

You are earnestly asked to hand this after reading to
some other person who will also give it
careful consideration.

REPORT

OF THE

Fourth Annual Meeting

OF THE

NEW ENGLAND

Anti-Imperialist League

NOVEMBER 29, 1902

AND ITS ADJOURNMENT DEC. 2

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NEW ENGLAND ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE

44 Kilby Street, Boston, Mass.

E. A. W. D. S. P.

REPORT

The annual meeting was held on November 29, 1902, the last Saturday in November, at the office of the secretary, 44 Kilby street, Boston, at twelve o'clock noon and was adjourned to the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, 2 Ashburton place, Boston, on Tuesday, December 2, at one o'clock. After a luncheon, the meeting was called to order by the President, the Honorable George S. Boutwell, the reading of the records being dispensed with.

ADDRESS BY THE HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

However agreeable this assembly may be to us, it can only excite apprehensive fears in those who wait in languid hope for our final departure from the scene of political action.

That day, if it were to come, would be a day of sincerer thanksgivings than the thanksgivings that were offered by the imperialists of the country on the anniversary day as proclaimed by the President.

Our notice may be disregarded, but it is this: That day can never come, except as it may follow a day of triumph over the policy of the administration in the Philippines and the abandonment of the doctrine of "aggressive expansion," as that policy has been characterized by President Cleveland.

When the protocol of August, 1898, was signed, the words imperial and imperialist were no part of our language. They had not then been applied nor had they been applicable to any feature of American policy. Their applicability to our present policy may be denied by imperialists in America, but the imperialists in England claim kinship with those whom we term imperialists in the United States.

Thus the administration is known at home and abroad as an imperialistic administration. Under its lead the country has become what Spain was and what England is.

We demand the reversal of this policy. Such has been our demand for four years.

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Our meeting on the last Saturday in the month of November, 1898, followed by the organization of the Anti-Imperialistic League, was the first organized movement against imperialism in America. In these four years leagues have been formed in eight principal cities of the country, and those leagues have distributed not less than 4,000,000 books, pamphlets, speeches and leaflets to which a favorable response has been made in many quarters.

From the press, aside from that which is Republican and partisan in the extreme, and that which for some temporary purpose is commercial in its character, there has been generous treatment of the Anti-Imperialistic cause and literature. Of the press of Boston it is just to say that the major part in numbers, in circulation, in influence, has opposed the Philippine usurpation.

In November, 1898, the pulpit had not spoken. In the intervening period there have been many declarations of concurrence of opinion from clergymen of many branches of the Christian church; and it is near to the truth to say that not one pulpit in the land has given an open and full approval of the aggressive policy of President McKinley and President Roosevelt. If, as has been claimed, our Oriental policy is in obedience to the divine will, then the clergy of the land have been slow in the discovery of an important truth. Nor have we been led by a blind destiny. Our error is due to a systematic purpose to create an Imperial Republic and the greed of power and the greed of gain are the instrumentalities by which the war has been carried on and thus the most formidable and dangerous of all the trusts has been developed which is at once political and power-getting, mercenary and money making. Its support and source of power is the treasury of the United States, and its agency is the army of the United States. Hence the army is made sacred and freed from reproach, whatever its misdoings may be. A new feature has been introduced into our public policy. The army is sacred. Nothing else is sacred. Neither the Supreme Court, nor the magistrates of any degree, nor any authority in government is sacred, except the army. It is the teaching of history and the suggestion of reason that whatever is made sacred in any country soon becomes supreme. Hence it is that the President classes patriots like Carl Schurz and Charles Francis Adams, who volunteered for the defence of their country in the days of its greatest need, with Vallandigham and his associates, who abandoned their country in the

days of its greatest peril. Thus it is that the President criticizes and condemns those who criticize the army, and officers of the army returning from their inglorious service in the East criticize freedom of speech in the American people.

The President's speech of anathema includes civilians who deserve well of their country. First of all, I mention Senator Morrill. He did not hesitate nor doubt. Had he lived he would have voted against the ratification of the Spanish treaty, and saved us from the war in the Philippines and its attendant evils and crimes. In the weeks not months, before his death he expressed his approval of my course on the Philippine question. The denunciation includes justices of the Supreme Court, public men of experience and recognized worth, and finally, it includes a body of the American people only less, if less, than one-half of the whole. Even a president may have occasion to regret, as one president did have occasion to regret, his attack upon the integrity, the wisdom, the patriotism of his countrymen.

