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# LETTER

FROM

THE HON. GEORGE F. HOAR

MARCH 29, 1899

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1899



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## LETTER FROM THE HON. GEORGE F. HOAR.

Boston, Feb. 24, 1899.

*To the Hon. George F. Hoar :*

SIR: Many of your fellow-citizens are anxious for an opportunity to give expression to their sense of obligation to you for your courageous and patriotic defence in the Senate of the United States of the principles on which our government was founded.

We, therefore, beg that you will do us the honor of being present at an assembly of the people to be called for that purpose in the city of Boston, and trust that it may be agreeable to you to name an early day for the occasion.

George S. Boutwell.

Charles S. Rackemann.  
Eliot N. Jones.  
George M. Reed.  
James R. Hodder.  
William E. Hutchins.  
D. C. Delano.  
Benjamin J. Loring.  
Francis L. Hayes.  
Sanford Joyce.  
Chas. H. Hemenway.  
Matthew Binney, Jr.  
Arthur R. Potter.  
Joseph A. Denison.  
W. Allaltbain.  
William T. Sedgwick.  
Theodore Hough.  
Samuel C. Prescott.  
F. W. Chandler.  
N. W. Weyse.  
Davis R. Dewey.  
Robert H. Richards.  
Moorfield Storey.  
Arthur Layler.  
A. Lawrence Rotch.  
Edwin D. Sibley.  
Francis M. Edwards.  
P. M. Keating.

John Lowell.  
James Murray Marshall.  
Alvin F. Sortwell.  
Francis L. Coolidge.  
Thomas N. Watson.  
John W. Threshie.  
John F. Sullivan.  
John G. Miller.  
Henry Martyn Clarke.  
Samuel W. Reed.  
William C. Smith.  
Birney C. Parsons.  
H. H. Wilder.  
Frank B. Fay.  
Albert B. Harris.  
Maurice P. Spillane.  
William M. Noble.  
Edwin Sweetser.  
S. Gannett Wells.  
Henry W. Darling.  
Ralph W. Gloag.  
Wallace L. Pierce.  
Joseph W. Stevens.  
H. O. Hofman.  
Francis C. Gray.  
Nathaniel H. Henchman.  
George T. Tilden.

Robert J. Edwards.  
 Thornton K. Lothrop.  
 David Green Haskins,  
 Jr.

Francis Burke.  
 Walter C. Cogswell.  
 Charles E. Stratton.  
 John M. Corbett.  
 J. G. Lyman.  
 William B. Herrick.  
 Z. L. Arnold.  
 Dudley C. Pickman.  
 Francis W. Adams.  
 George M. Amerige.  
 Frederic B. Holden.  
 Charles B. Cummings.  
 George H. Davenport.  
 Joseph J. Corbett.  
 Samuel Cabot.  
 F. I. Eustis.  
 Charles P. Parker.  
 Frank Linscott.  
 A. Presbrey.  
 John Homans.  
 Z. F. Coone.  
 Arthur E. Thayer.  
 E. N. Lacy.  
 Harvey W. Shepard.  
 George G. Field.  
 Cyrus G. Beebe.  
 Fred. T. Willey.  
 Charles S. Sullivan.  
 John P. S. Churchill.  
 Fiske Warren.  
 Henry B. Cabot.  
 Henry W. Cunningham.  
 Eliphalet F. Philbrick.  
 F. Alcott Pratt.  
 Benj. Delano Sweet.  
 John Kent.  
 Henry W. Putnam.  
 Joseph H. Curtis.  
 Daniel C. Linscott.  
 D. E. Presbrey.  
 John C. Palfrey.  
 John V. Beal.  
 John E. Harrington.

