

BENEVOLENCE AND PROPAGANDA:  
DEPICTIONS OF THE PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WAR THROUGH CINEMA  
IN EARLY 20TH CENTURY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

COMMUNICATION

MAY 2024

BY

Dwayne C. Campos

Thesis Committee:

Hanae Kramer, Chairperson

Ji Young Kim

Rachel Neo

Keywords: Propaganda, Philippine-American War, Cinema, War Films, Historical Research,  
Qualitative Content Analysis

To my wife, Jules, and our daughter, Aria.

## ABSTRACT

The history of the Philippine-American War of 1899 to 1902 tells of the conflict between American military forces and Filipino nationalists over the sovereignty of the Philippines archipelago. Propaganda by American expansionists justified American occupation and attrition through ideologies of American exceptionalism, nationalism, manifest destiny, and racial superiority. During this time, various companies within the American film industry were fighting to establish their place in American culture, media, and entertainment. The advent of the moving image camera and projector allowed film producers to capture and present the vibrancy of life to American audiences in new and inventive ways. When the novelty of projected film images waned towards the end of the 20th century, the allure of war images brought American audiences back to film exhibition halls. This rising popularity of war films arguably revived the film industry and prompted film companies to produce war films for the American public.

Current media histories related to the Philippine-American War suggest that powers within the American government and military directly influenced the production of war films, and that such pro-American attitudes translated directly onto the screen. This study examines such assertions through historical research and qualitative content analysis. This study examined war films produced from 1899 - 1900 by two of America's prominent film companies at the turn of the 20th century, the Edison Manufacturing Company and the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company (i.e., Biograph Company). Research results suggest American political and military powers provided little direction over film production. Though late 19th and 20th century American films conveyed strong symbolisms of American expansionist ideologies, the manner of their production indicates a structure of social propaganda rather than political propaganda.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	5
2.1: History of Moving Images.....	5
2.2: Justification for War and Expansion.....	8
2.3: Benevolence and War.....	12
2.4: Early Uses of Propaganda.....	16
2.5: Contemporary Forms of Propaganda: Britain and Japan.....	19
2.6: Current Scholarship and Potential Sources.....	23
3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	26
3.1: Definition of Key Terms.....	28
4. METHODOLOGY.....	30
4.1: Historical Research.....	30
4.2: Qualitative Content Analysis.....	32
5. HISTORICAL RESEARCH RESULTS.....	41
5.1: Relationships of Cinema, Politics, and War.....	41
5.1.1: Edison Manufacturing Company, and American Mutoscope and Biograph Company.....	42
5.1.2: The President’s Brother, Abner McKinley.....	52
5.1.3: Newspapers, War, and Film.....	59

5.2: The War Film Producers.....	67
5.2.1: Frederick Syron Armitage.....	67
5.2.2: Carl Frederick “Raymond” Ackerman.....	72
5.2.3: James Henry White.....	77
6. QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS RESULTS.....	82
6.1: Soldiers on Parade.....	84
6.2: The Horse and Rider.....	89
6.3: The Otherness of Filipinos.....	95
6.4: The American Flag.....	100
7. DISCUSSION.....	104
7.1. Business Oriented Film Companies.....	105
7.2. The Traits of Film Producers.....	110
7.3. Propaganda Structure and Techniques.....	113
8. CONCLUSION.....	118
APPENDIX.....	125
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	126

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. American Mutoscope and Biograph Co. Films on the Subject of the Philippine-American War.....	39
Table 2. Edison Manufacturing Co. Films on the Subject of the Philippine-American War.....	40

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Soldiers parade through the streets of New York.....	85
Figure 2. Buffalo Soldiers marching in the Philippines.....	88
Figure 3. Horses on parade through streets of New York.....	90
Figure 4. Images of settlers riding west; The feminine image of Colombia Oil .....	94
Figure 5. Mule train swimming and reaching shore.....	94
Figure 6. Filipino rebels approach.....	98
Figure 7. Soldiers carry the American flag into battle.....	102

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Present discussions about United States international policies and interventionist histories pay little attention or remembrance about America's forgotten conflict in the Philippine archipelago of East Asia. The Philippine-American War remains largely underrepresented in American history. Though scholars have explored and commented on America's history of occupation in the Philippine archipelago, and the ensuing violence between 1899 to 1913, such a critical period in America's history of expansion during an era of innovation and progress barely achieves any sense of saliency or even debate in the present. According to Alfred McCoy, "America has largely deleted its Philippine experience from collective memory."<sup>1</sup> Such memories are confined to the corners of American history and landscape, unrecognized or overshadowed by other reflective and photogenic memorials marked in marble and stone.

As the events of the Philippine-American war steadily drifted from public consciousness over time, historical records related to the conflict gradually scattered and went unnoticed across libraries and archives across the United States. Amongst these remnants, films about the war also risked becoming lost in the black hole of historical obscurity. Fortunately, thanks to the early business practices of America's film industries, and preservation efforts by organizations such as the United States Library of Congress, the films are available for observation and study into the images and memories of America's earliest ambition to expand its power internationally in the name of "liberty." To the uninitiated observer, these early war films appear simplistic in their design and presentation when compared against modern cinematic standards, practices, and

---

<sup>1</sup> Alfred W. McCoy, "Philippine-American Relations: A Problem of Perception," *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 32, 6, no. 2 (1987): 18, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41053454>.

expression. The duration of these individual films varied in length and content, each lasting no longer than a minute or two in length. In silence, an audience might simply observe expressions of American pride, and the classic plot of conflict and victory. But behind the images on screen are powerful symbolisms that express American patriotism and ambitions beyond its continental borders. In essence, these films held the potential of projecting American expansionist propaganda that intentionally eschewed a complex history tangled in politics, conflicting ideologies, discrimination, and colonization.

According to Edward Bernays, the modern definition of propaganda is the “consistent, enduring effort to create or shape events to influence the relations of the public to an enterprise, idea, or group.”<sup>2</sup> The etymology of the word propaganda traces back to its latin origins as a horticultural term, *propagare*, which means to set a shoot or twig for planting or grafting.<sup>3</sup> This intention to grow an offshoot, and therefore spread out (i.e., propagate) makes the propagandist agent like a vigilant and unyielding farmer tending their crop: The agent pays attention to climate conditions of their seedlings environment, utilizes all necessary tools to stimulate a targeted response, and guards against any interference or invasive element that could stifle the fruits of their labor. According to Jacques Ellul, the resulting propaganda then surrounds individuals by every route, penetrates their personal and private lives, and takes over everything to serve its purpose.<sup>4</sup> The Institute of Propaganda Analysis (IPA), an organization established in 1937 and

---

<sup>2</sup> Bernays, *Propaganda* (Brooklyn, Ig Publishing, 2005), 34.

<sup>3</sup>Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. “Propagate,” accessed November 29, 2023, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/propagate>.

<sup>4</sup>Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formations of Men's Attitudes* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965).

dedicated to the study of propaganda and public opinion, declared that “we all know something of the devices propagandists use, their appeals to our sentiments and to our emotions.”<sup>5</sup> Through the device of cinema, propagandists may use the constant stream of visual imagery to penetrate and stimulate a person’s psyche and emotional appeals, thus bypassing any cognitive barriers that allow room for critical analysis, understanding, and reflection.

Media historians frequently cite the production of propaganda films during the first and second World Wars as some of the earliest and clearest examples of collaboration between centers of power and cinematic producers. This study investigates films predating this era. The intent is to advance the current scholarship about the historical period when photography transformed from still frames into moving pictures, and to understand how such art communicated and shaped American perceptions of war and overseas dominion. When American audiences’ interest in films waned after 1896, films about the Spanish-American war arguably helped revive and propel cinema from a mere novelty into a thriving and competitive industry. From the northeast to western United States, war films (i.e., wargraphs) not only meant good business for film exhibitors and venue owners alike, but also served as a potent tool of communication for American propagandists.<sup>6</sup> This study investigates how cinemas in the late 19th to early 20th century depicted events of the Philippine-American war. First, this study investigates the background of film productions for the Philippine-American War, identifies the respective directors and producers of these films, and explores through related peripheral

---

<sup>5</sup>Institute for Propaganda Analysis, *The Fine Art of Propaganda*, ed. Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939), xiii.

<sup>6</sup>James Labosier, “From the Kinetoscope to the Nickelodeon: Motion Picture Presentation and Production in Portland, Oregon from 1894 to 1906,” *Film History: An International Journal* 16, no. 3 (2004): 286–323, <https://doi.org/10.2979/fil.2004.16.3.286>.

information that may further contextualize these films. Second, this study analyzes the content of these films' depictions of the Philippine-American War, their use of cinematic techniques, and interprets the meanings behind what these films displayed.

At first glance, observers may infer these films were part of an organized political propaganda network intent on garnering public participation and support for America's war in a foreign land. America's early cinema became a source of amusement and wonder, and an effective means of reaching a mass audience fascinated about a world beyond their own. Studies by Adkins and Castle find evidence that popular films possess the capability of changing attitudes on political issues.<sup>7</sup> These early films thus had the potential to shape audience perceptions about American justifications for military action, territorial expansion, and exceptionalism from other international histories and norms. By examining the significance of these war films' historical context, and analyzing their cinematic content and technique within the context of studying propaganda, this study reveals the mechanisms that worked to provoke American sentiment and belief in a war proclaimed as Benevolent Assimilation.

---

<sup>7</sup>Todd Adkins and Jeremiah J. Castle, "Moving Pictures? Experimental Evidence of Cinematic Influence on Political Attitudes," *Social Science Quarterly* 95, no. 5 (2014): 1242, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12070>.

## CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1: History of Moving Images

The late half of the 19th century was a period of innovation and technology that enabled people to communicate over long distances and greater detail. Within this period of growing invention and industry, the American cinema established its roots in American culture and consciousness. Cinema of the 1890s and early 1900s were called “animated photographs,” “moving pictures,” and also “life-model motion pictures.”<sup>8</sup> Film studios experienced various challenges to propel cinema’s gradual development into mainstream popularity before the 20th century. Though the technology advanced a new way for audiences to engage media, its growth and engrainment into American society was not surprising. Film historian Charles Musser makes a distinction between the perceived invention of cinema and its actual roots in past traditions: What people recognized as movies and flicks of the late 19th century were neither born nor new, but rather a part of an ongoing tradition that stemmed from earlier European screen practices. According to Musser, cinema did necessarily “emerge out of the chaos” as a new artform inspired by the technological accomplishments of the era, but rather “it is part of a much longer, dynamic tradition, one that has undergone repeated transformations in its practice while becoming increasingly central within a changing cultural system.”<sup>9</sup>

What appeared “magical” was actually a set of technical processes that produced the appearance of a moving image. This gradual demystification helped open new possibilities for

---

<sup>8</sup>Charles Musser, *The Emergence of the Cinema: The American Screen to 1907*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1990).

<sup>9</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 17.

projecting moving images. Musser cites German-born Jesuit priest and scientist Athanasius Kircher for envisioning “the combination of words and images, the use of color and movement, the possibility of narrative, and the special relationship between theater and the screen.”<sup>10</sup> This “magical” element, along with Kircher's foresight of what “moving pictures” could become and behold, would become apparent in film productions of later the 20th century. Although Kircher laid bare the possibilities of cinema, propagandists of the 1890s did not necessarily appear to realize the full potential of cinema to influence the American public. At least not yet.

In the centuries following Kircher, various exhibitors and later cinematographers developed their own projection and moving image techniques. One such innovator was American inventor Thomas Alva Edison. Establishing himself as “the businessman’s inventor,” Edison saw the commercial potential of moving pictures based on the success of his “nickel-in-the-slot” audio playback machines.<sup>11</sup> Inspired by Edward Muybridge’s “zoopraxiscope,” a device that presented moving pictures by projecting successive images on rotating discs, Edison collaborated with his associates and developed his own viewing device. Dubbed the Kinetoscope, derived from the greek *kineto* (movement) and *scopos* (to watch), Edison’s device used strips of film shown in sequence through a peephole viewing eyepiece. To record these motion-images, Edison developed a separate device called the Kinetograph. Edison’s moving picture project lasted from 1888 until 1891, when the first moving images were displayed at a Women’s Club convention. To further stimulate audiences, Edison and his associates attempted to combine sound and image by inventing the Kinetophone, another

---

<sup>10</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 20.

<sup>11</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 55.

peephole view machine that played simultaneous phonographic audio recordings as viewers watched the motion pictures.<sup>12</sup> As Edison's workshop continued to innovate and develop audio and visual technologies, Edison's leveraged his company's business to seize opportunities to capitalize on cinema's novelty. Edison ventured into commercializing his motion pictures through dedicated kinetoscope parlors and by leasing his invention and films to exhibitors. Edison's company enjoyed some success, but the Kinetoscope's novelty and popularity soon waned amongst the American public.

In order to sustain the public's attendance and attention, the manner of delivering motion images needed to change. An evident limitation of Edison's peephole machine was the number of people able to view a film at a given moment, a possible factor to its declined popularity. To increase film viewership, exhibitors needed a broader media platform in order to display their moving images on a wider scale. The one person credited with accomplishing this task was William Kennedy Laurie Dickson. Under Edison's employment, Dickson helped in developing the 35mm film and also contributed to the development of film projectors to showcase moving pictures to a wider audience.<sup>13</sup> Dickson later departed from Edison's employment in 1895, arguably due to some disgruntlement with being restricted to Edison's lab. By this time, Edison's business faced rising competition from other film companies. To attract new audiences, rivals focused their films on "actualities," early documentary style films that recorded projected moving images of outdoor scenes, dances, moving trains, and other aspects of modern life. One such competitor, the American Mutoscope Company (i.e., Biograph), found its success by

---

<sup>12</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 87.

<sup>13</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 145–46.

increasing the rate of production for its films and capitalizing on the popular genre of “acted” films. Dickson later worked on Biograph’s actualities in far off locations such as South Africa. Although the film competition arguably inspired the cinema industry to grow and create new filming techniques and styles, Edison perceived other film companies as “the work of upstarts who were pirating his invention.”<sup>14</sup> As film industry leaders fought amongst themselves for film distribution rights and audiences’ attention, American expansionists sought to further the United State’s influence abroad through economic advancement and military power. And as American expansionists prophesied an impending war for liberty to an American public, the late 19th century film industry was eager to exploit it.

## **2.2: Justification for War and Expansion**

In order to understand the ideologies and propaganda of the Philippine-American War, it is important to understand the contexts behind them. The Philippine-American War is deeply rooted in two distinct histories: The rise of American idealists who desired to broaden U.S. power upon the world, and the Filipino Revolution against Spanish colonialism. The history of conflict between Filipino revolutionaries and American expansionists (i.e., imperialist) begins where these two histories intersect: The Spanish-American War of 1898. Years of conflict and claims on the U.S. western frontier inspired expansionists to focus beyond the North American continent. According to historian Susan Brewer, expansionists envisioned an America with

---

<sup>14</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 89, 236, 264.

expanded influence into Central America, increased naval power to protect its trade interests, and establishing bases in the Caribbean and the Pacific.<sup>15</sup>

American exceptionalism, nationalism, manifest destiny, and racial superiority, all arguably served as the driving ideologies behind this attempt to exercise and project America's image as an international power. American exceptionalism may be summarized as the belief in America's incomparability from the rest of the world because of its history, democratic values, powers of military and economy, and implicit mission to advance civilization. To summarize French political analyst and philosopher, Alexis de Tocqueville, such distinction is what makes America "exceptional" from the rest of the old world.<sup>16</sup> American nationalism may be interpreted as a sense of patriotic devotion and unity, while also maintaining national identity by the exclusion of others. This "nationalism of exclusion," according to Varshney, occurs when the dominant group in power imposes its values while excluding, "sometimes violently," other ethnicities from participation.<sup>17</sup> The ideology of American manifest destiny asserts it is America's mission, preordained by divine providence, to expand America's territory, democracy, and economic strength across the earth. Though news editor John L. O'Sullivan originally wrote the phrase in context of America's dominion of Texas and Oregon, such sentiments carried over

---

<sup>15</sup>Susan A. Brewer, *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq*, 1st ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>16</sup>Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Harvey C Mansfield and Debra Winthrop (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 430.

<sup>17</sup>Ashutosh Varshney, "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality," *Perspective on Politics* 1, no. 1 (2003): 86, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1537592703000069>.

into justifications of American expansion overseas.<sup>18</sup> The ideology of racial superiority, predicated upon the notion that white skinned people were morally good, civilized, and virtuous, motivated those aligned with American expansionists to perceive other non-white peoples as inferior, savage, and in need of “the guidance of a big brother or great white father.”<sup>19</sup> The sum of these ideologies formed the basis of American expansionists’ narrative to justify the occupation of the Philippines archipelago. This was the way of things, and any efforts to undermine the axiom of American preeminence justified stern pacification through attrition.

Authorities within the United States government rooted their arguments for war in ideologies supporting expansionist goals, and used propaganda techniques to communicate justifications for the United States’ military occupation of the Philippine archipelago. To counter efforts by expansionist propagandists, anti-imperialists sought to educate the American public about the ills of expansionism and openly criticized U.S. ambitions for empire. American novelist Mark Twain, a known critic of American expansionism and occupation of the Philippines, called the U.S. actions a reflection of two Americas: One that acts as a liberator, and a second that steals, oppresses, and kills without moral conscience or justification.<sup>20</sup>

One important aspect that expansionists sought to avoid was the public perception of Americans acting as conquerors. Rather than contradict America’s constitutional values of independence and liberty, according to historian Susan A. Brewer, expansionists were more

---

<sup>18</sup>Julius W. Pratt, “The Origin of ‘Manifest Destiny,’” *American Historical Review* 32, no. 4 (1927): 795, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1837859>.

<sup>19</sup>Brewer, *Why*, 17.

<sup>20</sup>Mark Twain, “To the Person Sitting in Darkness,” *North American Review* 172, no. 531 (1901): 170, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25105120>.

interested in “indirect imperialism - informal dominance through economic power - than direct imperialism, which entailed hands-on governance.”<sup>21</sup> In order to justify the commitment of America’s military to the other side of the world, the public would need an understandable and relatable message why America needed to be involved.<sup>22</sup> Expansion for the reason of economic prosperity would not hold enough persuasive power to sway the public’s opinion. To convince the American public about their cause, expansionists masked economic and military reasons by using the familiar principle of “liberty.” After centuries of Spanish rule, rebels in Cuba bitterly fought for their own independence. Americans who sympathized with the Cuban people saw parallels with their own national history and struggle and liberty. To protect American lives and property in Cuba, the United States government sent the battleship USS Maine into Havana Harbor. While harbored in Cuba, the USS Maine exploded on February 15, 1898. United States Navy investigations later concluded the ship most likely exploded due to an internal fuel system fire, but facts meant little in comparison to the fervor surrounding the explosion.

The event stirred public reactions blaming Spain for the USS Maine’s destruction. Sensationalist yellow journalism of the late 19th century, and later President William McKinley, fed the public’s impression that Spain was ultimately responsible, leaving no other choice but to advance America’s military into a fight. Attitudes about America’s great moral imperative, and the perception of the inevitable choice to fight, served as justifications for America’s cause for “liberty” and civilizing peoples across oceans and into the Philippines.

---

<sup>21</sup>Brewer, *Why*, 17.

<sup>22</sup>Thomas C. Sorenson, “We Become Propagandists,” in *Readings in Propaganda and Persuasion : New and Classic Essays*, ed. Garth S. Jowett, trans. Victoria O'Donnell (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006), 86.

### 2.3: Benevolence and War

America's war with Spain (which only lasted a short four months) helped advance American expansionists' agenda in establishing the nation's influence overseas. As Roosevelt's Rough Riders and America's Buffalo Soldiers fought in Cuba, American ships and troops fought against Spanish soldiers in the Philippines. Named after King Philip II of Spain, the people of the Philippines were already in the throes of revolution for independence after more than 300 years of Spanish rule. With America at war against Spain, an American victory presumably meant Filipinos' achievement for independence. The signing of the 1898 Treaty of Paris officially marked America's victory and end of the Spanish-American War, but revealed a new political reality for Filipinos. According to the treaty, Spain ceded all political, military, and civic control of the Philippines to the United States, thus making the American government the presiding authority over the archipelago. The exclusion of a Filipino delegation from the treaty signing sparked resentment by Filipino nationalists. After receiving assistance by the United States military to drive off Spanish authority from their lands, nationalists looked upon their former American counterparts as intruders. Leader and prominent Filipino nationalist, Emilio Aguinaldo, described his reactions through a written manifesto to the Philippines public:

And thus all of you have to understand, in order that all may unite in bonds that cannot be loosened as are the ideals of our absolute liberty and independence, that have been our noble aspirations, help to obtain the desired end, with the strength that gives conviction...and not to turn back in the path of glory that we have gone over.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup>“Suplemento A El Heraldo de la Revolución” by Emilio Aguinaldo, written in Spanish, English translator unknown, 5 January, 1899, Philippine Revolutionary Papers, 1898-1900, eVols, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI. <http://hdl.handle.net/10524/49144>.

Although Aguinaldo's calls for "absolute liberty and independence" appeared to echo with American sentiments of freedom, the exclusion of a Filipino delegation from the 1898 Treaty of Paris implies the potential influence of other ideologies behind American expansionist actions. The idea of "The White Man's Burden," which purported Americans' obligations to colonize and civilize the "sullen" peoples, agreed with the attitudes and actions of prominent U.S. authorities, suggesting that American desires for imperialism were inseparable from racist sentiment.<sup>24</sup>

American expansionists soon declared their intentions after the Spanish-American war. President William McKinley sent a proclamation on December 21, 1898, to his Secretary of War, and outlined the United States' plans for the Philippines. To justify occupation of this foreign territory overseas, McKinley put forth a statement that shaped expansionist ideologies into a proclamation of Benevolent Assimilation. The document outlined America's expected role as the prevailing authority over the Philippines inhabitants, and that the presence of the United States military was not an invading nor conquering force, but rather as the Filipino people's lawful protectors. Those who opposed American authority would be brought under rule with "firmness" if required. What followed was a series of events that led to the deaths of thousands, the vast majority of whom were Filipinos. Anti-Imperialist literature described the absorption of the Philippines under American rule as a gross departure from America's founding principles, and further indicated that "Imperialism cancels the Constitution and takes the life of popular government: the very ends that plutocracy aims for."<sup>25</sup> Perceptions of American occupation were

---

<sup>24</sup>Patrick Brantlinger, "Kipling's 'The White Man's Burden' and its Afterlives," *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920* 50, no. 2 (2007): 177, <https://doi.org/10.2487/r7g5-jr21-m041-0112>.

<sup>25</sup>Morrison Isaac Swift, *Expansion for the Sake of God, Love and Civilization* (Los Angeles: The Ronbroke press, 1900), 1.

also familiar in other Americanized territories such as the annexed Republic of Hawai'i. In an article published in *Austin's Hawaiian Weekly*, one contributing writer commented that "the American public will soon discover that the cost of holding the Philippines is out of all proportion to the possible benefits to be received."<sup>26</sup>

American expansionists who favored U.S. intervention expressed no confidence in Filipinos capacity for self-governance, and suggested that any transference of authority to Filipinos would lead to bloody anarchy. America's presence prevented such chaos. The perception that Filipinos were incapable, or had no comprehension, of having a liberal independent society highlighted the prejudices of the time. U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt, articulated these sentiments in his speech about America's justification for intervention:

The institutions of a free republic cannot at a leap be transplanted into wholly alien soil among a people who have not the slightest conception of liberty and self-government as we use those words. You might as well try to transplant a full grown oak into alien soil.<sup>27</sup>

Such sentiments echoed in the United States Senate as well. Senator Albert J Beveridge, a staunch supporter of America's dominion overseas, espoused that Americans "are trustees of the world's progress, guardians of its righteous peace."<sup>28</sup> What followed though were three years of war and alleged atrocities between American forces and Filipino nationalists resulting in

---

<sup>26</sup>"Progress of the Pacific, the English Perspective," *Austin's Hawaiian Weekly*, September 23, 1899, 1, <http://hdl.handle.net/10524/5127>.

<sup>27</sup>Theodore Roosevelt, "Free Silver, Trusts, and the Philippines," transcript of speech delivered at Grand Rapids, MI, September 7, 1900, <https://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/theodore-roosevelt-free-silver-trusts-and-the-philippines-speech-text/>.

<sup>28</sup>Senator Thurmond, speaking on Policy Regarding the Philippines, on January 8, 1900, 56th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 711, pt. 1:704. <https://www.congress.gov/bound-congressional-record/1900/01/08>.

estimated deaths of over 4,200 American and 20,000 Filipino combatants.<sup>29</sup> After a string of American military successes and eventual surrender by Filipino nationals, President Roosevelt announced the official conclusion of the Filipino insurrection on Friday, July 4, 1902. Such a declaration may arguably be deemed premature since fighting continued on in the southern Philippines, and did not conclude for almost a decade until around 1913.

The war left an indelible mark upon the local population in the Philippines. By the war's end, an estimated 200,000 civilians died as a direct or indirect result of the conflict.<sup>30</sup> Arguments persist about whether American military might or Filipino revolutionaries' failures led up to the resulting success of American expansionism in the Philippines. Military historian Brian Linn concludes that poor leadership, military errors, and internal weaknesses contributed to the ultimate downfall of the Filipino revolutionary movement.<sup>31</sup> Whether or not the number of non-combatant deaths are accurate, or some combination of American military tactics and revolutionary ineptness determined the war's outcome, the absolute presence of U.S forces amongst the indigenous population changed the social atmosphere and culture of the country.

Due to the United States annexation of the Philippines, Filipinos had permission to receive status as American Nationals, thus allowing them to bypass many of the immigration restrictions that prohibited other Asian peoples from entering the United States.<sup>32</sup> Those who

---

<sup>29</sup>United States Department of State, "The Philippine-American War, 1899–1902," Office of the Historian, Foreign Service Institute, accessed April 6, 2023, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1899-1913/war>.

<sup>30</sup>United States Department of State, "Philippine-American War."

<sup>31</sup>Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 323–24.

<sup>32</sup>Rick Baldoz, "Valorizing Racial Boundaries: Hegemony and Conflict in the Racialization of Filipino Migrant Labour in the United States," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27, no. 6 (2004): 972, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987042000268558>.

arrived to work as laborers on plantations, such as those in the annexed territory of Hawai'i, were required to show "fidelity and reasonable industry," and those who did not meet these expectations were promptly removed and left to fend for themselves.<sup>33</sup> After decades of occupation and educating Filipinos about American culture and power, the United States government granted the Philippines their independence in 1946. While the events of America's occupation of the Philippines remain a distant memory, the messages of U.S. expansionist propaganda continue to echo in modern U.S. foreign policies regarding interventionism and unilateral action.<sup>34</sup> But perhaps the most lasting legacies are the burdens of internalized oppression and colonial mentality that generations of Filipino-Americans continue to struggle and cope with.<sup>35</sup> Though such burdens are arguably more attributed to a history of Spanish occupation, America's territorial history left undeniable and lasting imprints upon later generations of Filipino nationals and Filipino-Americans.

