsequently, newspaper readership expanded to 26 percent of the total adult population, and the number of newspapers increased. The circulation of newspapers widened to 15 million (Perez 2008, p. 130). Public interest in foreign affairs had never been this large (Herring 2010, p. 21). All in all, the daily press became a 'popular medium of political representation' (Perez 2008, p. 130).

Leading up to the Spanish-American War, the US people could follow what happened in Cuba in the many newspapers. One thing that all these newspapers had in common was the attention that they gave to the situation in Cuba (Wisan 1934, p. 370). The debate on whether the United States should start a war with Spain was 'long and loud' (Immerwahr 2019, p. 65). The newspaper readership in general was constantly subjected to - and influenced by news about Cuba; in the period of March 1895, until April 1898, there were only a few days in which there were no reports on Cuba in the press (Wisan 1934, p. 460). Because of the sensationalist newspapers, the non-sensationalist newspapers were compelled 'to devote considerably more space to Cuban affairs than they otherwise would have done (Wisan 1934, p. 458). Thus, the US people were, via the press, subjected to daily rhetoric regarding Cuba.

Within this daily rhetoric, the press often used metaphorical constructs to describe Cuba, which reached the US public through newspapers in an unprecedented way (Perez 2008, p. 132). In the use of metaphor in the newspapers, pictures and text reinforced each other; providing visual form to discourse and vice versa (Perez 2008, p. 132). Cuba was described with diffuse metaphors, such as 'fruit' which should be picked up instead of letting it 'fall decaying on the ground' (Perez 2008, p. 30) or 'Armenia', i.e. not letting Cuba turn into a

massacre. Weyler was described via animal metaphors, as a 'human hyena' (Wisan 1934, p. 193) with a 'carnal animal brain' (Wisan 1934, p. 204). But mostly, two clearly recurring metaphorical themes are to be discovered in the press' description of Cuba: Cuba as a woman and Cuba as a neighbour.

First of all, the metaphor of Cuba as a woman filled daily newspapers across the country (Perez 2008, p. 71). Cuba was often described and depicted in the press as a damsel in distress whom the American men, or the United States as the male Uncle Sam, had to rescue (Perez 2008, p. 138). This damsel in distress, thus, had to be saved by 'American chivalric duty' (Perez 2008, p. 71). In the same manner, Cuba as an entire island was also often portrayed as a 'pure' woman, or maiden, ravished by Spain (Hoganson 1998, p. 55). This metaphor of Cuba as a helpless woman 'seized the popular imagination' (Perez 2008, p. 67).

Next to the metaphor of a woman, another metaphor that was often used in the press to describe Cuba was that of Cuba as a neighbour. The metaphor of neighbour starts with the metaphorical use of geography and proximity. Cuba was described as an island 'almost in sight' (Perez 2008, p. 25) and this aspect of proximity led to the representation of Cuba 'at the door' of the US. Out of this notion subsequently followed the metaphor of Cuba as a neighbour one ought to help (Perez 2008, p. 28). Furthermore, the concept of Cuba being 'almost in sight' led to other metaphorical descriptions of how close the 'Cuban neighbours' were to the US; Cuba was 'within reach and at hand' (Perez 2008, p. 27); one could not turn 'a blind eye' nor 'a deaf ear' to Cuba (Perez 2008, p. 56); and one could 'hear' from the lips of the victims of Weyler the cries for help (Wisan 1034, p. 288). The *New York Times*, for example, 'invoked almost daily the proposition of duty to neighbour as the rationale for intervention'. The situation in Cuba was described as 'the extermination of our neighbours' and 'a slaughterhouse at our very doors' by newspapers. (Perez 2008, p. 46).