Joseph B. Moors.  
 Redington Fiske.  
 Edward R. Maker.  
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 Laurence Minot.  
 Frederic Cunningham.  
 David A. Hincks.  
 Jerome Jones.  
 J. S. Rust.  
 W. J. Ham.  
 John Wyldes.  
 Charles C. Nichols.  
 Frank H. Jones.  
 Frank Higginson.  
 C. E. Macullar.  
 James H. Mellen.  
 T. A. Seile.  
 H. B. Pitts.  
 A. L. Jewell.  
 C. F. McDougall.  
 Henry W. Bragg.  
 John B. Newhall.  
 Charles S. Lincoln.  
 John Lathrop Wakefield.  
 Josiah H. Quincy.  
 Alban Andren.  
 Charles L. Abbott.  
 T. B. Parsons.  
 David P. Kimball.  
 Walter E. Robie.  
 Francis P. Sears.  
 Charles Warren.  
 Chas. S. Tuckerman.  
 E. J. Keating.  
 Horace Dennie.  
 N. P. Murray.  
 James W. Stillman.  
 John Boyle O'Brien.  
 Fred H. Williams.  
 Fred Pope.  
 John F. Morss.  
 E. A. Rich.  
 Charles T. Gallagher.  
 Samuel H. Wentworth.  
 P. B. Runyan.  
 George T. Angell.  
 Rhodes G. Lockwood.

Henry R. Page.  
 Charles B. Brooks.  
 R. W. Thompson.  
 James Dillon.  
 Robert Fitch.  
 Julian Codman.  
 Gardner Perry.  
 William S. Hall.  
 T. Raymond Pierce.  
 C. E. Harris.  
 Arthur H. Vinal.  
 E. V. Banks.  
 Michael Meehan.  
 D. F. Kimball.  
 F. M. Caine.  
 R. H. Colain.  
 John F. Martin.  
 Edwin B. Hale.  
 William I. Monroe.  
 G. U. Crocker.  
 T. E. Kendall.  
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 Laurentz N. Moller.  
 John H. Blanchard.  
 Edward A. Kelly.  
 William H. Hidden.  
 Winslow Warren.  
 Charles P. Greenough.  
 Arthur Lincoln.  
 F. Simpson.  
 Isidor M. Hirsche.  
 H. W. Morton.  
 Uriel H. Crocker.  
 Nathaniel N. Thayer.  
 Albert Stevens Parsons.  
 Franklin A. Cobb, Jr.  
 William Roger Greeley.  
 Louis Prang.  
 Charles M. Cox, Melrose.  
 J. Pickering Putnam.  
 George E. Rogers.  
 William W. Putnam.  
 George H. Abbott.  
 Alan Arthur.  
 John J. Curley.  
 A. C. Burnett.  
 William Cushing Wait.

W. T. Salter.  
 Silas H. Lord.  
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 J. G. Francis.  
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 Charles D. Fullerton.  
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 T. A. Richardson.  
 George W. White.  
 M. C. Ayers.  
 Hartley Demett.  
 James F. Cobb.  
 L. D. Robbins.  
 Charles J. Lord.  
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 Otto Sharp.  
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 Chester L. Stoddard.  
 P. W. Smith.  
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 Moses Williams.  
 James Dennie.  
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 Charles I. Quirk.  
 J. W. Turner.  
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 Thomas A. Mullen.  
 George E. Howe.  
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 Brooks Walker.  
 James H. Vahey.  
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 James H. Aylward.  
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 Horatio Newhall.  
 Grenville H. Norcross.  
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 A. D. Salinger.  
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 J. Williams Beal.  
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 Edward P. Bliss.  
 James S. Munroe.  
 Charles H. Stevens.  
 Charles Francis Carter.  
 Frank M. Copeland.  
 A. S. Hobart.  
 George R. Stimpson.  
 Charles-Edward A m o r y  
 Winslow.  
 Thomas Wentworth Hig-  
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 Henry H. Edes.  
 John Ritchie.

William Amory Gordon.  
 Henry H. Richards.  
 Irving C. Gladwin.  
 Sherrard Billings.  
 Edwin H. Higley.  
 Arthur H. Woods.  
 Robert P. Clapp.  
 James B. Prince.  
 Henry W. Lewis.  
 Cornelius Wellington.  
 Franklin Alderman.  
 Frank E. Nickerson.  
 Charles E. Lay.  
 Charles M. Hemenway.  
 Francis A. Osborn.  
 Albert S. Eustis.  
 Hugh Cochrane.  
 Lewis F. Weston.  
 Harrison Otis Apthorp.  
 Joseph S. Nowell.  
 Lewis G. Janes.  
 William James.  
 Jabez Fox.  
 F. W. Taussig.  
 Moses P. White.  
 Edwin H. Abbot.  
 Archibald M. Howe.  
 Josiah Royce.  
 Ellery Sedgwick.  
 Charles R. Lanman.

