

now exists, represented by a McKinley and a Roosevelt and bossed by a Hanna, a Platt and a Quay, could have expressed no greater sympathy than it did for the struggling Boers.

It made this declaration in its platform of 1868:

This convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed peoples who are struggling for their rights.

In 1872 it declared that the American government should maintain honorable peace with all nations while—sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

In 1888 it earnestly hoped—that we may soon congratulate our fellow citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

And in 1892 it declared—

The republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood irrespective of faith, color or nationality. It sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

But now that the national life of the two South African republics hangs in the balance, with an enormous imperial army from Britain invading their country against the resistance of one barely a tenth as large and asserting an intention to destroy every shred of their independence, all that the McKinley-Roosevelt remnant of the grand old champion of the oppressed can say is this:

While the American government must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding president, and imposed upon us by The Hague treaty, of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to determine the strife between them.

Non-intervention in European affairs cuts no figure when these American imperialists talk grandly of abandoning the "little Americanism" of Washington and blooming out as "a world power" in copartnership with the empires of Europe. But when two little republics are in a fight for existence with one of those European empires, the American imperialists cannot even hope for their independence. They can hope only for honorable peace! That is what Great Britain offers—honorable peace without independence.

The whole democratic life appears to have gone out of the republican party. Nothing but the old shell is left and that is vitalized by an all-absorbing imperial ambition.

VI.

The form which this ambition takes is indicated by the clause of the McKinley-Roosevelt platform already quoted with reference to the Philippines. It is the form of colonial empire, under which such measure of self-government is to be given as this government may think consistent with the welfare of its subjects and its duties regarding them. That is not national growth; it is colonial acquisition. It is not expansion, but imperialism.

This policy rests upon the theory that the colonies or territories are not within the protection of the constitution and have no right to become states in the union.

But that was not always the doctrine of the republican party. While it is true that the platform of 1856 declared that—

the constitution confers upon congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the imperative duty of congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery—

that declaration did not mean and was never understood by the party to mean that constitutional guarantees do not extend over territories.

This is evident from the same platform, which charged the then federal administration with a "high crime against the constitution," for acts done in a territory. It is further evident from a plank in the republican platform of 1860, which insisted, though that was long prior to the anti-slavery amendment, that slavery cannot constitutionally exist in a territory.

Neither did the declaration quoted above imply that the admission of territories into the union as states is mere matter of congressional grace and not an inherent right. In the platform of 1888 the declaration quoted above from the platform of 1856 was supplemented by this entirely harmonious and genuinely democratic explanation:

The government by congress of the territories is based upon necessity, only to the end that they may become states in the Union. Therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such territories should be permitted as a right inherent in them to form for themselves constitutions and state governments and be admitted into the Union.

By no ingenuity can these declarations of inherent right in the territories be harmonized with the doctrine of absolute federal power over territories, to which the McKinley-Roosevelt party is now formally committed. That doctrine is not a development from those declarations; it is in absolute hostility to them.

The republican party has reversed itself. From a democratic party in the true sense of that much-abused term, it has become, like the tory party of England, an imperialist party. Having abandoned the declaration of independence and turned its back upon Lincoln's ideal of a government not only of and for the people but by the people, it is now no more the party of Lincoln than the slavery-ridden democratic party of Buchanan was the party of Jackson or of Jefferson.

NEWS

Though the newspapers have been vocal this week with sensational rumors about the situation in China, they have not been able to publish much trustworthy news. The only authenticated fact of importance is the taking of Tientsin by the allied foreign forces.

Tientsin is the port of Peking. It lies up the Peiho river 30 miles above Taku, which, as explained last week, is a fortified place at the mouth of this river on the Gulf of Pechili. There were reports on the 22d that the American consulate at Tientsin had been destroyed and other foreign property badly damaged on the 18th, after a bombardment of the foreign quarter by Boxers and Chinese troops lasting 36 hours, the assailants being resisted by a foreign garrison of some 3,000 troops, mostly Russians. A large foreign force was then massing at Taku for their relief. The next day

the American admiral, Kempff, telegraphed from his station at Chefoo, near the mouth of the Gulf of Pechili, that a small force of Russians and Americans, on their way to Tientsin had had an engagement with the Chinese army and been unable to break through the line. This relieving force appears to have been repulsed and to have returned to Taku. The fighting in Tientsin was believed to be still in progress on the 21st; but on the 23d, the second relieving force entered the city, having first silenced the Chinese arsenal and broken through the Chinese lines. As its loss was small and no accounts of injuries sustained by the foreign residents of Tientsin have yet been made, the preceding rumors of a terrible life and death struggle and a destructive bombardment were not improbably grossly exaggerated.