In these four years the Democratic party, in harmony with the opinions of its two heretofore recognized leaders, has become a unit in its purpose to resist the "aggressive expansion" of the territory of the United States.

Some victories have been gained already, and those victories were gained in portions of the country where the Philippine question was most fully, freely and boldly discussed. Massachusetts and Rhode Island by significant gains and by adequate majorities have declared against the policy of the Republican party, including without reserve its policy in the East. New York is saved to the Republicans by a plurality which is less than two per cent. of the vote of the state. In the states west and south of New York and north of the Potomac River, where the contest was fought over the tariff and the trusts, the Republican party was invincible. The Central West, where slavery was first prohibited on this continent, will yield finally to the humane and moral demand that we make that the vast powers of this Republic which that Central West has helped to create shall not be used for the enslavement of mankind. The Central West, the Great West, the South, entering upon a heretofore unknown degree of prosperity, will unite in the humane, the moral contest in which we are engaged. Questions of tariff, of trusts, of the currency have no moral qualities, or if such qualities exist they are too remote for common observation.

At this point we may meet the charge that we intend to

"haul down the flag." Yes, we intend to "haul down the flag" wherever it is the ensign of despotism. Yes, we intend to "haul down the flag," wherever it floats over slave marts, as in the Sulu Isles today. Yes, we intend to "haul down the flag" where it now floats over the owners and custodians of slave marts who have by treaty become pensioners upon the treasury of the United States.

I turn to the question at issue. Do I deceive myself when I say that this is the greatest question ever submitted to mankind? Do I deceive myself when I say that this is the gravest question ever submitted to the American people? In 1789 the question was this: Shall thirteen little republics become one great Republic? In 1861 the question was this and only this: Shall there be two Republics between Canada and Mexico, one free and the other a slaveholding republic, as the United States had then been from 1789?

From February 5, 1899, and perhaps from December 21, 1898, the question has been, as it yet is: Shall there be any republic between Canada and Mexico, except as the United States, an empire in fact, shall be masquerading as a republic?

The crime against which we wage war is two fold: First, the attempt to take absolute control over the liberties and lives of ten million human beings through a money purchase was a crime against justice for which there can be no defence. That there can be no sufficient defence may be seen in the excuses that are given. We have been led by Divine Providence, and therefore we must remain.

We have been led by destiny as were our ancestors in the acquisition of Louisiana, of California and Alaska. Destiny did not mislead them, it will not desert us.

They forget the fact or they choose to omit the mention of the fact, that there was never from any of these territories a recorded protest against the sovereignty of the United States.

Second. An independent crime is to be found in the criminal policy which has characterized the war from February 5, 1899, to the date of the last transaction recorded in the arraignment made by Storey and Codman, which, after sixty days, is neither explained nor answered. By some we are assured that only the treatment, of which the report of Storey and Codman is but a feeble expression, could have ended the war in the Philippines. General Chaffee cheers the country by the suggestion that within a hundred years the inhabitants of the Islands may be trained into harmony with the civilization that we are thrust-

ing upon them. If the devastation of the lands, the massing of the people in herds with famine and pestilence following, if death tortures in pursuit of secrets; if orders for the killing of all persons above the age of ten years, if indeed a hundred years of such means, either in execution or in reserve, are required for the full control of the Islands, then the inhabitants are too formidable for subjugation or too vile for companionship.

We demand the abandonment of the Islands for the reason that we have no right to be there. Our title is but a slaveholder's title.

We demand the abandonment of the Islands for the reason that the continuance of possession requires the infliction of brutalities heretofore unknown, even by name, to the American people. And more than all and over all other reasons we denounce the occupation of the Islands as the abandonment of the American Republic and the condemnation of the men by whom its foundations were laid.

If I have a word to say to the living or to the coming generations of our country, it is this: The cause in which we are engaged is never to be abandoned until the right shall have been proclaimed.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Boston, November 29, 1902.

The annual report of the Secretary is the report of the Executive Committee, to which, by the constitution of the N. E. A. I. League, its entire business is confided. The Committee met on Thursday, December 5, following the third annual meeting and organized by the choice of Mr. A. S. Parsons as chairman. It has held stated sessions every fortnight, the last having taken place on Wednesday, November 26, and during the year no session has failed of a quorum for the dispatch of business. It is announced with great regret that Mr. James P. Munroe, who has been one of its most valuable and faithful members from its organization, declines to allow the use of his name for re-election to the Committee on account of the pressure of other cares and duties.