Charles F. Dunbar.  
 Francis E. Abbott.  
 Samuel A. Eliot.  
 Alvin F. Sortwell.  
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 Thomas Post.  
 Herbert C. Parsons.  
 Willard Howland.  
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 Edward L. Beard.  
 Morrill Wyman, Jr.  
 George G. Wright.

Erving Winslow.

WORCESTER, MASS., March 29, 1899.

GENTLEMEN: I received, just at the end of the late session of Congress, the letters signed by you and other gentlemen, asking me to be present at an assembly of the people in the city of Boston, to give expression to your approval of what I have said and done in defence of the principles on which our government was founded. I have taken the liberty to keep back an answer for a few days, and, in the mean time, to consult some persons who agree with you and with me as to the course to be pursued by the country in regard to the territory lately wrested from Spain in both hemispheres. The gentlemen whom I have consulted all agree with me in thinking that it is not worth while to have such a meeting



just now. I am certainly myself entitled to no special credit in this matter. The time has not come when it requires any unusual courage for any servant of Massachusetts to say anywhere what he thinks is right or what she thinks is right. I have said lately only what I have been saying all my life, what Massachusetts has been saying all her life, what — if I may speak of party to you who belong to all parties — the Republican party has been saying all its life. Some of my colleagues in the other House said the same things during the late campaign, with great power and distinctness, and were reelected by their constituents by large majorities.

So I do not think there is any reason personal to me for holding such a public meeting. Undoubtedly there should be, and there will be, many public meetings the country over to protest against trampling under foot the rights of a brave people struggling for their liberties, the violation of the principles of our own constitution and of the Declaration of Independence, and the continuance by the American people in the costly and ruinous path which has brought other republics to ruin and shame, which will dishonor labor, place intolerable burdens upon agriculture, and fasten upon the republic the shame of what President McKinley has so lately and so truly declared to be criminal aggression. But I think, and the gentlemen whom I have consulted all agree with me in thinking, that, so far as Massachusetts is concerned, it will be wiser to have meetings of that character a little later rather than just now. We do not yet know whether the present war for the subjugation of the people of the Philippine islands is to continue indefinitely, or whether there is to be a speedy submission to the overwhelming power of the United States. I do not think so meanly of the most unscrupulous advocate of a policy of aggression and subjugation as to doubt that if the case were reversed, and we or he were in the place of Aguinaldo and the inhabitants of the Philippine islands he would resist to the last extremity and would counsel his countrymen to resist to the last extremity. But we are yet to learn of what temper these islanders are made; whether their powers of endurance are equal to their courage and their love of liberty. If the war shall shortly be ended, we shall then be able to discuss the question of our national duty free from the disturbing influences which exist always when the country is at war. If, on the other hand, the war shall long and indefinitely continue, the people will begin to feel the

burden of increased debt and increased taxation, the loss of life and health of our youth, and the derangement of trade and of peaceful industries.

Meantime, I hope every effort will be made to give to the people full and accurate knowledge of the facts which are so carefully withheld or perverted by the organs of the imperialistic policy. The information which we get as to the events in the Philippine islands comes almost wholly from sources interested in the prolongation of the war, or from irresponsible and unscrupulous adventurers.

An attempt has been made to persuade the American people that the resistance to our arms by the people of the Philippine islands has been due to those who oppose the attempt to subjugate them, and who opposed the ratification of the treaty by which sovereignty over them was purchased and paid for as an article of merchandise. There was never a more unfounded or a more foolish calumny. A strict military censorship was exercised over the cable to the Philippine islands during the whole period. I have in my possession one of the original circulars of the cable company, warning all persons that no dispatch would be transmitted having the least relation to politics without the assent of the military authorities of the United States. A gentleman of high standing in Hong Kong undertook to send to the Philippine islands an abstract of the remarks made by me in the Senate of the United States on the 9th of January, and its transmission was refused. All that the leaders of that people knew of public sentiment in the United States or of the attitude of our government was that we insisted that the language in the treaty relating to them should be different from that relating to Cuba, showing that our government had a different purpose in dealing with them, and that while we had accepted their military assistance, and our State department had informed M. Cambon that the Spanish troops were hemmed in in Manila by the Filipinos on the side of the land and by our navy on the side of the sea, we had thereafter refused to recognize their authority, to hold any communication with them, and had demanded their absolute surrender. Was there ever a brave people on earth that under such circumstances would not have resorted to arms in defence of their liberties? Is there an imperialist in the country so reckless, so wicked, so far forgetful of his own ancestry and the teachings of his country's history as to say that under like circumstances he would