#### **2.4: Early Uses of Propaganda**

To reach and influence public perceptions, politicians, military leaders, and expansionists, used newspaper media to embed its message and ideals into the American public's

---

<sup>33</sup>"Report on Hawaiian Sugar Plantations and Filipino Labor" by Robert A. Duckworth-Ford, November 4, 1926, Philippine Studies Works of Interest, eVols, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI. <http://hdl.handle.net/10524/12222> .

<sup>34</sup>Max Paul Friedman, "From Manila to Baghdad:," *Revue Française D Etudes Américaines* 113, no. 3 (2007): 26, <https://doi.org/10.3917/rfea.113.0026>.

<sup>35</sup>E. J. R. David and Sumie Okazaki, "Colonial Mentality: A Review and Recommendation for Filipino American Psychology.," *Cultural Diversity And Ethnic Minority Psychology* 12, no. 1 (2006): 1-16, <https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.12.1.1>.

consciousness. Brewer credits the McKinley administration for “mastering” communication technologies of the era, stating that President “McKinley paid special attention to the representatives of the wire services, the news agencies that sent syndicated stories by telegraph to subscribing newspapers across the country.”<sup>36</sup> McKinley’s staff were also observant of news reporter’s deadlines and issued press releases just before news distributions. Military leaders also saw the value of managing press releases. General Elwell S. Otis, a veteran of previous wars and who would later become Governor-General in the Philippines, understood the information war needed to be won at home. He would personally issue daily press releases that exaggerated military successes and either covered up or changed stories that were unfavorable. This selective dissemination of the truth and information displayed what Sorensen describes as an intent to persuade the target public’s perceptions for the purposes of the American cause.<sup>37</sup>

The assumed effectiveness of newspapers fostered a kind of mythology about the media and the powers that ran them. Among such influential authorities was newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst, whose life inspired the 1941 film *Citizen Kane*. Hearst is often attributed with stoking the American public's passion for war through yellow-journalism, a form of sensationalizing stories in the news. One popular story about Hearst describes his correspondence with one Frederic S. Remington, an artist in Havana. In a telegram, the story goes, Hearst tells Remington to “stay” in Havana: “You furnish the pictures, and I’ll furnish the War.” However, research by W. Joseph Campbell finds this anecdote as misleading, that the “evidence is so persuasive that the purported exchange did not take place, the anecdote deserves

---

<sup>36</sup>Brewer, *Why*, 15.

<sup>37</sup>Sorensen, “We Become,” 87.

relegation to the closet of historical imprecision—at least until proven otherwise.”<sup>38</sup> Despite Campbell’s efforts to dispel the Hearst story as myth, the story continues to circulate in academic circles as an illustration of American propaganda through news media.

While newspaper journalists and editors filled their columns with stories about Spanish atrocities, film makers of the time saw an opportunity to capitalize on the moment. Musser argues that it was not necessarily the newspapers that grasped the consciousness of the public; The American cinema encouraged people to be engaged. Musser explains, while “Hearst and other newspaper editors sought to fan American outrage over the Maine, reading their inflamed rhetoric remained a private act... It was in the theater that readers’ emotions found public expression.”<sup>39</sup> Cinema historian Jean-Pierre Sirois-Trahan further comments on the relationship between the American cinema and American expansionists:

Many figures in the American film industry, without exception of European descent, reflected or helped create the New Imperialist ideology then in effect, whether because the actuality views they produced were a means of conveying official propaganda or because viewers were seeing for the first time images of the colonies and the military might of their own country (and that of other countries—a frightening prospect).<sup>40</sup>

Aside from the cinema’s ability to elicit a sense of participation from audience members, there is also the characteristic of early cinema’s accessibility to the American public. In 1896, the Vitascope projector was only available in one theater, but within one year, hundreds were using

---

<sup>38</sup>W. Joseph Campbell, “Not Likely Sent: The Remington-Hearst “Telegrams,” *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 77, no. 2 (2000): 415, <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769900007700212>.

<sup>39</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 241.

<sup>40</sup>Jean-Pierre Sirois-Trahan, “Movies, New Imperialism, and the New Century,” in *American Cinema 1890-1909 : Themes And Variations*, ed. Andre Gaudreault, 1st ed. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2020), 92, <https://doi.org/10.36019/9780813546445-007>.

projectors across the country, including the first in Hawai'i in 1897.<sup>41</sup> The American film companies' ability to reach audiences in their neighborhoods and cities bears some similarities with the traveling Agitprop theater troops, stimulating audiences and people's consciousness by performing where they resided.<sup>42</sup> This injection into society allowed filmmakers to communicate their stories to larger audiences and foster its appeal into public consciousness. Apart from contrasting perspectives on social politics and capital, film companies like Edison's found opportunities to showcase their projections in a variety of public venues such as vaudevilles, traveling theaters, music halls, storefronts, and various kinoscope and phonograph parlors. This reach allowed propagandist ideologies to spread through a variety of venues that people were familiar with.

### **2.5: Contemporary Forms of Propaganda: Britain and Japan**

The technology of the moving-image camera gained popularity beyond America. As the world's empires sought to extend their reach across the world, cameras were present to capture their moments of conflict. And as audiences became interested in images of war, empires such as Britain and Japan recognized how such imagery could be used to support their respective policies and ideologies.

War films produced during the Second Boer War of 1899-1902 expressed notions of dominance and esteem for the sake of the British Empire. The British Empire, motivated by

---

<sup>41</sup>Musser, *Emergence*.

<sup>42</sup>Hassan Tehranchian, "Agitprop Theatre: Germany and the Soviet Union" (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/agitprop-theatre-germany-soviet-union/docview/303249687/se-2>.

ambitions of imperialism and collection of resources in South Africa, fought against the dutch-speaking republics of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, otherwise known as the “Boer” (i.e., dutch word for farmer) republics.<sup>43</sup> The Second Boer War in South Africa (i.e., Anglo-Boer War) was a conflict that sought to transform the English-speaking empire into a more consolidated and cohesive unit against other rival powers.<sup>44</sup>

Proponents of British imperialism sought to reinforce and support imperial ideology through various forms of propaganda such as public speakers, meetings, the British press, pamphlets, and especially political interest groups (i.e., pressure groups). These interest groups performed a collaborative role with the British government, persuading the public with messages about racial superiority, shared language with South Africa’s english-speaking loyalists, and elevated the British people while demeaning the character of Boer republics’ people. By delegating propaganda to quasi-independent and patriotic organizations, the British government was able to keep the calculating work of public persuasion at length while maintaining an image strength and prestige.<sup>45</sup> The use of photographic images and moving pictures allowed the British to capture the reality of war, but also allowed propagandists the ability to limit perspectives in favor of the British. The use of lightweight cameras allowed photographers to capture images from all sides, while cinema cameras allowed camera operators the movement of British troops.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup>Nicholas J. Cull, David Culbert, and David Welch, “Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902),” in *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2003) 12-13.

<sup>44</sup>Andrew Thompson, “Imperial Propaganda During the South African War,” in *Writing a Wider War: Rethinking Gender, Race, and Identity in the South African War, 1899–1902*, ed. Greg Cuthbertson, Albert Grundlingh, and Mary-Lyn Suttie, 1st ed. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002), 303.

<sup>45</sup>Thompson, “Imperial,” 307–21.

<sup>46</sup>Cull, Culbert, and Welch, “Anglo,” 12-13

Biograph's English sister company sent its own cinematographer and founder, William Kennedy-Laurie Dickson, directly to South Africa to film the Boer War.<sup>47</sup> Dickson's former employment with industry rival Edison Film Company, along with his expertise in the invention and use of the cinema camera, made him an invaluable asset to American Mutoscope and Biograph Company. But his involvement in producing British promotion films highlighted a greater significance; As the film industry continued to develop and rise with the times, so did its value as a tool for propaganda purposes.

As the British government sought to exert its power and influence upon South Africa, Japan sought to establish itself as the dominating imperial power in East Asia. After 250 years of isolation and military rule, social upheaval and reforms transformed the country to becoming an open and westernized society. This new era from 1868-1912 observed the formation of a new democratic form of government and the placement of the Japanese Emperor as the head of Japanese society. To promote and bolster support for the new government, officials employed the use of public figures such as entertainers, teachers, and clergy.<sup>48</sup>

Japan's later conflicts with China and Russia saw the evolution of Japanese propaganda from the use of traditional art forms to the implementation of new technologies brought over from the West. The first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 was a conflict between Imperial Japan and the Chinese Qing Dynasty over the dominance of the eastern asian region. During the conflict, the Japanese army would be accompanied by members of the Japanese press while also allowing artists and photographers to produce and contribute to the large-scale production of war

---

<sup>47</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 264.

<sup>48</sup> Nicholas J. Cull, David Culbert, and David Welch, "Japan," in *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2003), 201-204.

images.<sup>49</sup> The creation and use of Japanese woodblock prints (i.e., *nishiki-e*) helped in promoting traditional art forms while also feeding into the production and mass dissemination of visual propaganda. Despite its cultural significance, its usefulness and appeal was short-lived. After Japan's victory over the Qing Dynasty, *nishiki-e* soon lost its popularity among the public.

The subsequent Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 was a fight between Japan and Russia over dominance of Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula. Films about the war were produced by Japanese film studios as well as American film companies. During this time, motion pictures' growing popularity saw businesses shift their sales from woodblock prints to pictorial magazines and motion pictures.<sup>50</sup> Japan's growing affinity and demand for western culture and technology benefited American film companies who helped supply images of American establishments.<sup>51</sup> The Japanese government used film companies to produce material that would effectively bring mass support for the war.<sup>52</sup> This utilization comes about due to a realization that "propaganda must voice this reality."<sup>53</sup> Despite Japan's declaration of success in the end, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 financially strained the country's economy and left Japan's citizens with an empty feeling of victory, thus disrupting any sense of national pride.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup>Toshihiko Kishi, "Multinational Perspectives of Visualized Journalism on the Sino-Japanese War," in *Fanning the Flames: Propaganda In Modern Japan*, ed. Kaoru Ueda (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2021), 44.

<sup>50</sup>Kishi, "Multinational," 85.

<sup>51</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 1:360.

<sup>52</sup>Cull, Culbert, and Welch, "Japan," 201-204.

<sup>53</sup>Ellul, *Propaganda*, 40.

<sup>54</sup>Toshihiko Kishi, "Visual Media Trends During the Russo-Japanese War Period," in *Fanning the Flames: Propaganda in Modern Japan*, ed. Kaoru Ueda (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2021), 89.

## 2.6: Current Scholarship and Potential Sources

Even though the Philippine-American War lacks any ascribed prominence in public discourse about American foreign policy, and even less discussion about its direct relation to Filipino-American history and culture, a number of academic scholars and students refuse to let it go as the “forgotten war.” A number of scholars have contributed to studies about mass media’s depiction of the Philippine-American War and its relation to America’s economic expansion into Asia. The current literature provides significant details about the historical background of the era as well as some interpretation of these war films.

Capino encourages us to look at these turn-of-the-century war films as proto-documentaries that reference the historical world.<sup>55</sup> By understanding these war films within their historical context, a richer narrative may arise and thus provide more insightful interpretations and discourses about the meaning of such films. Studies about these war films also provide a great amount of analysis and insight about the filmmakers use of camera technique as well as their presumed effect upon the audience. Capino further comments how these war films allowed audiences to experience nationalism in a completely novel way by envisioning it through the medium of moving images.<sup>56</sup>

Research by del Mundo looks at how American perceptions of Filipinos manifested through different cultural practices such as cinema, stage plays, song, and mass exhibition, and how such manifestations emphasized American superiority over the inferiority of the savage

---

<sup>55</sup>Jose Bernard Tagle Capino, “Cinema and the Spectacle of Colonialism: American Documentary Film and (Post) Colonial Philippines, 1898–1989” (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2002), 42, <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/cinema-spectacle-colonialism-american-documentary/docview/305584798/se-2>.

<sup>56</sup>Capino, “Cinema,” 55.

“other.”<sup>57</sup> The study also provides an exhaustive and invaluable listing of original source material for analysis and scholarship, as well as summarizing their content and providing their historical and ideological significance. Such listings and descriptions are not only a helpful map for researchers searching for a place to start, but also a good place to seek out avenues left unexplored, and potentially identify new material yet to be cited or discovered.

Deocampo takes another approach by delving into the relationship between the American cinema at the turn of the 20th century and United States imperialism by analyzing representations of war, Americans, and Filipinos in film.<sup>58</sup> The study provides an analysis of how film was used as a tool of conquest, its ability to fan emotions of American sensibilities, and how the films were produced and “sold” to the American public. The study also indicates the usefulness of researching film catalogs as source material; Catalogs not only helped theaters develop their programs, promote shows, and supplied information to be recited during a film, but also reflected how “American film studios regarded Filipinos as their new colonial vassals.”<sup>59</sup>

Brody explores how the creation of an Orientalist narrative within American culture helped support American prerogatives of occupation and empire. Research surveyed a wide array of printed material such as newspapers and periodicals from the era. Repeated themes throughout the surveyed material are descriptions of Filipino natives as savages, vengeful, and naturally

---

<sup>57</sup>Clodualdo A. del Mundo, “Native Resistance: Philippine Cinema and Colonialism, 1898-1941” (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1994), 57, <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/native-resistance-philippine-cinema-colonialism/docview/304105960/se-2..>

<sup>58</sup>Nick Deocampo, “Cinema and Colonization: American Colonization and the Rise of Cinema in the Philippines,” *Comparative American Studies* 5, no. 2 (2007): 169, <https://doi.org/10.1179/147757007x204420>.

<sup>59</sup>Deocampo, “Cinema,” 160.

barbaric nature due to their Filipino blood.<sup>60</sup> Brody summarizes how, “the American media, controlled by individuals such as Hearst and Pulitzer, helped ‘sell’ the culture of imperialism,” an action similar to the motivations of early 20th century film companies that produced war films of the Filipino-American War.<sup>61</sup>

Of the researchers mentioned above, Bottomore provides a more extensive and detailed study of how these war films “constituted a disturbingly persuasive visual case for America’s first, much criticized, imperialist adventure.”<sup>62</sup> The study provides a deep analysis about the Philippine-American War films, their producers, and how the military bureaucracy controlled information from the Philippines to the U.S. The study focuses upon three specific cameramen who were in the Philippines during the war. Bottomore finds that all three employed camera techniques that captured and boosted the image of the United States military, and that the absence of critical voices and perspectives allowed the American military to shape the argument for occupation in their favor.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup>David Eric Brody, “Fantasy Realized: The Philippines, Orientalism, and Imperialism in Turn-of-the-Century American Visual Culture” (PhD diss., Boston University, 1997), 78, <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/fantasy-realized-philippines-orientalism/docview/304357769/se-2>.

<sup>61</sup>Brody, “Fantasy,” 14.

<sup>62</sup>Stephen Bottomore, “The Philippine War (1899-1902): Moving Pictures for the American Military,” In *Filming, Faking and Propaganda: The Origins of the War Film, 1897-1902* (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2007), 1, <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/22650>.

<sup>63</sup>Bottomore, “The Philippine War,” 40.

### CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Each literature I have previously cited provides an extensive amount of information and commentary that has been gathered and analyzed, but there is arguably little discussion about the nature of relationships between the agencies of American expansionist propaganda and the production of the war films produced during this era. There is also little mention about particular propaganda techniques these films used (or underutilized) to espouse American expansionist ideology. There is no question that each war films' evocative imagery and meanings had the potential to connect with their audiences' sense of duty and fidelity to American ideals. Yet there are still questions about the specific purpose of these war films and the aims they served. Aside from bolstering a strong sense of nationalism that may or may not have existed, were these films meant as a response to growing criticism, or were they intended to inspire citizens to heed the call to enlist in the military and defend the interests of their country and constitution?

There also appears to be a natural logic that the war films' use of American patriotic imagery, historical background, and alignment with expansionist ideology qualifies these war films as propaganda. Unfortunately, there is no further exploration beyond historical interpretation and film analysis. Yet there is also little reference to existing scholarship studying the nature of propaganda by academic scholars such as Ellul, Sorenson, Bernays, Jewett and O'Donnell, and Sproule. Aside from research by Bottomore, there is little mention and analysis of significant cinematic techniques that are apparent in these war films, nor extensive commentary about backgrounds and biases of the film producers themselves.

Certainly, there is much more meaning and significance that arises when approaching these films within the framework of studying propaganda. Rather than using the label of

propaganda as a pejorative term to denote an attempt to assert power and influence upon an audience, studies must have necessary and sufficient evidence to support such an assertion; Propaganda is meant to provoke action, make the individual “cling irrationally to a process of action,” to “loosen the reflexes,” and to “arose an active and mythical belief.”<sup>64</sup> Within this perspective, researchers enrich not only the cinematic and historical significance of these films but also the historical and social context they reside in. Not only must researchers understand the purpose these films served, but also concurrently identify those whom these films served. Additionally, it is important to understand the audience whom these films were specifically intended for and shown. Any argument that stresses these films were intended for ‘American audiences’ must go beyond such generalities and make its way into the streets, theaters, neighborhoods, and residences where the audience lived. In accordance with my arguments for this study, this study explores the following questions:

RQ 1: What is the relationship between the American imperialist propagandists in America and the burgeoning cinema industry during the late 19th to early 20th century? In other words, how did imperialist propaganda influence the “moving picture” producers and their films?

RQ 2.1a: Who were the producers of American war films portraying the U.S. occupation of the Philippines?

RQ. 2.1b: What forces compelled or inspired them to produce these films?

RQ 2.2: How do the war films portraying U.S. occupation of the Philippines communicate expansionist ideologies?

---

<sup>64</sup>Ellul, *Propaganda*, 26.

### 3.1: Definition of Key Terms

The term war films will be used as reference to the specific genre of films that focuses upon military forces, their actions, and depictions of the environment and results of combat. Such films may contain strong displays of iconography. Scenes of combat are displayed either on a grand or small scale, and frequently contain elements such as a target to be obtained or reached, heroic servicemen with whom audiences identify with, emphasis on camaraderie, and an enemy that is absent except as an impersonal other.<sup>65</sup>

The term Philippine-American War films refers to the various films produced during the late 19th to early 20th century that focused on combat between Filipino and American forces. This term is also used in relation to films depicting efforts supporting America's military occupation and the combat environment of the Philippines during the conflict. The production of such films roughly occurred between 1898-1905, thus filtering the number of war films for analysis according to their time of production as well as their content.

The term expansionism refers to “the policy or practice of expansion and especially of territorial expansion by a nation.”<sup>66</sup> American expansionism is therefore the policy of the American government to expand its economic influence and territorial claim beyond its national borders. A significant note about this term is the absence of dominion, specifically the relationship of power between the people who wield military and political authority and those

---

<sup>65</sup>Susan Hayward, *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts (Routledge Key Guides)*, 2nd (New York: Routledge, 2000), 459.

<sup>66</sup>Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. “expansionism,” accessed November 30, 2023, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/expansionism>.

who are subjected to its effects. In other words, the term is used in consistency with the American ideology of American exceptionalism and Benevolent Assimilation.

The term imperialism concerns the enterprise of establishing an empire. Imperialism is defined as the “policy, practice, or advocacy of extending the power and dominion of a nation especially by direct territorial acquisitions or by gaining indirect control over the political or economic life of other areas.”<sup>67</sup> This term is often synonymous with colonialism, but differs in usage due to its assertion and attempt for positions of power and authority. Unlike how expansionism is used in reference to ideologies, imperialism refers to the actions of power and subjugation of a people.

---

<sup>67</sup>Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. “imperialism,” accessed November 29, 2023, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/imperialism>.

## CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

For the purposes of this research examining the role and significance of American propaganda in relation to war films about the Philippine-American War, I used a mixed methodology that encompassed two distinct yet complementary approaches: Historical research and a qualitative content analysis of films. While both approaches had been used to some extent in previous research, this study aims to reframe these war films' historical and cultural significance within the context of its propagandistic elements and values.

### 4.1: Historical Research

Historical research is a method of reconstructing the past objectively and accurately by collecting, evaluating, verifying, and synthesizing evidence to establish facts and reach a defensible conclusion.<sup>68</sup> Historical research is particularly useful for the purpose of the study, especially in retrieving information that may not only clarify historical inaccuracies or vague understandings but also provide additional value to existing scholarship. Under propaganda studies, historical research can also potentially help in identifying forms of propaganda and their function within contexts of their time and society.<sup>69</sup> This study utilized a historical research method for research questions RQ 1 and RQ 2.1.

---

<sup>68</sup>Stephen Isaac and William B. Michael, *Handbook in Research and Evaluation : A Collection of Principles, Methods, and Strategies Useful in the Planning, Design, and Evaluation of Studies in Education and the Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd ed. (San Diego: EdITS Publishers, 1981), 44.

<sup>69</sup>Rebecca M.L. Curnalia, "A Retrospective on Early Studies of Propaganda and Suggestions for Reviving the Paradigm," *Review Of Communication* 5, no. 4 (2005): 237–57, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15358590500420621>; Ellul, *Propaganda*.

Historical research is considered demanding due to the rigors of systematic analysis; It is an exhaustive exercise of analyzing sources for their authenticity, accuracy, and significance.<sup>70</sup> Sources for research are divided into two distinct types: Primary sources and secondary sources. Primary sources are otherwise labeled as original first hand evidence, and carries a weight of authority when reconstructing histories. Secondary sources provide secondhand accounts and data that is one or more removed from an original event. While primary sources provide valuable data in the enterprise of scholarship, secondary sources are an invaluable asset to historical research by serving as a guiding map to original evidence material.

To aid my search for primary resources, I utilized the online databases and collections from a number of prominent institutions and websites for archival, genealogical, and historical data. For my archival research, I used the online resources provided by the United States Library of Congress, the United States National Archives, the University of Hawai'i eVols digital institutional repository, and Rutgers University's online image database of the Thomas Edison Paper Collection. To research the historical backgrounds of the film producers, I looked for genealogical data and digitized images through online websites of Familysearch.org, Ancestry.com, the United States National Archives, and the Nova Scotia Archives. To aid my search for more historical data, I utilized both Archive.org and the United States Library of Congress website for digitized scans of decades and century old book publications. I also used Newspapers.com and the Library of Congress' Chronicling of America for digitized scans of newspaper prints and articles published from the late 19th to early 20th century.

---

<sup>70</sup>Isaac and Michael, *Handbook in Research*, 45.

In my search for primary resources, I relied heavily upon secondary sources such as the published works of Charles Musser, Paul Spher, Stephen Bottomore, and others I cite within this study. When active primary sources were unavailable, I relied upon secondary sources to provide direction for potential avenues of primary research, historical perspective, and additional information to help with my historical interpretations.

#### **4.2: Qualitative Content Analysis**

For this study, I utilized a qualitative content analysis approach to address the research question posed in RQ 2.2, particularly in the usage of specific cinematic techniques. Although existing literature emphasizes how each film perpetuated American superiority and “other” peoples’ inferiority, it is just as important to identify the sociological and communicative forces that occur outside an audience’s frame-of-view as much as within. Rather than treat each war film as separate units for analysis, a qualitative content analysis approach helped this study with understanding the underlying relationships between these war films and determining the common themes and elements of propaganda. Qualitative content analysis is the systematic method of interpreting data under specific categories of a focused coding frame.<sup>71</sup> Whereas a quantitative approach may focus upon the frequency of particular themes within a film in order to identify significance, a qualitative content analysis approach carries the potential to uncover underlying meanings conveyed through a given text (i.e., film).<sup>72</sup> The coding frame is central to

---

<sup>71</sup>Margrit Schreier, “Qualitative Content Analysis,” in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*, ed. Flick Uwe, 1st ed. (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Inc., 2013), 170.

<sup>72</sup>Joshua D. Atkinson, *Journey into Social Activism: Qualitative Approaches* (Donald McGannon Communication Research Center's Everett C. Parker Book Series), Illustrated (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), 84–85; Siegfried Kracauer, “The Challenge of Qualitative Content Analysis,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (1952): 637, <https://doi.org/10.1086/266427>.

qualitative content analysis, and consists of two parts: main categories and subcategories. Main categories are features within material that may elicit further research, whereas subcategories specify what is said in the material according to the respective main categories.<sup>73</sup> This allows for a thorough study of how a particular category is utilized rather than the number of times it appears.<sup>74</sup> For example, while the frequency of an object's appearance across a number of films may indicate its potential significance, a qualitative content analysis approach will study how such visual content utilizes the filmed frame and communicates meaning with an audience.

In order to categorize the primary features of these war films with respective subcategories for research, this study utilizes cinematography classifications outlined by Louis Gianetti, which offer more precise frames of analysis for these films.<sup>75</sup> According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, cinematography is defined as the art of moving-image photography.<sup>76</sup> Brown further describes it as, “the process of taking ideas, words, actions, emotional subtext, tone, and all other forms of nonverbal communication and rendering them in visual terms.”<sup>77</sup> From Gianetti's eleven cinematography classifications, I utilized five as the main categories for analysis: photography, *mise en scene*, movement, story, and ideology.

---

<sup>73</sup>Schreier, “Qualitative Content,” 174.

<sup>74</sup>Atkinson, *Journey*, 86.

<sup>75</sup>Louis Gianetti, *Understanding Movies, 9th Edition*, 9th, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2001), 482.

<sup>76</sup>Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. “cinematography,” accessed November 29, 2023, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/cinematography..>

<sup>77</sup>Blain Brown, *Cinematography: Theory and Practice: Image Making for Cinematographers and Directors*, 2nd ed. (Waltham: Elsevier Science, 2011), 2.

Under the main category of photography are the subcategories of realism, formalism, and shots. Photography is the literal etymological definition of “writing with light,” and can be summarized as a “combination of something that occurs naturally (light) with practices created by human culture (writing and drawing).”<sup>78</sup> Such practices fall within the spectrum of two points: Realism and formalism. Realism refers to the attempt at reproducing the appearance of reality while minimizing its distortion during the film production process. This term is typically associated with documentary films or “actualities” that attempt to capture the day-to-day activities of people within a society. On the other end of the spectrum is formalism which involves the intentional manipulation of film material in order to present a stylized depiction of reality. While realist filmmakers emphasize the importance and integrity of a film’s content, formalists tend to emphasize technique and expressiveness.<sup>79</sup> Photography also uses shots which refers to the amount of subject matter that is recorded and included within the frame of the screen. While this term generally describes the actual distance between the camera and the object of interest, I take a more practical approach by looking at how much of a person’s figure is within the film’s frame.<sup>80</sup>

Photography shots include the following: Extreme long shot (i.e., subject is a speck with scenery emphasized), long shot (i.e., full subject appears, a visual approximate between an audience and the stage), full shot (i.e., subject’s full image fill the top and bottom of the frame), medium shot (i.e., half of subject appears within frame, usually from the knees or waist up),

---

<sup>78</sup>Stephen Bull, *Photography*, ed. Stephen Bull (New York: Routledge, 2010), 5.

