

this double dealing. They saw their party vote in the State reduced from 400,000 to 129,000. They recalled other results almost as humiliating, and then resolved to oust the leaders in whom they had lost confidence.

This was not accomplished easily. The old leaders fought to the last ditch. They summoned to their aid all the political trickery in which they are so well schooled. They begged for a little time in order to resign "honorably." They used their formerly effective plea for "harmony." But none of their schemes worked. The reorganizers had met to reorganize, and were not disposed to accept any overtures or counsel from men who had time and again proven themselves recreant to their trust.

Reluctantly do the Interests view the birth of a new Democracy in Pennsylvania. The Penrose-Guffey oligarchy had hoped to retain control of what was left of the Democratic machine until after the nomination for President in 1912. Their plans are foiled, and this should be welcome news to Progressives of both parties throughout the nation.

The new leaders, Palmer and Guthrie, are democratic Democrats. They have the respect and confidence of their followers. They are clean leaders. The Democratic party of this State has now the long hoped-for opportunity to redeem the past and establish its future.

It was a happy coincidence that while the reorganization committee were in session at Harrisburg doing this great work, William Jennings Bryan was delivering throughout the State his lecture on "The Passing of Plutocracy."

BERNARD B. MCGINNIS.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### LETTERS FROM CHINA—I.

Peking, January 15, 1911.

#### An Awakening Country.

I have been in Peking two months. It is the most interesting place in the world, though there is much about it that gives one a feeling of horror—such a great, monstrous, helpless mass of ignorance and poverty and dishonesty—a chief servant and cook receiving four or five dollars a month and providing his own food; a whole neighborhood attributing an epidemic of grip to a bit of decent highway recently constructed; all classes of officials as dishonest as our Tammany. A book concerning Chinese village life, which I have been reading, is enough to break your heart.

Here's a glimpse in a little story. A farmer in China expects to sleep in his field when the wheat is ripening, because otherwise his neighbors will steal it. An American imported a cradle to cut wheat, hoping to induce the natives to substitute it for the sickle. The villagers looked on as it cut the wheat. Then an old man lifted up his voice to say that the implement would do very well so long as you had it yourself, but it would not be safe because if your enemy got it, he could come and cut your wheat in a hurry before you could catch him. This argument was accepted as decisive by all the villagers, and the cradle has been rejected.

And of course also it is true that the work of educating the great mass and raising them even to the level of the United States, will take time. But there is one thing that is most encouraging, or rather these two: first, the country has developed a number of very great men and women, for there has been a possibility, though but a slender one, for a woman to make herself a force in China; and second, here, as nowhere else in the world, the ruling classes have accepted the inevitable and have forwarded the means by which the new era is to be brought in. I do not mean, indeed, to imply that there has been no opposition, for, in fact, it has happened that the ruling powers have found it hard to accept the working out in practice of the new ideas which in principle they accept. Of this I shall give you some illustrations later. The question why the Government of China itself, with so little struggle, appointed the Commission for the Study of Constitutional Government, ordered the meeting of the Provincial Assemblies, and in other respects is steadily working in the same direction,—this is an interesting one, and to my mind suggests that China has immense possibilities and will make rapid progress to catch up with other nations. Possibly the long sleep of China, like the lying fallow of ground, may have left conditions for tremendous efficiency when once the nation awakes. Possibly the exaltation of the scholar, the appointment to office by literary tests, and the rejection of the soldier, have made this change easier.

#### Irritating Foreigners.

Now to understand what has taken place here, or at any rate to understand my theory of it, you must remember that until recently the whole Chinese people have believed themselves superior to foreign nations and have been quite content to remain ignorant of all their ways.

But foreigners of all nations had been coming in for many years, both as missionaries and on mercantile errands,—and they constantly, when they got into trouble, appealed to their own governments for protection. In the case of missionaries particularly, it was perhaps natural that they should find themselves, and even more, their native converts, becoming objects of suspicion and hatred, that they should sometimes be treated, or believe themselves treated, unjustly by their native neighbors, and that they should appeal to their own governments for protection.

But it is equally natural that the Chinese should be aggrieved at this interference with the control by their authorities of the administration of justice in their own country.

A further and even more serious cause of exasperation arose from the extra-territoriality doctrine and practice of other nations. An illustration of this is found in the position of the legations here. Along the road from my hotel toward the Forbidden City, in which the Emperor lives, is a tract of land nearly three-quarters of a mile square, wholly within the walls of the Tartar city of Peking; and there, within the walls, less than a rifle shot from the Emperor, the authority of his officers is not recognized, and instead each of the foreign nations represented by legations has jurisdiction within its own lines.

