

her majesty's government as a formal declaration of war, and will not hold itself responsible for the consequences thereof, and that in the event of any further movements of troops taking place within the above mentioned time in the nearer directions of our borders this government will be compelled to regard that also as a formal declaration of war.

What else, under the circumstances, was there for the South African Republic to do? In view of the aggressive movement of 23,000 British troops toward its borders, of the ordering out of 25,000 more for service in the same region, and of the unconcealed purpose of using these troops to compel the republic to agree to submit its domestic affairs to foreign domination, what else could it have done but meekly submit to the aggression? Nothing else. It faced the alternative of bowing to a foreign power or defending its independence. And in what manner could it have indicated peaceable designs better than in the terms of its ultimatum? Nothing was required of Great Britain but that she should agree to arbitration, and that meantime she should withdraw her troops from their menacing positions. Nor was that a device to put Great Britain at a military disadvantage. The Boers offered to withdraw their own troops from the British borders if the British would withdraw their troops from Transvaal borders. This ultimatum, blunt though it was in form, as might be expected from the representatives of a rugged peasant people, was not unfriendly and was distinctly defensive. But the British refused even to consider it. In the British blue book "C.—9530," page 68, Mr. Chamberlain's curt dispatch in reply may be read. It announced that the conditions demanded by the Transvaal's ultimatum could not possibly be discussed.

So at the expiration of the time fixed, the Transvaal troops advanced upon the British in Natal. They were supported by the Orange Free State, which was under treaty obligations to assist the Transvaal in resisting foreign attacks upon its independence. This is called an invasion by British apologists. In one sense it was an invasion. The Boers did pass over into British territory and attack British troops. But it was not an invasion for the purpose of conquest. It was an invasion for advantage of position, in a war which the British themselves had provoked by sending some 40,000 troops,

and preparing to send an army corps more, into South Africa for the purpose of invading the Transvaal. Great Britain's invasion was to have been offensive, to subject the domestic legislation of an independent people to her dictation; the Transvaal's invasion was defensive, for the purpose of preventing that aggression.

As the war went on the object of Great Britain in having provoked it became more and more apparent, finally revealing itself in all its nakedness by the refusal of the British ministry to end the war without conquest, and its annexation of the republics to the British crown.

When the British had taken the capital of the Orange Free State, about the middle of last March, the presidents of both republics proposed peace on the basis of their continued independence. To this proposal the British ministry replied that it was not prepared to assent to the independence of the South African republic or the Orange Free State.

This refusal was put upon the ground that "the British empire had been compelled to confront an invasion," and that this great calamity of war had been the penalty Great Britain had "suffered for having of recent years acquiesced in the existence of the two republics." Both reasons were disingenuous. The so-called invasion of the British empire had been a strategical movement to prevent a distinctly threatened British invasion of the Transvaal. The two republics had not disturbed Great Britain until Great Britain meddled with the domestic affairs of the Transvaal and threatened to regulate them by military force. So the reasons given by the British ministry for assassinating the two Dutch republics were like that of the dog in the fable which killed the cat because the cat scratched him when he was trying to kill her.

In accordance with the determination of the British to put an end to the republics which had so unfortunately been permitted to exist "of recent years," the Orange Free State was proclaimed British territory first, and now the Transvaal has been added to the spoil. The original object of the interference has thus, in form at least, been accomplished. The independence of the Dutch republics in South Africa is abrogated. Majuba hill is avenged, and the British

tories have at last consummated, but with awful slaughter, their long premeditated renewal of Shepstone's conquest.

VIII.

This is the tragedy upon which the McKinley administration has looked with neutral complacency. How impressive at such a time must the spirit of Wendell Phillips's definition of neutrality as "sneering at freedom and sending arms to tyrants," rise up in the American imagination. How significant is Bryan's indictment: "When a king dies the president of the United States sends a message of condolence, but two republics die and no republican weeps because of it." The administration, we are told, did tender its friendly offices in the interest of peace: but the administration indicates no regret that its overtures were rejected and the two republics are subjugated. Is it because the republican spirit is dying out in this country, or was the Englishman right who said that America cannot find voice to intercede for the Boers because her mouth is full of Filipino blood?

NEWS

The second week of the great anthracite coal strike began on the 24th, with over 90 per cent. of the miners among the strikers—130,000 out of 142,000. Beyond this increase of strikers and the fact that the strike has since grown more determined, there is no important strike news at the hour of writing except with reference to the concentration of a strong militia force in the anthracite region.

The occasion for concentrating troops was an affray which occurred in Shenandoah on the 21st. Late in the afternoon the sheriff, with a squad of deputies, escorting a party of nonstriking miners from their work to their homes, encountered a crowd lining both sides of Center street and consisting of Poles, Slavs and Hungarians, men, women and children, some of whom had picked up sticks and stones and were acting in a threatening manner. Reports of what followed are conflicting. The sheriff's version is that the crowd threw sticks and stones at his deputies, hitting some of them, whereupon he ordered a charge, but was forced back and several of his deputies were knocked down. He then ordered his

deputies to use their revolvers. Their first volley, fired in the air, was replied to by shots from the crowd, in consequence of which the sheriff ordered his deputies to shoot low, and they obeyed. The other side of the story is to the effect that the first demonstration was a shot, not from the crowd, but from a saloon; that this was followed by a shower of stones from the same source; that the sheriff, without first ordering the crowd to disperse, then ordered his deputies to fire, which they did with deadly effect; and that the crowd thereupon, enraged by the slaughter, pursued the sheriff's posse to a hotel, where it took refuge. Three deputies were wounded—one with a brick and two with stones. Of the crowd, the volley from the deputies killed one man and wounded seven, besides almost if not quite fatally wounding one little girl. She was at first reported to have been killed. This event was the sheriff's reason for his call upon the governor for troops, in response to which on midnight of the 21st three infantry regiments, the governor's troop and a battery were ordered out under command of Gen. Gobin. They arrived at Shenandoah on the 22d.

Gen. Gobin promptly held a long conference with the mine owners, who decided in consequence of this interview to reopen their mines on the 24th. They attempted to do so on that day, but contrary to their expectations the presence of the troops failed to weaken the strike. By holding another long conference with the mine owners on the 25th, Gen. Gobin has not unnaturally excited a suspicion that he aims less at impartially keeping the peace than at serving special interests of the great operators.

Next in importance to the strike is the situation in China. Our last report (page 378), closed with the German note to the other powers proposing that the powers demand the surrender of the undoubted leaders in the Boxer outrages as a preliminary to peace negotiations. Replies agreeing without reserve to Germany's proposal have been made by Italy, Austria and France; but the United States refused acquiescence, in a note made on the 21st, over the signature of David J. Hill, secretary of state, as follows:

The government of the United

States has from the outset proclaimed its purpose to hold to the uttermost accountability the responsible authors of any wrongs done in China to citizens of the United States and their interests, as was stated in the government's circular communication to the powers of July 3 last. These wrongs have been committed not alone in Peking, but in many parts of the empire, and their punishment is believed to be an essential element of any effective settlement which shall prevent a recurrence of such outrages and bring about permanent safety and peace in China. It is thought, however, that no punitive measures can be so effective by way of reparation for wrongs suffered and as deterrent examples for the future as the degradation and punishment of the responsible authors by the supreme imperial authority itself, and it seems only just to China that she should be afforded in the first instance an opportunity to do this and thus rehabilitate herself before the world. Believing thus, and without abating in any wise its deliberate purpose to exact the fullest accountability from the responsible authors of the wrongs we have suffered in China, the government of the United States is not disposed, as a preliminary condition to entering into diplomatic negotiations with the Chinese government, to join in a demand that the Chinese government surrender to the powers such persons as, according to the determination of the powers themselves, may be held to be the first and real perpetrators of those wrongs. On the other hand, this government is disposed to hold that the punishment of the high responsible authors of these wrongs not only in Peking, but throughout China, is essentially a condition to be embraced and provided for in the negotiations for a final settlement. It is the purpose of this government, at the earliest practicable moment, to name its plenipotentiaries for negotiating a settlement with China, and in the meantime to authorize its minister in Peking to enter forthwith in the conference with the duly authorized representatives of the Chinese government, with a view to bringing about a preliminary agreement whereby the full exercise of the imperial power for the preservation of order and the protection of foreign life and property throughout China, pending final negotiations with the powers, shall be assured.

Relative to the appointment of Li Hung Chang as envoy plenipotentiary, regarding the acceptance of which the American government had been in doubt (page 360-61), that government now accepts his authority, together with that of his colleague, Prince Ching, of whose appointment it

was also notified by the Chinese minister. This was done on the 21st by means of a memorandum from Acting Secretary Hill to the Chinese minister at Washington, in which the former said:

The government of the United States accepts the plenipotentiary authority of Earl Li Hung Chang and Prince Ching as prima facie sufficient for the preliminary negotiations looking toward the return of the imperial Chinese government and to the resumption of its authority at Peking and toward the negotiation of a complete settlement by the only appointed plenipotentiaries of the powers and of China. To these ends the United States minister in Peking will be authorized to enter into relations with Earl Li and Prince Ching as the immediate representatives of the Chinese emperor.

In communicating the fact of this recognition to Russia, which had made inquiries upon the subject, the American government also answered an inquiry as to Russia's proposal that the legations withdraw from Peking to Tientsin (pages 334, 360), by saying that—

the government of the United States has not any present intention to withdraw its legation from Peking.

In view of these pacific diplomatic proceedings, and of the fact that the reason for invading China—to save the legations—had been satisfied, a report of the 20th to the effect that the allied forces, including the Americans, had attacked the Peitang and Lutai forts and captured them with great loss was startling. The report has been neither confirmed nor disputed. It was closely followed by orders from the naval department to strengthen our Asiatic fleet, which is to comprise two first-class battleships, one armored cruiser, and two protected cruisers, two turreted monitors, and 30 gunboats, besides supply ships, etc. An explanation is made, however, that this strengthening of the fleet is intended not as a menace to China but to command consideration for American interests in the final settlement of Chinese affairs by the allies. Yet, at the same time orders have been given through the war department to reduce the American military forces in China to a legation guard of one infantry regiment and four cavalry troops. The remainder of the force in China is ordered to Manila. Gen. Chaffee, in command of the American forces in China, is reported upon trustworthy authority to have expressed his opin-