All in all, the metaphors of Cuba as a woman or as a neighbour, both of whom one ought to help, seized the popular imagination daily via the press, brought the 'Cuban cause' close to home, and made the idea of war with Spain comprehensible and self-evident (Perez 2008, p. 21). As regards to the specific metaphors of Cuba as a women or neighbour, the metaphors created meaning by shaping perceptions within the existing value system of the US people. This moral system consisted of models of for example gender hierarchy which were assumed as the truth. Such hierarchies consisted of the idea of the strong, rational male or patriarchy protecting the weak female, or the white civilized people uplifting the primitive

and/or barbaric coloured people (Perez 2008, p. 17). Newspaper reports of ill treatment of women received great condemnation; they were defenceless, and the weak and vulnerable must be protected (Perez 2008, p. 65). Even non-sensationalist newspapers like the *New York Tribune* wrote that "all must agree that it is a shocking thing for women and children to perish like flies" (Wisan 1934, p. 370).

By using the metaphors ascribed in this system, the newspapers dedicated attention to the plight of the non-combatants at home (Perez 2008, p. 68). The metaphors accommodated the norms of the patriarchal society of the US, insisting that men should save women (Hoganson 1998, p. 51), or the norm of the duty to give aid and assistance to one's neighbour in need. Metaphorical constructs used in the press all in all related the creation of empire to normative models for the US people.

This way, the value system attached to the use of metaphor was connected to expansionism. The use of metaphor made colonial policy self-explanatory (Perez 2008, p. 15). Making use of existing societal norms and hierarchies when explaining the expansion of empire gives a 'moral context into which to inscribe the logic of American hegemony' (Perez 2008, p. 19). It moreover disguises power as moral purpose and norms of duty by inscribing actions into models that already exist in the minds, norms and values of the US people (Perez 2008, p. 21). Illustrative is the fact that the Spanish-American War was described in the newspapers as a 'crusade for humanity' (Wisan 1934, p. 447). All in all, this way, the use of metaphor led to the interpretation of Cuba as a 'subject of beneficent concern' rather than an 'object of national interest' (Perez 2008, p. 33).

Finally, the conviction of the selfless intent of rescuing the helpless, as brought with the normative models of metaphorical description in the press, led to the presumed certainty of the right of the Americans to rule over the Cubans (Perez 2008, p. 100). For example, the accommodating to the norms of the patriarchal society of the US also implied that Cuban men had failed in their patriarchal duty to protect their women (Hoganson 1998, p. 51). This was an excuse to deny the Cubans their claim to rule their island; the Americans were now supposedly obliged to stay (Perez 2008, p. 87). Also, the notion of Cuba as a neighbour as a subject of aid, since the United States was more powerful than Cuba, meant that the US would claim the exercise of power over Cuba (Perez 2008, p. 33).

All in all, the press created with their rhetoric a dynamic that prompted the US people to feel called upon for the United States to interfere in Cuba and to go to war with Spain.

McKinley, as the president of the United States, also played an important role in US society and also concerned himself with the situation in Cuba and the war with Spain. Under McKinley, the relationship between the presidency and the press was also fundamentally reshaped.

3. President McKinley

When McKinley was inaugurated as president in 1897, there existed no organized relationship between news correspondents of the major newspapers and the president (Ponder 1994, p. 823). Congress, not the President, attracted almost all press coverage (Brewer 2009, p. 15). As described in the earlier section on the press, the press became more independent of politics. Because of the new sensationalism in the press, presidents before McKinley were defensive towards the press and were not likely to talk to the press, let alone give personal interviews. If the correspondents had contact with the White House at all, it was usually with the president's secretary (Ponder 1994, p. 825). All in all, the relationship between press and president was minimal when McKinley became president and there was no utilization of the press by the president for the president's policy.

New initiatives by McKinley changed this relationship. The new initiatives started when McKinley became the first president to have his inauguration filmed (Brewer 2009, p. 15). After he was elected, furthermore, McKinley attempted to cultivate good relations with the press, formally inviting correspondents and their partners to his post-Christmas reception (Ponder 1994, p. 826). This led to the beginning of a closer relationship between president and press. Next to this cultivation of good relations, the relationship between McKinley and the press can be linked to three developments: the monitoring of the press by McKinley, McKinley becoming a source of information for the press, and McKinley attempting to control the narrative of the press.