The Committee has had the advantage of meeting members of the League during the past year more frequently than before. The gatherings which have been held have afforded great help and encouragement to the Committee and it is be-

lieved that they have been found acceptable to the members of the League who have participated in them.

Our work may be classified under the head of meetings and conferences, the circulation of documents, and correspondence.

The meetings in which the League has been more or less directly interested have been as follows: Mass meeting at Faneuil Hall on the 22d of January, 1902, under the auspices of the Boston Central Labor Union, presided over by Hon. George E. McNeill and addressed by the Hon. George S. Boutwell; luncheon given at Parker's Hotel on February 24th to welcome Mr. Fiske Warren; luncheon at the Twentieth Century Club, March 13, followed by addresses from the Hon. George S. Boutwell, Hon. Moorfield Storey, Dr. B. F. Trueblood, Mr. F. B. Sanborn, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, Mr. Edward Atkinson, Rev. C. F. Dole, Dr. F. E. Abbot, Mr. Walter C. Wright, Hon. Gamaliel Bradford, Rev. Charles G. Ames, Rev. A. A. Berle, and Rev. John C. Kimball; a conference of Anti-Imperialists at the Plaza Hotel, New York, April 28; luncheon and conference at the Exchange Club, June 3d; a mass meeting at Faneuil Hall, addressed by the Hon. W. Bourke Cockran, June 26th, at which the Hon. Gamaliel Bradford presided; luncheon and addresses at the Twentieth Century Club, October 16, at which the speakers were the Hon. Winslow Warren, Col. Charles R. Codman, Hon. Moorfield Storey, Mr. John A. Hobson, Judge A. A. Putnam, Mr. Edwin D. Mead, Mr. George H. Perris, Rev. William R. Lord, Hon. George S. Boutwell, and Rev. R. E. Bisbee; a mass meeting at Faneuil Hall, October 24, to support Democratic candidates for Congress pledged to Anti-Imperialism, presided over by the Hon. A. A. Putnam and addressed by the Hon. George S. Boutwell, Senator E. W. Carmack, Hon. W. S. McNary, Hon. F. J. Stimson and Hon. John A. Sullivan.

We have disseminated during the year since the last annual meeting some 150,000 documents,—our own publications and those bought from or given by other Leagues or individuals and Congressional documents in franked envelopes. We have distributed these to our own officers, members, and subscribers, to large special lists, and in many cases through political organizations to assist in the campaigns of Anti-Imperialist candidates for Congress.

The following is a list of titles of documents distributed from our office during the year, besides many enumerated in previous reports:

"Report of the Third Annual Meeting"; Address at the Third Annual Meeting by the Rev. A. A. Berle, D. D.; "A Petition to the President of the United States," signed by the Central Filipino Committee at Hong Kong; "An Appeal," by Senor Sixto Lopez; "A Yule-tide Mockery," by the Hon. Winslow Warren; "The Enslavement of American Labor," Address in Faneuil Hall by the Hon. George S. Boutwell; "Gov. Taft in the Philippines," by the Hon. Winslow Warren; "Christian Expansion, Ancient and Modern," Sermon by the Rev. Leighton Parks, D. D.; "Brief of Statement before the Philippine Committee," by Mr. Edward Atkinson; "An Epitome of Historical Events," by the Secretary; "Sicut Patribus," Poem read at the annual Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, Tufts College, by Mr. Oscar Fay Adams; "Proceedings of Ministers' Meeting of Protest"; "The National Policy that would Ennoble," by the Hon. Louis R. Ehrich; "The Fruits of Imperialism," Addresses by the Hon. Thomas M. Patterson and the Rev. Clay MacCauley before the Massachusetts Reform Club, including the text of a bill agreed to by the minority of the Senate and the House as a substitute for the bill for the government of the Philippine Islands passed by the Senate June 3d, 1902; "A Neighborly Alarm," (Cartoon from the Public); "The Cost of War and Warfare," by Mr. Edward Atkinson; "Cost of the U. S. Government during Five Administrations and during Two Administrations Compared," (Broadside) by Mr. Edward Atkinson; "Marked Severities," An Analysis by the Hon. Moorfield Storey and Mr. Julian Codman; "Brutal Degeneracy Disgracefully Defended," by Mr. M. B. Choate; "What Senator Bacon Saw in the Philippines," from the Atlanta Constitution; "The Opportunity of the United States," by Mr. Andrew Carnegie; "Philippine Fundamentals," by President Jacob Gould Schurman; "A Report of Proceedings of a British Committee of Investigation into the Condition of Affairs in America, 1782," A Satire, by the Hon. Winslow Warren; A German leaflet, by the Secretary; "America's Duty to the Filipinos," by President Jacob Gould Schurman; "Senator Hoar on the Cost of the War"; "Self-Government for the Filipinos"; "Testimony of Charles S. Riley"; "The Water Cure from a Missionary Point of View"; "Address to the President of the United States," dated Lake George, July