<sup>79</sup>Giannetti, *Understanding*, 5.

<sup>80</sup>Giannetti, *Understanding*, 11; Hayward, *Cinema*, 328.

close-up (i.e., subject appears magnified within frame, usually the face). extreme close-up (i.e., magnification of a subject's features, such as eyes or mouth), and deep-focus shot (i.e., photography focuses upon multiple objects simultaneously at close, medium, and long ranges).<sup>81</sup>

The main category of *mise en scene* contains the subcategories of frame, composition and design. *Mise en scene* is the arrangement and movement of visual objects within a given space, and also encompasses the staging and photography of a specific action.<sup>82</sup> A film's *mise en scene* makes effective use of the film's frame which functions as the basis of composition in a moving picture. The frame serves as an intentional focal point for the filmmaker while simultaneously altering and limiting the audience's perception by presenting an intended "piece" of reality.<sup>83</sup> *Mise en scene* also utilizes composition and design (i.e., the arrangement of shapes, colors, lines and textures) in order to draw an audience's attention towards specific objects within a frame. Composition and design includes dominant and subsidiary contrasts, as well as intrinsic interests. The dominant contrast is the image or area within the frame that immediately draws attention with clear and "compelling contrast" that isolates elements from others, whereas the subsidiary contrast is the counterbalancing image area of diminishing interest. Potentially embedded within these contrasting elements is the object of intrinsic interest, a point of focus which the audience knows is more important dramatically than appears visually.<sup>84</sup> *Mise en scene* also encompasses open and closed forms. Open forms are used more by realists and emphasize informal

---

<sup>81</sup>Giannetti, *Understanding*, 11–13.

<sup>82</sup>Giannetti, *Understanding*, 538.

<sup>83</sup>Giannetti, *Understanding*, 45–48.

<sup>84</sup>Giannetti, *Understanding*, 58.

composition (i.e., objects appear found rather than arranged) whereas closed forms are more stylized, predetermined, and intentional (i.e., precisely placed and balanced within the frame).<sup>85</sup>

The main category of movement contains the subcategories of kinetics and the moving camera. Within the context of cinematography, movement refers to the motion or sequence of action that occurs within the frame of a motion picture. Kinetics and moving cameras are two important aspects of movement within the context of cinematography. Kinetics refers to its literal definition as motion, and how its depiction may elicit psychological reaction and meaning from an audience. The moving camera refers to the use of camera movement in order to further the emphasis of movement on film.<sup>86</sup> Such camera movement may include the following elements: Pans, which scan scenes from a stationary point and emphasize continuity of space, dolly shots, which are tracking shots taken from a moving vehicle (i.e., dolly), and the stationary camera, which creates a sense of stability and order.<sup>87</sup>

The main category of story contains subcategories of narrator, spectator, and genre. Within cinema, a story is the showing and telling that occurs in a film, and encompasses elements of narrator (message sender) and spectator (message recipient). Within the context of film, stories may be subcategorized into specific film genres, which refer to the type of movie. These provide a convenient way of focusing and organizing the story materials within a film. Genres may be directed towards a specific audience (i.e., public), and may also be regarded as “contemporary myths, lending philosophical meaning to the facts of everyday life.”<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Gianetti, *Understanding*, 83.

<sup>86</sup>Giannetti, *Understanding*, 94, 95, 112.

<sup>87</sup>Giannetti, *Understanding*, 112–19.

<sup>88</sup>Giannetti, *Understanding*, 336, 362, 368.

Lastly, the main category of ideology contains the subcategories of neutral, implicit, and explicit depiction of ideology. Ideology refers to the “body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, group, class, or culture.” For the purposes of this study, I identified the ideologies expressed within each film into three distinctive subcategories: neutral (i.e., emphasis on pleasure and entertainment), implicit (i.e., implied ideology without appearing obvious), and explicit (i.e., an overt appeal to an audience’s sensibilities).<sup>89</sup>

From the eleven categories outlined by Gianetti, I excluded six categories because they did not adequately provide a significant basis for studying essential elements within each Philippine-American War film. Such categories also overlap and thus may be encompassed with the categories outlined for use in this study. These excluded categories include editing, sound, acting, drama, writing, and film theory.

Editing, which entails the sequencing and juxtaposition of multiple cinematic shots, is not an appropriate category for study since the majority of films in the late 19th to early 20th century were done in single continuous takes (i.e., long shots).<sup>90</sup> While it is possible for the camera operator to edit while recording, essentially stopping and restarting midway through filming, the films’ single continuous shots removes this as an effective category. This study also excludes the category of sound because war films, despite musical accompaniment in films prior to 1927, do not provide sufficient primary layers to study their complexity and meaning with respective visuals.<sup>91</sup> This study excludes the category of acting due to these films’ documentary

---

<sup>89</sup>Giannetti, *Understanding*, 412–14.

<sup>90</sup>Giannetti, *Understanding*, 134.

<sup>91</sup>Giannetti, *Understanding*, 208.

characteristics and little indication of formal stage or screen acting styles used by their subjects' performances. The category of drama is not appropriate for this study since the level of edited film juxtapositions and dialogue are little to none.<sup>92</sup> While consideration of directorial styles, as well as the use of sets and "costumes," might arguably provide some insights into this study, there are insufficient elements to treat drama as a separate category, and hence is more appropriately covered under one of the other five categories for this study. The category of writing is also excluded from this study because screenwriting and screenplays were not necessarily recited nor acted by performers for a sequence of takes or story development. Lastly, the category of film theory is not included in this study since both semiological and historiographical approaches already implicitly serve as the basis for studying these war films.

The existing literature I previously reviewed provided an invaluable map of recorded films for study. The limitations for studying these films were their proximity, availability, and accessibility for study. Primary research revealed about forty-four films listed in Biograph's catalog related to America's occupation and war in the Philippines.<sup>93</sup> This number eclipses the eight films listed in the book *Edison Films, March 1900, Complete Catalogue*.<sup>94</sup> Based on sources available, I studied a total of fourteen films available through the online catalog of the United States Library of Congress. Both American Mutoscope and Biograph Company and Edison Manufacturing company lists their respective films in each film catalog. All the films in this study did not contain any audio, were black and white in color, and the overall average

---

<sup>92</sup>Giannetti, *Understanding*, 300.

<sup>93</sup>American Mutoscope and Biograph Company, *Film Catalogue, Supplement No. 1* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Community Repository, Rutgers University, 1903), 110–83, <https://doi.org/doi:10.7282/T3BC3ZVX>.

<sup>94</sup> Thomas A. Edison, Inc. No. 94, *Edison Films, March 1900, Complete Catalogue* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Community Repository, Rutgers University, 1900), 4, <https://doi.org/doi:10.7282/T3SN09B0>.

duration of these films was no more than two minutes in length. [See table one and two for each film’s respective duration] The Library of Congress provided an online catalog of films available for viewing directly through their website (loc.gov). Though other online resources for research were available, such as the Internet Archive (archive.org), and also the Silent Hall of Fame (silent-hall-of-fame.org) which provides access to films via registered user accounts, the Library of Congress’ online catalog provided the sole means of identifying and viewing films accessible for this study [see table one and two for list of fourteen films].

Table 1. American Mutoscope and Biograph Co. Films on the Subject of the Philippine-American War

<b>Film Title</b>	<b>Production Date</b>	<b>Duration</b>	<b>Director</b>
15th Infantry	July 24, 1900	N/A	Camera, Frederick S. Armitage
25th Infantry (“Back from Battle”)	January, 1900	0:51	Camera, Raymond Ackerman
Aguinaldo's navy	February 2, 1900	0:22	Camera, Raymond Ackerman
An historic feat	February 5, 1900	0:50	Camera, Raymond Ackerman
Governor Roosevelt and staff	September 30, 1899	0:53	Camera, Frederick S. Armitage
The Dandy Fifth	September 30, 1899	0:52	Camera, Frederick S. Armitage

Table 2. Edison Manufacturing Co. Films on the Subject of the  
Philippine-American War

<b>Film Title</b>	<b>Production Date</b>	<b>Duration</b>	<b>Director</b>
Admiral Dewey leading land parade, no. 2	September 30, 1899	4:20	White, James H.
Advance of Kansas Volunteers at Caloocan	1899	0:44	White, James H
Capture of trenches at Candaba	1899	0:51	White, James H
Colonel Funston swimming the Bagbag River	1899	1:45	N/A
Filipinos retreat from trenches	1899	0:51	White, James H
Morning colors on U.S. cruiser "Raleigh"	April 17, 1899	0:42	White, James H
U.S. cruiser "Raleigh"	April 17, 1899	0:41	White, James H
U.S. troops and Red Cross in the trenches before Caloocan	1899	0:41	White, James H

## CHAPTER 5. HISTORICAL RESEARCH RESULTS

### 5.1 Relationships of Cinema, Politics, and War

The production of war films about the Philippine-American War required a great deal of financing, coordination, and effort to record and present them to the American public. A thorough historical analysis is necessary in order to understand and explain how expansionist propaganda functioned in relation towards film media at the turn of the 20th century. Current media histories suggest that film companies followed the classic top-down paradigm; In addition to relying on audience attendance, producers were subject to the ownership and discipline of authorities above them (e.g., investors, government leaders, etc.).<sup>95</sup> This political propaganda model suggests a bureaucratic structure over the filmed content and productions of both Edison Manufacturing Company and American Mutoscope and Biograph Company.

To examine the history and relationship between early American cinema and American propagandists in the late 19th to early 20th century, this study begins by investigating the relationship between American cinema's two leading production companies during this period: The Edison Manufacturing Company, and American Mutoscope and Biograph Company. This study also investigates the historical relationship between the film companies and the inner circle of America's executive power, the McKinleys. This study then extends its examination towards the film industries' connections with the prominent institutions of perception and military power, more specifically the American free press and the United States Department of War.

---

<sup>95</sup>Ellul, *Propaganda*, 62; Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 2.

### 5.1.1 Edison Manufacturing Company, and American Mutoscope and Biograph Company

The rivalry between the Edison Manufacturing Company and the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company begins with the story of inventor Thomas Alva Edison and William Kennedy-Laurie Dickson. The respective film companies of both men formed working relationships with officials in the U.S. military and federal government. However, the extent of the film industry's participation with the propaganda of American expansionists, and the organizational structure of a presumed propaganda campaign, remains an open subject for further academic study and analysis. Historical interpretations assert that members within the U.S. government (i.e., American imperialists) potentially used their influence over American film companies to produce pro-American films that supported the Americans' war effort in the Philippines. This study begins an investigation into the persona of Thomas Edison, and reviews the documented evidence of his connections with both the U.S. government and the military. This study then proceeds with William Kennedy-Laurie Dickson's experience with Edison's company and his own eventual enterprise in cinema. Lastly, this study sees how both film companies pushed the film industry into one of the most competitive businesses of the 20th century.

Thomas Edison's ties to American politics came through his wife's family. Thomas Edison's father-in-law, Lewis Miller, was a former congressman from Ohio whom President William McKinley considered a "warm and close friend."<sup>96</sup> During the Spanish-American war, Lewis Miller's son, Theodore, rode with the U.S. Military's Rough Riders and was mortally wounded while fighting. Theodore Miller later succumbed to his injuries and died in Cuba.

---

<sup>96</sup>"Hon. Lewis Miller Dead," *Morning Journal*, February 18, 1899, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/595070334>.

Miller sent a telegram to President McKinley and asked for help to bring his son's remains back home. McKinley immediately replied, offered sympathies, and sent Miller's request to the Secretary of the Navy "that this be done."<sup>97</sup> Such expressions of sympathy and expedience would suggest that the ties between Lewis Miller and William McKinley indicate both men shared an almost familial connection, supporting the notion of warmth both men shared. Whether such warmth extended to Edison can only be speculated. Given the reputation of Thomas Edison and his family connections through his spouse, one expects the existence of the same type of relationship between two prominent figures in American history. Yet, upon searching through the Thomas A. Edison Papers collection made available by Rutgers University, I could not find any definitive documentation or correspondence hinting whether William McKinley's inner circle of associates included Edison. One assumes Edison's popularity would have helped facilitate such a relationship, yet the minimal times Edison appears in McKinley's indexed papers suggests otherwise.

Records of Thomas Edison's correspondences with members of the U.S. military suggest a cordial and frank business relationship. Though Thomas Edison personally saw war as "insanity," he also saw opportunities for weapon innovations to benefit the nation's defense, especially with regards to the United States' perceived rivalry with England. In one interview, Edison envisioned using torpedoes to defend the nation from naval incursion, and "streams of water charged with electricity."<sup>98</sup> While Edison explored different ideas for warfare, the

---

<sup>97</sup>Telegram from Lewis Miller to William McKinley, July 11, 1898, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers* (D9806AAIA, Folder D9806-F), School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/D9806AAIA>.

<sup>98</sup>"Electricity in Warfare," *Sun*, January 12, 1896, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/51906172>.

American military sought Edison's attention for more practical applications. During the Philippine-American War, members of the U.S. Army Signal Corp wrote a series of letters in 1900 to Edison and his company and requested a number of Edison's phonoplex (i.e., telegraph) systems for "experimental" use in the field.<sup>99</sup> Such new technology would have perhaps improved the American military's abilities to effectively communicate within the Philippines. This openness to new forms of communication would also extend to film. According to Steven Bottomore, the American military did allow film cameras into the Philippines but not without some oversight and stipulations.<sup>100</sup> Such permission apparently did not extend to the Edison Manufacturing Company; During my research through the digital collection of Edison's papers, I could not find any correspondence between Edison and the U.S. military to film American troops, Filipinos, or the combat scenes during the war in the Philippines.

Edison's greatest commodity may not have been his inventions, but rather his prestige. Members of the military endeared Edison's wide popularity and reputation as the wizard of Menlo Park. In one letter written to the inventor, members of the Minnesota National Guard requested his presence at a future dedication ceremony for their new armory. Half expecting the inventor would attend, Guard members asked for the author's autograph so it could be framed and sold. The resulting proceeds went towards the Guard's "armory fund."<sup>101</sup> Edison responded

---

<sup>99</sup>"Letter from Adolphus Washington Greely, U.S. Signal Corps to Edison Manufacturing Co," May 10, 1900, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*, D0009AAK, Folder D0009-F, School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/D0009AAK>.

<sup>100</sup>Bottomore, "The Philippine War," 19.

<sup>101</sup>"Letter from Charles W Johnson to Thomas Alva Edison," November 13, 1883, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*, D8303ZHD, Folder D8303-F, School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/D8303ZHD>.

with a letter drafted by his staff, and cited that business engagements compelled him to “forgo the very great pleasure of assisting on the occasion referred to” in the letter.<sup>102</sup> Edison also personally supported his local New Jersey National Guard in the form of financial subscriptions. Payments found their way towards improving the military’s amenities in order to make them “more and attractive, so that desirable enlistments may be encouraged.”<sup>103</sup> One such payment of two hundred and fifty dollars went towards supporting their unit’s “battery fund.”<sup>104</sup> As of 2023, the amount converts roughly to over three thousand U.S. dollars, an amount suggesting that Edison’s generosity and donations were never taken for granted. Despite Edison’s success and public reputation, he also admitted in private that such attention was also exhausting at times. In a correspondence with contemporary inventor Thomas Edward Murray, he found himself “so beset curiosity seekers, pseudo-scientists, and others, that I only have the small hours of the night to myself for work.”<sup>105</sup> Unbeknownst to Edison, one such curiosity seeker with ties to England would be unrelenting for Edison’s attention, respect and consideration. His name was William Kennedy-Laurie Dickson.

---

<sup>102</sup>“Letter from Thomas Alva Edison to Charles W Johnson,” November 27, 1883, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*, LB017321, Folder LB017-F, School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/LB017321>.

<sup>103</sup>“Letter from U.S. Army. National Guard, New Jersey, to Thomas Alva Edison,” September 13, 1910, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*, D1019AAO, Folder D1019-F, School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/D1019AAO>.

<sup>104</sup>“Letter from U.S. Army National Guard, New Jersey, to Thomas Alva Edison,” October 14, 1908, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*, D0811AAL, Folder D0811-F, School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/D0811AAL>.

<sup>105</sup>“Letter from Thomas Alva Edison to Thomas Edward Murray,” n.d, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*, X121EB, Folder X121E-F, School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/X121EB>.

Dickson grew up as a young man of inquiry. During his formative years in England, Dickson received education in a variety of fields that included art, letters, music, languages, science, as well as photography, though there is little information about the kind of photography he did before.<sup>106</sup> Dickson also had deep ties to the American Confederate south through both his wife and also reportedly through his mother. Both his wife's family and Dickson's mother originated from Virginia, and both sides had carried deep sympathies for the Confederacy. Dickson's familial connection only provides hints of Dickson's ideological perspective on race, though current interpretations indicate he leaned towards Anglo superiority.<sup>107</sup>

Among Edison's fans and admirers, Dickson looked upon Edison as an inspiration. When Dickson was a little over eighteen years old, he wrote a letter to Edison and asked for an opportunity to work in his lab. Dickson openly professed how Edison inspired and taught him the values of "hopefulness amid difficulties, of firm endurance and determination to vanquish apparent impossibilities." In an apparent attempt of flattery, Dickson continued writing in his letter about the parallels he saw between himself and Edison. He mentioned how both men shared common Scottish ancestry through their respective mothers, and further went on to describe his own skills in the fields of invention, science, and creative arts.<sup>108</sup> Dickson's persistence eventually convinced Edison to grant him an opportunity to work in his lab, allowing Dickson to learn and work his way up in Edison's company.

---

<sup>106</sup>Paul Spehr, *The Man Who Made Movies: W.K.L. Dickson* (Bloomington: John Libbey Publishing, 2008), 13 65, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt20060g>.

<sup>107</sup>Spehr, *Man*, 343.

<sup>108</sup>“Letter from William Kennedy Laurie Dickson to Thomas Alva Edison,” February 17, 1879, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*, D7913K, Folder D7913-F, School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/D7913K>.

During his employment, Dickson proved his value and expertise on a number of Edison's initiatives, but he is better known for his contributions to the development of moving images and film technology. One of Dickson's earliest recorded successes in American film was a camera test in Edison's laboratory in West Orange, New Jersey. The film shows Dickson standing in a spotlight with his chin up and formerly dressed in a tie and a hat in his hand.<sup>109</sup> Though it is considerably short by modern standards, the experiment's success resulted with an immortalized image of Dickson, digitized and made available by the U.S. Library of Congress. The earliest moving images were shown through Edison's Kinetoscope peephole machines. Despite the machines' immediate popularity, peephole moving images lost their novelty and the motion picture business waned with declining audiences by 1895. During this time, tensions grew between business manager William Gilmore and Dickson. According to Musser, Dickson resented Gilmore for interfering in the film business.<sup>110</sup> The result may have contributed to Dickson's attention being drawn to film companies outside of Edison's purview. Since Edison used patents as a way to both protect his company's works and prosecute rivals and copycats, Dickson most likely served as an advisor to help other inventors avoid similarities to Edison's inventions. Dickson's work background also allowed him to foster relationships with inventors Herman Casler, Harry Norton Marvin, and financier Elias Bernard Koopman, all of whom would become founding members and managers of the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company.

---

<sup>109</sup>William K.L Dickson and William Heise, *Dickson Greeting, Early Edison Camera Tests* (Thomas A. Edison, Inc., 1881), 35 mm film, from Library of Congress, *Inventing Entertainment: The Early Motion Pictures and Sound Recordings of the Edison Companies*, MPEG video, 0:20 (looped image) at 30 fps, <https://www.loc.gov/item/00694118..>

<sup>110</sup>Charles Musser, *Thomas A. Edison and His Kinetographic Motion Pictures* (New Brunswick: Friends Of Edison Natl, 1995), 20.

Dickson's outside relationships did not sit well with Edison's managers, and by 1895, Dickson left Edison's company and joined the new group's enterprise in film.<sup>111</sup> Dickson's work eventually brought him back to England in 1887 to work on the company's British side. Despite Dickson's distance from films produced about the Philippine-American War, the resulting establishment of Biograph in the U.S. and overseas facilitated war film productions and fostered a growing rivalry with Edison's own moving image company. Whether Dickson's departure from Edison was due to disillusionment or growing personal ambitions, Edison did not receive Dickson's resignation well. In a letter to patent lawyer Frederick Perry Fish, Edison remarked that he and Dickson were "not the best of friends."<sup>112</sup>

One potential source of Edison's disdain was the perception of Dickson as a thief. During his employment under, Dickson had responsibility over an unspecified number of notebooks related to Edison's motion picture experiments. Upon Dickson's departure, the notebooks went missing from Edison's lab. During a legal testimony in a case against Biograph, lawyers asked Edison if he ever found the notebooks. "Not a scrap," Edison replied.<sup>113</sup> Even after Dickson's departure, Edison continued having problems with securing his information. Upon the delivery of cable messages addressed to his office, Edison noticed they were already opened without his consent. "Compelled" to avoid further "unauthorized persons" from accessing his messages,

---

<sup>111</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 145–47.

<sup>112</sup>"Letter from Thomas Alva Edison to Frederick Perry Fish," November 1, 1895, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*, LB062099, Folder LB062-F, School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/LB062099>.

<sup>113</sup>"Legal Testimony, Thomas Alva Edison," January 29, 1900, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*, QM001091, Folder QM001-F, School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/QM001091>.

Edison wrote a letter to the French Cable Company, and gave explicit instructions to have all cables delivered directly to Edison and no one else.<sup>114</sup> This intense sense of privacy and proprietorship may have translated into the Edison' Manufacturing Company's rivalry with William K.L. Dickson's Biograph company.

According to film historian Patrick Loughney, the competition and cutthroat tactics between film companies were typical of the Robber Baron era, a time where regulations were lax and businesses "acted first and explained later."<sup>115</sup> One story that exemplified the rivalry between Edison and Dickson's companies pertains to the historical boxing match in 1899 between Thomas "Sailor Tom" Sharkey and heavyweight champion James J. Jeffries. The American Mutoscope and Biograph Company secured a deal with both Sharkey and Jeffries, and the fight's promoter, to have the fight filmed exclusively by their company. On the night of the event, about 150 men were placed around the house in order to prevent cameras from entering. The duration of the bout in its entirety was about two and one-quarter hours in length.<sup>116</sup> The Biograph Company reportedly spent up to \$15,000, including "4,000 lights, four big machines, 15 men, and 10 miles of film," along with an "electric current cost of \$750."<sup>117</sup> Unbeknownst to all in attendance that rainy night, about six or seven vaudeville men, disguised in white fedoras and

---

<sup>114</sup>"Letter from Thomas Alva Edison to French Cable Co," August 24, 1898, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*, LB063229, Folder LB063-F, School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/LB063229>.

<sup>115</sup>Patrick Loughney, "Movies and Entrepreneurs," in *American Cinema 1890-1909: Themes and Variations (Screen Decades: American Culture/American Cinema)*, ed. Andre Gaudreault, None ed. (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 88, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uhm/detail.action?docID=413879>.

<sup>116</sup>Loughney, "Movies," 86.

<sup>117</sup>"The Arena of Sports," *Evening Express*, November 10, 1899, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/851526921>.

mackintosh coats, smuggled camera equipment into the arena to record the fight. The devices were reportedly strapped to their waists and hidden underneath capes and rain coats. Upon finishing the event recording, the men raised their hats to signal each other their task was done, proceeded towards a nearby hotel and immediately developed their recorded film in a makeshift lab until 5am the following morning. The men then expedited the developed film to Washington to have it immediately copyrighted. News reports circulated about an impending injunction prohibiting Biograph from screening their film recordings of the Jeffries-Sharkey fight at all. The company responsible for the injunction belonged to Thomas Alva Edison.<sup>118</sup> A third film company, Lubin Manufacturing, would also claim “authenticity” for their boxing films despite the fact they were reenacted fights.<sup>119</sup> Regardless of such interference from a third party, the actual conflict occurred between Edison Manufacturing and the Biograph Company. Their competition continued beyond filming the usual spectacles of everyday life, and sought to produce films for America’s war.

The Edison Manufacturing Company already had previous experiences with sending cameramen into the field during wartime. When the United States declared war with Spain, the Edison Manufacturing Company hired and sent its own cameraman, William C. Paley, to film actualities of American soldiers and scenes in Cuba. To facilitate filming, the Edison Manufacturing company relied on help from the “Journal,” a reference most likely attributed to

---

<sup>118</sup>“Clandestinely Took Pictures of the Fight, ‘Enterprise’ of Seven Men which Affects Biograph Company,” *San Francisco Examiner*, November 6, 1899, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/458118295>; “Arena.”

<sup>119</sup>Musser, *Emergence*.

the *New York Journal* newspaper and its owner, William Randolph Hearst.<sup>120</sup> As camera's traveled to Cuba to film scenes of American soldiers and combat, Edison's film producer, James H. White, stayed behind in New Jersey to film scenes of war reenactments. White produced two notable scenes in 1898 with the aid of cameraman William Heise: *Shooting Captured Insurgents* and *Cuban Ambush*. Both films were obvious reenactments; In viewing and comparing both films, one notices that producers used the same background sets and camera staging. Despite these noticeable characteristics, the films served as a template for White's subsequent Philippine-American War productions. Unfortunately I could not find any similar war reenactment films by American Mutoscope and Biograph Company. Though Bottomore contends that the Biograph Company's cameraman filmed reenactments while in the Philippines, such films were not available or included in this study. I did find over three dozen actuality films listed in Biograph's catalog of films directly related to America's occupation and war in the Philippines.<sup>121</sup> The success of these productions were due in large part to the outreach of the company's executives to the United States Department of War.

The tension between Edison and Dickson apparently subsided in the later years. Correspondences written between both men from 1909 to 1916 suggests the relationship between the two eventually warmed. Biograph made its last film around 1915, just a few years after the last traces of Filipino resistance fell in the Philippines. The Edison Manufacturing eventually dissolved a decade later. Yet their competitiveness during the era of the Philippine-American

---

<sup>120</sup>“Letter from Franck Zeveley Maguire to William Edgar Gilmore,” April 20, 1898, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers* (D9822AAF, Folder D9822-F), School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/D9822AAF>.

<sup>121</sup>American Mutoscope and Biograph Company, *Film*, 110–83,

War, from around 1898 to 1902, helped in pushing the film industry forward with increasing production volume, investment, and content. Edison relied on his staff and licensees to produce films for the public, and used his patents to protect copies of his films from being misused. Dickson's company relied on actualities to film scenes of war, and undoubtedly took advantage of its business and political connections to finance and open access for sending cameramen overseas.<sup>122</sup> Dickson would oversee the use of Biograph's camera himself in 1899, sailing to South Africa during the Boers War. Since both companies were already well established in the United States, both were presumably familiar with mainstream American values and the public's appetite for news and images of war.