Firstly, during his presidency, in the run-up to the Spanish-American War, McKinley implemented a policy of monitoring the press. He expanded his staff from six to eighty people. This staff studied hundreds of newspapers every day and thereby monitored public opinion for the president (Brewer 2009, p. 15). McKinley was then presented with what his staff had found, examining 'scrapbooks of press clippings from across the nation' (Herring 2010, p. 22).

With the Spanish-American War, moreover, the press came to rely more and more on the White House for information, in unprecedented ways (Herring 2010, p. 44). McKinley centralized the war news in the White House. He installed telegraph wires and phone wires that connected directly to the executive departments and Congress in his 'War Room' (Brewer 2009, p. 21). McKinley was a lot more accessible for the journalists than his predecessors (Herring 2010, p. 23). News correspondents appeared at the White House daily for information and the president's response to proceedings of the war (Ponder 1994, p. 827). McKinley's secretary met with the press to brief them every day (Brewer 2009, p. 15). Moreover, McKinley's staff made timely announcements in the form of press releases (Ponder 1994, p. 824). For the first time, a permanent working facility inside the White House was authorized by the president; 'between the president's office and his reception room' (Ponder 1994, p. 825). Never had the press had this direct contact with the White House (Ponder 1994, p. 831). These expanded facilities for the press as described made it more likely for reporters to report the president's view and made the presidency a 'routine source of news' (Ponder 1994, p. 828).

Next to and intertwined with attempting to become the press' source of information, President McKinley also tried to control the narrative of the press, shaping the news that reached the public during the war (Ponder 1994, p. 823). McKinley imposed military censorship on the main wire services in Florida and New York City, influencing what was written about the government or enemy (Brewer 2009, p. 21). He controlled the war information by limiting the news available elsewhere and tried to make sure that the press got reliable information only (Herring 2010, pp. 26-29). He shaped the press coverage of the president's views (Ponder 1994, p. 824). Combined with the fact that the press received such regular statements by the President for their news stories, the press received for a large part only content that was meant by the president for the US public (Ponder 1994, p. 828). In sum, McKinley was active in shaping his relationship with the press prior to and during the Spanish-American War. It seems as if this policy was partly directed at controlling both the justification by the press of the Spanish-American war to the US people, and the fact that the war happened in the first place.

Next to McKinley's policy towards the press, when focussing on McKinley's rhetoric, this rhetoric on first sight is not to be characterized as a rhetoric trying to persuade the people. In

former times, presidents used to avoid trying to sway public opinion and engaging in campaigning until in the 'new way' of rhetorical presidency, presidents started to embrace public speaking, making the presidency more visible and a popular institution through communicating with the US people (Saldin 2011, p. 119). Even though McKinley's relationship with the press was modern, his rhetoric at the time seemed to fall into the 'old way' of presidential rhetoric, as can be seen in McKinley's speeches prior to and during the Spanish-American War.

Specifically, between February and August 1898, McKinley indeed did not attempt to sway public opinion and did not engage in campaigning. He gave only few speeches, and the ones that he gave were, according to Harpine, 'vacuous proclamations' (Harpine 2008, p. 310) with a 'stylized and ritualistic' rhetoric (Harpine 2008, p. 308). Looking at McKinley's proclamations, their rhetoric is indeed clinical: 'I, William McKinley, President of the United States, in order to enforce the said resolution, do hereby declare and proclaim that the United States of America have instituted and will maintain a blockade of the north coast of Cuba' (American Presidency Project, April 22 1898). Subsequently, when the war was declared, the proclamation did not visibly try to persuade or enthuse the US people: 'Whereas by an act of Congress approved April 25, 1898, it is declared that war exists … it being desirable that such war should be conducted upon principles in harmony with the present views of nations and sanctioned by their recent practice' (American Presidency Project, April 26 1898). Even when volunteers were called forth to serve in the war, the phrasing was hardly exciting: 'I, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, volunteers to the aggregate number of 125,000' (American Presidency Project, April 23 1898). This shows that McKinley's rhetoric regarding the (beginning of) the war was indeed not very propagandic.