not have done exactly what was done by Aguinaldo and the brave men under his command? The blood of the slaughtered Filipinos, the blood and the wasted health and life of our own soldiers, is upon the heads of those who have undertaken to buy a people in the market like sheep, to treat them as lawful prize and booty of war, to impose a government on them without their consent, and to trample under foot not only the people of the Philippine islands, but the principles upon which the American republic itself rests.

I am not without strong hope that the government of the United States will do what I believe an overwhelming majority of the people of Massachusetts wish to have done — permit and help the people of the Philippine islands to establish for themselves their own government in freedom and in honor. We have delivered them from Spain. Now let us do what we pledged ourselves to do for Cuba — compel other nations to keep their hands off, and keep our own hands off as well. The terrible mistake of refusing to assure the people of the Philippine islands that we meant to respect all their rights; that we came to them as deliverers, and not as conquerors; that their future government was to depend on their desire, and not on ours, upon their interest, as they conceived upon it, and not upon our interest, or even upon their interest, as we conceived it, unhappily has been made. To that mistake has been owing the loss of many lives among the Filipinos, and of the precious life and precious health of many of our own sons. But even now it is in our power to retrace our steps, and to act upon what was American doctrine and Republican doctrine and Democratic doctrine, even down to and including the twentieth day of April, 1898. The two houses of Congress on that day declared, with the approval of the President, that the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent. If the people of Cuba then were, or whether they were or not, if they of right ought to be, free and independent, the people of the Philippine islands were, and of right ought to be, free and independent. They had come much nearer the accomplishment of their freedom and independence than the people of Cuba. They had hemmed the Spanish forces into a small territory where they could control but 200,000 or 300,000 of their 10,000,000 people. They were better fitted for self-government, by the testimony of our two great commanders

in the East, than the people of Cuba. We resolved at the same time that "the United States disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over Cuba except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people." And the President, reciting that action nearly a year afterward, declared that any other conduct on our part would have been "criminal aggression." The law of righteousness and justice on which the great and free American people should act, and in the end, I am sure, will act, depends not on parallels of latitude or meridians of longitude or points of the compass. It is the same in this eastern archipelago as in the Antilles. It is the same in the islands of the sea as on the continent. It is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. It is as true now as when our fathers declared it in 1776. It is as binding on William McKinley as it was upon George Washington or Abraham Lincoln. The only powers of government the American people can recognize are just powers, and those powers rest upon the consent of the governed.

No man, during this whole discussion, has successfully challenged, and no man will successfully challenge,

*First.* The affirmation that under the constitution of the United States, the acquisition of territory, as of other property, is not a constitutional end, but only a means to a constitutional end, and that while the making new States and providing for the National defence are constitutional ends, so that we may acquire and hold territory for those purposes, the governing subject peoples is not a constitutional end, and that there is therefore no constitutional warrant for acquiring or holding territory for that purpose.

*Second.* That to leave our own country to stand on foreign soil is in violation of the warnings of our fathers and of the farewell address of Washington.

*Third.* That there was never a tropical colony yet governed with any tolerable success without a system of contract labor degrading to the dignity alike of labor, of citizenship, and of manhood.

*Fourth.* The trade advantages of the Philippine islands, if there be any, must be opened alike to all the world, and that our share of them will never begin to pay the cost of subjugating them by war or of holding them in subjection in peace.

*Fifth.* That the military occupation of these tropical regions must be kept at an immense cost both to the souls and the bodies of our soldiers.