### **5.1.2 The President's Brother, Abner McKinley**

The American Mutoscope and Biograph Company's political connections and investments from members of the Republican Party arguably made it the new media arm for the party's political propaganda agenda.<sup>123</sup> When William McKinley vied for the U.S. presidency, Dickson and his Biograph company arrived at McKinley's home to his nomination. The setting was most likely intentional, casting McKinley's image as a plain folk. The film was well received by American audiences, and thus convinced Republicans to give Dickson and his company special filming privileges for McKinley's inauguration.<sup>124</sup> The film also continued to show beyond the election, but was labeled under different contexts such as Mckinley being at

---

<sup>122</sup>Spehr, *Man*, 546.

<sup>123</sup>Charles Musser, *Politicking and Emergent Media: Us Presidential Elections of the 1890s*, First Edition (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 177.

<sup>124</sup>Spehr, *Man*, 437–63.

home, receiving congratulatory telegrams, and strolling as the President.<sup>125</sup> Dickson's film promoted the Republican's nominee and literally projected William McKinley's image to the American public. The one whom historians credit for arranging William McKinley's presidential film campaign, and influencing the U.S. government to film in the Philippines, was none other than the President's younger brother, Abner McKinley.

Abner McKinley's connections with the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company were perhaps due to his own interests in the fields of invention and entrepreneurship. When the elder McKinley brother was governor, Abner moved to New York and involved himself in a technological invention that could register telegrams without "the necessity of an operator."<sup>126</sup> The business proved to be unsuccessful, but he remained persistent and continued looking for other opportunities for wealth. Historians and news reports often mention Abner McKinley as a stockholder with the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company.<sup>127</sup> This investment connection, combined with the political ties through his brother, suggests possible political influence upon the film industry from centers of power in Washington D.C.

Both Abner and his brother, William McKinley, were part of a generation shaped by the American Civil War of 1861 to 1865. Like his brother, Abner McKinley served in the Union

---

<sup>125</sup>Nicolaas Hendrik de Klerk, "Showing and Telling: Film Heritage Institutes and their Performance of Public Accountability" (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2015), 32, <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/327856>.

<sup>126</sup>Musser, *Politicking*, 82–83; "Personal and Pertinent," *Blue Valley Blade*, January 4, 1893, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/754326144>.

<sup>127</sup>Gordon Hendricks, "Beginnings of the Biograph," in *Origins of the American Film* (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1972), 41; Musser, *Emergence*, 1:148; Louis Pizzitola, *Hearst Over Hollywood: Power, Passion, and Propaganda in the Movies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 52; Terry Ramsaye, *A Million and One Nights: A History of the Motion Picture* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1964), 216; "To See or Not to See, A Political Campaign Hook-Up," *Kansas City Star*, December 21, 1930, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/655430353>.

Army. William McKinley worked his way up to the rank of Major, a distinction frequently used by newspapers during his presidential campaign. Abner McKinley's acquaintance with war occurred before his fifteenth birthday. Records from United States National Archives indicate Abner O. McKinley enlisted as a "Private" into the Union army's 155th Regiment, Ohio National Guard.<sup>128</sup> His unit received various assignments such as guard duty for Union General Grant, tending to the wounded, and also participating in raids on enemy supplies. After the war and honorable discharge from military service, Abner McKinley resumed his education and later decided to pursue a profession in law, like his brother William. Abner eventually joined his brother in opening their own partnership, W. and A. McKinley, but when William moved into the realm of politics, Abner took on a supporting role for his brother.<sup>129</sup> Abner McKinley traveled to St. Louis with McKinley's campaign manager, Mark Hanna, in order to secure his brother's nomination at the Republican Convention.<sup>130</sup>

During his brother's presidential campaign and presidency, Abner McKinley was often compared with his elder brother, William McKinley. Reports noted that both brother's shared similar looks and a "napoleonic cast of countenance," a trait which sometimes led to Abner being mistaken for his older brother.<sup>131</sup> One way newspapers and biographers distinguished Abner

---

<sup>128</sup>"Records of the Adjutant General's Office 1762 - 1984," database with images, *National Archives Catalog* (<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/53100042> : 19 October 2023), McKinley, Abner O - Unit: 155th National Guard, Infantry, Company: F - Enlistment Rank: Pvt, Discharge Rank: Pvt; National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C..

<sup>129</sup>Mitchell Charles Harrison, *New York State's Prominent and Progressive Men*, vol. 2 (New York: New York tribune, 1900), 213–14; "Mckinley's Brother," *Statesman Journal*, May 5, 1896, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/192169296>.

<sup>130</sup>"Hanna and Party are Off," *Akron Beacon and Republican*, June 9, 1896, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/228075930>.

<sup>131</sup>"Mckinley's."

McKinley apart from his brother was by his character and ambition. Such storytelling devices are more often used in political propaganda campaigns in order to reveal a political opponent's flaws and consequently elevate the stature of the favored candidate. One biographer described the elder McKinley brother as a serious child who "preferred books to exercise," and "always played fair." When both brothers were young and worked the chore of chopping firewood for their home, William focused on completing the work while Abner and his other siblings had their share done for them whenever they played.<sup>132</sup> The notion that Abner McKinley followed and benefitted from his older brother's successes became a common theme throughout the news. Newspapers frequently referred to the elder brother as Major McKinley, a reference to his former rank in the military. William McKinley was often portrayed as the elder brother, a man of promise and uprightness, whereas newspapers described the younger McKinley brother as a man driven by self-interest, fortune, and taking advantage of every open opportunity presented to him. An article published in the Kentucky newspaper, *The Evening Bulletin*, described Abner McKinley as a "man who didn't wait for drinks to be passed around the second time, but took all he could at first, thinking there might not be a second passing."<sup>133</sup>

The current historical data suggests that Abner McKinley used his association with government offices for his own self-interest and business gains. By 1900, Abner had a reputation as a wealthy patent lawyer with an office in New York City and a four room residence in

---

<sup>132</sup>Henry Benajah Russell, *The Lives of William McKinley and Garret A. Hobart, Republican Presidential Candidates of 1896* (Hartford: A. D. Worthington and co., 1896), 48.

<sup>133</sup>"Pithy Political Points," *Evening Bulletin*, 1898, 4, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/71130722/>.

Windsor hotel.<sup>134</sup> Abner's connections with government officials through his brother's station and office placed him at an advantageous position, but they also put him under increased scrutiny. Later news headlines would seem to confirm the disparity of character between both brothers. By the time his older brother was into the second year as President of the United States, newspapers published stories that accused Abner McKinley of questionable business practices. A news story in the *Manning Times* describes how Abner McKinley "made a pile of money during the war" by "acting as attorney for claimants and contractors in the various departments."<sup>135</sup> The cost of Abner McKinley's service, as reported by the *The Buffalo Enquirer*, was an estimated fee of \$75,000.<sup>136</sup> The writer of the articles continues with sentiments shared with film historians about Abner McKinley's influence in both government and business realms:

However things ought to be, we are inclined to believe that "influence" will secure contracts as a matter of course, until the people take it upon themselves to realize that they are supposed to govern themselves, not be governed passively.<sup>137</sup>

Abner McKinley's political connections with the United States military may have started before his brother took office. At a political dinner event to support his brother, Abner McKinley sat in the same room with military generals, prominent businessmen, and one future Secretary of War, Elihu Root.<sup>138</sup> I found very little reliable information about the extent of this formal

---

<sup>134</sup>Philadelphia College of Pharmacy. Alumni Association, *Alumni Report* (Philadelphia: Alumni Association of the Philadelphia Collect of Pharmacy, 1900), 198; "Escape of Abner Mckinley's Family," *Poughkeepsie Eagle-News*, March 18, 1899, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/114972177>.

<sup>135</sup>"A Big Steal," *Manning Times*, November 9, 1898, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/68271436/>.

<sup>136</sup>"The Mckinley Administration and Army Contract Scandals," *Buffalo Enquirer*, November 2, 1898, 2, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/325631323>.

<sup>137</sup>"Mckinley," 2.

<sup>138</sup>"Gen. Porter was the Host," *New York Times*, June 1, 1895, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/20293224>.

acquaintance, and whether it positively contributed to Abner McKinley's dealings with the military. When the Biograph Company reached out to the United States Department of War for transportation to the Philippines, as well as access and accommodations, there is scarcely any mention of Abner Mckinley. Perhaps the extent of Abner's influence upon the military is best illustrated in a story published in the *Pittsburgh Daily Post* and the *New York Times*. According to the reports, Abner McKinley allegedly had his brother-in-law, W.C. Endsley, enlisted into the military and sent to the Philippines, and appealed to military officers that "no opportunity should be given him to escape."<sup>139</sup> Though the officers and Abner McKinley denied the allegations, and his brother reportedly departed for the Philippines "willingly," the American public may have believed the story anyway due to the almost mythical status of Abner McKinley's authority.

The perceived influence of Abner McKinley upon the film industry is understandable. Perhaps since the young film company required a steady stream of capital in order to produce its films for a wider audience, it would be sensible for the Biograph Company to oblige their Republican investors' needs and demands. Yet there remains outstanding questions about the full extent of Abner McKinley's actual involvement with Biograph's film productions. Upon researching the records of the New York Security and Trust Company, historian Gordon Hendricks specifically mentions he could not find any papers mentioning Abner McKinley.<sup>140</sup> Still, historians and scholars continue to cite the investor role of Abner McKinley as evidence of direct political involvement in pro-American war films. Abner McKinley's residence and

<sup>139</sup>"Shanghaied for War in the Philippines," *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, April 1, 1900, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/86434174>; "W.C. Endsley Now A Soldier," *New York Times*, April 2, 1900, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/w-c-endsley-now-soldier/docview/96045396>.

<sup>140</sup>Hendricks, "Beginnings," 41.

business in New York also leads to suspicions of possible connections with the upper echelons of societal power and influence. According to Musser, New York was a major city center of news media, film, and political power.<sup>141</sup> By mere proximity, there would have been a high probability that Abner McKinley would have interacted with such powers at one point in time. Yet, I could not find any record of direct involvement or intercessions by Abner McKinley, on behalf of his brother, regarding the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company's war films.

Despite the novelty and public popularity of moving images and film projections, there is a possibility of overestimating and even misinterpreting the perceived propaganda value of film by the political powers at the turn of the 20th century. Though the cinema served as an effective means of grabbing audience's attention, as evidenced by William McKinley's presidential campaign film, President McKinley and his staff relied more upon newspapers rather than films for disseminating presidential news and for monitoring public opinion.<sup>142</sup> Given that concrete evidence of direct political influence continues to be elusive for historical study, one must consider that Abner McKinley and his brother, President William McKinley, were perhaps not as politically invested in war films as much as presidential campaign films. The full potential of politicized war film propaganda would only be realized decades later.

---

<sup>141</sup>Musser, *Politicking*.

<sup>142</sup> Susan A. Brewer, "Selling Empire: American Propaganda and War in the Philippines," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 11, no. 40 (October 1, 2013): 1–26, <https://apjif.org/2013/11/40/Susan-A.-Brewer/4002/article.html>

### 5.1.3 Newspapers, War, and Film

Public perception and opinion about the Philippine-American War depended upon the dissemination of information from the American press and authorities in the United States military. Newspapers sent their reporters to the Philippines who relayed back stories of American troop movements and encounters with Philippine rebels. Reporters in the Philippines not only had to contend with the challenges of their environment and the dangers of war, but also the threat of censorship by leadership in the U.S. military. Accusations of censorship under General Otis' command became headline news in 1899, with one newspaper declaring "Either Otis or the Correspondents Must Go."<sup>143</sup> In between this apparent contention between the newspapers and the U.S. military, American film companies took full advantage of their relationship with both institutions in order to accomplish their production goals. Through newspapers, film companies were able to promote their film productions and innovative qualities of motion image technology. Through the American military and United States Department of War, film producers had the opportunity to gain special access and embed with military units in the Philippines.

Film companies relied on newspapers to promote their films as well as their businesses. During my research, I noticed that films were advertised in newspapers to promote general spectacle of shows rather than the individual films themselves. Since films were also shown in vaudeville, the films would also be listed last after the featured performers. One advertisement in the *Kansas City Times* James H White's film *Filipinos' Retreat from the Trenches* after several performers doing feats such as "swinging wire," one "champion bag puncher," and music

---

<sup>143</sup>"In a Dilemma," *Topeka State Journal*, July 18, 1899, 1, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/323088587>.

performance.<sup>144</sup> This form of advertising continued into the early 1900s. One front page of the *Press-Democrat* newspaper, printed in 1903, advertised war films about Philippine-American along with views of “railroad wrecks” and “Geisha Dance” as well.<sup>145</sup> What both news advertisements show is the integration of films with contemporary forms of entertainment, such as vaudeville, thus translating into advertisements focused on overall audience experiences rather than individual acts themselves.

Newspapers not only promoted film company productions to the American public, but also promoted the various uses of film in fields of academia and sports. An article in the *Democrat and Chronicle* tells how researchers used film to record the growth of fauna over time, photographing the subject at different intervals and then playing it back at normal viewing speed to observe its development.<sup>146</sup> One piece written by the *Philadelphia Times* told how a New York yacht club used the “biograph” camera to film a racing event. Yacht owners saw it could help in settling disputes of any “fouling” as well as to record the race for historical purposes.<sup>147</sup> William Randolph Hearst’s *San Francisco Examiner* also published an article written by Thomas Edison, allowing the inventor the opportunity to promote the “wonders” of his “improved” Kinetoscope machine.<sup>148</sup> Across the Atlantic, film also reportedly found use in military recruitment. Film

---

<sup>144</sup>“Among Others Who will be Seen,” *Kansas City Times*, September 3, 1899, 11, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/650200580>.

<sup>145</sup>“Rebekah Entertainment Saturday Night,” *Press-Democrat*, April 24, 1903, 1, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/663393309>.

<sup>146</sup>“Scientific Tests by Motion Pictures.” *Democrat and Chronicle*, January 5, 1902. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/135270511>.

<sup>147</sup>“Personal and Pertinent,” *Philadelphia Times*, October 4, 1899, 6, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/53784844/>.

<sup>148</sup>Thomas A. Edison, “Kinetoscope Wonders,” *San Francisco Examiner*, September 29, 1899, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/457617996>.

projections showed scenes of soldiers' lives “in the most attractive possible manner,” all while the audience listened to a lecturer with music playing in the background.<sup>149</sup>

By September of 1898, the majority of newspaper editors were reportedly in favor of America’s retention of the Philippines rather than allow it back into the authority of the Spanish.<sup>150</sup> One such editor, William Randolph Hearst, was an ardent supporter of American occupation. He stated that “to turn them back to Spain would put them under a power which we know to be cruel and impotent... [and] to leave them to themselves would be to condemn the land to anarchy.”<sup>151</sup>

Hearst’s ties to the film industry goes back to the Spanish-American War. When the Edison Manufacturing Company sent their cameraman, William C Paley, to film “interesting pictures of the troops” in Cuba, Hearst reportedly “worked up” the plan and helped provide the transportation.<sup>152</sup> This working relationship may be traced to Hearst’s previous history of correspondence with Thomas Edison, thus suggesting both men understood the benefits of a mutual business relationship.<sup>153</sup> Aside from his apparent ties with the Edison Manufacturing

---

<sup>149</sup>“Recruiting by Biograph,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, March 4, 1901, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/135249403>.

<sup>150</sup>Stuart Creighton Miller, *"Benevolent Assimilation": The American Conquest off the Philippines, 1899-1903*, 2nd Printing (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 16.

<sup>151</sup>W.R. Hearst, “Why We should Keep the Philippines,” *San Francisco Examiner*, August 9, 1898, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/457716476>.

<sup>152</sup>Letter from Franck Zeveley Maguire to William Edgar Gilmore, 20 April, 1898, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers* (D9822AAF, Folder D9822-F), School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/D9822AAF>.

<sup>153</sup>Telegram from New York Journal, William Randolph Hearst to Thomas Alva Edison, 15 February, 1896, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers* (D9604AAM, Folder D9604-F), School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/D9604AAM>; Telegram from William Randolph Hearst to Thomas Alva Edison, 5 February, 1896, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers* (D9631AAE, Folder D9631-F),

Company, Hearst also appeared to have some connection with the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company through a mutual employee, Carl Frederick (i.e., C.F) Ackerman. In an article by the *Gazette*, Hearst reportedly hired Ackerman into his employ in order to gain additional “talent.”<sup>154</sup> Yet the article does not mention the purpose of Ackerman's employment. A later article by *The Honolulu Advertiser* mentioned Ackerman’s leaving for the Philippines as a cameraman for Biograph, while also being connected with Hearst’s newspaper, *New York Journal*.<sup>155</sup> Whether Hearst helped in facilitating Ackerman’s employment with Biograph and subsequent journey to the Philippines remains uncertain, and I could not find any information about the connection. Yet Hearst’s past history with Edison's film company, and his stance on American occupation, opens some possibility of Hearst’s involvement with Ackerman’s journey through the Philippines. Bottomore suggests Hearst’s assistance during the Spanish-American War may have shown some interest in “moving pictures.”<sup>156</sup> I offer another possibility; Hearst may have indeed understood the potential effects of moving pictures upon the American public, and thus foresaw the political and social benefits of film propaganda. The time between both wars was not so distant, and the memories from such experience perhaps educated Hearst in his continuing pursuit to influence the American public.

---

School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.  
<https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/D9631AAE>.

<sup>154</sup>“New York Glimpses,” *The Gazette*, March 12, 1899, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/67056716>.

<sup>155</sup>“Will Take Biographic Views,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, October 9, 1899, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/259128164>.

<sup>156</sup>Stephen Bottomore, “The Spanish-American War (1898),” In *Filming, Faking And Propaganda: The Origins Of The War Film, 1897-1902* (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2007), 13, <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/22650>.

Moving images were not only appreciated by newspaper businesses and magnates like Hearst, but also by leaders within the United States military, specifically within the U.S. Department of War. Officials within the U.S. military were open to new technology as long as it worked in accordance with the military's goals and purposes. The U.S. military's expressed intention to purchase Edison's telegraph device is evidence of such interests. Despite this interest in new technology, the acceptance of using film in alignment with American military purposes required an appreciation of its logistical challenges, costs, and understanding how it best served the Department of War's interests in portraying the U.S. military to the American public.<sup>157</sup>

In order for film companies to film overseas, the effort for such endeavors required a great deal of support in covering the costs of film, transportation, as well as lodgings. Most importantly, in order to film in areas that were otherwise inaccessible to the public, film companies relied on the permission of governing officials or, in this case, military bureaucracy. Both Edison Manufacturing Company and American Mutoscope and Biograph Company had differing perspectives on how to film the Philippine-American War. Edison Manufacturing Company filmed actualities such as parades that evoked sentiments of patriotic nationalism, but the more provocative and studied films about the Philippine-American War were James H. White's war film reenactments. For the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company, film production meant going directly to the Philippines to film actualities rather than reenactments, an effort that would embed their cameraman with the U.S. Army in the field.

For Edison Manufacturing, there appeared to be a conscious decision to relegate war films to reenacted scenes from the news. This was perhaps due to the logistical and financial

---

<sup>157</sup>Bottomore, "The Philippine War," 40

concerns about such a production, and that it would have been more efficient and cost effective to produce films that were more immediately shown rather than wait months for its return. Edison's film managers only considered filming in the Philippines almost a decade later in 1909.<sup>158</sup> By that time, President Theodore Roosevelt declared the Philippine-American War over on July 4th of 1902. Since the proposed film production focused upon scenery in the Philippines rather than images of war, it may have indicated audiences' attention moved on as well.

The American Mutoscope and Biograph Company chose actualities rather than film reenactments. One of the challenges the company faced was convincing officials in the United States Department of War to allow their cameramen access into the Philippines. Thanks to the research efforts by Bottomore, evidence confirms that Biograph indeed corresponded with military officials and requested access and transportation for their cameraman, Carl Frederick Ackerman. Biograph's Vice-President, H.N. Marvin, wrote a letter to the U.S. Department of War and appealed to their practicality and patriotism. In return for their favorable allowance, Biograph Company would allow department officials the opportunity to view the films and keep copies for their historical records. Marvin also noted how their war films drew positive responses from American audiences.<sup>159</sup> Such appeals seemed to convince officials within the U.S. Department of War.

The decision to allow Biograph's cameraman into the Philippines went directly to President McKinley's Secretary of War, Elihu Root. One news story summarized Root's

---

<sup>158</sup>Letter from Horace G Plimpton to Carl Hillis Wilson, 12 October, 1909, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*, D0934ADC, Folder D0934-F, School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/D0934ADC>.

<sup>159</sup>Bottomore, "The Philippine War," 18-19.

background as a dedicated Republican whom McKinley chose as one “who understands all questions that come up before [his] department.”<sup>160</sup> Before his work in public service, Root was finding success as a corporation lawyer. According to the *Montgomery Advertiser*, Root’s alleged ties with “big business” and “big industry” never truly severed themselves when he changed careers from law to government. The article further alleges that Root had become “so definitely identified in the public mind as the servant of the privileged and powerful that the masses would not make him their leader.”<sup>161</sup> One wonders about Root’s initial thoughts when Biograph made their request, and whether he foresaw any international implications for documenting America’s occupation of the Philippines. An article printed in the California newspaper, *Evening Sentinel*, provides the story with an international perspective about film’s usage. Both the English and the German governments saw film “not only as a record of historical events, but as a valuable aide to grappling and understanding in clearer detail things and events which bear upon matters of today.”<sup>162</sup> Taken under such consideration, perhaps Root’s decision was clear. On the condition that the U.S. Department of War received all of the films produced in the Philippines, Elihu Root granted Biograph Company’s request.<sup>163</sup>

The American Mutoscope and Biograph Company followed through with their agreement and returned with the finished films to Elihu Root’s offices. Root and his officials were so

---

<sup>160</sup>“Alger's Successor Was Named To-Day,” *Wilkes-Barre Leader*, July 22, 1899, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/394965488>.

<sup>161</sup>“Elihu Root,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, February 8, 1937, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/414020296>.

<sup>162</sup>“Biograph's New Uses,” *Evening Sentinel*, January 17, 1901, 1, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/50313439>.

<sup>163</sup>Bottomore, “The Philippine War,” 18-19.

impressed that they reportedly kept the films in their department's library of "naval and military events" with the intention of adding them into "the national record." Though Ackerman and Biograph were successful with completing one of the few filmed productions taken during the Philippine-American War, the assumed posterity and popularity of such films may not have fulfilled expectations.<sup>164</sup> In the same article published by the *Evening Sentinel*, a reportedly large number of films had become "so much dead or latent capital" due to the drop in demand for war films, and that "\$200,000 worth of films" had been stored away in Biograph's offices. Such was the fate of films from the late 19th to early 20th century, to "never again be turned into productive capital."<sup>165</sup>

Upon research, I could not find any records that explicitly stated any willful intention to use the films for political or military propaganda purposes. It is also questionable why Root allowed cameras into a country that continued to stir debate and controversy in the United States, and whether he shared General Otis' concerns about transparency and discreteness. Elihu Root's motive to allow film cameras into the Philippines may not have been solely for historical purposes as he agreed. Based on his previous work history, Root may have sympathized with the Biograph Company's business and therefore provided leniency in allowing cameras to record American troop movements and actions. Taking such characterizations into account, Biograph's filming may have indeed convinced Root, like Hearst, that the moving images of war films held great potential for influencing public opinion.

---

<sup>164</sup>"Biograph," 1.

<sup>165</sup>"Biograph."

## 5.2 The War Film Producers

Early American film companies relied on the skills and dispositions of their cameramen to produce tantalizing motion images that would attract audiences to see their films. Though standardized film practices were still in their fruition, the perception that such practices are indicative of a primitive state would overlook the ongoing traditions which Musser argues to be so.<sup>166</sup> Film producers did not necessarily invent new practices in conjunction with moving image innovation, but carried their medium forward using the knowledge and understanding of visual art traditions of their contemporaries and their past. Such requirements were necessary in order for film producers to intentionally and effectively record imagery that elicited responses from their audiences. A historical analysis of each film producer will help us understand their respective backgrounds and motivating forces behind their films.

### 5.2.1 Frederick Syron Armitage

Although historians provide little information about Frederick Syron Armitage's youth, records from the United States census and reports from archived newspapers provide us some insight into the dynamics of Armitage's family, as well as the character of the man himself. Small part of my historical research is the hope in filling some of the spaces left behind in current scholarship on media history, particularly about the lives of those who contributed to the advancement of cinema, and their contribution to war films about the Philippine-American War. In my research, I found a number of references to Armitage under different name spellings,

---

<sup>166</sup>Musser, *Emergence*.

either by his full name or partial use of his first initials only. This subtle difference in the spelling proved to be some challenge in finding information about the man. Fortunately, enough records do exist to help provide some illustration about the life of the young Frederick Syron Armitage before his years as a photographer and filmmaker for the Biograph company.

Amitage's mother and father, Helen Amanda Syron and Thomas Coke Armitage, both grew up in the farming community of Wayne, New York.<sup>167</sup> Records from the 1850 U.S. census indicate that both Helen and Thomas' respective fathers worked as farmers. Thomas also later took up the profession of a farmer, and Helen would give birth to the couple's firstborn son, George, before the start of the American Civil War.<sup>168</sup> Thomas Armitage enlisted with the Union army on August 20, 1862, and served in 111th New York infantry until he was later discharged in 1865 due to disability.<sup>169</sup> I unfortunately could not find any information about how the war

---

<sup>167</sup>“1850 United States Federal Census,” database with images, *Ancestry.com* (<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/8795611:8054> : accessed 10 October 2023), imaged census page 327, entry for Thomas Armitage, inhabitant in Galen, Wayne County, New York; Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29; citing “National Archives, Washington, D.C.”; “1850 United States Federal Census,” database with images, *Ancestry.com* (<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/8797386:8054> : accessed 10 October 2023), entry for Amanda Syron, inhabitant in Galen, Wayne County, New York; citing “Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29; National Archives, Washington, D.C.”

<sup>168</sup>“1860 United States Federal Census,” database with images, *Ancestry.com* (<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/49006560:7667> : accessed 23 August 2023), imaged census page 55, entry for Thomas C Armitage, inhabitant in Galen, Wayne, New York; Citing “Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.”; “1870 United States Federal Census,” database with images, *Ancestry.com* (<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/32291642:7163> : accessed 10 October 2023), imaged census page 76, entry for Thomas Armitage, inhabitants in Seneca Falls, Seneca, New York; citing “National Archives and Records Administration; Washington D.C.”