Apart from these routine proclamations, McKinley did not go on speaking tours or speak in public during the run-up to- and during the war (Harpine 2008, p. 311), except for a few speeches. Therefore, the Spanish-American War itself consisted of very little presidential rhetoric (Harpine 2008, p. 324). Herring states that in the running up to the war, McKinley 'did not launch any sort of public relations campaign to boost popular support for the war' (Herring 2010, p. 30). Johns, subsequently, argues that for the Spanish-American War, McKinley only needed to sustain popular support that already existed (Johns 2010, p. 10). This is a possible explanation for McKinley's (lack of) rhetoric.

Looking at the few speeches that McKinley *did* give aside from the proclamations, two of these were held in January and February 1898; and one was an address to the people on July 6, 1898. So, except for the July address, no speeches were held between April and August during the war. The speeches of January and February 1898 only are about industry, economy and the civil war (McKinley 1900, p. 67); not about Cuba. In the January speech, he does talk about achievement 'not only at home, but among the family of nations the world over' (McKinley 1900, p. 60); suggesting the beginning of expansionist policy. Propagandic and metaphorical rhetoric cannot be found in McKinley's speeches before August. These speeches all in all fit the neutral rhetoric of McKinley's proclamations.

In contrast to the neutral nature of these speeches is the one speech that McKinley gave to the US people *during* the war. On July 6th 1898 McKinley gave an address to the people 'for thanksgiving and prayer', in which he praised the naval and military achievements in Cuba and asked Americans to 'bow before the throne of divine grace and give devout praise to God, who holdeth the nations in the hollow of His hands and worketh upon them the marvels of His high will, and who has thus far vouchsafed to us the light of His face and led our brave soldiers and seamen to victory'. McKinley describes 'Almighty God…leading our hosts upon the waters to unscathed triumph'. Finally, he refers to Cuba as 'our dear land' (American Presidency Project, July 6, 1898). This July address is characterized by a clear religious rhetoric which contradicts the conviction that during the war McKinley only delivered vacuous proclamations. Notwithstanding, apart from McKinley's new policies regarding the press, his own rhetoric in general before and during the Spanish-American War, excepting from the July 6 address, was low-profile and neutral.

In the final stages of the war, then, McKinley's agency towards the press was characterized by the same dynamic as during the war, namely by McKinley trying to control the narrative of the press. Aside from this, however, during the close of the Spanish-American War, between August and December, McKinley's *rhetoric* changed in two aspects: firstly, he delivered more speeches. Secondly, his rhetoric alluded more to policy and was more propagandic than before the autumn of 1898. It is because of this rhetoric that Saldin does not categorize McKinley in the 'old way' of rhetorical presidency; because McKinley held a modern campaign (Saldin 2011, p. 131).

Less than nine weeks after the Spanish-American War ended in an armistice on August the 13th 1898, and before the peace treaty was signed in December 1898, McKinley travelled to the Midwest in the autumn of 1898 to promote his foreign policy (Ponder 1994, p. 829). In this tour, McKinley travelled across six states to give a total of 57 speeches (Saldin 2011, p. 125). In December, McKinley also did a similar tour in the South (Herring 2010, p. 35). During the tours, McKinley delivered numerous speeches reflecting on Cuba and the Spanish-American War and touched upon the following dispute on whether to retain the Philippines. The annexation of the Philippines was a new policy theme and McKinley's goal for the peace treaty (Harpine 2008, p. 307).

During the tour, McKinley again made sure to be the main source of information for the press; 'a train carload of reporters' from the big newspapers travelled along with McKinley (Brewer 2009, p. 26). This shows the same accessibility of the president for the press as during the war. Moreover, copies of the speeches that McKinley gave as well as written-out anecdotes were handed out to the press (Brewer 2009, p. 26). McKinley's speeches were spread out to the wire services and big newspapers (Herring 2010, p. 33). This shows the same control over the narrative of the press. The newspaper stories were just as enthusiastic as the crowds who greeted McKinley (Ponder 1994, p. 830). Asides from the relationship with the press, however, McKinley's own rhetoric independently from the press changed in this period.