*Sixth.* That the declaration as to Cuba by the President and by Congress applies with stronger force to the case of the Philippine islands. Who can doubt that Congress, if it had dreamed of the present condition of things when it made its declaration as to Cuba, would have extended it to all other Spanish territory?

*Seventh.* That Aguinaldo and his followers, before we began to make war upon them, had conquered their own territory and independence from Spain, with the exception of a single city, and were getting ready to establish a free constitution.

*Eighth.* That while they are fighting for freedom and independence and the doctrines of our fathers, we are fighting for the principle that one people may control and govern another in spite of its resistance and against its will.

*Ninth.* That language and argument of those who object to this war are, without change, the language and argument of Chatham, of Fox, of Burke, of Barre, of Camden, and of the English and American Whigs; and the language and argument of those who support it are the language and argument of George III., of Lord North, of Mansfield, of Wedderburn, and of Johnson, and of the English and American Tories.

*Tenth.* No orator, or newspaper, or preacher, being a supporter of this policy of subjugation, dares repeat in speech or in print any of the great utterances for freedom of Washington, of Jefferson, of John Adams, of Abraham Lincoln, or of Charles Sumner.

The question the American people are now considering and with which they are about to deal is not a question of a day, or of a year, or of an administration, or of a century. It is to affect and largely determine the whole future of the country. We can recover from a mistake in regard to other matters which have interested or divided the people, however important or serious. Tariffs and currency and revenue laws, even foreign wars, all these, as Thomas Jefferson said, "are billows that will pass under the ship." But if the Republic is to violate the law of its being, if it is to be converted into an empire, not only the direction of the voyage is to be changed, but the chart and the compass are to be thrown away. We have not as yet taken the

irrevocable step. Before it is taken let the voice of the whole people be heard.

I am, with high regard,

Faithfully yours,

GEO. F. HOAR.

To Messrs. George S. Boutwell, Charles W. Eliot, A. E. Pillsbury, T. L. Livermore, Edward W. Emerson, Charles H. Walcott, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Edwin D. Mead, A. Lawrence Rotch, David P. Kimball, Edwin B. Hale, Frank B. Fay, Wallace L. Pierce, William T. Sedgwick, John C. Palfrey, Samuel Cabot, G. U. Crocker, Josiah H. Quincy, Uriel H. Crocker, Charles G. Ames, Francis Peabody, Jr., Osborne Howes, E. H. Clement, C. P. Curtis, William Endicott, Winslow Warren, Charles Francis Adams, Francis A. Osborn, Erving Winslow, and others.

# PUBLICATIONS ON ANTI-IMPERIALISM

*For Gratuitous Distribution until Editions are Exhausted.*

Address ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary Anti-Imperialist  
League, 44 Kilby Street, Boston.

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Address to the People of the United States.

A form of petition on sheets and cards.

Circular explaining the method of distributing the cards.

Letter to Labor Unions.

Leaflet containing letter by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, entitled,  
"Commercial Expansion vs. Colonial Expansion."

Leaflet with extract from Senator Hoar's speech at Worcester, July 29, 1898, "The Opinion of Massachusetts on Imperialism."

Four of Governor Boutwell's speeches, entitled, "Problems Raised by the War," "Imperialists or Republicans," "Isolation and Imperialism," and "Peace or War."

Letter to American Conference on International Arbitration.

Hon. George F. Edmunds's letter to the New York "World": "What the Philippines are."

Letters to Senators urging them to stand firm against the treaty.

Circular appeal for funds.

Speeches at a Faneuil Hall meeting, June 15, 1898.

Speech at Lexington by Hon. Chas. Francis Adams, entitled, "Imperialism and the Tracks of our Forefathers."

Pamphlet by Mr. F. A. Brooks, entitled, "Objections to the President's Proposed Subjugation of the Filipinos."

Address of Hon. Carl Schurz, entitled, "American Imperialism."

Rev. Henry Van Dyke's sermon, entitled, "American Birthright and Philippine Pottage."

Address by Dr. Lewis G. Janes, entitled, "The Short Way with the Filipinos."

Voice of the Farmer; selections from agricultural papers.