<sup>169</sup>“1890 Veterans Schedules of the U.S. Federal Census,” database with images, *Ancestry.com* (<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/499530:8667> : accessed 18 October, 2023), entry for Thomas C Armitage, 111th NY infantry, enlisted July 24, 1862, discharged March 17, 1865; citing “Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Group 15; National Archives in Washington, D.C.”; “New York, U.S., Civil War Muster Roll Abstracts, 1861-1900,” database with images, *Ancestry.com* (<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/567125:1965>: accessed 18 October, 2023), entry for Armitage, Thomas C., Discharge explanation “for disability”; citing “New York State Archives, Albany, New York.”

affected Thomas Armitage, and if the experience left any lasting impressions upon his family. After the war, census records indicate the couple eventually moved and settled in Seneca, New York. Thomas worked as a green grocer, a change in profession presumably due to their change in residence, while Helen took on the responsibilities of a mother and keeping house.<sup>170</sup> The area is historically associated with the Seneca Falls Convention, a meeting that marked the beginnings of the women's suffrage movement, and also where Frederick Douglas once spoke in 1848 to support women's rights and involvement in politics. It is unclear whether such events personally influenced Frederick Armitage's own view of war and politics, but they indeed provide historical context of the area and era in which his parents lived.

Helen Armitage gave birth to her son, Frederick Syron Armitage, on June 29, 1874, in their home town of Seneca Falls, New York.<sup>171</sup> While I could not find any early records about the youngest Armitage, historical records suggest he experienced personal hardships in his early childhood and teenage years. Armitage grew up in a household where he learned the importance of familial responsibilities at an early age. Helen Armitage had three children with her husband Thomas: Their eldest son George, their second eldest son Dewitt, and Frederick who was the youngest of the three boys. When Frederick was four years old, his father, Thomas Armitage, had passed away.<sup>172</sup> The circumstance not only placed the family in a somewhat difficult predicament, but also left Frederick Armitage with his mother and older brother's as his most

---

<sup>170</sup>“1870 United States Federal Census,” entries of Thomas Armitage and Helen Armitatge occupations..

<sup>171</sup>Frederick Syron Armitage in the Michigan, U.S., Death Records, 1867-1952, on-line database, 2015, Death Records, Michigan Department of Community Health, Division for Vital Records and Health Statistics, Lansing, Michigan. <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/1593821:60872>.

<sup>172</sup>“The Best of Investments, Life Insurance as a Matter of Fact,” *Buffalo Courier Express*, September 13, 1879, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/344020644/>.

immediate role models. With his mother staying home to focus on raising the two youngest children and keeping up the home, Frederick Armitage's older brother, George, took on the responsibility of being the family's primary source of income. Census records from 1880 indicate that George Armitage worked in a yeast factory while the two younger brother's focused on their schooling.<sup>173</sup> Perhaps it was these early years that helped shape Frederick Armitage's sense of independence and ability to take on responsibilities.

An early newspaper clipping describes a young seventeen year old "Fred Armitage" from Seneca Falls working in Gould's shop, which may refer to a Gould's Manufacturing Company which produced various industrial parts in Seneca Falls. While working in the shop, he accidentally caught his right hand in the shaper machine and sustained serious cuts before it could be stopped.<sup>174</sup> I did not find any later indications whether this injury had any lasting effect upon Armitage's ability to operate a Biograph camera. Frederick Armitage remained in Seneca with one other brother and also supposedly stayed with their mother. When Armitage was nineteen, his mother, Helen, passed away in her home on January 20, 1894.<sup>175</sup> There is little information about the few years of Frederick Armitage's life after his mother's death, but records seem to suggest he stayed in Seneca until after he married his wife, Edith Eleanor Smith, in

---

<sup>173</sup>"1880 United States Federal Census," entry for family number 270, household members George, Dewitt, Frederick..

<sup>174</sup>Seneca Falls Society, *Papers Read Before the Seneca Falls Historical Society for the Year 1906* (Seneca Falls: Seneca Falls Society, 1906), 88; "Western New York News, Seneca," *Democrat and Chronicle*, February 27, 1892, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/135196880>.

<sup>175</sup>"Western New York News, Seneca," *Democrat and Chronicle*, January 23, 1894, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/135214752>.

1897.<sup>176</sup> One might imagine the couple quite possibly knew each from a young age. Both Frederick Armitage and Edith Smith were born and raised in Seneca Falls, New York. It is unclear if the relationship between the two was a mere formality or steeped in a deep connection to one another. The one glimpse into Armitage's marriage is the couple's record of devotion. From the time of their marriage, through Frederick Armitage's career in the film industry, and even his final years in obscurity as a bookkeeper, Edith stayed by Frederick Armitage's side throughout the couple's lives.<sup>177</sup>

Armitage earned his place of prominence within Biograph by 1899 by becoming one of their four main cameramen. Armitage shot a majority of their studio films between April of 1899 to May of 1900.<sup>178</sup> Armitage was also one of four Biograph camera operators who filmed the Jeffries-Sharkey fight.<sup>179</sup> Despite the resulting authenticity dispute between Edison Manufacturing, Biograph, and Lubin film companies, Armitage's experience in filming such an event is perhaps indicative of the trust he earned from his company's leadership. Even though I could not find any record about Frederick S. Armitage's education or prior experience with photography, his apparent acumen and prudence behind the camera earned him the opportunity to take some of Biograph's more difficult and dangerous filming productions.

---

<sup>176</sup>“1880,” NARA microfilm publication T9; “U.S. Presbyterian Church Records, 1701-1970,” on-line database, 2016, Register 1830-1913, Vault Bx 9211 73148 F52 V1, Church Registers. Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/1300909351:61048>.

<sup>177</sup>Frederick Syron Armitage in the Michigan, U.S., Death Records, 1867-1952, on-line database, 2015, Death Records, Michigan Department of Community Health, Division for Vital Records and Health Statistics, Lansing, Michigan. <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/1593821:60872>.

<sup>178</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 1:264.

<sup>179</sup>Musser, *Emergence*.

In an interview published in the *Morning News*, Armitage spoke of his dedication as a Biograph cameraman and the dangers associated with the occupation. He testified how a camera “operator will run considerable personal risk rather than desert” their camera, and how “risks must be run where it is a question of satisfying the public’s appetite for entertainment.”<sup>180</sup> Armitage traveled throughout the United States to film a number of scenes, from the sights of Niagara’s Rapids, riding down an inclined railway at Mt. Tom, and even dodging rock blasts in Syracuse.<sup>181</sup> Understanding Frederick Armitage's dedication to his craft and film productions, one might expect he would be associated with films about the Philippine-American War. But when executives at the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company asked the U.S. Department of War to allow their cameramen into the Philippines, Armitage was not on the list. It is unclear whether this was a conscious decision by Armitage, given his father’s experience in war, or if his managers at Biograph valued Armitage’s skill set elsewhere. According to my research, the few films I did find by Armitage were not filmed actualities of combat in the Philippines. The views filmed by Armitage were mainly scenes of parades. Whether or not Armitage’s war films expressed his own personal biases and viewpoints remains unclear. Though war films were not necessarily attributed as of Armitage’s greatest contributions to cinema, the images he captured would have provided enough visual stimulation to resonate with American audiences’ sensibilities.

---

<sup>180</sup>“Perilous Photography,” *Morning News*, August 13, 1899, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/852560362>.

<sup>181</sup>“Perilous,” 9.

## 5.2.2 Carl Frederick “Raymond” Ackerman

The American Mutoscope and Biograph Company hired and sent their own cameraman overseas in 1899 to film in the Philippines.<sup>182</sup> The cameraman’s name was Carl Frederick Ackerman, born June 17, 1873.<sup>183</sup> Records suggest Ackerman had a number of variations to his name, though it is unclear whether or not these differences were intentional by Ackerman himself. In searching for his films through the library of congress, library records list his name as Raymand Ackerman although there is no mention of any “Raymond” in Biograph’s correspondence to the U.S. Department of War. Newspapers also tended to print his name as either “C. Fred Ackerman,” or “Fred Ackerman.” What is known is Carl Frederick Ackerman’s previous work as a sports news editor for the *Syracuse Standard* in Syracuse, New York, prior to his work as a cameraman for the Biograph Company.<sup>184</sup> Ackerman was also a former star athlete, a helpful physical trait for one traveling through Philippines’ terrain.<sup>185</sup>

According to Bottomore, the Biograph company’s hiring of Ackerman caused mixed reactions amongst the company’s leadership. Biograph Company founder and Vice President, H.N. Marvin, brought Ackerman into their fold much to the chagrin of company executive Frank J. Marion. According to Bottomore’s historical research, Marion appeared to regard Ackerman as

---

<sup>182</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 1:264.

<sup>183</sup>“U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918,” database with images, *Ancestry.com* (<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/12972010:6482> : access 10 October 2023), Registration card, serial number [D142?], Carl Frederick Ackerman, Date of Birth; citing “National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.”

<sup>184</sup>“New York”; “What Our Typewriter Says,” *Buffalo Enquirer*, August 3, 1904, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/325625233>; “Will Take.”

<sup>185</sup>Bottomore, “The Philippine War,” 18.

a sort of grifter who convinced Marvin to train and send him to the Philippines.<sup>186</sup> It is interesting to note however that Ackerman's employment with the Biograph company may have been concurrent with his reported newspaper work under one William Randolph Hearst.<sup>187</sup> Ackerman's was associated with Hearst's, *New York Journal*, yet the story of how Ackerman came into Hearst's employ remains ambiguous; I could not find any concrete historical data about the matter.<sup>188</sup> There is also the question of why Ackerman was so intent upon going far across the sea to the Philippines. While an alleged secret marriage and messy divorce with the daughter of a "wealthy merchant" may have been a contributing factor, the opportunity to travel and report from the Philippines seems more likely a reason for someone whose courage belies their 'conceit' and ambition.<sup>189</sup>

Though the evidence is scant, I would suspect Hearst may have inspired Ackerman to consider journeying overseas. Ackerman and Hearst's common background in the business of journalism may have served as the basis of their working relationship, yet there are three additional factors that also lead to further suspicions. First, Hearst was not shy about capturing images of war. This is evident with his involvement in sending cameramen into Cuba during the Spanish-American War. Second, Hearst did not shy away from expressing strong favorable opinions about American occupation of the Philippines. Third, Hearst is one of the few who had the means to fund Biograph Company's expenses for film. The cost of film productions

---

<sup>186</sup>Bottomore, "The Philippine War," 18.

<sup>187</sup>"New York."

<sup>188</sup>"Will Take."

<sup>189</sup>Bottomore, "The Philippine War," 18; "Brief Wedded Life Ends In Divorce," *Post-Standard*, August 2, 1904, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/9100623>; "What Our Typewriter."

reportedly required a great amount of money due to the level of effort and industry required in manufacturing film material.<sup>190</sup>

The arrival and embedment of Ackerman with the U.S. military allowed him to capture significant views of the Philippines and movement of American troops. Ackerman reportedly traveled over “350 miles” across the Philippine archipelago, and had “very narrow escapes” from danger, specifically from “the hands of the insurrectionists.”<sup>191</sup> His close proximity with troops also meant an increased likelihood of witnessing scenes of war. Newspapers printed stories of Ackerman’s exploits and encounters in the Philippines, with one such story telling how Ackerman witnessed the execution of 5 American soldiers at mount Ariat. He referred to the scene as an act of “butchery” and that it “will live in the memories of all who witnessed it while life lasts.”<sup>192</sup> Ackerman was also reportedly the only reporter to witness the charge of the 25th infantry upon Mount Ariat.<sup>193</sup> Such exposure to scenes of war provided ample opportunities for film recording such as the *25th Infantry* (i.e., *Back from Battle*) which depicted a column of troops returning from the mount Ariat. One story tells how Ackerman filmed a scene in which two Americans died during combat, and how he was unaware of occurrence until an exhibition

---

<sup>190</sup>“Biograph,” 1.

<sup>191</sup>“Fred Ackerman Home From The Philippines,” *Buffalo Review*, May 25, 1900, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/354265925>.

<sup>192</sup>“Our Men Butchered,” *Meriden Weekly Republican*, May 3, 1900, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/674686867>.

<sup>193</sup>“Fred Ackerman Home.”

months later in New York. Ackerman's camera was reportedly on the front line, and when enemy fire struck the two soldiers, both fell a short distance from the lens.<sup>194</sup>

While Ackerman filmed in the Philippines, he also wrote news stories that seemingly appealed to pro-American sentiments back home in the U.S. One story such sent by Ackerman recounts of how a soldier, suffering from a bout of severe coughing and fatigue, died in the arms of a nurse while singing "home, sweet, home."<sup>195</sup> Ackerman was also candid about expressing his own bias about the Philippine-American War. During one interview, he spoke of his belief in the authority and necessity of the U.S. military in the Philippines, and that such a force would need to be "constantly maintained to preserve order."<sup>196</sup> Upon Ackerman's return to America, secretary of War Elihu Root, his generals, and a few other officers viewed Ackerman's films and found the films "interesting" and "valuable" while his generals were "delighted with the success of the experiment."<sup>197</sup>

Reports later circulated that Ackerman's Philippines experience earned him the opportunity to travel once again overseas, this time across the Atlantic, to film the Boer War occurring in South Africa.<sup>198</sup> Ackerman believed wholeheartedly in the importance of war films. In an interview with the *Buffalo Times*, he espoused his belief in film's ability to reveal truth:

---

<sup>194</sup>"A Dangerous Profession," *Topeka Daily Herald*, April 1, 1904, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/387439189>.

<sup>195</sup>"Home Sweet Home!," *Semi-Weekly New Era*, April 4, 1900, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/559385887>.

<sup>196</sup>"Fred Ackerman Home."

<sup>197</sup>"Moving War Pictures," *Meriden Morning Record And Republican*, June 26, 1900, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/675113029>.

<sup>198</sup>"Fred Ackerman Home."

Yet there is no doubt but that an actual moving picture of even an important incident of a great battle would be infinitely more valuable to posterity than any word picture of the most daring war correspondent that ever substituted a pen for the sword. A written description is always more or less biased. But the Biograph camera does not lie, and we form our own judgment of this and that as we watch the magic screen.<sup>199</sup>

### 5.2.3 James Henry White

Records about James Henry White's personal history remain somewhat scant and obscure. Though media historians attribute White to the advancement of Edison's film business, little is mentioned about his personal history, compelling us to make some necessary deductions about his life and what inspired his journey through America and eventual travel across the United States and overseas. Like Edison, James Henry White's family traced back to Nova Scotia. According to Nova Scotia birth records, James Henry White was born in the maritime province of Grafton, Kings County, Nova Scotia, Canada, on March 1st, 1873.<sup>200</sup> Beyond this, not much else is formally documented of White's formative years in Nova Scotia. Despite there being little evidence about White's youth, further inspection of his parentage and family history may clarify the era and environment that shaped White's ambitions and journey to the United States and beyond.

Census enumerator records offer some glimpses into White's family history also reveals he was one of seven children, though other records indicate he had eight (Census of Canada, n.d.). Birth records indicate his father, Henry White, worked as a merchant in Grafton as of 1873,

---

<sup>199</sup>“Moving Pictures,” interviewer unknown, *Buffalo Times*, 13 May 1900, 7, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/442738668..>

<sup>200</sup>“Nova Scotia Births, Marriages, and Deaths,” database with images, *Nova Scotia Archives* (<https://archives.novascotia.ca/vital-statistics/birth/?ID=70861> : accessed 8 August, 2023), entry for James H. White birth Grafton, Kings County in 1873; Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada..

though later census records indicate White's father worked as a farmer. It is unclear which occupation is correct, whether this marked a transition period between Henry's professions. The area of the White family's home, Kings County, has been historically an agricultural community well known for its tree farming, particularly apple production. Access to rail and nearby port of Port Williams allowed goods to be transported locally as well as overseas.<sup>201</sup> Given the close localities between farmlands and port, the two descriptions of Henry White's profession were perhaps one in the same. One might imagine Henry White's occupation as a farmer and merchant, and their home's vicinity to the sea, may have exposed and inspired his son's curiosity about the world beyond Nova Scotia. James Henry White's formative years as a young man, and his relationship with his siblings, also remain somewhat ambiguous; I could not find information related to this time period. Living in such a large household, one might wonder if a young White, living in a such a large family, may have harbored a desire to distinguish himself from his siblings. White's mother, Marietta, was also born into a large family. She was the fifth eldest of eight children, and whose grandfather migrated from England between 1755 to 1765. Marietta's uncle, William Joseph Coleman, earned his way to becoming a well established businessman with a store that sold Furs and Hats. Records indicate he acquired "considerable estate," and eventually became "Vice President of the 'People Bank'" (Eaton, ca. 1910, p.614). Such familial background may have informed White's later pursuits into sales and business management, traits that would have been invaluable contributions to his professional growth and dealings in the volatile business of invention and a burgeoning American film industry.

---

<sup>201</sup>"History," Municipality of the County of Kings, accessed October 9, 2023, <https://www.countyofkings.ca/visitors/History>.

Current records suggest White moved south from his maritime home in Nova Scotia to the United States sometime around the summer of 1894.<sup>202</sup> Around this time, Edison ventured into commercializing his Kinetoscope machines, which were nickel-in-the-slot type of devices that allowed people to view moving images through a small peephole. To promote his machine, Edison leased the use of his invention and film to dedicated Kinetoscope parlors.<sup>203</sup> It was through Edison's Kinetoscope that James H White became acquainted with the emerging film industry of late 19th century. White arrived in Boston some time in 1894 and began working for brothers Andrew and George Holland, otherwise known as the Holland Brothers, whose business ties were in Ottawa, Canada.<sup>204</sup> Unfortunately, I could not find any information whether the Holland Brothers and White's common ties with Canada contributed to his move into America. The Holland Brothers opened their first kinetoscope parlor in New York on April 14, 1894, a historical date that Musser notes as the beginning of commercial motion pictures.<sup>205</sup> According to legal testimony, White's responsibility was installing Edison Kinetoscopes. He eventually moved from Boston to continue working in the Holland Brothers business in New York until around November of 1894. With help from a C.H. Webster, White purchased a Kinetoscope "plant" from his former employer. He later traveled the country and exhibited the device until selling it in Boston around fall of 1895. White returned to New York and briefly worked in a phonograph

---

<sup>202</sup>"Legal Testimony, James Henry White," 9 February, 1900, *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*, QM001165, Folder QM001-F, School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/QM001165>.

<sup>203</sup>Musser, *Emergence*.

<sup>204</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 1:113.

<sup>205</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 1:81.

business until April 1896 when he began working on the Vitascope film projector under the employ of Raff and Gammon. Edison's company manufactured the projector while Raff and Gammon financed it, and when Edison terminated his business dealings with White's employers, Edison hired White in October of 1896 to become the head of his Kinetoscope department under the Edison Manufacturing Company.<sup>206</sup>

Under White's management, the Edison Manufacturing Company used different film techniques such as panning the camera, and also filming scenes at different intervals in order to advance the depiction of time.<sup>207</sup> To ensure Edison Manufacturing Company would not be outdone by its competitors, White embarked on an aggressive shooting schedule that took him across the country, from New Jersey to San Francisco, and across the pacific into Yokohama, Hong Kong, and the isles of Hawai'i. Between 1898 to 1900, White directed and produced about half of the films under the Edison Manufacturing Company.<sup>208</sup> He assumed a variety of roles during his career: producer, salesman, executive, cameraman, and actor.<sup>209</sup> Over the course of his entire career, White helped produce over 500 films. This number underscored the competition amongst film makers to create content that fed the public's appetite for entertainment.

White's dedication to the Edison Manufacturing Company's film productions went to such extremes that he risked placing himself in danger. Articles published in *The Boston Globe* and *The Buffalo Commercial* described one instance where a cannon unexpectedly exploded

---

<sup>206</sup>White, "Legal Testimony," 168-169.

<sup>207</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 1:232.

<sup>208</sup>Musser, *Emergence*.

<sup>209</sup>Musser, *Emergence*, 1:278.

during production. Though the cannon's purpose was for "picturesque effect," the resulting explosion left White with severe lacerations and burns that ultimately sent him to the hospital.<sup>210</sup> Fires did not seem to stop White from taking risks. He later participated in a staged 1902 film production about a woman and child trapped inside a building on fire. White dressed up as a fireman and played the part of rescuer, "swinging himself off the vehicle" and "scrambled up the ladder" to rescue the woman and child. Such physical dedication is, in some ways, similar to Ackerman's dedication to carrying and setting his camera amidst the terrain of the Philippines. Despite understanding White's behavior as a film producer, and the degree of his filming practices and proficiency behind the camera, there remains the question if White adhered to any particular system of belief. During the course of my research, I could not find evidence suggesting any explicit biases held by James Henry White. What is understood about White was his intense dedication to detail, and an understanding of the American public as his audience. Such attentiveness suggests White made intentional creative decisions in his film productions, thus reflecting a conscious effort of ensuring his films connected with the intended public. Similar to Frederick Syron Armitage, White testified that "the success of the business, of course, depends on the nature of the subjects to a certain extent," and that resonance with an audience "depends largely on what classes of the public [film producers] are exhibiting to."<sup>211</sup>

---

<sup>210</sup>"An American Spion-Kop Disaster," *Buffalo Commercial*, April 12, 1900, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/269416240>; "Mimic War Became Serious," *Boston Globe*, April 12, 1900, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/428543048>.

<sup>211</sup>White, "Legal Testimony," 176.

## CHAPTER 6. QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS RESULTS

Ideology traditionally relies on propaganda in order to spread and ingrain itself as a system of belief within a society, and its truest believers “almost always assume an aggressive posture and try to impose that ideology elsewhere.”<sup>212</sup> One may interpret war film productions as a continuation of such past traditions. In some ways, cinema’s development not only continued the ideas and practices of visual arts, but also carried forth the ancient practice of creating continuous ideological engagement through memory. According to Tonio Holscher, a “continuum” of constant engagement was necessary to ensure the larger populace were subject to the powerful minority. This engagement entailed “rituals, monuments, and ideological concepts” propagated throughout the society, thus becoming a “diffusion of military success.”<sup>213</sup> When the minority relates such success with divine providence, diffusion takes on an almost religious aspect. Attending films then goes beyond mere spectatorship and becomes a ritual practice of peeling back the layers of the reality.<sup>214</sup>

The impact of film imagery upon a film audience member is dependent upon the individual’s ability to perceive and process the world around them. Michael Forrester describes

---

<sup>212</sup>Ellul, *Propaganda*, 193–94.

<sup>213</sup>Tonio Hölscher, “Images Of War In Greece And Rome: Between Military Practice, Public Memory, And Cultural Symbolism,” *Journal Of Roman Studies* 93 (2003): 13, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3184636>.

<sup>214</sup>Hwasun Choe, “Film As A Ritual Of Seeing Beyond The Visible,” *Crosscurrents* 70, no. 3 (2013): 230, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26975085>.

how the dynamic image an individual receives through their eyes excites the surface of their retinas. In this state, the object is received as two dimensional, like images on the screen. Yet the world an individual person perceives is actually a stable three-dimensional reality. The perceptual system must then somehow construct additional information so the individual can see the image and understand it in three dimensions.<sup>215</sup> A film audience then is not just a passive observer who is taking in information, but they are also actively participating in the construction of the social world around them.<sup>216</sup> Whether this participation is done in private or in public, the audience member becomes what Jacque Ellul refers to as the “lonely crowd”, an “isolation in the mass,” and it is this situation “that propaganda can be most effective.”<sup>217</sup> By combining both diffusion of military successes with the psychological aspect of film, audience perception, and audience participation, films become a potent means of transmitting ideology from propagandists to their target audience.

This study looked at a total of fourteen films for analysis. The average length of these films is one minute, with Carl (i.e., Raymond) Ackerman’s *Aguinaldo's Navy* as the shortest film at 22 seconds, and James H. White’s *Admiral Dewey Leading Land Parade, no. 2* running as the longest film at 4 minutes and 20 seconds. None of these films contain any audio, but would have been accompanied by some form of sound effects, music, or voice narration during their original showing, but are omitted from this study due to the lack of accompanying primary recordings. Through qualitative content analysis, I identified four distinctive themes expressed visually

---

<sup>215</sup>Michael Forrester, *Psychology Of The Image*, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 19.

<sup>216</sup>Forrester, *Psychology*, 129.

<sup>217</sup>Ellul, *Propaganda*, 8–9.

throughout the films in this study. The first common theme is the familiar sight of soldiers on parade. The second common imagery is the depiction of men riding on horseback. The third imagery expressed through these films is the depiction of Filipinos as the distinctive ‘other’. The fourth imagery expressed through these films is the depiction of the American flag. These four themes provided necessary vehicles for communicating American expansionist ideologies to the American public.

### 6.1 Soldiers on Parade

Films of parades allowed audiences to view the spectacle of political entertainment from the confines of the exhibition hall and theater. One of the primary purposes of a parade is to serve as a form of cultural practice that reinforces social hierarchies.<sup>218</sup> Parades may be a political exercise of dominance over a particular location and its local people, and thus becomes an expression of territoriality. According to Sack, territoriality is “the attempt by an individual or group to influence, affect, or control objects, people, and relationships by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area.”<sup>219</sup> Therefore parade performances not only serve a political purpose, but such public spectacles also communicate implicit messages of power, and authority.<sup>220</sup> Though the audience does not directly attend the event, the conveyance of cultural

---

<sup>218</sup>Joshua Hagen, “Parades, Public Space, And Propaganda: The Nazi Culture Parades In Munich,” *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 90, no. 4 (2008): 350, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40205064>.

<sup>219</sup>Robert D. Sack, “Human Territoriality: A Theory,” *Annals Of The Association Of American Geographers* 73, no. 1 (1983): 56, <https://doi.org/doi:10.1111/j.1467-8306.1983.tb01396.x>.

<sup>220</sup>David C. Harvey, Catherine Brace, and Adrian R. Bailey, “Parading The Cornish Subject: Methodist Sunday Schools In West Cornwall, C. 1830–1930,” *Journal Of Historical Geography* 33, no. 1 (2007): 24–44, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2006.02.002>; Nuala C. Johnson, *Ireland, The Great War And The Geography Of Remembrance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511493652>; Lily Kong and Brenda S.A. Yeoh, “The Construction Of National Identity Through The Production Of Ritual And Spectacle,” *Political Geography* 16, no. 3 (1997): 213–39, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0962-6298\(95\)00135-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/0962-6298(95)00135-2); Alev



Figure 1. Soldiers parade through the streets of New York. (Cinematic image by F.S. Armitage, *The Dandy Fifth*, American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1899, 0:08. Film still courtesy of the Library of Congress)

identity and power reinforces the ideologies of American expansionism. The element of soldiers on parade occurs under two separate contexts. The first context is the imagery of soldiers parading through the streets of American cities. The second context is the imagery of soldiers marching through the Philippines.

---

Çinar, "National History As A Contested Site: The Conquest Of Istanbul And Islamist Negotiations Of The Nation," *Comparative Studies In Society And History* 43, no. 2 (2001): 364–91, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0010417501003528>.