On the subject of the Philippines, according to Saldin, McKinley tried to influence public opinion before an official policy was announced (Saldin 2011, p. 125). According to Harpine, McKinley used his speeches of late 1898 'to persuade the public to accept a decision that he had already made' (Harpine 2008, p. 313). Herring, as well, argues that McKinley's touring had the goal of solidifying public support for a goal that McKinley had already devoted himself to (Herring 2010, p. 32); the goal being a new expansionist policy. After the war, all in all, the rhetoric of McKinley became more systematic and sustained (Johns 2010, p. 7). The specific rhetoric of McKinley was characterized by the subtly advocating for a new underlying policy theme. Something seemed to have changed in McKinley's tactics when the war was over.

Looking specifically at McKinley's metaphorical rhetoric within these months of touring after the Spanish-American War, as compared to the rhetoric of the press when describing Cuba, McKinley's can be described as partly similar to the press and partly unique. Firstly, McKinley's rhetoric shows the same rhetorical focus in existing values in propagating war as in the press,

resulting in the same use of the neighbour metaphor for Cuba. However, the press' metaphorical use of Cuba as a woman, alluding to patriarchal society, is absent in McKinley's rhetoric. Secondly, unique to McKinley's rhetoric is his notion of Godly destiny when speaking of Cuba.

In general, in the period of his autumn tour McKinley worked to 'tie expansion into traditional American values' (Harpine 2008, p. 311). His use of value-laden rhetoric responded to existing notions of moral duty and the nation's value system (Harpine 2008, p. 312). According to Harpine, McKinley was using his speeches to promote his expansionist policy by alluding to the underlying values of the nation, not explicitly advocating his policy but more so by hinting at it (Harpine 2008, p. 325). According to Perez, McKinley used 'metaphorical constructs of selfless intent' to inscribe in national interests (Perez 2008, p. 45). After August 1898, McKinley often called on duty-bound responsibilities to describe an expansionist policy (Perez 2008, p. 264). According to Brewer, McKinley referred to benevolence, prosperity, and the advancement of freedom to justify expansionist policy (Brewer 2009, p. 14). This tactic aligns with the press' use of metaphor to attune to the underlying value systems and hierarchies of US society of the time. McKinley does play into the societal value attached to the family in one of his speeches: 'The best sentiment, the holiest sentiment, comes from the American homes- the plan homes where virtue resides; and a home life, a family life, lies at the very foundation of this popular government of ours' (McKinley 1900, p. 91). However, the specific metaphor of Cuba as a woman is not to be discovered in McKinley's speeches.

The specific metaphor as used by the press of Cuba as a neighbour, however, clearly *can* be detected in McKinley's speeches. In Indianapolis, McKinley declared how 'the war was inaugurated for humanity; its settlements must not overlook humanity … It was commenced in a spirit of humanity, of freedom, to stop oppression in a neighbouring island' (McKinley 1900, p. 144). Just like in the rhetoric in the press, this rhetoric of Cuba as a neighbour led to the metaphor of Cuba being 'at our door'. In his speech in Chicago, McKinley spoke: 'The war with Spain was undertaken, not that the United States should increase its territory, but that oppression at our very doors should be stopped' (McKinley 1900, p. 133). Moreover, this led to the description of hearing and seeing the suffering people in Cuba. In Columbus, McKinley declared that 'The nation has been at war, not because it wanted war, but because it preferred it rather than to witness at its very door the sufferings of an oppressed people.' and that 'We entered upon it for … that we might stop the oppression of a neighbouring people whose cry

we could almost hear' (McKinley 1900, p. 151). It is clear that McKinley embraced the rhetoric of the suffering neighbour to justify the ongoing war.

