

popular resistance to our authority! How large an army does Gen. Otis think we shall have to send out there if another "insurrection" breaks out?

THE CHINESE "BOXERS,"

In the face of the sensational news from China, with its terrifying accounts of cruelly murderous assaults upon Christian missionaries, men and women, the feat of listening to the Chinese side of the question is not without its difficulties. One cannot consider with patience, what may seem to be a plea in palliation of wholesale murder, in a strange land by strange people, of men and women of one's own race. Nevertheless there is a Chinese side to this sad affair, and it will harm no one to try at least to see it.

Perhaps that may be most easily done by calmly putting ourselves in imagination for a moment in the place of the Chinamen whose outrages have aroused our indignation and excited our demands for vengeance. No fair-minded person will object to doing this. For these Chinamen are men like ourselves, differing only as their peculiar associations and training, their traditions and their outlook upon the world, have accustomed them to see things from a different point of view from ours.

If we put ourselves in their place, we shall see to begin with that the "boxers" must be something quite unlike what the current newspaper explanations that they compose a secret society of conspirators would imply to the American mind. Though the movement may take on the form of a secret society, because that is either the customary form of popular uprisings in China or is the only one which such an uprising can assume with approximate safety, it is evidently what we of this country would distinguish as a "patriotic" movement.

That it is a popular uprising can hardly be questioned. It is not in human nature that a mere conspiracy should expand to such proportions.

And that it is "patriotic" in character is evident from a consideration of what the stories about it would at once imply if under like circum-

stances they related to ourselves. A similar movement in this country would probably signalize its exploits with some such cries as "Down with the Irish!" "To hell with England!" "The Chinese must go!" or "Burn the nigger!" according to the kind of foreigner that had excited the patriotic spirit; or "Hurrah for old glory!" if the uprising were against cosmopolitan tendencies. And instead of calling itself "I Hó Chuan" or "Righteous Harmony Fists," and being dubbed "boxers," it would take the name of "Primrose league," or "Sons of Their Fathers," or "Anti-Chinese," or "White Man's Brotherhood," and be nicknamed "sand lotters," or "kuklux," or "know-nothings," or "jingoes." These names would be as cabalistic to the pagan of Asia as "Righteous Harmony Fists" and "boxers" are to American Christians. But the spirit is doubtless the same whatever be the name or the nickname; and it is evidently the spirit which, when it manifests itself among ourselves, we are accustomed to denominate "patriotism."

Let us pursue the comparison.

Suppose the Chinese had come among us as we have gone to China. Suppose their merchants had got a foothold upon our coast. Suppose these merchants, finding the liquor traffic especially profitable because of our passion for drink, but checked by stringent prohibition laws like those of Maine, had called upon the emperor of China to force that traffic upon us from China, in spite of our laws. Suppose that the emperor's interference had brought on a war upon our own soil, in which by some magical superiority in death-dealing machines the Chinese had slaughtered our people in great numbers and forced us to yield to their demands. And suppose that, in the adjustment of terms of peace, we had been compelled not only to pay an immense money indemnity to China, but also to surrender to her the right of occupation and sovereignty over a commanding position upon our coast.

If China had thus outrageously foisted herself upon us, it would have been precisely as England did to her, except that the subject of the quarrel

in that case was opium instead of liquor.

But suppose, further, that the Chinese had sent missionaries to this country, and that the missionaries had not only built Joss-houses but had established outlandish schools and barbarian hospitals and had set about converting Christian people and their children to paganism. Beyond this, suppose that the Chinese had introduced methods of Sabbath breaking entirely new and unspeakably offensive to us, and in still other ways had outraged our religious prejudices, superstitions and traditions.

Suppose, moreover, that their policy in dealing with the occidental barbarians had been imitated by the Mongolians, the Manchurians, the Thibetans and the Japanese, all of whom were clamoring and quarreling among themselves for trading rights, and harbor privileges, and spheres of influence, and railroad grants, and landed concessions in our devoted country. And then suppose that Asiatic statesmen and diplomats and gossip mongers were discussing the possibilities and the proprieties of dismembering the United States and dividing its territory among their several nationalities in the interest—not of greed, Joss save the mark!—but of Jossism and the oriental civilization.

Suppose, too, that their popular Asiatic poets were egging on the Asiatics to civilize us according to their standards by singing of that duty as "the yellow man's burden." And suppose, with all the rest, that these strange people were flocking to our shores; were settling in groups apart, making Chinatowns wherever they dropped down; were perpetuating their own customs and institutions—civil, social, political and religious—and threatening ours with extinction; were, in brief, well on the way towards transforming the United States into tributary provinces of Thibet, Japan and the Chinese empire.

What, in those circumstances, would happen in this country?

Need we ask what would happen? Could we doubt what would happen? Do we not know what actually has happened, only in minor degree, upon the bare possibility of even a peaceful Chinese invasion? There would be an uprising in this country

precisely like that of the "boxers" in China.

In circumstances like those we have imagined, the Joss houses would be torn to the ground and their inmates mobbed. Stories would be afloat which would drive the mobs to frenzy—horrible stories of personal outrages by these dog-eating and rat-eating barbarians. The excitement would spread, gaining strength as it went, and no Chinaman's life would be safe. Even torture at the stake would be within the possibilities; and the government would be in danger for protecting the hated race.

To know the panicky disposition of the American character is to realize the insanely furious hatred of everything human with a yellow face and a pigtail, which such an experience with China as that we have imagined would engender. Very few Americans would have the self-command to rise superior to its influence. Yet whoever does know this, in the light of the history of the white man's unwarranted invasion of China, has the key to the situation in that great empire of the ancient east. The murderous uprising of the "boxers" is doubtless a tremendous popular expression of Chinese hatred of the white-faced foreigner who has disturbed Chinese conservatism and threatens to usurp Chinese authority.

We speak of the white man's invasion of China as unwarranted. To that sentiment it may be objected that the earth is for all, and that China, as part of the earth, is therefore in justice no more the Chinaman's than the white man's.

That the earth is for all we cordially concede. But China in her efforts to exclude foreigners has raised no land question. There is plenty of land, wholly unused, where China's invaders come from. If they believe that the earth is for all, why do they not demand that all have a share in what they now control? why do they allow most of it to be monopolized by individuals and corporations, while in city slums and countryside so many of their own race are landless and dependent?

The question that China raises, so far from being a land question, is a

question of association. The Chinese have the same right to shun white men that we have to shun Chinamen. They have the same right to preserve the integrity of their association, of their institutions, of their civilization, that we have to preserve ours. No land question can be thereby raised until our land is so far in use that there is no room at home, and our people must go to China in order to get land,—an emergency that has never yet arisen, and that will not arise for generations and generations to come. It is not for lack of land at home, for land among us is still plentiful though unjustly monopolized, but for power over Chinamen that white men's governments are pushing their sovereignty into China; and this the Chinamen have a right to resist as best they can, upon every recognized principle of patriotism.

There is no intention here of denying the principle, a perfectly sound one, that, broadly speaking, nations must advance together. It is entirely true that no nation nor any civilization can very long remain very far in advance of the others. It is also entirely true that the ideal civilization must be world wide.

It necessarily follows that it is not conducive to the best civilization for China or any other country to wall herself in. If she has a high civilization this will cause it to deteriorate; if a low one, this will hold its growth in check.

But isolation cannot safely be terminated by external force. Though such a policy of force might in the long run culminate in higher general civilization it would do so in spite of itself. It is not the natural way. Voluntary trade is the true civilizer. That will do away with all isolation and lead the world on to a universal and ever advancing civilization, without depriving any individual of even the least of his rights.

But it must be voluntary. To try to make "trade follow the flag," which is only another expression for making it follow the drumbeat and the rifle crack, is to disturb the natural order and outrage natural rights.

And that is what the white man has done in forcing himself into China.

He has made himself the aggressor, and become responsible for all the wrong that flows from it.

Whatever may be our feelings regarding the assassinations of white people in China by the furious populace, we must in fairness hold our own race responsible for having provoked the assaults. By a long series of invasive acts, beginning with the British opium war and leading on to the transparent schemes of the powers to dismember the empire for their own glory, with incidental profit to their influential financiers, the white race has goaded the Chinese on to this hideous revolt.

NEWS

The center of the world's interest has shifted, for the first time in nearly nine months, from South Africa to China. This is not because the events now occurring in China are in themselves of greater magnitude than those of the South African war. So far as yet reported they would be of minor concern but for their tremendous political possibilities. Though massacres and forebodings of massacre of Christians by barbarians can never be matter of indifference to Christian nations, it is not these in themselves that give importance to the news from China. It is the fact that in this instance they portend the possibility of a dissolution of the empire of China through the action of foreign powers.

The Chinese complications in their present shape were brought to the attention of the outside world about two weeks ago, and at pages 122 and 135 we noted their beginnings. A secret society known as "boxers" (the Chinese name being "I Ho Chuan," which is translated "Righteous Harmony Fists"), was at first vaguely reported as having instigated a murderous movement against foreigners. On account of this the foreign ministers at Peking had jointly demanded the suppression of the society by the Chinese government, and all the foreign warships at Taku had landed marines. But the application of the marines for permission to go to Peking to protect their respective legations was denied by the Chinese authorities. The denial, however, was afterwards revoked, in response to an ultimatum