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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1900.

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Consent of the Government.

That the issue of imperialism involves more than the question as to the retention of a particular group of islands by the United States, is proven by an editorial article in the Portland Morning Oregonian of Monday. Probably, few bolder statements have been made, admitting our disregard for the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, than this Oregonian leader appearing in a position on the editorial page which, as is well known, is reserved for the expressions directly from the editor-in-chief of that newspaper. Paying the Oregonian the compliment, deserved in large part, of being able to analyze the issues confronting this country, we are justified in accepting it as a correct setting forth of the principles now advocated by the republican party. This is not solely an account of the analysis appearing in the Oregonian, but also because it is in agreement with the representative journals which support that party.

Here is the Oregonian's pronouncement:

"There is nothing wrong about 'imperialism.' On the contrary, there is everything in it that is right. It is the rule of those who are fittest to rule, and therefore who ought to rule. Ask the democrats of North Carolina, who have just thrown the negro out. There is government without the consent of the governed. Mr. Bryan will never utter a word of disapproval. Any doctrine that is good enough for North Carolina, for Mississippi, for Louisiana and the whole group of our free, intelligent and highly developed Southern states should be good enough for the Philippine Islands."

Proceeding, the Oregonian says that "consent of the governed is merely a sentimental theory—never was anything else, never can be."

Strangely in contrast with this declaration by a vigorous journal wielding the most power of all the newspapers of the Pacific coast states, is the Declaration of Independence. That ancient and honored instrument says that "all men are created equal"; and that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights, and that "GOVERNMENTS DERIVE THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED."

Here, then, is the issue presented: Which shall the people of the United States accept as correct doctrine, the Declaration of Independence, or the Declaration of the Republican Party? Shall we revise all the speeches of the great men of our history? Shall we denigrate Patrick Henry a mere sentimentalist? Shall we write down George Washington as a proponent of illogical stuff? Shall we turn from Abraham Lincoln, and rebuild our structure of government, so as to comprehend this new dogma offered by the republican party?

Certainly, no one, not the Oregonian and the other representative republican newspapers, will contend that our government was not founded upon the "consent of the governed" doctrine; that the Declaration of Independence was written with that as the central thought; that the constitution involves it as an essential principle, fundamental, inseparable from the spirit of the instrument. We assume that this will be common ground, and that the argument may proceed with this as admitted on both sides.

Now, as to the question of the disfranchisement of the negro in the South. The Oregonian certainly falls into an error of logic. Does it make

the consent of the governed doctrine any the less valid because the people of a few southern states apparently enact laws subversive of it? Would it detract any from the strength of the doctrine if Mr. Bryan were to come out flat-footed in support of the action of those southern states? Is interpretation of the Declaration of Independence dependent upon the dictum of any one man, however prominent he may be in the councils of any party? Is not the Declaration of Independence really the permanent expression of the meaning of our free government, the constitution itself being more subject to change according to changing needs? And does not the doctrine of imperialism as interpreted by the Oregonian and by all intelligent persons radically antagonize the spirit of the Declaration?

It is unthinkable that we can maintain in the United States a government preserving the spirit of a free republic, and at the same time apply to island possessions the doctrine thus openly voiced by the Portland paper. Hence, the attempt to reconstruct our fundamental governmental system under the desired regime of the imperialists; hence the Oregonian's and the republican papers' astonishing declarations to the effect that imperialism is right in everything; that the consent of the governed doctrine is mere sentimentalism.

HOW CHINA OVERRAN EUROPE.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, when Henry III. was king of all Europe had a terrible scare. It was rumored that a people "not human but beastlike, and rather to be called monsters than men," as the monkish chroniclers describe them, were approaching in their armies with the view of subduing christianity, as they had just trampled under foot all the rest of the then known world. These people were the Mongols, or, as they were then called, the Tartars, a combination of nomad tribes originally settled on the northern borders of China, and the reports of their prowess were greatly exaggerated. Under their celebrated leader, Genghis, or Temingis Khan, they had in less than fifty years conquered the whole northern Kingdom of China, formerly held by their kinsmen, the Manchus. While this appeared they had found time to subdue Tibet, Afghanistan, Balaichistan, Bokhara and what was lately known as the Khamates, had forced their way into Persia, and had reached the shores of the Caspian.

Nor could their conquest be looked upon as a mere change of masters for the conquered. Their armies were largely recruited from the Chinese, by which nation they were at last swallowed up, and it was the skill of the Chinese engineers in their services that enabled them to cross vast tracts and to overcome all natural and artificial fortifications. But with the Chinese civilization they had picked up other practices, which made their invasion anything but the blessing that a modern historian has thought it. The object of their conquests was always plunder, but plunder organized with the ruthlessness that is characteristic of Celestial doings. Behind the Mongol army marched another army of Chinese functionaries used in the machinery of government and bent only on wringing the last cent out of the conquered people. Everyone that resisted the advance of the Khans' armies was massacred, the other abhorred males either set to work as carriers and pioneers for the army, or sent, with their good-looking sisters, to the worst of slavery in China, and all "useless mouths" were wiped out with as much consideration as if they were kittens.