22d, 1902, signed by a committee of the New York Anti-Imperialist Conference April 28th; "Mr. Root Must Go," City and State; "Spanish Torture Under the Stars and Stripes"; "The Evidence Reviewed," from the Springfield Republican; "The Imperialist Religion," from the Concord People and Patriot; "A Psalm of Life," by Mr. Palmer Albertson; "A Cry in the Desert," from the Springfield Republican; "Interrogatories Answered by Sixto Lopez," in the speech of the Hon. E. W. Carmack, June 3d, 1902; "Andrew Carnegie Says in the North American Review"; "What the Anti-Imperialists Want"; Speeches by Hon. George F. Hoar, Hon. T. M. Patterson, Hon. George Turner, Hon. E. W. Carmack, Hon. J. L. Rawlins, Hon. Henry D. Green, Hon. S. W. McCall, Hon. W. A. Jones, Hon. John F. Shafroth.

The more important correspondence of the office has been with members of Congress and with the district committee platform-makers and Congressional candidates of the Democratic Party with the aim of encouraging and strengthening the attitude which that party had taken upon Anti-Imperialism, particularly upon the great principles of the immediate declaration of a promise of independence to the Filipinos and of the withdrawal of American sovereignty as soon as they set up a government satisfactory to themselves. We have made several public appeals during the year at crises which seemed to suggest the desirability of making specific lines of our work known and of appealing for its support. These appeals have always met with cordial response and have led to the increase of our activity.

The names of three of our vice-presidents must be dropped from the list. The death of Mr. Francis A. Brooks removes one of our most generous supporters and the author of several valuable tracts of which he had presented a very large number to the League for distribution. In the loss of Dr. F. E. Potter we shall also miss a generous benefactor of the League. The Rev. Dr. A. A. Berle has removed to Chicago, but he assures us of his intention to carry on in a new sphere the work of which he was here such an ardent and inspiring defender.

We had not lost courage when we met a year ago, although in the opinion of the apparently triumphant Imperialists our cause was closed and the question of Philippine independence had ceased to be anything more than an academic question.

Yet we shared to some extent the surprise which was felt by the upholders of the Administration's policy when the great questions which we have been so long agitating were once more publicly reopened by the courage and patriotism of a group of Senators and Representatives in Congress through the examination into Philippine affairs which was almost at once entered upon by committees in both of its branches. To the minority of the Senate Committee on the Philippines, Senators Rawlins, Dubois, Culberson, Patterson, and Carmack, especially, most sincere appreciation and deep gratitude are due. The Secretary paid a visit to Washington early in the session and supplied the defenders of liberty in the Senate Committee with such of our documents and collections as might be useful to them in their investigation, and the whole matter was talked over in two long conferences with these gentlemen. It was foreseen that an effort would be made to turn the investigation which was then proposed into "an attack upon the Army," but the Anti-Imperialist Leagues as such have upheld and encouraged the efforts which have been made and which will still be made to make public the treatment which the Filipinos have received at the hands of subjugating armies, as only a corroborating evidence of the evils of imperialism. It has been our object to bring the blame back to the policy and to the authors of the policy by which the United States has been drawn away from its ideals and made for a time to join the Imperial confederacy of tropical exploiters. Empire must be conducted brutally, secretly and arbitrarily, in peace as well as in war. We have hoped to convince the American people that his kind of attachment to a Republic was impossible.

While the Democratic Party in Congress was moving towards a satisfactory attitude upon the question in which we are concerned, we were invited to share in its counsels and had some little influence in bringing about the bill which was offered in the Senate, by agreement of the minorities of the Senate and the House, as the substitute for that of the majority for the government of the Philippine Islands. At the New York conference of Anti-Imperialists last spring a committee was appointed to meet with the chairman of the Democratic National Congressional Committee and other leaders to see if it would adopt the principles of this bill as a campaign issue in the election of Congressional candidates. We did not insist upon making it the paramount issue, but it was distinctly agreed that candidates for Congress, should be pledged to those principles:

