Anti-Imperialism in the United States
Andrew Carnegie

The acquisition of new territory that accompanied the U.S. victory in the war with Spain led to a nationwide debate over the propriety of this kind of expansion. An "anti-imperialist" movement that was nevertheless strongly nationalistic regarded U.S. expansionism—especially into the Pacific—as a threat to republican values. The issue was a prominent one in the 1900 presidential election, in which the Republican incumbent, William McKinley, defended the policies that had led to expansion, easily defeating the Democratic anti-imperialist candidate Williams Jennings Bryan. One of the leading figures in the anti-imperialist movement was the Scottish-born immigrant and industrialist Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919). Excerpted below is an article by Carnegie that was published just after the Spanish surrender in Cuba on July 17, 1898.

... Is the Republic, the apostle of Triumphant Democracy, of the rule of the people, to abandon her political creed and endeavor to establish in other lands the rule of the foreigner over the people, Triumphant Despotism?

Is the Republic to remain one homogeneous whole, one united people, or to become a scattered and disjointed aggregate of widely separated and alien races?

Is she to continue the task of developing her vast continent until it holds a population as great as that of Europe, all Americans, or to abandon that destiny to annex, and to attempt to govern, other far distant parts of the world as outlying possessions, which can never be integral parts of the Republic? ...

There are two kinds of national possessions, one colonies, the other dependencies. In the former we establish and reproduce our own race. Thus Britain has peopled Canada and Australia with English-speaking people, who have naturally adopted our ideas of self-government. ...

With "dependencies" it is otherwise. The most grievous burden which Britain has upon her shoulders is the race to grow. ... India means death a "dependency" is that the acquisition there. ...

Some of the organs of manufacture, possessions as necessary or helpful of the United States this year are gold and silver, world. Even Britain's exports are dwindling... "colonies" and "dependencies." If we could establish colonies of part of the world now unpopulated, and thus follow the example of we should have to think twice, yea, we have to face is the question whether dangerous policy of undertaking where it is impossible for our own purpose.

As long as we remain free from against serious attack. ... Up to that interfere with affairs beyond our own watch over American interests accord. firmly established. This carries with it we cannot escape. European nation pertaining to our Continent, but that military or naval forces. We are at the support of the power in whose if it be found essential to possess a sible, though not probable, contingency would the control of the West, Britain, since the islands are small and without national aspirations, American in every sense. Their destiny be entered against such legitimate sphere, should events work in that of growth, either in population or by American and that it will bound in time to be false to the Re

The Philippines have about seven of races bitterly hostile to one another and institutions. Americans cannot hang in the school-houses of th dependence, and yet deny independence of the Philippine Islander make, as mission? Are we to practice indirect rebellion in our books, yet to stem revolt and expect the harvest of lo

The Colossus of the North

Britain has upon her shoulders is that of India, for there it is impossible for our race to grow. . . . India means death to our race. The characteristic feature of a “dependency” is that the acquiring power cannot reproduce its own race there. . . .

Some of the organs of manufacturing interests, we observe, favor foreign possessions as necessary or helpful markets for our products. But the exports of the United States this year are greater than those of any other nation in the world. Even Britain’s exports are less, yet Britain “possesses,” it is said, a hundred “colonies” and “dependencies” scattered all over the world. . . .

If we could establish colonies of Americans, and grow Americans in any part of the world now unpopulated and unclaimed by any of the great powers, and thus follow the example of Britain, heart and mind might tell us that we should have to think twice, yea, thrice, before deciding adversely. . . . What we have to face is the question whether we should embark upon the difficult and dangerous policy of undertaking the government of alien races in lands where it is impossible for our own race to be produced.

As long as we remain free from distant possessions we are impregnable against serious attack. . . . Up to this time we have disclaimed all intention to interfere with affairs beyond our own continent, and only claimed the right to watch over American interests according to the Monroe Doctrine, which is now firmly established. This carries with it serious responsibilities, no doubt, which we cannot escape. European nations must consult us upon territorial questions pertaining to our Continent, but this makes no tremendous demand upon our military or naval forces. We are at home, as it were, near our base, and sure of the support of the power in whose behalf and on whose request we may act. If it be found essential to possess a coaling station at Porto Rico for future possible, though not probable, contingencies, there is no insuperable objection. Neither would the control of the West Indies be alarming, if pressed upon us by Britain, since the islands are small and the populations must remain insignificant and without national aspirations. Besides, they are upon our own shores, American in every sense. Their defense by us would be easy. No protest need be entered against such legitimate and peaceful expansion in our own hemisphere, should events work in that direction. I am no “Little” American, afraid of growth, either in population or territory, provided always that the new territory be American and that it will produce Americans, and not foreign races bound in time to be false to the Republic in order to be true to themselves. . . .