Both Frederick Armitage and James White feature soldiers prominently parading through cities in their films. Aside from Frederick Armitage's film, *15th Infantry*, the film producers were both present during festivities in New York, September 30, 1899, honoring United States Admiral George Dewey. The films *Governor Roosevelt and Staff* and *The Dandy Fifth* were both filmed by Armitage in the same location with New York City buildings behind them, and the parade moving from the left frame and exiting the camera's view towards the right.<sup>221</sup> White's takes a decidedly different approach by filming the soldiers movement from the right of the frame towards the left. Reasons for this approach are most likely to film the reactions of the crowd opposite from the camera.<sup>222</sup>

Both Armitage and White utilize similar cinematic techniques in order to convey the grandeur and scale of the parade, an event that the *Sacramento Bee* quoted as being a commendable form of "hero-worship."<sup>223</sup> Both of the film makers' cameras appear to utilize a long shot of the various troops, horses, and military bands marching down the road in the parade. Both filmmakers also appear to film the parade from an elevated position and angle overlooking the parade, thus allowing the audience to see the spectacle more fully and slowly as the units march from a distance and then exit the frame. In looking at the *mise en scène* of both

---

<sup>221</sup>F.S. Armitage, *Governor Roosevelt and Staff* (American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1899), 35 mm film, from Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*, MPEG video, 0:52 at 16 fps, <https://www.loc.gov/item/98500892>; F.S. Armitage, *The Dandy Fifth* (American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1899), 35 mm film, from Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*, MPEG video, 0:52 at 16 fps, <https://www.loc.gov/item/98500901/>.

<sup>222</sup>James Henry White, producer, *Admiral Dewey leading land parade, no. 2* (Edison Manufacturing Co., 1899), 35 mm film, from Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*, MPEG video, 4:20 at 16 fps, <https://www.loc.gov/item/00694142>.

<sup>223</sup>"Dewey's Great Day," *Sacramento Bee*, September 30, 1899, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/623694771/>.

filmmakers' productions, the American city serves as the subsidiary (i.e non-dominant) contrast within view of the frame. Since the soldiers marching on parade are considered the dominant contrasting element of the film, such depiction aligns with Sack's observations about territoriality, and thus becomes a political expression of power and control over the parade's geography. The juxtaposition of soldiers and the American city expressed a combination of ideologies, specifically American exceptionalism and nationalism. The heroic esteem placed upon the patriotic figure of Admiral Dewey may be interpreted as the culmination of willpower over challenges. Ramrattan and Szenberg find that the "American Dream," the idea of achievement through individual initiative and will, has some relation to American exceptionalism. In the context of war, American exceptionalism is associated with military power and therefore justifies the United States' exception from world norms.<sup>224</sup>

The imagery of soldiers on parade is not just limited to the context of festivities and political events within the United States, but also includes the images of soldiers marching on foreign soil. Carl Frederick Ackerman's film, *25th Infantry*, depicts a column of soldiers marching through a road in the Philippines, reportedly returning from a battle. The unit's distinction and service in Cuba during the Spanish-American War, adds to the myth and prestige of the American military.<sup>225</sup> The film repeats the same territoriality characteristics as Armitage and White, yet is noticeably different in terms of filming at eye-level and recording under a

---

<sup>224</sup>Lall B. Ramrattan and Michael Szenberg, "American Exceptionalism: An Appraisal—Political, Economic, Qualitative, And Quantitative," *The American Economist* 62, no. 2 (2017): 223, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0569434516672793>.

<sup>225</sup>Raymond Ackerman, camera, *25th Infantry* (American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1900), 35 mm film, from Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*, MPEG video, 0:51 at 16 fps, <https://www.loc.gov/item/98500744>; "Vaudeville Stage," *The Windsor Star*, July 23, 1900, 3, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/499188841>.

different settings. Ackerman's use of *mise en scène* shows the Philippines as the subsidiary contrast in relation to the dominant contrast of American soldiers. By changing the context of the



Figure 2. Buffalo Soldiers marching in the Philippines. (Cinematic image by Raymond Ackerman, *25th Infantry*, American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1900, 35 mm film, 0:21. Film still courtesy of the Library of Congress)

setting, the interpretation of territoriality provides a new ideological interpretation. The appearance of the American military within the Philippines becomes an expression of geographic power and authority overseas, thus becoming an implicit imperialistic expression of American exceptionalism and an explicit expression of manifest destiny. Although there is very little use of

storytelling devices in these parade films, the imagery of soldiers on parade reinforces American expansionism's narrative of political power, international distinction, and military prestige.

## 6.2 The Horse and Rider

One notable image that appears in this study of war films is that of a steed, often with a rider atop its back. The tradition of horseback riding traces back over millennia of recorded human history. The image of a person riding upon a steed conjures notions of nobility, civility, and even political power. H.G. Creel describes the cavalry horse as “an invention” developed around “Western Asia or Southeastern Europe,” and required a great deal of technical mastery, horse training, and suitable horse breeding.<sup>226</sup> Art historian Pia F. Cuneo suggests such iconography received recognition across the social spectrum while also affirming “the classical, moral, and social ideals” it represented.<sup>227</sup> The appearance of the man on horseback appears in the films produced by Armitage, Ackerman, and White. The dual elements of the horse and rider appear under three distinct contexts: The first context is the depiction of horseback riding in scenes of combat. The second context of horseback riding occurs in scenes of parades. Lastly, the third context is its usage in relation to panoramic scenery.

The depiction of the horse in scenes of combat were primarily featured in films by the Edison Manufacturing Company, more specifically the war reenactment films by James White.

---

<sup>226</sup>H. G. Creel, “The Role Of The Horse In Chinese History,” *He American Historical Review* 70, no. 3 (1965): 647–49, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1845936>.

<sup>227</sup> Pia F. Cuneo, “Visual Aids: Equestrian Iconography And The Training Of Horse, Rider And Reader,” in *The Horse As Cultural Icon: The Real And The Symbolic Horse In The Early Modern World*, ed. Peter Edwards, Karl A.E. Enenkel, and Elspeth Graham, 1st ed., vol. 18 (Boston: Brill, 2012), 95, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uhm/reader.action?docID=793248andppg=1>

There are two notable characteristics about how the horse and rider are depicted on film. First, the horse appears towards the end of the film, and thus becomes a visual indication of America. Second, the visual becomes much more distinct in terms of composition and design, more



Figure 3. Horses on parade through streets of New York. (Cinematic image by F.S. Armitage, *Governor Roosevelt and Staff*, American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1899. Film still courtesy of the Library of Congress)

specifically the timing and placement of the imagery. The film, *Capture of Trenches at Candaba*, serves as an example. The film begins with a firing line of rebels shooting their rifles towards the

right of the frame, and ends with an image of Americans overtaking the enemy's position.<sup>228</sup> The appearance of the horse and rider begins at the moment enemy soldiers retreat from the trenches, and soon becomes the dominant contrasting element by the end of the film. The horse and rider are also featured near the top of the frame, an indication of a strong hierarchical value with the top of the frame serving as a point of importance.<sup>229</sup> This pattern of top-down value appears throughout Edison Manufacturing Company's films: *Filipinos Retreat from Trenches, U.S. Troops and Red Cross in the Trenches Before Caloocan*, and also *Colonel Funston Swimming the Bagbag River*. While the first two films are credited to James H. White, the last one did not appear to be credited to any specific producer. However, given how the pattern is repeated in three of the four films mentioned, one may assume White's involvement in the fourth film about Funston's swim as well.

Parades also provided a means of elevating the rider horse by placing them in a position of recognizable importance. In relation to the previously mentioned context of soldiers on parade, the public spectacle of parades served as a formal means of featuring horses and their riders. From the spectator's perspective on the ground, the rider on the horse is naturally elevated, and thus looked upon as if positioned in prestige, above the crowd and thus more distinctive among them. Since the horses were obviously not present amongst audience goers, removing the usual perspective of looking upwards from the ground, the film producers needed to communicate the distinctiveness of the three dimensional horse rider upon a two-dimensional

---

<sup>228</sup>James Henry White, producer, *Capture of trenches at Candaba* (Edison Manufacturing Co., 1899), 35 mm film, from Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*, MPEG video, 0:51 at 24 fps, <https://www.loc.gov/item/98501201>.

<sup>229</sup>White, *Capture*, 0:27 to 0:51.

projected frame. Thus, the horse expresses the ideologies of expansionism not only as a symbol of warfare, but as also an image of prestige and power. Such depictions become apparent in the films of Armitage, White, and Ackerman. For Armitage and White's films about Admiral Dewey's parade, Armitage recorded at two specific points in the event. After cross-checking the parade order, printed in *The Sacramento Bee*, I discerned the order in which Armitage viewed and recorded the parade. Armitage's first film of the parade, *Governor Roosevelt and Staff*, appears to have been filmed in a hurry, yet provides notable imagery about Roosevelt's social ranking and respectability.<sup>230</sup> The first few seconds show Governor Roosevelt appearing only briefly in the beginning of the film and then exiting towards the right of the frame. Yet his appearance is notable for the image of him riding upon a horse at the head of the parade.<sup>231</sup> The visual and order of his appearance, specifically leading the "State Militia" column of the parade, emphasizes the level of his importance. This pattern of prominence appears in the films *25th Infantry*, *Admiral Dewey Leading Land Parade, no. 2*, *Governor Roosevelt and Staff*, and *The Dandy Fifth*. Although the appearance occurs at different intervals of the respective parade, the rider and horse are always in the lead ahead of a unit of soldiers marching down the road.

The iconography of the horse is also of interest in relation to panoramic scenery. One film in particular stands out in comparison to others regarding the iconography of the horse, or rather its similarities with the depiction of a mule train in Ackermans film *A Historic Feat*. Within such a context, the image of horses (which take on the image of the mule train) becomes a vehicle for

---

<sup>230</sup>F.S. Armitage, *Governor Roosevelt and Staff* (American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1899), 35 mm film, from Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*, MPEG video, 0:52 at 16 fps, <https://www.loc.gov/item/98500892>.

<sup>231</sup>Armitage, *Governor Roosevelt*, 0:00 to 0:07..

the ideology of American manifest destiny. In Ackerman's film, a panoramic scene displays the mule train fording the river and the soldiers in the foreground waiting on shore. The scene evokes the same imagery and sense of motion in John Gast's artwork *American Progress*.<sup>232</sup> Omitting the allegorical image of America (i.e., Columbia), a woman dressed in white with star as her crown, both Gast's painting and Ackerman's film show images evoking a westward movement with the subjects facing and moving towards the left of the frame.<sup>233</sup> The long train of mules echoes the imagery of horse drawn wagon trains, traveling across an expanse towards a destined yet unseen goal. One interesting aspect that makes Gast's painting distinct from Ackerman's film is how both mediums express the realm of the unknown. Gast's painting expresses this tension through the use of contrast with settlers moving from the area of light on the right frame towards the darker shaded area on the left. In Ackerman's film, the unknown exists outside of the audience's frame of view, and the movement of the soldiers' train of mules is heading towards what may inevitably be another conflict. Darkness, therefore, is the looming threat of war with the enemy 'other' awaiting in the unknown.

---

<sup>232</sup>John Gast, *American Progress*, 1872, oil on canvas, 11 1/2 in x 15 3/4 in (29.2 cm x 40 cm), Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, <https://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M545330;type=101..>

<sup>233</sup>Raymond Ackerman, camera, *An Historic Feat* (American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1900), 35 mm film, from Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*, MPEG video, 0:50 at 16 fps, <https://www.loc.gov/item/98500873/>; George A. Crofutt, *American progress*, c. 1873, chromolithograph, 37.6 x 49 cm, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C., <https://www.loc.gov/item/97507547..>



Figure 4. *Bottom right to center*, Images of settlers riding west; *center*, the feminine image of Columbia. (Oil painting by Gast, John. *American Progress*. 1872. Oil on canvas. Courtesy Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles)



Figure 5. Mule train swimming and reaching shore. (Cinematic image by Raymond Ackerman, *An Historic Feat*, American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1900, 35 mm film, 0:21. Film still courtesy of the Library of Congress)

### 6.3 The Otherness of Filipinos

Newspapers and U.S. government leaders spoke of Filipinos in dichotomous terms, associating Americans as “civilized” peoples in contrast to the “savage” characteristics of the Filipino people. Such perceptions of Filipinos as a lower class than Americans complimented notions of racial superiority. According to Philip Ablett, widespread Anglo-Saxon chauvinism and racism contributed to the treatment of Filipinos as a distinctive “other.”<sup>234</sup> It was the United State’s mission to spread democracy for the sake of others, and ensure “the savage of today will have no descendants known as such.”<sup>235</sup> For this study, I found the Philippine-American War films implicitly and explicitly expressed notions of otherness through depictions of racial hierarchy, and racial violence.

Racial hierarchy, within the context of this study, follows the premise of Anglo-Saxon superiority over non-white peoples. Ackerman’s film, *25th Infantry*, is perhaps the most explicit depiction of racial hierarchy amongst the films of this study. From the beginning of the film, the column of soldiers are led by a group of generals and officers on horseback, the majority of whom appear to be of lighter skin complexion than the men they are leading. Their elevated position and lead makes their appearance distinct from the other soldiers following behind them.<sup>236</sup> No context is provided other than Biograph’s description of the 25th Infantry as men

---

<sup>234</sup>Philip Ablett, “Colonialism In Denial: U.S. Propaganda In The Philippine-American War,” *Social Alternatives* 23, no. 3 (2004): 25, <https://search-ebscohost-com.eres.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khandAN=15209457&site=ehost-live..>

<sup>235</sup>“Civilization Will Go With The Flag,” *Asbury Park Press*, August 23, 1898, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/436942810>.

<sup>236</sup>Ackerman, *25th Infantry*, 0.00 to 0:21..

returning from combat. Another implicit example of racial hierarchy is the film *15th Infantry* by Frederick Armitage. The photography of the film is a long shot of American soldiers marching across the frame from left to right, all of whom are white. The only appearance of people of color briefly lasts three seconds in the beginning of the film.<sup>237</sup> Though no Filipinos are seen throughout the durations of either film, this sense of Anglo-Saxon superiority and racial hierarchy implicitly extended to non-whites and therefore Filipinos.

The otherness of Filipinos becomes explicitly apparent in depictions of racial violence, more specifically in recreated scenes of combat. Such violence occurs both outside and inside the frame. An example of outside occurrence is observed in White's film, *U.S. Troops and Red Cross in the Trenches Before Caloocan*. The threat of Filipino rebels is unseen by the audience other than the sight of American troops shooting towards the left of the frame. Outside violence is also further implied by Ackerman's *25th Infantry* as the men are returning from the field. In both instances, of White and Ackerman's films, the audience is asked to imagine an enemy whom newspapers and Biograph's catalog of films refer to as insurgents, thus denoting Filipino rebels as a threat against the American military.<sup>238</sup> Such name calling thus reinforced the dichotomization of Americans and Filipinos.<sup>239</sup> *U.S. Troops and Red Cross in the Trenches Before Caloocan* further emphasizes the otherness of Filipinos in combat by emphasizing the Americans' concern for their own wounded. One soldier appears to writhe in pain while two

---

<sup>237</sup>Armitage, *15th Infantry*, 0:07 to 0:10..

<sup>238</sup>“Americans Ambushed,” *Fort Scott Daily Tribune And Fort Scott Daily Monitor*, January 31, 1900, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/417755263>.

<sup>239</sup>American Mutoscope and Biograph Company, *Film*, 110 179–1182.

soldiers appear from the right of the frame carrying a gurney into the trench.<sup>240</sup> The arriving men place one of the injured soldiers onto the gurney as two women dressed in white arrive from the right of the screen to attend to one injured man. Another woman dressed in white climbs down into the trench to tend to the second soldier's injuries.<sup>241</sup> All while this scene occurs, it is implied that the American soldiers are continuing to fight outside the audience's frame of view.

The combat scenes that occur within the frame establishes Filipinos as the enemy, which becomes apparent through all five categories of photography, *mise en scene*, movement, story, and ideology. Such examples occur in all of the war recreation films produced by James H White: *Capture of Trenches at Candaba*, *Filipinos Retreat from Trenches*, *U.S. troops and Red Cross in the Trenches Before Caloocan*, and *Advance of Kansas Volunteers at Caloocan*. Through photography, White uses the uniforms, weapons, and setting that closely resembles combat in the Philippines, or at least an accurate interpretation of it. Rather than film scenes of combat from a distance, White uses a deep-focus-shot in order to capture the scene of combat up close. Through *mise en scene*, White establishes the differences between the Filipino and the Americans by depicting both as polar opposites of one another. The Filipinos are dressed in white clothes, which is a striking contrast with the color of their skin. The American soldiers wear uniforms that are darker in color in contrast with their lighter skin tone.

The ideologies of racial superiority and manifest destiny become apparent through the use of *mise en scene* and movement on the screen. In White's war reenactment films, *mise en scene* is expressed as the struggle between two forces: one element fights to keep its place within

---

<sup>240</sup>White, *U.S. troops*, 0:28 to 0:30.

<sup>241</sup>White, *U.S. troops*, 0:32 to 0:33.



Figure 6. Filipino rebels approach. (Cinematic image by James H. White, *Advance of Kansas Volunteers at Caloocanh*, Edison Manufacturing Company, 1899, 35, 0:10. Film still courtesy of the Library of Congress)

the frame while the other inevitably becomes the dominating contrast in the end. One interesting aspect is the use of the centerline of the frame, both vertically and horizontally. The rebels are always pushed out to concede the center of the frame to American soldiers, and almost never cross or occupy the center of the frame. This is apparent in the film *Capture of trenches at Candaba*. The Filipino rebels occupy the lower half and left side of the frame while they fire their weapons in the trenches. The rebels never cross over the center of the frame. Only their rifles. The rebels then flee towards the left of the frame, overtaken immediately by American

troops who occupy the center and upper half of the frame.<sup>242</sup> This same centerline pattern occurs in *Filipinos Retreat from the Trenches*, and *Advance of Kansas Volunteers at Caloocan*.

Movement upon the screen also takes on an explicitly violent aspect within the war films. In *Filipinos Retreat from the Trenches*, the American soldiers exit and continue to follow the enemy on the run.<sup>243</sup> Meanwhile, an American soldier rides his horse over enemy bodies, and seemingly stirs some rebels from the ground in order to avoid being trampled upon.<sup>244</sup> The violent imagery, coupled with the hierarchical placement of the rider and horse, convey a sense of racial violence upon people of color. Such sentiments of racial violence echoed in American society. In the California newspaper, the *Evening Sentinel*, the first page has a story about the many uses of Biograph's camera. Immediately next to it is an article recounting the torture of Fred Alexander, a man of color, who was imprisoned on suspicion of murder. The story recounts how Alexander was taken from his cell and burned at the stake by a mob of 50,000 people. The story's placement next to Biograph's news article puts in perspective the atmosphere of American society around the turn of the 20th century. Such a tone appeared to carry over into war films.

Though White's film might not have been racially motivated, the contrasting complexion between both sides, and the consistent dominance of the lighter of the two, may have potentially resonated more strongly with those who believed in their own Anglo-Saxon superiority.

---

<sup>242</sup> White, *Capture*, 0:22 to 0:30.

<sup>243</sup> James Henry White, producer, *Filipinos Retreat From Trenches* (Edison Manufacturing Co., 1899), 35 mm film, from Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*, MPEG video, 0:51 at 24 fps, <https://www.loc.gov/item/98501198>.

<sup>244</sup> White, *Filipino's retreat*, 0:27 to 0:51..

## 6.4 The American Flag

One of the most identifiable and effective symbols of American national identity is the flag of the United States of America. Schatz and Lavine summarize that people are more likely to express national sentiment towards national symbols of psychological and political significance rather than the nation itself.<sup>245</sup> The iconography of the flag promotes the pride of a nation, and touches upon a people's sense of patriotism and national identity to an almost religious degree.<sup>246</sup> Through the depiction of the flag, ideologies of American exceptionalism and nationalism become manifest on screen under two specific contexts: The iconography of the American flag during combat, and the American flags depiction in formal celebration.

The American flag appears prominently in the selected war films produced by White. One of the recurring patterns is the flags size and appearance at the center of the frame. One example of such depiction is in James H White's 1899 film, *Capture of Trenches at Candaba*. The American flag waves throughout the American's assault and continues to take up the position where the enemy's banner once flew, all up until the last moment when the soldiers exit the trenches and continue to follow the enemy on the run.<sup>247</sup> One notable aspect is the contrasting colors between the Filipino flag and American flag. The same pattern occurs in *Filipinos Retreat from Trenches*, which may be perceived as a mirror opposite of the previously mentioned film. The faint image of blackened standard appears amidst the smoke. As more smoke appears, the

---

<sup>245</sup>Robert T. Schatz and Howard Lavine, "Waving The Flag: National Symbolism, Social Identity, And Political Engagement," *Political Psychology* 28, no. 3 (June 2007): 330, URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20447045>.

<sup>246</sup>Gerald R. Webster, "American Nationalism, The Flag, And The Invasion Of Iraq\*," *Geographical Review* 101, no. 1 (2011): 2–11, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1931-0846.2011.00069.x>.

<sup>247</sup>White, *Capture*, 0:30 to 0:50.

combatants begin to abandon their entrenchment and run towards the left of the frame.<sup>248</sup> The images of American soldiers appear over the embankment to the left of the frame, and within moments, the soldiers have fully taken over the space once occupied by the enemy.<sup>249</sup> The American flag waves throughout the American's assault and continues to take up the opposite side of the trench where the enemy's banner once flew.<sup>250</sup>

The war films also accentuate the importance of the flag through use of story, specifically scenes where a fallen soldier drops the flag, only to have it lifted back up and carried through the air. In the film, *U.S. Troops and Red Cross in the trenches before Caloocan*, the soldiers wave their hats in the air after firing a volley of rifle shots. The soldiers then proceed to walk out of the trenches. Two American soldiers fall as if they were injured by gunfire. The military officer grabs the flag, unfurls it, and briefly waves it before running over the embankment to follow the soldiers.<sup>251</sup> Such depictions occur again in another film by White, *Advance of Kansas Volunteers at Caloocan*.<sup>252</sup> A soldier waves the American flag and falls, which visually implies he was shot and is either dead or injured. In one synchronous action, the American soldiers rise up from the ground as the American officer raises the flag. The American officer continues to wave it as the

---

<sup>248</sup> White, Filipino's retreat, 0:13 to 0:16.

<sup>249</sup> White, Filipino's retreat, 0:17 to 0:21

<sup>250</sup> White, Filipino's retreat, 0:22 to 0:28

<sup>251</sup>White, *U.S. troops*, 0:21 to 0:26..

<sup>252</sup> James Henry White, producer, *Advance of Kansas Volunteers at Caloocan* (Edison Manufacturing Co., 1899), 35 mm film, from Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*, MPEG video, 0:44 at 24 fps, <https://www.loc.gov/item/98501192>

battle continues and the Americans continue to advance into the center of the frame in the direction of the enemy retreat.<sup>253</sup>

The image of the American flag also continues to appear in actualities filmed by James White and Frederick Armitage in juxtaposition with American celebrations. White produced two



Figure 7. Soldiers carry the American flag into battle. (Cinematic image by James H. White, *Advance of Kansas Volunteers at Caloocan*, Edison Manufacturing Company, 1899, 35 mm film, 0:10. Film still courtesy of the Library of Congress)

films that celebrated the return of the American ship USS Raleigh: *U.S. cruiser "Raleigh,"* and *Morning Colors on U.S. cruiser "Raleigh."* One might interpret both films as cinematic

---

<sup>253</sup>White, *Advance*, 0:28 to 0:30.

expressions celebrating the growing naval power of the United States. The film *U.S. cruiser "Raleigh"* begins with the bow of the USS Raleigh, which occupies the majority of the middle horizon of the frame. The cannons appear prominently along the port side of the ship, and aim towards the left of the frame. The officers described in the film's synopsis appear walking atop the bow near the bridge of the ship. The amidships and stern are not in frame. A second take (0:08) shows the port side of USS Raleigh from the bow and continues to the stern. Smoke appears to rise from one of the ship's two funnels. The film ends as the ship's bow and the image of the flag continue to exit towards the right of the frame. Though the flag is not necessarily the traditional Stars and Stripes, the similarity of their shape and function reminds us of the actual American flag itself. The flag is featured prominently in the film *Morning Colors on U.S. cruiser "Raleigh."* The scale of the flag size becomes apparent as it is raised in the center of the frame. Once unfurled, it stands out as the dominant contrast of the frame. The film places the American flag in a position of great distinction in relation to the position with United States naval power. With film projection's ability to magnify the image upon the screen, the flag becomes a grand expression of American exceptionalism and. The imagery of the flag amidst images of war communicates ideologies of nationalism and American exceptionalism through its symbolic association with American patriotism and a unified sense of national identity. The flag then becomes a weapon in itself, penetrating into the psyche and sensibilities of American audiences.

## CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION

My research yielded a number of unexpected results. The historical research suggests that politics and ideology did not necessarily inspire film companies to produce war films about the Philippine-American War. Though historians such as Musser assert that bureaucratic powers were influential in using film for political propaganda purposes, I could not find sufficient concrete evidence to support this assertion. Instead, the historical data indicates film companies initiated negotiations with military officials (i.e., entreating them like stakeholders) in order to achieve their film production goals. The film producers themselves exhibited common traits of technical expertise, audience awareness, and willingness to take risks in hazardous situations in order to capture the best film images possible. While there is no evidence of ideological motivations for war film productions, filmmakers were perhaps more focused upon entertaining rather than persuading their audiences. With regards to content, the war films under this study are unquestionably imbued with ideological symbolism and expression through moving images. Each film expresses different characteristics of propaganda within a short duration, and communicates the essence of American expansionism with images of power and control.

Considering the historical and qualitative data collected, the results of this study indicates the war films of the Philippine-American War were intentionally produced to stoke audiences' pro-American sensibilities, and thus engaged in the public discourse of America's territoriality of the Philippines. Though the films exhibit many of the traits associated with propaganda, the hierarchy structure of their production does not appear to reflect the model of political propaganda. According to Ellul, political propaganda involves the use of "techniques of influence." Such methods are deliberate, calculated, and employed by political bodies that hold

considerable power and sway, in order to influence public attitudes and behaviors.<sup>254</sup> According to Curnalia's synthesized definition, propaganda is the use of influential "targeted messages" that utilize "emotionally arousing" techniques to "circumvent" an audience's consciousness and critical thinking.<sup>255</sup> The notions of a directed, deliberate, calculated, and targeted propaganda campaign through use of war films do not seem applicable to these films. Rather, the films produced by the Edison Manufacturing Company and Biograph Company exhibit the characteristics of sociological propaganda, which Ellul describes as basically "the penetration of an ideology by means of its sociological context."<sup>256</sup>

### **7. 1. Business Oriented Film Companies**

The robber-baron era of the late 19th to early 20th century appears to have had a greater influence upon the film industry and film making practices than the politics and ideologies of American society. Film companies copied each other's films, technology, and film subjects, in order to outcompete their rivals. Film companies and their producers were business oriented in reaching their audiences for their attendance and attention. This is not to say that film companies were disinterested in politics and war. Both the Edison manufacturing company and Biograph company produced war films about the Spanish-American war, which audiences were reportedly receptive to. William Dickson himself produced political propaganda for the Republican party's presidential candidate. According to Ellul, such propaganda must "not only attach itself to what

---

<sup>254</sup> Ellul, *Propaganda*, 62.