Three pamphlets by Mr. Edward Atkinson, entitled, "The Hell of War and its Penalties," and "The Cost of a National Crime," and "Criminal Aggression, by Whom Committed?" Also Appendix to "The Hell of War and its Penalties."

Speech of Hon. George F. Hoar, "No Constitutional power to conquer foreign nations and hold people in subjection against their will."

Speech by Hon. William E. Mason, "As to the government of foreign nations without their consent."

Letter by Hon. Winslow Warren, entitled, "The White Man's Burden."

The Imperialist's Creed. Leaflet.

Pamphlet by Mr. William M. Slater, entitled, "Imperialism."

Address to the People, Feb. 10, 1899, and report of the Executive Committee.

Address to the People signed by twenty-nine prominent persons, March 13, 1899.

Letter from the Hon. George F. Hoar, March 29, 1899, declining invitation to a public reception.

**ANTI-IMPERIALIST BROADSIDE, No. 1. Containing extracts from**

Washington's Farewell Address,  
The Monroe Doctrine,  
Jefferson,  
President Gilman,  
Albert Gallatin,  
President McKinley's Messages,  
Senator George F. Hoar,  
Ex-Secretary John Sherman,  
Ex-Senator George F. Edmunds,

Peace Commissioner Whitelaw Reid,  
Andrew Carnegie,  
James Bryce,  
Prof. David Starr Jordan,  
Rev. Dr. T. J. Conaty, of Catholic University, Washington,  
Simeon E. Baldwin,  
Rev. Edward Everett Hale,  
David Greene Haskins, Jr.

**ANTI-IMPERIALIST BROADSIDE, No. 2. Containing extracts from**

Hon. John G. Carlisle,  
Rev. Leonard Woolsey Bacon,  
Samuel Gompers,  
Bishop Henry C. Potter,  
Herbert Welsh,  
Prof. Edward Starr Jordan,

Edward Atkinson,  
"Mr. Dooley," of Chicago, on the Philippines,  
Ex-Senator George F. Edmunds,  
"A Parable" (Poetry).

**ANTI-IMPERIALIST BROADSIDE, No. 3. Containing extracts from**

Speeches of Moorfield Storey, Esq.,  
Gamaliel Bradford,  
Rev. Charles G. Ames,  
George E. McNeil; articles by,  
Edwin D. Mead, Editor New England Magazine,  
Felix Adler,  
Gen. Patrick A. Collins, late Consul-General at London,

Prof. Theodore S. Woolsey,  
President Schurman, of Cornell University.  
Raymond L. Bridgman,  
"Colonel Yellowstone Yell,"  
Hon. Carl Schurz,  
Senator Eugene Hale,  
Senator George F. Hoar,  
Hon. John Sherman,  
H. W. Peabody, and others.

**ANTI-IMPERIALIST BROADSIDE, No. 4. Containing extracts from**

Paper by Mr. Carman F. Randall,  
Sermon by Henry Van Dyke, D.D., LL.D.,  
Short Catechism, by W. H. W.,

Morning Star,  
Boston Herald,  
Edward Atkinson,  
Macauley,  
Letter by Dr. Lewis G. Janes.



**ANTI-IMPERIALIST BROADSIDE, No. 5. Containing extracts from**

Sermons by Rev. William R.  
Huntington,  
Rev. Daniel Merriman,  
Rev. Chas. G. Ames,  
Rev. T. C. Druley,

Rev. Chas. F. Dole,  
Prof. George P. Fisher, of Yale  
College,  
Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter,  
bishop of New York.

**ANTI-IMPERIALIST BROADSIDE, No. 6. Containing extracts from**

Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst,  
D.D.  
Rev. Isaac M. Atwood, D.D.,  
Rt. Rev. A. N. Littlejohn,  
bishop of Long Island,  
Rev. Henry Van Dyke, D.D.,

Rev. William H. P. Faunce,  
D.D.,  
Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, D.D.,  
Rector Catholic University,  
Washington, D.C.

**ANTI-IMPERIALIST BROADSIDE, No. 7. Containing extracts from**

Hon. Charles Francis Adams,  
Moorfield Storey,

Rev. James L. Barton,  
"The Lion's Whelp." (Poetry.)





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