The thing which impresses me most about the

legation districts is the impudence of the Europeans and ourselves. They, that is, we, have taken possession of all the city wall (the one separating the Chinese and Tartar cities) for the whole length of the Legation district. In the Boxer days our people found that their convenience would be served by having a gate in the wall at a certain place, so they cut the opening, and it is still there. The legation quarter is a fortification, with walls on every border and walls about every legation. American and European soldiers patrol that part of the city wall adjoining; at the East end the German; at the West end as I walk on the wall, I am likely to meet some Nebraskan farmer's son pacing up and down with a rifle on his shoulder. On the street nearly every day I meet a body of the foreigners marching to and from their barracks; one morning recently the French marines parading through this Chinese town with trumpets. There is a moat at the eastern end, by the German quarters. Across the road from our barracks at the west is a great enclosure, and within it you might see a wide expanse of gilded roofs. This is the "Forbidden City." Behind its successive enclosures—wall beyond wall—seven walls, I believe it is said, each increasing in sanctity, is the little Emperor, aged five years,—in theory, perhaps sometimes in fact, the ruler of this empire. Our soldiers drill in the field separated only by the width of the road from the palace enclosure. A good baseball player might knock a ball to the first of the yellow roofs from the little fortress where we keep our light artillery.

Last night I walked home just before dinner time on the wall. A German with his musket passed along the eastern end. I passed two or three French marines, the familiar Yankee walked farther west. A Chinese soldier wandered along somewhere in the middle. He looked thoughtful and forlorn and lost. He came to attention with emphasis as I approached—as though he took me for a brigadier. Far off to the south I could hear a military band playing in the Chinese City—perhaps two miles away—as some troops of the new Chinese army were marching in from drill back to their barracks. It is said that they drill well.

This is, of course, a somewhat extreme situation, dating from the Boxer War. But in many parts of the Empire similar things are going on, and have been going on, for many years. On the boat coming over, I met a young Chinaman, just graduated from an American college, who told me this little story: In Shanghai, the foreign settlement is independent of the Chinese government. In the public park in that district is a notice forbidding Chinese to enter. Whites of all grades, even the scum of the earth that floats abundantly out of Europe beyond Suez, and all races except Chinese, can come in. Mr. —, a gentleman and a scholar, is shut out of a public place in his own country because it is his own country. He admits that he does not like it. Neither would I.

What would we do if England, for instance, should take possession of the North Side of Chicago, oust our courts, our police, our public officials of all grades and services, and rule as they chose over that district? Then suppose that over the entrances to Lincoln Park they should put the legend, "No American permitted to enter," what would we do? Or suppose

that east from the Capitol at Washington a space of three-quarters of a mile square should be seized by a dozen foreign nations who ruled it as part of their own land, a garrison fortified against us, yet in the center of our Capitol, what would we do? True, these rights were all secured—or at least finally conceded by treaty, but does the fact of a consent secured by show of force or by actual force make the affront less bitter?

Nor must the steady encroachment of other nations on every border of the Empire be forgotten. Japan and Russia are steadily seizing, under cover of extorted treaty rights, all manner of privileges not accorded by any treaty, in constantly widening spheres of action. So France, England, and even several minor European nations in other directions. And it must not be forgotten that England many years ago waged a war to force the Chinese to expose their people to the horrors of the use of opium. The explanation, of course, is that India is a great producer of opium and the English have used their military powers to perpetuate their profits—at the cost of the degradation of the Chinese. A meeting was held a short time since by the Anti-Opium Society,—of Chinamen,—the first public meeting, it is said, at which Chinese women have openly taken part, to ask the Government to seek the consent of the British Government to more rapid prohibition of the use of the drug. I wish I had by me a copy of the Peking Daily News, an English edition of a Chinese paper, that I might copy the words of the memorial—it was remarkable in that it was so apologetic, showed so clearly the anxiety not to offend the Briton.

Thus the Ti Ching Press Association, quoted in the Peking Daily News of Jan. 10, speaks thus: "Everybody is aware of the critical situation in Manchuria, and suggests its opening to foreign trade to save it from absorption by certain nations." But lest this should have a contrary effect, that paper suggests certain rules, among them that all foreigners must submit to Chinese jurisdiction, China promising them protection by a reformed judicature, and others designed to protect Chinese jurisdiction.

A curious note upon this question is contained in the statement by certain papers that the people of India, once disposed to look to Japan as an Asiatic power, for help against European tyrannies, noting her aggressions against China, has in turn grown suspicious of her, and her trade with India has fallen off in consequence.

The National Daily News, Jan. 13, 1911, has a long editorial, urging that if China does not make herself strong enough to resist, she must meet the fate of Korea. The powers, it says, have as to China, two policies, preservation and absorption, and preservation is merely gradual absorption. The facts that the United States returned the balance of the Indemnity Fund paid by impoverished China after the Boxer War, and that its representatives have recently intimated a willingness to abandon extra-territoriality as soon as practicable, have tended to give the Chinese a kindlier feeling toward the United States than toward other nations, though it must be said this is largely comparative and based on a very strong suspicion that the rest are bent on the partition of China, and that the United States is not tempted in that direction.