<sup>255</sup> Curnalia, "A Retrospective," 240.

<sup>256</sup> Ellul, *Propaganda*, 63.

already exists in the individual, but also express the fundamental currents of the society it seeks to influence.”<sup>257</sup> Yet the purpose in making such films seemed less about convincing audiences and more about tapping into what already existed. The films, therefore, were not necessarily intentional for propaganda purposes, and yet they still displayed the characteristics of propaganda, and thereby indicating that the film companies, whether by intent or not, participated in public discourse about American expansionism and occupation of the Philippines.

My search into the driving factors that influenced the war films about the Philippine American-War yielded little supporting evidence for assertions of direct political oversight. Studying the archival records of the Thomas Edison Paper Collection, there is evidence of direct correspondences between Edison’s companies and the United States government and military. Thomas Edison also had ties to President William McKinley through his wife’s family. Yet, despite Thomas Edison’s high regard by the American public, I could not find enough historical data to definitively prove any collaborative relationship between Edison’s film company and with President McKinley or his administration. Unlike Edison, the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company appeared to have stronger relations with President McKinley’s administration, purportedly through his brother, Abner McKinley. The collaboration between both parties in filming McKinley at home is perhaps the strongest evidence of an intentional and purposeful propaganda campaign. In searching for evidence that such collaboration continued into the Philippines-American war, I could not find sufficient historical data that supported any assertions that President McKinley, or members of his administration, drove any sort of propaganda campaign that included the use of moving pictures to influence the American public.

---

<sup>257</sup> Ellul, *Propaganda*, 38.

Another reason to doubt the influence of President William McKinley and his brother, Abner McKinley, is the apparent lack of clarity and directions regarding the use of film. According to Linn, President McKinley was not always explicit about his intentions. Such opaqueness into McKinley's mind is reflected in a story about his meeting with the U.S. Army General Wesley Merritt. After a discussion with McKinley about U.S. presence in the Philippines, the army general reportedly sent a message stating he wasn't sure whether McKinley meant to hold the Philippines capital or the entire archipelago.<sup>258</sup> If such uncertainty bothered one of McKinley's generals, this certainly raises questions of whether the President or his administration had any intention to use war films for propaganda purposes. The influence of President William McKinley's brother, Abner McKinley, is also questionable. Abner McKinley's political ties through his brother, his residence and offices in New York, and his reputation as an investor and shrewd businessman, make him a strong candidate as one positioned to direct Biograph Company to produce war films supporting his brother's expansionist stance. Yet my historical research could not find sufficient evidence of Abner McKinley's influence or explicit directions towards the Biograph Company. While the lack of sufficient historical data does not necessarily disprove such a relationship ever existed, it suggests the consideration of another reality: The presence of political bureaucratic power in war film production was minimal at best.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect about the film companies and their war films is how they achieved productions through negotiation rather than direct order from above. Bottomore's research yielded copies of letters that indicated evidence of collaboration between the American

---

<sup>258</sup> Linn, *The Philippine War*, 5.

Mutoscope and Biograph Company.<sup>259</sup> Newspaper articles corroborate the story that officials within the United States Department of War provided assistance with the transportation and accommodation of company cameraman Carl Frederick Ackerman. Furthermore, the positive reception of the films by the United States Secretary of War, Elihu Root, and other military officials, would indicate the military bureaucracy's oversight of imagery that could potentially affect its prestige and perception by the American public. Yet the evidence of any further collaboration stops there. The U.S. Department of War does not provide explicit direction to the Biograph Company about using films for advancing public perceptions of American military intervention, nor any particular instructions on how the films must be presented to the public. Overall, the historical data within this study did not provide evidence of any directions to use war films in a coordinated propaganda campaign. Since film exhibitors mainly determined the order in which films were shown, this one-step-removed control of film showings would have put the propagandist at a disadvantage. According to Ellul, though everything may serve the purposes of propaganda, (e.g., newspapers, lectures, books, cinema, etc.) usage of such tools must be continuous and coordinated in order to influence the individual to participate in political and civil action. Fragmentation of propaganda tools thus undermines any effort for effective propaganda, and thus allows a space for audience awareness and critical interpretations.<sup>260</sup> It is perhaps this reason that may have contributed to Theodore Roosevelt's decision to declare, on July 4, 1902., that the Philippine American war had officially ended. Reports of atrocities in the Philippines gave anti-imperialists reasons to criticize the war, thus contradicting the

---

<sup>259</sup> Bottomore, "The Philippine War."

<sup>260</sup> Ellul, *Propaganda*, 9-10.

expansionists narrative of America's sense of civility over Filipino savagery in war. The expansionist narrative then was no longer meant to garner support, but rather to bolster and emphasize American successes. To counter discontented voices about American occupation, it was perhaps the best way to end such dissension and declare the war finished.

The most interesting historical thread I encountered during this research was the involvement of newspapers in film production. James H. White appears to have produced his war film reenactments based upon stories published in the news about American military victories and conflicts in the Philippines. Such inspiration is indicative that the film industry was attentive about the overall public perception of American occupation and American military intervention in the Philippines. Since the majority of newspaper editors were supportive of American occupation, one expects that pro-American attitudes would be the dominant tone of those stories and headlines, thus reflecting the agenda setting effects of newspapers. The film industry appears to mimic the saliency of pro American attitudes, and displays imagery that invokes the ideologies of American exceptionalism, nationalism, and manifest destiny, and even stalking notions of racial superiority. But perhaps the most interesting tie between newspapers and film industries is the involvement of magnates such as William Randolph Hearst. His history of facilitating film company cameramen to an environment of military conflict seems to echo in the Philippine-American War. Reports about his hiring of Carl, Frederick Ackerman, and Ackerman's alleged talk with Biograph executives to send him to the Philippines, suggest that Hearst may have had some interest in selling stories about America's occupation. Given his support for the war, as well as his ability to finance the endeavor of filming overseas, it is quite possible that Hearst was responsible for convincing Ackerman to go.

## 7. 2. The Traits of Film Producers

My historical analysis into the background of the film producers, as well as the motivating forces behind their film productions, revealed a few common traits and potential biases amongst them. Although each cameraman and producer had different upbringings, work experience, and education, their achievements through their profession resulted with views that would have resonated with their audiences' sensibilities, and continue to peak modern curiosity of how people perceived the world at the turn of the 20th century.

There are three common and notable traits that all three film producers shared. The first common and most obvious trait is having competency behind the camera. Frederick Armitage served the Biograph Company as one of their most trusted and productive cameramen. Carl Ackerman received training under the Biograph company before being sent to the Philippines. James White served as the Edison manufacturing companies film department manager, but was also an accomplished film producer behind camera as well. Their photographic skills also complemented their technical expertise in handling camera equipment. Such traits reflected a level of professionalism expected of film makers at the time. Since film productions were an expensive endeavor, it would have been sensible that film cameramen and producers needed such professionalism in order to photograph views without waste, and with intent and purpose.

The second trait is having empathy for their intended audiences. From a strategic perspective, understanding ones intended public, such as their wants and opinions, is important in order to effectively connect and communicate information. Public opinion, which is usually described as the collective preferences of people in relation to government and politics,

contributed to the type of films produced by the film companies.<sup>261</sup> Based on testimony and interviews given by Armitage, Ackerman, and White, all their filmmakers seemed attentive to such opinion and captured images and content that would attract audiences attention.

Ackerman's background as a journalist would have meant understanding what topics mattered to the American public, and complement them with stories about American troops and the emotional impact of combat upon troops. White and Armitage took a more cinematic approach. Although White was more attentive to crafting scenes, both filmmakers were aware of camera placement and image framing that would appeal to audience sensibilities the most.

The third characteristic is the willingness to put themselves at risk in order to achieve the goals of their film production. As evidenced by Armitage's interview, he would be willing to put himself at risk for the sake of capturing the most sensational, moving images for audiences, as well as putting himself at risk to secure his film company's camera equipment. Articles about James White's exploits with reenactment films, especially those dealing with war, are perhaps another perfect example of the risk taking behavior that camera operators and film producers took to secure the best views for audiences. Ackerman Takes on a more immersive film, making role by embedding with American soldiers facing combat in the Philippines.

In my research about the inspiration behind the film productions, I could not find sufficient evidence that indicated any bias or explicit ideological motivations behind their films. Although the Biograph Company executive William Dickson Perhaps shows the strongest indication of bias against people of color, I could not find any explicit information whether Armitage or Ackerman shared the same views. Ackerman's writing about the 25th regiment

---

<sup>261</sup> Jesper Falkheimer and Mats Heide, *Strategic Communication: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 87.

suggests he had some sympathy for soldiers of color. With regard to supporting the American occupation of the Philippines, I unfortunately could not find any information whether these three men were motivated by any sense of expansionist ideologies.

Along with sharing similar traits, the film producers also had distinctive differences in approaching their war film productions. Both Armitage and Ackerman display a distinctive style of realism, specifically in following an open form of filming. As the action occurs within the camera's frame of view, events and movements continue forth towards the outside of the frame. Although some extent of anticipation is needed in order to effectively plant the camera in place and capture a scene or event, such as the parade films by Armitage or the panoramic views and long-shots by Ackerman, the camera continues to shoot scenes with ambiguous beginnings and endings. The camera operator allows things to just happen in front of the camera. This open form of film composition contrasts the chosen *mise-en-scene* closed form by James H. White. Rather than allow events to occur by chance, the *mise-en-scene* closed form restricts the events of the film to a specific narrative within the confines of the camera frame and film timing. All events occurring within the frame and duration of film tell a complete story with a definitive beginning, middle, and end. The war film reenactments by James H. White are definitive examples of the closed form. White's reenactment films begin by establishing the antagonists (i.e., Filipino revolutionaries dressed in white), followed by the struggle over dominance of the film frame center, and ending with the triumph of American soldiers carrying the American flag and dominating the former space of their enemies. Since White's films display this *mise-en-scene* closed form, war film reenactments become more distinctive by their placement of objects, timing of events, and the camera's closeness to war.

### 7. 3. Propaganda Structure and Techniques

The historical relationship between the American film industry of the late 19th century and the American propagandists (i.e., proponents of America's expansionist policy into the Philippines) may best be described as a mutual collaboration between war film production companies and entities of power. Instead of following a traditional political propaganda model that disseminates ideology to make political actions more acceptable, the war films about the Philippine-American War appropriately fall under the paradigm of sociological propaganda. Within this model, as explained by Ellul, "it is the penetration of an ideology by means of its sociological context," and seeks "to unify its members' behavior according to a pattern, to spread its style of life abroad, and thus to impose itself on other groups."<sup>262</sup> Through economic and political structures, sociological propaganda slowly moves and aims to influence lifestyles rather than individual opinions. An individual's perception of their ideal way of life becomes important, and anything in contradiction of such an ideal is an obstacle or generally bad.<sup>263</sup>

The results of this study's historical research appear to align with these characteristics. Film studios' acute understanding of American audiences' wants and sensibilities, and representations of Americans' way of life, influenced the production and content of war films. President McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation proclamation may have ultimately shaped the environment filmmakers navigated through, but the historical data suggests little to no bureaucratic control over film production. Yet the films expressed the prevalent ideologies of the day, displaying the prominence of American military reach and prestige against the depictions of

---

<sup>262</sup>Ellul, *Propaganda*, 62-63.

<sup>263</sup>Ellul, *Propaganda*. 62-64

the Filipino's otherness. Thus one may interpret the resulting war films produced by the prominent film companies of the era as indicative of propagandist's effectiveness, rather than control, in communicating the narrative of Benevolent Assimilation to the American public.

Each film in this study unequivocally contains the characteristics of propaganda. Though it is important to identify the historical significance and ideological elements contained within each film production, propaganda analysis demands the specificity of techniques utilized within each film. Using the Institute of Propaganda Analysis' seven propaganda devices and techniques as an investigative framework, such characteristics become more identifiable. These devices include the following: Name calling, glittering generalities, transfers, testimonials, plain folks, card stacking, and band wagon.

Name calling is best understood as labeling something or someone in negative terms in order to make the audience reject or condemn the labeled object without further thought or consideration. Name calling also utilizes omnibus words that can carry different meanings and emotional resonances with them.<sup>264</sup> This propaganda device is apparent in the use of the word "insurgents" to describe the Filipinos fighting the American soldiers. The film catalog of the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company reinforces this perception of the enemy by using the word "insurgent" in multiple movie synopsis of films taken in the Philippines. One such description is for the movie, *The Fighting 36th*, a reference to the 36th infantry who was otherwise known as the "Suicide Club."<sup>265</sup> The synopsis describes how the regiment reportedly "killed more insurgents and covered more territory in the Philippines, than any other regiment in

---

<sup>264</sup> Institute for Propaganda Analysis, *The Fine Art*, 26-27

<sup>265</sup> Ed I. Keen, "Manila Correspondence," *The Holyoke Daily Transcript*, October 2, 1899. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/836730086>.

the army.” Here, the word is used from an American territorial standpoint, that Filipino nationalists are in essence in open rebellion and thus committing treason against the lawful authority of the United States. On the screen, name calling manifests itself by the use of color and movement. The enemy appears as the negative equivalent of the American soldiers, and by their actions against American soldiers, American audiences may associate them as insurgents without giving further thought to what they are observing.

Glittering generalities, similar to name calling, utilizes omnibus terminologies of “virtue words” in order to convince audiences to accept something without further thought or consideration.<sup>266</sup> Glittering generalities may best be understood with regards to the visual themes covered within the qualitative content analysis. The parade of soldiers presents an almost idealized view of American political and military power in relation to the community where the parade is performed. The projected film of the parade thus becomes a figurative projection of American authority and pride, regardless if it is performed throughout the city streets of the United States or the roads of the Philippines. Other glittering generalities include the image of the rider and horse, which invoke sensibilities of nobility, and the use of the American flag, which an American audience may perhaps associate with notions of patriotism, fidelity, loyalty, and exceptionalism. According to Ellul, propaganda attempts to create conditioned reflexes in individuals through signs or symbols that provoke “unfailing reactions.”<sup>267</sup> The depiction of these recognizable symbolisms thus provides the necessary vehicle for the narrative of American

---

<sup>266</sup>Institute for Propaganda Analysis, *The Fine Art*, 47-48.

<sup>267</sup> Ellul, *Propaganda*, 31.

expansionism to permeate American audiences, and to potentially stir some type of action from audiences.

Transfer is the propaganda technique of carrying the authority, sanction, and prestige of something revered over to an action or thing to make it more acceptable or favorable.<sup>268</sup> The prominence of the flag in White's films exemplifies the propaganda device of transfer. Because this iconography already carries significant meanings for American audiences, such as reverence and respect, the use of the flag in scenes of war and military weaponry serves as a symbol justifying the actions of American expansionists and military action. Transfer also occurs through the depiction of the Red Cross nurses during the film *U.S. Troops and Red Cross in the Trenches Before Caloocan*. In this film, the nurses of the Red Cross are depicted as caretakers for the wounded. The appearance of the Red Cross nurses serves as a reprieve from the expected imagery of soldiers at war. In seeing the image of American soldiers wounded in combat, the image of a nurse may be interpreted as the manifestation of civility over the barbarity of war.

Testimonial involves using someone of respectable or ill repute to give a statement that a given idea or cause is either good or bad.<sup>269</sup> A perfect example of the testimonial device is Carl Frederick Ackerman and his writings about the Philippines. Complimented by the images captured through the film camera, Ackerman's articles presents the point of view of American soldiers and their experiences from combat with Filipino insurgents. The mere presence of Ackerman in the Philippines carries a sense of authority with his first hand accounts. By complimenting such stories with filmed views of the Philippines, Ackerman has the ability to

---

<sup>268</sup> Institute for Propaganda Analysis, *The Fine Art*, 69-70.

<sup>269</sup> Institute for Propaganda Analysis, *The Fine Art*, 74-75.

provide his view of the war in a pro-American perspective. Another example of testimonials are the illustrated lectures. According to Musser, advocates of American expansionism and people who had experienced the Filipino-American War delivered lectures that were accompanied by stereopticon and illustrated lectures.<sup>270</sup> The reputation of the presenters, followed by statements in support of American expansionism, would have had an indirect impact upon Philippine-American War films. Such exemplifies Ellul's description of the "orchestration" of total propaganda: "The propagandist must use various instruments, each in relation to all the others."<sup>271</sup>

The plain folks is a technique used by speakers to convince audiences that their ideas are more agreeable due to their plain folkness.<sup>272</sup> Since the majority of the films in this study mostly depict American military imagery, one might argue that the plain folks technique applies to the depiction of soldiers who are essentially representatives of the diverse demographic of peoples in America. Though the plain folks technique is best associated with President William McKinley's political propaganda film, such an image of plain folk authority is not necessarily found in these films. Thus the film producers convey a symbolic message that the fight for American democracy and liberty applies to all American citizens, and not just a privileged few. Such a depiction resonates with American exceptionalism.

Card Stacking is the intentional selection of facts or falsehoods in order to convey the best or worst possible ideas in support or against a given action, object, or idea.<sup>273</sup> With regards

---

<sup>270</sup> Musser, *Emergence*, 154-155.

<sup>271</sup> Ellul, *Propaganda*, 12.

<sup>272</sup> Institute for Propaganda Analysis, *The Fine Art*, 92

<sup>273</sup> Institute for Propaganda Analysis, *The Fine Art*, 95

to war films, card stacking may be akin to the manner in which film exhibitors and film projectionists placed the order of films for their presentation. Film exhibitors determined their film programs for their audiences, showing films back-to-back in groups rather than as separate short presentations. Since the majority of these films were pro-American, it assured exhibitors and possibly propagandists that the constant stream of images depicting American soldiers and their purported actions in the Philippines cast them in a favorable light. Card Stacking may also be applicable to the war reenactment films, specifically the manipulation of factual elements in order to further sensationalize a given event. In the film *Colonel Funston Swimming the Bagbag River*, producers from the Edison Manufacturing Company depict Col. Frederick Funston's crossing of the Bagbag river while under heavy enemy fire. There are a number of inaccuracies that make this a more stylized depiction of reality (i.e., manipulation of reality). The depicted crossing in the film appears to be much smaller than the reported distance of 100 yards from shore to shore. The film also shows Funston as the sole swimmer who pulls his soldiers to shore, contradicting reports that Funston and five others "swam" across the river.<sup>274</sup>

The band wagon propaganda device attempts to convince targeted members that all members of a group accept the propagandist's objective or plan, and therefore one must join and follow the crowd (i.e., "everyone is doing it").<sup>275</sup> An example of the bandwagon effect would be the depiction of soldiers and audiences participating in the parades through New York City. By observing how others react to the scene of American soldiers marching through the streets, it reinforces the cultural context of national identity and the establishment of the dominant centers

---

<sup>274</sup> "Again those Kansans," *Kansas City Star*, April 26, 1899, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/648130802>.

<sup>275</sup> Institute for Propaganda Analysis, *The Fine Art*, 105

of American power and prestige. The physical place of the theater further encapsulates this sense of uniformity and community by bringing together people in ritual observance of film and encouraging discourse after the film is shown. Target audiences members might therefore experience the confirmation of their own biases with expansionists ideology, or otherwise remain silent if they believe positive reactions and audience attitudes towards American military occupation are reflective of the American majority.

## CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

This study attempts to present new insights challenging established assertions about propaganda during the Philippine-American War. Current evidence suggests the film industry did not necessarily instigate nor participate in propaganda dissemination in a proactive manner, but rather reacted to the societal tastes, norms, and demands at the turn of the 20th century in order to remain viable and sustain their respective film practices. The established notion of vertical propaganda, of political power being an influential force upon the film industry, is but one possible aspect that determined film practice and content. Though scholars cite connections to executive power, military oversight, and explicit ideological depictions as evidence of propagandist coordination and purpose, I argue that such circumstances were primarily used to mutually benefit the film industry companies themselves and not necessarily to command their production practices.

Instead of serving and receiving instruction from political centers of power, film companies negotiated political landscapes in order for access past bureaucratic red tape. Such negotiations suggest that film companies were active participants in a structure reflecting social and horizontal propaganda. The idea for participation arose not from a force above, but from the forces of the society, whose discourse and norms inspired and determined the type of content film producers made. Despite this collaboration between film, news, and government organizations, companies within the industry produced films within their own silos, keen to keep their films unique and from being robbed by their contemporaries. This level of competitiveness within a social and horizontal structure created a unique and fragmented landscape for propaganda. This fragmentation may have ultimately undermined American expansionists

abilities to maximize the effectiveness of their propaganda campaigning. I suppose this reality may have contributed to President Theodore Roosevelt's declaration of the Philippine-American War's end on the 4th of July in 1902.

Film companies seemed more akin to the interests of contemporary news media. The sensational war film reenactments produced by Thomas Edison's film company, under the management of James H. White, were the visual equivalent of provocative yellow journalism published by the newspapers of Hearst and Pulitzer. Not to be outdone, William K.L Dickson's American Mutoscope and Biograph Company would produce a number of films themselves. As James H. White filmed actualities depicting Admiral Dewey's return and naval power, the Biograph company's Frederick Syron Armitage was also present in filming actualities of patriotic symbols and parades of military imagery. Biograph company executives sought and gained permission from the U.S. Department of War to send its own cameraman, Carl Frederick Ackerman, into the Philippines. Upon Ackerman's return to the U.S., the Elihu Root and military officials received his films with approval, but more for purposes of historical and military record rather than public dissemination. There is unequivocal evidence that the films produced during the era communicated expansionist ideologies of American exceptionalism, nationalism, manifest destiny, and racial bias. But beyond ideology, any assertion that a coordinated propaganda campaign ever existed must contend with the separate agendas of the film companies, politicians, and war bureaucrats. Film companies competed for popular attention, politicians used films for self-promotion, and war officials seemed more concerned with historical record and censorship rather than facilitating a promotive propaganda campaign.

This study reaffirms findings of previous academic literature about the communicative elements embedded within war film depictions of the Philippine-American War. Though previous studies have cited the ideological characteristics of these films, few have associated such elements with insights offered by established scholarship in propaganda analysis. This study bridges this gap by attaching current understandings of propaganda to the study of history and thematic content behind the Philippine-American War films. While the films are identifiably propaganda through their ideological and visual qualities, such evidence does not necessarily correlate with the historical evidence analyzed in this study. The traditional structure of political propaganda does not necessarily correlate with the historical data collected in this study. Also, though historical evidence shows these films held the effect of rousing American audiences' emotions, the participation of the American public was most likely passive rather than active. Though Adkins and Castle cite how film is capable of changing people's attitudes on political issues, there is the question of how such attitudes translate into personal actions.<sup>276</sup> According to studies by Schatz and Lavine, national symbolism may evoke strong national identity and self-esteem, but "does not appear to motivate concrete forms of political engagement."<sup>277</sup>

This study presented a number of challenges in both historical research and qualitative analysis. The historical records of Edison Manufacturing and Biograph Company indicate there remains a number of potential films left for study, but questions remain whether their respective records still survive today. If such films do exist, there is the potential such content may either confirm existing scholarship about their propaganda value, or provide new insights into how

---

<sup>276</sup>Adkins and Castle, "'Moving' Pictures?," 1242.

<sup>277</sup>Schatz and Lavine, "Waving," 352.

such films communicated the ideals of pro-expansionists. The breadth of information for thorough qualitative content analysis, and the ability to identify thematic elements within, is also dependent upon the availability of such primary sources. The limitation of historical data also extends to the availability of historical texts that might confirm the relationship between the bureaucracies of political and military power and the film industry. Though I discovered data that provided new insights into the creators of these films and their motivations, there are still more questions about these historical figures' beliefs, livelihood, and views about America's war overseas. The identification of propaganda powers is also challenged if there is insufficient evidence to support assertions of influence. For effective analysis under the framework of propaganda studies, it is important to engage with data on its own terms rather than forming conclusions upon the basis of assumptions. Therefore, as scholarship about the Philippine-American War continues to grow, a more coordinated effort becomes necessary in collecting and identifying reliable and verifiable primary sources. Future research should explore the nature of Abner and William McKinley's interactions with the film industry beyond the positioning for American President. Future studies might also investigate how the Philippine-American War figured into the agenda of American media after President Roosevelt declared its end in 1902, as well as studies into how other world regions perceived and depicted propaganda regarding America's occupation of the Philippines throughout the early 20th century. Further, future studies should consider investigating the influence of news media upon the film industry during the era of the Philippine-American War.

I present this historical interpretation and analysis of content with a realization that, despite current history publications and discoveries made available today, studies in the

Philippine-American War and its legacy remain incomplete. Furthermore, studies in propaganda must also apply analysis that moves beyond the layers of ideological and sociological content, and collect concrete evidence that verifies and identifies the structures of propaganda that influenced an era of modern empire. Denials to the propositions of equality, justice, and freedom, so desired by a people who felt undue subjection by an overseas empire, contributed to the fomenting of patriots and rebels. To whom are referred such labels? Who determines perceptions of the rebel and the revolutionary? As fragments of the Philippine-American War's history continue to be collected and analyzed, along with the modern tumult of information people must sift through and digest, my hope is this study raises the voices from the past and contributes to the historical awareness regarding America's period of war and benevolence.

## APPENDIX

Timeline of Key Events		
Historical Date	Cinema History	Spanish-American War and Philippine American War
1888	Edison conceives the Kinetoscope	
1889 - 1892	Dickson develops the Kinetoscope	
April 14, 1894	Kinetoscope premiers in Brooklyn, New York	
1895	Dickson leaves Edison's employ, and founds the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company	
September 1896	American Mutoscope and Biograph Company film William McKinley at home, Canton, Ohio.	
February 15, 1898		USS Maine explodes and sinks in Cuba. U.S. news stokes suspicions of Spain's involvement.
May 1889	Edison founds the Edison Manufacturing Company, succeeding Edison United Manufacturing Company	
April 25, 1898		U.S. Congress declares war against Spain; Spanish-American War begins
December 10, 1898		U.S. and Spain sign Treaty of Paris of 1898
January 21, 1899		Establishment of the First Philippine Republic; U.S. does not recognize the new government. Tension between the U.S. and Filipinos begins.
February 4, 1899		The first shot is fired by a U.S. soldier, The Philippine-American War begins
February 6, 1899		U.S. Senate approves the Treaty of Paris of 1898
April 11, 1899		Treaty of Paris of 1898, Effective date
November 3, 1899	Biograph films the Jeffries-Sharkey Fight; Edison Manufacturing Company secretly film the fight.	
July 4, 1902		President Theodore Roosevelt declares end of the Philippine-American War
June 15, 1913		The last of the Filipino resistances against U.S. occupation falls in the Battle of Bud Bagsak..
July 4, 1946		The U.S. government grants the Philippines their independence

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “1850 United States Federal Census.” Database with images. *Ancestry.com*, Citing Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29; National Archives, Washington, D.C. n.d.
- “1860 United States Federal Census.” Database with images, *Ancestry.com*, Citing Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.  
<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/49006560:7667>.
- “1870 United States Federal Census.” Database with images, *Ancestry.com*, Citing National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C. n.d.  
<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/32291642:7163>
- “1880 United States Federal Census.” Database with images. *Ancestry.com*, Citing Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, D.C. n.d.  
<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/3972402:6742>.
- “1890 Veterans Schedules of the U.S. Federal Census.” Database with images. *Ancestry.com*, citing Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Group 15; National Archives in Washington, D.C. 2005.  
<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/499530:8667>.
- Ablett, Philipp. “Colonialism in Denial: U.S. Propaganda in the Philippine-American War.” *Social Alternatives* 23, no. 3 (2004): 22–28.  
<https://search-ebshost-com.eres.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khhandAN=15209457&site=ehost-live>.
- Ackerman, C. Fred. “Moving Pictures.” Interviewer unknown. *Buffalo Times*. 13 May, 1900.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/442738668>.
- Ackerman, Raymond. *25th Infantry*. American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1900; 35 mm film. From Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*. MPEG video, 0:51 at 16 fps. <https://www.loc.gov/item/98500744>.
- , *Aguinaldo's Navy*. American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1900; 35 mm film. From Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*. MPEG video, 0:22 at 18 fps. <https://www.loc.gov/item/98500758>.
- , *An Historic Feat*. American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1900; 35 mm film. From Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*. MPEG video, 0:50 at 16 fps. <https://www.loc.gov/item/98500873/>.

- Adkins, Todd, and Jeremiah J. Castle. “‘Moving’ Pictures? Experimental Evidence of Cinematic Influence on Political Attitudes.” *Social Science Quarterly* 95, no. 5 (2014): 1230–44. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12070>.
- Aguinaldo, Emilio. Philippine Revolutionary Papers, 1898-1900. eVols, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI. <http://hdl.handle.net/10524/49144>
- Akron Beacon and Republican*. “Hanna and Party are Off,” June 9, 1896. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/228075930>.
- American Mutoscope and Biograph Company. *Film Catalogue, Supplement No. 1*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Community Repository, Rutgers University, 1903. <https://doi.org/doi:10.7282/T3BC3ZVX>.
- Armitage, F.S., *15th Infantry*. American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1900; 35 mm film, from Library of Congress, *National Screening Room*. MPEG video, 1:35. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2015600202>
- ., *Governor Roosevelt and Staff*. American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1899; 35 mm film, from Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*. MPEG video, 0:53 at 18 fps. <https://www.loc.gov/item/98500892>
- ., F.S., *The Dandy Fifth*. American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 1899; 35 mm film, from Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*. MPEG video, 0:52 at 16 fps. <https://www.loc.gov/item/98500901/>
- Asbury Park Press*. “Civilization will Go with the Flag,” August 23, 1898. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/436942810>.
- Atkinson, Joshua D. *Journey into Social Activism: Qualitative Approaches (Donald Mcgannon Communication Research Center's Everett C. Parker Book Series)*. Illustrated. New York: Fordham University Press, 2017.
- Austin's Hawaiian Weekly*. “Progress of the Pacific, the English Perspective.” September 23, 1899. <http://hdl.handle.net/10524/5127>.
- Bernays, Edward. 1928. *Propaganda*. Brooklyn: Ig Publishing.
- Baldoz, Rick. “Valorizing Racial Boundaries: Hegemony and Conflict in the Racialization of Filipino Migrant Labour in the United States.” *Ethnic And Racial Studies* 27, no. 6 (2004): 969–86. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987042000268558>.
- Blue Valley Blade*. “Personal and Pertinent,” January 4, 1893. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/754326144>.

- Boston Globe*. "Mimic War Became Serious," April 12, 1900.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/428543048>.
- Bottomore, Stephen. "The Philippine War (1899-1902): Moving Pictures for the American Military," In *Filming, Faking and Propaganda: The Origins of the War Film, 1897-1902.*" PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2007. <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/22650>.
- . "The Spanish-American War (1898)," In *Filming, Faking And Propaganda: The Origins of the War Film, 1897-1902.*" PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2007.  
<https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/22650>.
- Brantlinger, Patrick. "Kipling's "The White Man's Burden" and its Afterlives." *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920* 50, no. 2 (2007): 172–91.  
<https://doi.org/10.2487/r7g5-jr21-m041-0112>.
- Brewer, Susan A. *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq*. 1st ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Britton, Gregory. "September 11, American Exceptionalism and the War in Iraq." *Australasian Journal Of American Studies* 25, no. 1 (2006): 125–41.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41054016>.
- Brody, David Eric. "Fantasy Realized: The Philippines, Orientalism, And Imperialism In Turn-Of-The-Century American Visual Culture." PhD diss., Boston University, 1997.  
<https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/fantasy-realized-philippines-orientalism/docview/304357769/se-2>.
- Brown, Blain. *Cinematography: Theory and Practice: Image Making for Cinematographers and Directors*. 2nd ed. Waltham: Elsevier Science, 2011.
- Buffalo Commercial*. "An American Spion-Kop Disaster," April 12, 1900.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/269416240>.
- Buffalo Courier Express*. "The Best of Investments, Life Insurance as a Matter of Fact," September 13, 1879. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/344020644/>.
- Buffalo Enquirer*. "The Mckinley Administration and Army Contract Scandals." November 2, 1898, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/325631323>.
- . "What Our Typewriter Says," August 3, 1904.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/325625233>.

- Buffalo Review*. "Fred Ackerman Home from the Philippines," May 25, 1900.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/354265925>.
- Bull, Stephen. *Photography*. Edited by Stephen Bull. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Campbell, W. Joseph. "Not Likely Sent: The Remington-Hearst "Telegrams." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 77, no. 2 (2000): 405–22.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/107769900007700212>.
- Capino, Jose Bernard Tagle. "Cinema and the Spectacle of Colonialism: American Documentary Film And (Post) Colonial Philippines, 1898–1989." PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2002.  
<https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/cinema-spectacle-colonialism-american-d-ocumentary/docview/305584798/se-2>.
- Choe, Hwasun. "Film as a Ritual of Seeing Beyond the Visible." *Crosscurrents* 70, no. 3 (2013): 220–32. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26975085>.
- Çinar, Alev. "National History as a Contested Site: The Conquest of Istanbul and Islamist Negotiations of the Nation." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 2 (2001): 364–91. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0010417501003528>.
- Creel, George. *How We Advertised America. (International Propaganda And Communications)*. New York: Arno Press, 1972.
- Creel, H. G. "The Role of the Horse in Chinese History." *The American Historical Review* 70, no. 3 (1965): 647–72. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1845936>.
- Cuneo, Pia F. "Visual Aids: Equestrian Iconography and the Training of Horse, Rider and Reader." In *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World*, edited by Peter Edwards, Karl A.E. Enenkel, and Elspeth Graham, 1st ed., 18:71–97. Boston: Brill, 2012.  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uhm/reader.action?docID=793248andppg=1>.
- Curnalia, Rebecca M.L. "A Retrospective on Early Studies of Propaganda and Suggestions for Reviving the Paradigm." *Review Of Communication* 5, no. 4 (2005): 237–57.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15358590500420621>.
- David, E. J. R., and Sumie Okazaki. "Colonial Mentality: A Review and Recommendation for Filipino American Psychology." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 12, no. 1 (2006): 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.12.1.1>.

- de Klerk, Nicolaas Hendrik. "Showing and Telling: Film Heritage Institutes and Their Performance of Public Accountability." PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2015.  
<https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/327856>.
- del Mundo, Clodualdo A. "Native Resistance: Philippine Cinema and Colonialism, 1898-1941." PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1994.  
<https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/native-resistance-philippine-cinema-colonialism/docview/304105960/se-2>.
- Democrat and Chronicle*. "Recruiting by Biograph," March 4, 1901.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/135249403>.
- . "Scientific Tests by Motion Pictures." January 5, 1902.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/135270511>.
- . "Western New York News, Seneca," February 27, 1892.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/135196880>.
- . "Western New York News, Seneca," January 23, 1894.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/135214752>.
- Deocampo, Nick. "Cinema and Colonization: American Colonization and the Rise of Cinema in the Philippines." *Comparative American Studies* 5, no. 2 (2007): 147–71.  
<https://doi.org/10.1179/147757007x204420>.
- Dickson, William K.L. *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*. School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.
- Dickson, William K.L and William Heise, *Dickson Greeting, Early Edison Camera Tests*. Thomas A. Edison, Inc., 1881; 35 mm film. From Library of Congress, *Inventing Entertainment: The Early Motion Pictures and Sound Recordings of the Edison Companies*. MPEG video, 0:20 (looped image) at 30 fps.  
<https://www.loc.gov/item/00694118>.
- Duckworth-Ford, Robert A. "Report on Hawaiian Sugar Plantations and Filipino Labor." Philippine Studies Works of Interest. eVols, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI. <http://hdl.handle.net/10524/12222>.
- Edison Manufacturing Co. *Colonel Funston Swimming the Bagbag River. 1899; 35 mm film. From Library of Congress, The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures. MPEG video, 1:45 at 116 fps, https://www.loc.gov/item/99407593/*
- Edison, Thomas A. "Kinetoscope Wonders." *San Francisco Examiner*, September 29, 1899.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/457617996>.

- Edison, Thomas Alva. *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*. School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.
- Ellul, Jacques. *Propaganda: The Formations of Men's Attitudes*. New York: Vintage Books, 1965.
- Engle, John. "Political Symbols and American Exceptionalism." *Etc: A Review Of General Semantics* 71, no. 4 (2014): 324–29. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24761946>.
- Evening Bulletin*. "Pithy Political Points," 1898. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/71130722/>.
- Evening Express*. "The Arena of Sports." November 10, 1899. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/851526921>.
- Evening Sentinel*. "Biograph's New Uses," January 17, 1901. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/50313439>.
- Falkheimer, Jesper and Heide, Mats. *Strategic Communication: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Forrester, Michael. *Psychology of the Image*. 1st ed. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Fort Collins Coloradoan*. "George Armitage, Formerly Film Producer, Dies," November 30, 1930. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/588335010>.
- Fort Scott Daily Tribune and Fort Scott Daily Monitor*. "Americans Ambushed," January 31, 1900. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/417755263>.
- Friedman, Max Paul. "From Manila to Baghdad:." *Revue Française d'Études Américaines* 113, no. 3 (2007): 26. <https://doi.org/10.3917/rfea.113.0026>.
- Gast, John. *American Progress*. 1872. Oil on canvas. Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles. <https://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M545330;type=101>.
- Gazette*. "New York Glimpses," March 12, 1899. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/67056716>.
- Giannetti, Louis. *Understanding Movies, 9th Edition*. 9th. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2001.
- Greely, Adolphus Washington. *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*. School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.

- Hagen, Joshua. "Parades, Public Space, and Propaganda: The Nazi Culture Parades in Munich." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 90, no. 4 (2008): 349–67. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40205064>.
- Hampe, Barry. *Making Documentary Films and Reality Videos: A Practical Guide to Planning, Filming, and Editing Documentaries of Real Events*. First Edition. New York: Holt Paperbacks, 1997.
- Harrison, Mitchell Charles. *New York State's Prominent and Progressive Men*. Vol. 2. New York: New York Tribune, 1900.
- Harvey, David C., Catherine Brace, and Adrian R. Bailey. "Parading the Cornish Subject: Methodist Sunday Schools in West Cornwall, C. 1830–1930." *Journal of Historical Geography* 33, no. 1 (2007): 24–44. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2006.02.002>.
- Hayward, Susan. *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts (Routledge Key Guides)*. 2nd. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Hearst, W.R. "Why We Should Keep the Philippines." *San Francisco Examiner*, August 9, 1898. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/457716476>.
- Hearst, William Randolph. *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*. School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.
- Hendricks, Gordon. "Beginnings of the Biograph." In *Origins of the American Film*, 1–78. New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1972.
- Herman, Edward S., and Noam Chomsky. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. 1st ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1988.
- Hölscher, Tonio. "Images of War in Greece and Rome: Between Military Practice, Public Memory, and Cultural Symbolism." *Journal of Roman Studies* 93 (2003): 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3184636>.
- Honolulu Advertiser*. "Will Take Biographic Views," October 9, 1899. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/259128164>.
- Institute for Propaganda Analysis. *The Fine Art of Propaganda*. Edited by Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939.
- Isaac, Stephen, and William B. Michael. *Handbook in Research and Evaluation : A Collection of Principles, Methods, and Strategies Useful in the Planning, Design, and Evaluation of Studies in Education and the Behavioral Sciences*. 2nd ed. San Diego: EdITS Publishers, 1981.

- Johnson, Nuala C. *Ireland, The Great War and the Geography of Remembrance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511493652>.
- Johnson, Charles W. *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*. School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.
- Keen, Ed I. "Manila Correspondence," *The Holyoke Daily Transcript*. October 2, 1899. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/836730086>.
- Kansas City Star*. "Again Those Kansans," April 26, 1899. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/648130802>.
- . "To See or Not to See, A Political Campaign Hook-Up," December 21, 1930. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/655430353>.
- Kansas City Times*. "Among Others Who will be Seen," September 3, 1899. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/650200580>.
- Kishi, Toshihiko. "Multinational Perspectives of Visualized Journalism on the Sino-Japanese War." In *Fanning the Flames: Propaganda in Modern Japan*, edited by Kaoru Ueda, 43–55. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2021.
- . "Visual Media Trends During The Russo-Japanese War Period." In *Fanning the Flames: Propaganda in Modern Japan*, edited by Kaoru Ueda, 81–91. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2021.
- Kong, Lily, and Brenda S.A. Yeoh. "The Construction of National Identity Through the Production of Ritual and Spectacle." *Political Geography* 16, no. 3 (1997): 213–39. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0962-6298\(95\)00135-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/0962-6298(95)00135-2).
- Kracauer, Siegfried. "The Challenge of Qualitative Content Analysis." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (1952): 631. <https://doi.org/10.1086/266427>.
- Labosier, James. "From the Kinetoscope to the Nickelodeon: Motion Picture Presentation and Production in Portland, Oregon from 1894 to 1906." *Film History: An International Journal* 16, no. 3 (2004): 286–323. <https://doi.org/10.2979/fil.2004.16.3.286>.
- Linn, Brian McAllister. *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000.
- Loughney, Patrick. "Movies and Entrepreneurs." In *American Cinema 1890-1909: Themes and Variations (Screen Decades: American Culture/American Cinema)*, edited by Andre

- Gaudreault, None ed., 66–90. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2009.  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uhm/detail.action?docID=413879>.
- Löffmann, Georg. “Leading from Behind – American Exceptionalism and President Obama’s Post-American Vision of Hegemony.” *Geopolitics* 20, no. 2 (2015): 308–32.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2015.1017633>.
- Madsen, Deborah L. “American Exceptionalism and Multiculturalism : Myths and Realities.” *Swiss Papers in English Language and Literature* 16 (2003): 177–88.  
<https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-100015>.
- Maguire, Franck Zeveley. *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*. School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/D9822AAF>.
- Manning Times*. “A Big Steal,” November 9, 1898.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/68271436/>.
- McCoy, Alfred W. “Philippine-American Relations: A Problem of Perception.” *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 6, no. 2 (1987): 17–27.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41053454>.
- McKinley, William. *Speeches and Addresses Of William Mckinley, From March 1, 1897 To May 30, 1900*. New York: New York, Doubleday and McCure co, 1900.
- Meriden Morning Record and Republican*. “Moving War Pictures,” June 26, 1900.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/675113029>.
- Meriden Weekly Republican*. “Our Men Butchered,” May 3, 1900.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/674686867>.
- “Michigan, U.S., Death Records, 1867-1952.” Database with images, *Ancestry.com*, Citing Michigan Department of Community Health, Division for Vital Records and Health Statistics, Lansing, Michigan.
- Miller, Stuart Creighton. *"Benevolent Assimilation": The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903*. 2nd Printing. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Miller, Lewis. *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*. School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.
- Montgomery Advertiser*. “Elihu Root,” February 8, 1937.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/414020296>.

- Morning Journal*. "Hon. Lewis Miller Dead." February 18, 1899.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/595070334>.
- Morning News*. "Perilous Photography," August 13, 1899.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/852560362>.
- Municipality of the County of Kings*. "History." Accessed October 9, 2023.  
<https://www.countyofkings.ca/visitors/History>.
- Musser, Charles. *Politicking and Emergent Media: Us Presidential Elections of the 1890S*. First Edition. Oakland: University of California Press, 2016.
- . *The Emergence of the Cinema: The American Screen to 1907*. 1st ed. Vol. 1. New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1990.
- . *Thomas A. Edison and His Kinetographic Motion Pictures*. New Brunswick: Friends Of Edison Natl, 1995.
- Musser, Charles, and Carol Nelson. *High-Class Moving Pictures: Lyman H. Howe and the Forgotten Era of Traveling Exhibition, 1880-1920 (Princeton Legacy Library, 1229)*. Reprint. Princeton University Press, 2015.
- National Archives Catalog. "Records of the Adjutant General's Office 1762 - 1984." Database with images. 2023. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C.  
<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/53100042>.
- New York Times*. "Gen. Porter was the Host," June 1, 1895.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/20293224>.
- . "W.C. Endsley Now a Soldier," April 2, 1900.  
<https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/w-c-endsley-now-soldier/docview/96045396>.
- "New York, U.S., Civil War Muster Roll Abstracts, 1861-1900." Database with images. *Ancestry.com*. <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/567125:1965:2023>
- Nichols, Bill. *Engaging Cinema: An Introduction to Film Studies*. Illustrated. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2010.
- "Nova Scotia Births, Marriages, and Deaths." Database with images. *Nova Scotia Archives*.  
<https://archives.novascotia.ca/vital-statistics/birth/?ID=70861> : 2023.
- Philadelphia College of Pharmacy. Alumni Association. *Alumni Report*. Philadelphia: Alumni Association of the Philadelphia Collect of Pharmacy, 1900.

- Philadelphia Times*. "Personal and Pertinent," October 4, 1899.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/53784844/>.
- Pittsburgh Daily Post*. "Shanghaied for War in the Philippines," April 1, 1900.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/86434174>.
- Pizzitola, Louis. *Hearst Over Hollywood : Power, Passion, and Propaganda in the Movies*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Plimpton, Horace G. 1909. *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*. School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. <https://edisondigital.rutgers.edu/document/D0934ADC>
- Poughkeepsie Eagle-News*. "Escape of Abner Mckinley's Family, " *March 18, 1899*.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/114972177>.
- Post-Standard*. "Brief Wedded Life Ends in Divorce," August 2, 1904.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/9100623>.
- Pratt, Julius W. "The Origin of 'Manifest Destiny.'" *American Historical Review* 32, no. 4 (1927): 795. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1837859>.
- Press-Democrat*. "Rebekah Entertainment Saturday Night," April 24, 1903.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/663393309>.
- Ramrattan, Lall B., and Michael Szenberg. "American Exceptionalism: An Appraisal—Political, Economic, Qualitative, and Quantitative." *The American Economist* 62, no. 2 (2017): 222–46. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0569434516672793>.
- Ramsaye, Terry. *A Million and One Nights: A History of the Motion Picture*. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1964.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. "Free Silver, Trusts, and the Philippines." Transcript of speech delivered at Grand Rapids, MI, September 7, 1900.  
<https://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/theodore-roosevelt-free-silver-trusts-and-the-philippines-speech-text/>.
- Russell, Henry Benajah. *The Lives of William Mckinley and Garret A. Hobart, Republican Presidential Candidates Of 1896*. Hartford: A. D. Worthington and co., 1896.
- Sack, Robert D. "Human Territoriality: A Theory." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 73, no. 1 (1983): 55–74.  
<https://doi.org/doi:10.1111/j.1467-8306.1983.tb01396.x>.

- Sacramento Bee*. "Dewey's Great Day," September 30, 1899.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/623694771/>.
- San Francisco Examiner*. "Clandestinely Took Pictures of the Fight, 'Enterprise' of Seven Men which Affects Biograph Company," November 6, 1899.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/458118295>.
- Schatz, Robert T., and Howard Lavine. "Waving the Flag: National Symbolism, Social Identity, and Political Engagement." *Political Psychology* 28, no. 3 (June 2007): 329–55. URL:  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20447045>.
- Schreier, Margrit. "Qualitative Content Analysis." In *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*, edited by Flick Uwe, 1st ed., 170–83. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Inc., 2013.
- Semi-Weekly New Era*. "Home Sweet Home!," April 4, 1900.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/559385887>.
- Seneca Falls Society. *Papers Read Before the Seneca Falls Historical Society for the Year 1906*. Seneca Falls: Seneca Falls Society, 1906.
- Shaw, Tony. "Cinematic Propaganda During the Cold War: A Comparison of British and American Movies." In *War and the Media: Reportage and Propaganda, 1900-2003*, edited by Mark Connelly and David Welch. I.B. Tauris, 2005.
- Sirios-Trahan, Jean-Pierre. "Movies, New Imperialism, and the New Century." In *American Cinema 1890-1909 : Themes and Variations*, edited by Andre Gaudreault, 1st ed., 91–111. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2020.  
<https://doi.org/10.36019/9780813546445-007>.
- Sorenson, Thomas C. "We Become Propagandists." In *Readings in Propaganda and Persuasion : New and Classic Essays*, edited by Garth S. Jowett, translated by Victoria O'Donnell, 83–109. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006.
- Spehr, Paul. *The Man Who Made Movies: W.K.L. Dickson*. Bloomington: John Libbey Publishing, 2008. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt20060g>.
- Sproule, J. Michael. *Propaganda and Democracy: The American Experience of Media and Mass Persuasion (Cambridge Studies in the History of Mass Communication)*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Statesman Journal*. "Mckinley's Brother," May 5, 1896.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/192169296>.

- St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. "Maj. Gen. Young Arrives," April 3, 1902.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/571381635>.
- Sun*. "Electricity in Warfare." January 12, 1896. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/51906172>.
- Swift, Morrison Isaac. *Expansion For The Sake Of God, Love And Civilization*. Los Angeles: The Ronbroke press, 1900.
- Tehranchian, Hassan. "Agitprop Theatre: Germany And The Soviet Union." PhD diss., New York University, 1982.  
<https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/agitprop-theatre-germany-soviet-union/docview/303249687/se-2>.
- Thompson, Andrew. "Imperial Propaganda During the South African War." In *Writing a Wider War: Rethinking Gender, Race, and Identity in the South African War, 1899–1902*, edited by Greg Cuthbertson, Albert Grundlingh, and Mary-Lyn Suttie, 1st ed., 303–27. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002.
- Tocqueville, Alexis De. *Democracy in America*. Translated by Harvey C Mansfield and Debra Winthrop. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Thomas A. Edison, Inc. *No. 94, Edison Films, March 1900, Complete Catalogue*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Community Repository, Rutgers University, 1900.  
<https://doi.org/doi:10.7282/T3SN09B0>.
- Topeka Daily Herald*. "A Dangerous Profession," April 1, 1904.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/387439189>.
- Topeka State Journal*. "In a Dilemma," July 18, 1899.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/323088587>.
- Twain, Mark. "To the Person Sitting in Darkness." *North American Review* 172, no. 531 (1901): 161–76. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25105120>.
- U.S. Army National Guard, New Jersey. *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*. School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.
- U.S. Congress. *Congressional Record*. 56th Cong., 1st sess., 1900. Vol. 33, pt. 1.  
<https://www.congress.gov/bound-congressional-record/1900/01/08>.
- "U.S. Presbyterian Church Records, 1701-1970." Church Registers. *Ancestry.com*, Citing Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

“U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918.” Database with images. *Ancestry.com*, Citing National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/12972010:6482>

United States Department of State. “The Philippine-American War, 1899– 1902.” *Office of the Historian, Foreign Service Institute*. Accessed April 6, 2023. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1899-1913/war>.

Varshney, Ashutosh. “Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, And Rationality.” *Perspective on Politics* 1, no. 1 (2003): 85–99. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1537592703000069>.

Webster, Gerald R. “American Nationalism, The Flag, and the Invasion of Iraq\*.” *Geographical Review* 101, no. 1 (2011): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1931-0846.2011.00069.x>.

Welch, David. “Introduction: Winning Hearts and Minds: The Changing Context of Reportage and Propaganda, 1900-2003.” In *War and the Media: Reportage and Propaganda, 1900-2003*, edited by Mark Connelly and David Welch, i. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005.

White, James H. *Admiral Dewey Leading Land Parade, No. 2*. Edison Manufacturing Co., 1899; 35 mm film. From Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*. MPEG video, 4:20 at 16 fps. <https://www.loc.gov/item/00694142>.

———. *Advance of Kansas Volunteers at Caloocan*. Edison Manufacturing Co., 1899; 35 mm film. From Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*. MPEG video, 0:44 at 24 fps. <https://www.loc.gov/item/98501192>.

———. *Capture of Trenches at Candaba*. Edison Manufacturing Co., 1899; 35 mm film, from Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*. MPEG video, 0:51 at 24 fps. <https://www.loc.gov/item/98501201>.

———. *Filipinos Retreat from Trenches*. Edison Manufacturing Co., 1899; 35 mm film. From Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*. MPEG video, 0:51 at 24 fps. <https://www.loc.gov/item/98501198>.

———. *Morning Colors on U.S. Cruiser “Raleigh.”* Edison Manufacturing Co., 1899; 35 mm film. From Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*. MPEG video, 0:42 at 16 fps. <https://www.loc.gov/item/98501201>.

———. *U.S. Cruiser “Raleigh.”* Edison Manufacturing Co., 1899; 35 mm film. From Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*. MPEG video, 0:41 at 16 fps. <https://www.loc.gov/item/98501222>.

———. *U.S. Troops and Red Cross in the Trenches Before Caloocan*. Edison Manufacturing Co., 1899; 35 mm film. From Library of Congress, *The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures*. MPEG video, 0:41 at 24 fps. <https://www.loc.gov/item/98501181>.

———. *The Thomas A. Edison Papers*. School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.

*Wilkes-Barre Leader*. “Alger's Successor was Named To-Day,” July 22, 1899.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/394965488>.

*Windsor Star*. “Vaudeville Stage,” July 23, 1900.  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/499188841>.