After the war ended, moreover, McKinley used the same neighbour rhetoric to defend his decisions in retrospect. In Atlanta, in December, McKinley stated that 'We could have avoided all the difficulties that lie across the pathway of the nation if a few months ago we had coldly ignored the piteous appeals of the starving and oppressed inhabitants of Cuba. If we had blinded ourselves to the conditions so near our shores and turned a deaf ear to our suffering neighbours' (McKinley 1900, p. 159). In Omaha he likewise stated that 'To avoid it, if this could be done in honour and justice to the rights of our neighbours and ourselves, was our constant prayer. The war was no more invited by us than were the questions which are laid at our door by its results' (McKinley 1900, p. 100). So, it is clear that McKinley reflects on Cuba to the US people with the justification for interference of the duty to help Cuba as the helpless neighbour and therefore start war with Spain. Moreover, this metaphorical rhetoric of McKinley made it seem like interference was inevitable.

The aspect of McKinley's specific rhetoric that did *not* occur in the press' rhetoric regarding Cuba and is therefore unique to McKinley's rhetoric compared to the press, is the notion of Godly destiny in propagating war. When McKinley became president, his relationship with God 'took on heightened importance' (Kapur 2011, p. 29). Kapur describes McKinley's belief in a God with a 'divine plan for the American people and for himself in particular' (Kapur 2011, p. 29). This religious aspect clearly plays a role in McKinley's speeches in the aftermath of the war. The war between Cuba and Spain and subsequently the American interference in Cuba would be a 'pivotal moment in divine history' (McCartney 2012, p. 270). McKinley adopted a clear discourse of manifest destiny (Saldin 2011, p. 125). The notion of manifest destiny entails the idea of the American mission and destiny to enlighten the world, as willed by God (McCartney 2012, p. 259). McKinley slipped into his speeches unaffectedly terms like 'high purpose' (Harpine 2008, p. 315).

It has been argued that McKinley was the 'greatest apostle' of the Manifest Destiny doctrine (Harpine 2008, p. 324). Various passages from his speeches support this argument. In his proclamation on Thanksgiving Day, on October 28th 1898, McKinley speaks of 'divine guidance' and describes how 'we were compelled to take up the sword in the cause of humanity'. Moreover, he proclaims that 'we may laud and magnify His holy name that the

cessation of hostilities came so soon as so spare both sides the countless sorrows and disasters that attend protracted war' (American Presidency Project, October 28 1898). In another speech in October, in Clinton, McKinley states that 'we have the courage of destiny' (McKinley 1900, p. 85). In Chicago, McKinley proclaimed: 'My countrymen, the currents of destiny flow through the hearts of the people' (McKinley 1900, p. 131). In St. Louis, he said: 'We have one flag and one destiny, and wherever that destiny shall lead us we will have hearts strong enough to meet its responsibilities. … We must follow the light as God has given us to see the light, and he has singularly guided us, not only from the beginning of our great government, but down through every crisis to the present hour ; and I am sure it is the prayer of every American that he shall still guide and direct us' (McKinley 1900, p. 117). In Chicago, he reflected on the war as being 'sacredly sealed with mankind' and subsequently 'accepted for humanity's sake'. He furthermore speaks of 'lofty purpose', of the fact that 'duty determines destiny', and argues explicitly that 'Almighty God has his plans and methods for human progress. … Looking backward, we can see how the hand of destiny built for us and assigned us tasks whose full meaning was not apprehended even by the wisest statesmen of their times' (McKinley 1900, p. 133). In Nebraska, finally, he stated 'Shall we deny to ourselves what the rest of the world so freely and so justly accords to us? … The faith of a Christian nation recognizes the hand of Almighty God in the ordeal through which we have passed. Divine favour seemed manifest everywhere. In fighting for humanity's sake we have been signally blessed. We did not seek war.' (McKinley 1900, p. 100). All these passages illustrate how McKinley took on a clearly religious rhetoric to justify the war.