## The Boxer War.

Now picture this state of resentment at past aggression by foreigners, of expectations that it would go on increasingly in the future; consider how it would operate in such a mass as I have hinted at above, and you may appreciate how the Boxer War, with its cry of "China for Chinamen!" to be accomplished by driving out or killing the foreigner, came about.

But some stories, told hereabouts, will give you some further comprehension.

The Viceroy of Shantung (Yuan Shih Kai) received from the Dowager Empress, ten years ago, during the Boxer uprising, "confidential" orders to exterminate the missionaries and other foreigners. As commander of the troops, he had decided in her favor the question of power between her and the Emperor, and was, therefore, in a position of strength approaching independence. He pretended to think that the order was not from the Empress, and sent messengers to enquire. In such ways he gained time. He knew that if there was a general slaughter of whites, the European powers would divide China. I believe there were other viceroys (one or two) who acted in concert with him. It is said that the Empress afterward recognized that he had saved the Empire and rewarded him for his disobedience. She was ready to side with the Boxers, because it was known that they had skill in magic, which protected them against the bullets of the foreign devils. Yuan Shih Kai invited some of the leading Boxers to dine with him. They bragged that no bullets could hurt them. After dinner he insisted on a practical test, putting some of them up as targets for his marksmen, who were armed with European guns. The effect on the Boxers was worse than discouraging. The Dowager also believed in the report that the Boxers could make irresistible soldiers by cutting men out of paper, putting these paper dolls in packing boxes, and taking them out and breathing life into them when the enemy drew near. When her council decided for war against the foreigners on this hope, one man protested feebly, one strongly; the one who protested strongly that the Europeans were superior in wealth, discipline and weapons was the Emperor. When his opinion was overruled, he burst into tears and left the room. He had never been outside of his palace, but he had read all the translations of European books he could find, and he had risen above the superstitions of his people and estimated fairly the strength and superiority of nations whom he had never known by any direct acquaintance. He was a great man, and Yuan Shih Kai is another.

The result of the Boxer War was a great shock. The Boxers did not prove either invulnerable or irresistible; rather their undrilled masses, with their primitive weapons, were swept like chaff before the foreigners, and a few thousand soldiers—twenty-five thousand or thereabouts, if my memory serves me—walked straight into Peking and compelled the payment of indemnity.

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W. M. E.

A land-tax, levied in proportion to the rent of land, . . . will fall wholly on the landlords.—David Ricardo.

## MORE CHINESE CORRESPONDENCE.

### From a Private Letter.

Tsingtau,\* February 9, 1911.

### Handling the Plague.

You are no doubt interested in the plague called here "lungpest."† It sure does make short work of its victims, and seems to be readily communicated. The authorities here have resorted to heroic measures to keep it from Tsingtau. The Board of Health, composed of military and naval doctors with one noted bacteriologist among them, have established regulations and have the co-operation of the army and navy in carrying them out. Tsingtau today has a military cordon all about it, the army protecting the land side, and torpedo boats looking to the sea coast. No junk or sampan is allowed to enter the harbor until quarantined ten days. All boats from the north are held up for the same time. There is but one road of ingress and one of exit from Tsingtau open, and those coming in are questioned and examined. If ailing from any cause, they are put into a detention hospital for ten days, and if in good health, and if they have not come from an infected district, their period of detention is about five days. It is practically impossible for anyone to break through this cordon. They have made great preparations to deal with the plague if it should enter, and have established a sort of pest house in the outskirts.

### A Single Tax City.

Tsingtau is living and thriving, and is the jewel of the Far East, under the single tax theory and practice. One argument against the introduction of the single tax anywhere is that it would retard the building of fine houses, etc. That hasn't worked out so here, for, all things considered, the houses in Tsingtau are correspondingly finer than in any other place in China. We have a city here equal in point of comfort, municipal advantages, sanitation, etc., to anything of its size in America. This is the living, breathing example of the possibilities of reforestation or afforestation, for it abounds in growing forests, and its experimental gardens would be a delight to you. This is practically a modern, up-to-date city, and I hope you will run in on us some time and let us show you how they can run a city in China, and on the Henry George idea at that.

M. M. M.

\*Tsingtau is a seaport on the coast of Shantung, China, in the German territory of Kiao-chau.

†The "pneumonic plague." See The Public of March 10, page 229.

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## MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN CANADA.

Montreal, March 13, 1911.

In the account of the electric light fight at Westmount, Que., in the last issue of your very interesting paper (page 223), your correspondent makes a mistake in speaking of the "new company, the Westmount Electric Plant and Refuse Destructor Company." There is no such company; the refuse destructor and the lighting plant connected with it are both run by the City of Westmount, on the Municipal Ownership plan. I may add that when the