The Philippines have about seven and a half millions of people, composed of races bitterly hostile to one another, alien races, ignorant of our language and institutions. Americans cannot be grown there. . . . With what face shall we hang in the school-houses of the Philippines the Declaration of our own Independence, and yet deny independence to them? What response will the heart of the Philippine Islander make, as he reads of Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation? Are we to practice independence and preach subordination, to teach rebellion in our books, yet to stamp it out with our swords, to sow the seed of revolt and expect the harvest of loyalty? . . .
Latin America and the United States

To be more powerful at home is the surest way to be more powerful abroad. To-day the Republic stands the friend of all nations, the ally of none; she has no ambitious designs upon the territory of any power upon another continent; she crosses none of their ambitious designs, evokes no jealousy of the bitter sort, inspires no fears; she is not one of them, scrambling for “possessions,” she stands apart, pursuing her own great mission, and teaching all nations by example. Let her become a power annexing foreign territory, and all is changed in a moment.

The page which recites the resolve of the Republic to rid her neighbor Cuba from the foreign “possessor” will grow brighter with the passing centuries, which may dim many pages now deemed illustrious.

We repeat there is no power in the world that could do more than inconvenience the United States by attacking its fringe, which is all that the world combined could do, so long as our country is not compelled to send its forces beyond its own compact shores to defend worthless “possessions.” If our country were blockaded by the united powers of the world for years, she would emerge from the embargo richer and stronger, and with her own resources more completely developed. We have little to fear from external attack.

NO. 27

1898

The Treaty of Paris

The Governments of the United States and Spain

Ten days after declaring war on Spain, the United States ensured victory by destroying the Spanish fleet at Manila Bay on May 1, 1898. Spain surrendered on August 12, 1898, and the two sides signed a peace treaty in Paris on December 10, 1898. The Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War thus became simply the Spanish-American War. The Cuban independence forces, whose struggle had led to U.S. intervention against Spain, were not even invited to partici-

NO. 35

1904

"To Roosevelt"

Rubén Darío

Félix Rubén García Sarmiento (1867–1916) adopted the pseudonym Rubén Darío when he began writing at the age of fourteen. In 1886 he abandoned his native Nicaragua to adopt a life of constant travel throughout Latin America and Europe. His first major collection of writings, Azul, was published in 1888 and established Darío as the founder and principal figure of modernismo (modernism) in Latin American literature. Cultivated in the relatively stable, cosmopolitan urban climate of the late nineteenth century, the modernists looked to France for literary inspiration, and in doing so radically transformed traditional Spanish verse. In 1898 the Argentine newspaper La Nación sent Darío to cover events in Spain in the aftermath of its war with the United States. That war affected the poet deeply. His poem "To Roosevelt" was first published in the Spanish literary journal Helios in February 1904.

To Roosevelt

The voice that would reach you, Hunter, must speak in Biblical tones, or in the poetry of Walt Whitman. You are primitive and modern, simple and complex; you are one part George Washington and one part Nimrod. You are the United States, future invader of our native America with its Indian blood, an America that still prays to Christ and still speaks Spanish.

You are a strong, proud model of your race; you are cultured and able; you oppose Tolstoy. You are an Alexander-Nebuchadnezzar, breaking horses and murdering tigers. (You are a Professor of Energy, as the current lunatics say).

Latin America and the United States

You think that life is a fire, 
that progress is an irruption, 
that the future is wherever 
your bullet strikes.

No.

The United States is grand and powerful. 
Whenever it trembles, a profound shudder 
rises down the enormous backbone of the Andes. 
If it shouts, the sound is like the roar of a lion. 
And Hugo said to Grant: "The stars are yours." 
(The dawning sun of the Argentine barely shines; 
the star of Chile is rising . . . ) A wealthy country, 
joining the cult of Mammon to the cult of Hercules; 
while Liberty, lighting the path 
to easy conquest, raises her torch in New York.

But our own America, which has had poets 
since the ancient times of Nezahualcóyotl; 
which preserved the footprints of great Bacchus, 
and learned the Punic alphabet once, 
and consulted the stars; which also knew Atlantis 
(whose name comes ringing down to us in Plato) 
and has lived, since the earliest moments of its life, 
in light, in fire, in fragrance, and in love — 
the America of Moctezuma and Atahualpa, 
the aromatic America of Columbus, 
Catholic America, Spanish America, 
the America where noble Cuauhtémoc said: 
"I am not on a bed of roses"—our America, 
trembling with hurricanes, trembling with Love: 
Our men with Saxon eyes and barbarous souls, 
our America lives. And dreams. And loves. 
And it is the daughter of the Sun. Be careful. 
Long live Spanish America! 
A thousand cubs of the Spanish lion are roaming free. 
Roosevelt, you must become, by God's own will, 
the deadly Rifleman and the dreadful Hunter 
before you can clutch us in your iron claws.

And though you have everything, you are lacking one thing: 
God!