Peking is still cut off, and a mystery hangs about the allied relieving expedition under the British Admiral Seymour, who was reported last week as having been obliged to return. But he had not returned. Dispatches of the 22d told of his entering Peking simultaneously with the large Russian force which was mentioned last week as marching upon Peking; and these were quickly followed by others which told of his being surrounded half way between Tientsin and Peking. There was one, also, to the effect that he had been killed. On the 24th a dispatch reported that no word had been received from him for 12 days. Japanese reports of the 26th had him captured, and an American report of the 27th told of his having heliographed news that he is besieged in Peking. As we write there comes a report of June 28, from Chefoo, saying that he has been relieved, but had failed to reach Peking. On the 25th Admiral Kempff reported to Washington that since communication with Peking was interrupted on the 10th he had received from there but one communication, which was dated June 12th. In the same report he verified the news given in these columns at pages 122 and 150, of the departure of an allied relieving force sent from Taku to Peking. He said of this that—

a force of 100 Americans, uniting with a total force of 2,500 men of all nationalities represented here, went June 10 to open the road and to relieve Peking. This movement was by permission of the Chinese govern-

ment. The last news from the expedition was dated June 12, when the expedition was at Lang Fang. The railroad had been destroyed behind it since.

The American regiment ordered from Manila to China, as reported last week, was detained at Manila by the typhoon until the 27th, when it was dispatched in two transports convoyed by the gunboat Princeton. The armored cruiser Brooklyn had sailed on the 26th from the Philippines for Taku. Brig. Gen. Chaffee is assigned to the command of the American land forces in China, and directed to proceed to Peking by way of Taku. He is to sail from San Francisco on the 1st with the 6th cavalry.

The European powers are rapidly increasing their forces in China. They are massing them at Taku. The British are now expected to send 10,000 men from India. Of this quota one regiment embarked at Calcutta on the 25th. Japan purposes sending 15,000 within a fortnight. It is estimated in London that the foreign powers will soon have not less than 40,000 men upon the ground. The number already massed at Taku on the 24th was 8,000. Jealousies have begun to appear, as is cautiously intimated by a military correspondent at Taku, who says that the operations of the allies are suffering from defective organization and the want of a recognized head.

While the allied powers are thus preparing to march upon the Chinese capital, the viceroy of the southern provinces of Hunan and Hupeh has made an appeal to them, through the Chinese minister, to suspend further military operations until Li Hung Chang, now on his way from the south, can reach Peking and consult with the empress and the emperor with a view to averting war. The appeal lays responsibility for the assaults upon foreigners in China upon the lawlessness of the Boxers, whom it charges also with assaults upon the Chinese as well. Replying to this appeal Secretary Hay has notified the Chinese minister to this country that there can be no delay in the dispatch of American troops to Peking; and it is understood at Washington that a similar reply has been given by the European powers to the Chinese representatives accredited respectively to them.

So completely have Chinese affairs occupied the attention of the press, and so reticent is Lord Roberts, that there is only scant news from the war in South Africa, although the end of that conflict is nowhere yet in sight, and an important British movement is evidently in progress. Lord Roberts appears to have turned his attention from the Transvaal to the eastern part of the Orange Free State, where the Boers have been giving him no end of trouble. Within a few days they have again cut his communications on the railroad a little to the north of Kroonstad, giving him one of the fiercest engagements he has recently fought. For the purpose of crushing the Boers in the Orange Free State he has organized four separate armies to sweep them into a net. One advances from Heidelberg, in the southern part of the Transvaal; one from Heilbron, in the Orange Free State, somewhat east of the main line of the railroad; one from Lindley, about 40 miles further south; and one from Winberg, east of the railroad at Smaldell. These points lie nearly in a straight line from north to south, and the movement is a converging one in an easterly direction. Gen. Buller cooperates by effecting a junction with the Heidelberg force and holding the railroad that runs from Johannesburg to Ladysmith, thus completing the net within which the Boers to the south of the Vaal, supposed to number 8,000 in arms, are to be encircled. He has advanced northward along the railroad as far as Standerton. This encircling movement is regarded in London as destined to be the decisive campaign of the war.

In the Philippines the latest report of fighting bears date the 24th, and tells of an engagement on the 14th in which a detachment of 100 Americans was repulsed and driven back to the coast with a loss of seven killed and 12 wounded. This engagement occurred on the Tagayen river. Troubles in the island of Samar were reported at the same time, together with information that reinforcements had been sent there.

The amnesty proclamation to the Filipinos by President McKinley, announced in our last issue, was officially given out on the 21st over the signature of Gen. MacArthur as military governor. It bears date June 21 at Manila and offers—
amnesty with complete immunity for