But when all this was done, and the tillers of the soil who had taken no part in the defense of cities or in resistance in the field were alone left, Chinese prefects established themselves, with all the infinite ramifications of Chinese officialdom, in the country, to extort as much tribute as possible for the great khan. So awful was their tyranny that Central Asia, at that time the last-named city residence of the Asiatie trade, were burned to the ground, and the Subutai, the veteran general who had already put the finishing touch to the conquest of China, divided his forces so as to fall more effectually upon the west. The northern army marched through Poland, raising the cry of Lublin and Cracow in its passage, and rushed into Silesia to give battle to her king, Henry II., who opposed it at Liegnitz with an army of 30,000 men, including the greater part of the Teutonic Order and a body of French Templars. The battle, which was fought April 9, was stubborn, but the western chivalry proved no match for the conquerors of China, and the victory placed all Saxony, and what

was later the Kingdom of Prussia, at the mercy of the Tartar horsemen.

Yet this was merely a small part of the Tartar scheme, which "dis-claimed," as was said at the time, "the poverty of the German empire," and thought the Danubian kingdoms better worth their attention. While his northern army was overrunning Silesia and Moravia, and was holding in check King Wenceslas of Bohemia, who had raised a large force for its defense, with the main body, he entered Hungary in three columns, forcing their way simultaneously through the Carpathians, Galicia and Transylvania, and penetrated as far as the City of Pesth. Here the Hungarians had concentrated an army of 100,000 men, made up partly of native levies and partly of German soldiers sent by the warlike emperor, Frederick II. This was too large a handful for Subutai, who had then probably not more than 30,000 men under him, and he accordingly retreated, drawing the Hungarians after him as far as Miskolc. Here he waited until he received news of the victory of his lieutenants at Liegnitz, and knew that he had no longer anything to fear from the North Germans and Poles. Two days after Liegnitz was turned upon the Hungarian army and utterly routed. Although he waited until he had twenty-four years for the Tartars to enter China, two months had been enough in which to scatter all the armies of Poland, Germany and Hungary.

The curious part of this story is that the Tartar victories were not accomplished as represented by the monks of the time, by mere pressure of numbers, nor, like some of our own conquests, by superior equipment. As M. Cahun, the learned librarian of the Manarin, has lately shown, he was indebted for success throughout to nothing but the discipline of his troops and his own wonderful strategy. The Tartar forces were all mounted, and were divided into small independent commands of some fifty men each, drawn in five ranks. Of these the last three were armed with bows and arrows, in the use of which they were very expert. The two front ranks were armor consisting of iron plates sewn on leather coats, after the fashion still to be seen in Japanese curio-shops, and were in the habit of charging with sword and lance when the enemy was sufficiently shaken by the missiles of their followers. But although both their equipment and formation made them more mobile than the mail-clad knights with which they were mostly confronted in Europe, this would have been of little service without the wonderful discipline which enabled their general to perfectly time their movements.

The Tartar force that fought at Liegnitz advanced as usual in three divisions, one crossing the Lower Vistula, while another was coming down the Oder to Breslau. Yet they met with perfect punctuality before the battle, the Tartar King, Henry to fight with them just one day before the King of Bohemia's army could arrive and perhaps turn the scale against them. Equally masterly was the leading of Subutai himself at Miskolc, where he compelled a superior force to follow him to a position where they were unprepared, by one of his own choosing, where he could defeat them in detail. Had the Boers been as well led in Natal they might have given the British forces a great deal more trouble than they did. Nor should the perfection of Subutai's intelligence department be overlooked. Thanks to a well-organized band of spies, among whom the Jews and the Venetians are said to have played a principal part, he was always able to put his hand on the weak point of the enemy's defenses, and then to strike at it with all his force. In this, too, perhaps modern military writers can take a lesson from the Chinese, who was always spoken of by his countrymen as "the soldier."

It may be as well to add that some few months after the battle of Liegnitz and Miskolc Europe was delivered from the fear of a Tartar conquest that history shows to have fully realized as possible. Late in the year 1241, Genghis, the great khan, son of Temingis, died, and Subutai and his forces were recalled to China to take part in the election of a new chief that the Tartar domination be necessary. Later, the attention of the Tartars was devoted to the overrunning of southern China, which they held for many centuries. But for this European might now all be wearing gaiters and knowing no mandarin. And yet it is hard to say, fifty knights and twenty swordsmen, or a bowman held, says Matthew Paris, the Town of Neustadt, in Austria, against a detachment from Subutai's army for many days, and finally drove them off. Moreover, the Tartars, after conquering China, made an assault on Japan with 100,000 men, less than a third of which, returned to tell of their defeat. It is to be hoped these things are an omen.

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