Related to this notion of Godly destiny was the notion of the guidance under Providence, or divine intervention, a theme also frequently noted in the speeches of McKinley. McKinley touches upon the notion of Providence in multiple speeches, for example in Carroll: 'Providence has been extremely kind to the American people. We have been singularly blessed and favoured.' (McKinley 1900, p. 86) and in Rushville: 'Providence has been very kind to us' (McKinley 1900, p. 146). Moreover, McKinley proclaimed in Iowa the 'gratitude to divine Providence for those favours which he has manifested unto us' (McKinley 1900, p. 86). Destiny and divine intervention are connected to duty by McKinley, such as in Georgia: 'If, following the clear precepts of duty, territory falls to us … who shrink from the responsibility, grave though it may be? (McKinley 1900, p. 172), while in Chariton, McKinley explained to the US people: 'Territory sometimes comes to us when we go to war in a holy cause' (McKinley 1900,

p. 113), and 'Let us remember that God bestows supreme opportunity upon no nation which is not ready to respond to the call of supreme duty' (McKinley 1900, p. 119). In Indiana, he explained that 'We cannot shirk the obligations of the victory if we would, and we would not if we could' (McKinley 1900, p. 144). Duty would be followed 'at whatever cost', he moreover proclaimed in his speeches (McKinley 1900, p. 99), and 'The American people have never failed, no matter how great the emergency, no matter how grave the crisis, to measure up to the highest responsibilities of honour and duty' (McKinley 1900, p. 92). It can be concluded that McKinley's rhetoric of destiny and Godly intervention made it again seem like interference in Cuba was something inevitable.

This inevitability could now also be rhetorically applied by McKinley to his policy after Cuba. The notion of Godly interference in his rhetoric led to McKinley being able to reflect on his policy as if it was out of his hands rather than him being responsible for his policy; since he was simply following what God had planned, and now would continue to do so. So, for instance, in an interview with General James Rusling on November 21, 1899, when he talked of talked of the Philippines as being 'thrown in his lap', he stated: 'The truth is I didn't want the Philippines, and when they came to us, as a gift from the gods, I didn't know what to do with them' (Rusling 1903, p. 17). McKinley all in all would ascribe his agency in the Spanish-American War to God's will (Kapur 2011, p. 29).

McKinley made it seem with his religious rhetoric that the Spanish-American War and his policy from there on had been willed by God, and therefore the religious aspect of his rhetoric could be a conscious tactic (Brewer 16). Kapur argues that McKinley had a way of making others seem responsible for the policy that he had dictated (Kapur 2011, p. 32). Brewer argues that McKinley had a 'public position of passivity' and that while he led opinion, it appeared that he only followed opinion (Brewer 2009, p. 15). This can be connected to McKinley's rhetoric regarding Cuba; while using his implicit rhetoric of appearing to be led by God, he was in fact leading a conscious new policy of expansion for the United States on the world stage.

It is clear that whereas the press played into the values of US society in its rhetoric by using metaphorical constructs of Cuba as a woman and Cuba as a neighbour, McKinley, took on a rhetoric after the press made the case for war, in which he used the metaphorical construct of Cuba as a neighbour and in which he alluded to the important value of religion in US society.

He did so while reflecting on Cuba to the US people. However, looking back, we can also see the notion of alluding to God already in McKinley's address to the US people of July 6th.

All in all, this dynamic meant that McKinley was using his own metaphorical rhetoric for the making of a new case, whereas he had not made the case for the Spanish-American War to the US people, but the press did. When after the war the American flag was raised over the island, McKinley explicitly rejected Cuban independence, which was, according to him, "impracticable and indefensible" (McCartney 2012, p. 272). McKinley now utilized his rhetoric for the new expansionist policy of the US. Although some historians such as Wisan speak of the high emotional pitch of the US public, caused by the press, which made it difficult for McKinley to lead the country (Wisan 1934, p. 458), McKinley displayed strong agency in relation to the press as actor and in developing his own rhetoric and agenda. McKinley and his advisors evaluated and sought to manipulate public opinion, and in doing so set a precedent for future incumbents in their efforts to prepare the American people for war.

Conclusion

In general, appealing to existing beliefs, norms and values in society about race, class and gender as well as religion, helps to influence public opinion (Brewer 2009, p. 8). This way, people can be made to believe that they fight not only for their interests but also for their ideals. The two most effective tools for acquiring public support for war are by linking the importance of war to 'core national values' and by speaking in broad idealistic terms of exceptionalism, freedom, 'good' and 'evil' (Johns 2010, p. 3). This thesis has examined the rhetorical similarities and differences between President McKinley and the pro-war press in making the case for the Spanish-American War. In doing so, the goal of the thesis was to shed more light on the question of whether McKinley was led by the press in making the case for war.

Humanitarian concern for the situation in Cuba, combined with the explosion of the U.S.S. Maine, led to a very involved US public. Cuba entered the political domain and McKinley had to give in to war. At the time, the character and role in society of the US press was changing. The press used metaphorical constructs to describe Cuba that played into the value system of the US people. These constructs were used to justify expansionism and a claim over the

Cubans. Because of the press, Americans felt called upon to go to war with Spain and interfere in Cuba.

Under President McKinley, the relationship between the presidency and the press was reshaped. President McKinley developed a sophisticated policy toward the press. First, he monitored the press, in an attempt to control what happened; next, he made sure to be the source of information for the press and thus to control the narrative of the press. McKinley's initial attitude regarding the Spanish-American War was reluctant, but he still decided for war, while taking the press' rhetoric very seriously through monitoring the news.

Comparing McKinley's speeches to the press shows that the rhetoric used by the press and that employed by McKinley were quite distinct. Firstly, it was not until in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War that McKinley took on a clear rhetoric. Secondly, while doing so, he only partly took on the press' rhetoric in making the case for war. This rhetoric of the press was characterized by stressing the notion of helping the helpless through the metaphorical use of Cuba as a neighbour and Cuba as a woman. In McKinley's speeches, the rhetorical use of the metaphor of Cuba as a neighbour to be helped is evident. However, McKinley's speeches are not characterized by the metaphorical focus on Cuba as the damsel in distress and the calling upon the patriarchal society, which featured so prominently in the press. In addition, McKinley's speeches are characterized by a clear rhetorical use of the notion of divine destiny and the idea that Cuba was 'thrown in McKinley's lap by God'. Subsequently, this notion of destiny was connected to the duty of the United States to act and interfere on the world stage. McKinley took on this religious rhetoric to reflect on Cuba in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, and a foretaste of the rhetoric is seen in his address of July 6th 1898, which puts into perspective the clear dividing line that some scholars make regarding McKinley's rhetoric during versus after the Spanish-American War.

McKinley's actions and rhetorical agency following the war contradict the image of McKinley as a passive follower of the press, and in fact McKinley's explicit policy of non-interference of 1897. This contrast can be explained by the fact that the primary research has shown that McKinley did not take on a clear rhetoric about Cuba until *after* the war; and by the change in McKinley's policy on the world stage and agency in the United States between 1897 and 1899. This thesis concludes that the press and President McKinley communicated Cuba to the US people in different ways, for different ends. The press justified the case for war to the people before war was declared. McKinley justified the war in hindsight. He did so while

consolidating his new imperialist policy of further expansion. McKinley's rhetoric in justifying this position partly took on the metaphors used by the press but mostly took on his own religious metaphor. McKinley used his own metaphorical rhetoric for making a new policy case, whereas he had not used (metaphorical) rhetoric to make the case for the Spanish-American War to the people. The similarities and differences between McKinley and the press in making the case for the Spanish-American War therefore show that although McKinley was (perhaps) pushed into the Spanish-American war by how the press made the case for the war, he did subsequently take the matter into his own hands with his own expansionist agency and accompanying rhetoric from the aftermath of the war on.

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Front page image: 'Ten Thousand Miles from Tip to Tip', 1898. Originally published in the 19th century. Scanned by Infrogmation via book *War in the Philippines* by Marshall Everet where it is attributed as being reprinted from the 'Philadelphia Press'. (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:10kMiles.JPG#:~:text=%22Ten%20Thousand%20Miles%20From%20Tip,100%20years%20earlier%20in%201798.&text=Originally%20published%20in%20the%2019th%20century.)

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