

## MILITARISM IN WASHINGTON.

[Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court, in an address upon "The Mission of the United States in the Cause of Peace," in 1909.]

As illustrating the effort to develop the naval and military spirit, it is not strange that the chief of staff of the American army has affirmed that we are wasting time in seeking arbitrations, and that the only true course for us to pursue is to make our military and naval strength so great as to be beyond danger of attack. Nor is it strange that the gallant admiral who started in command of our fleet on its tour around the world is reported to have said that the fewer statesmen and the more ironclads there were, there would be less danger of war. In other words, if we had more guns and fewer people unwilling to use them there would be less shooting. Such logic as that, as Mark Twain would say, is simply unanswerable. It might as well be said that to stop personal quarrels and prevent shooting, the law should require every man to carry a loaded pistol in his hip pocket.



## WHITE WOLF.

G. L. Harding

In *The International Socialist Review*.

"White Wolf" is spreading terror among the gentry of the West of China today very similar to the consternation Villa was spreading a few years ago among the científicos of the North of Mexico. Like the Villa of those days, White Wolf is always being captured and his forces annihilated by some fearless commander in the pay of the Government. His soldiers have been represented as bloodthirsty ruffians, and his designs as nothing more than pillage and plunder—and the constant disturbance of Loranorder, that twentieth century fetich, more barbarous than any mud idol in China. But whether murdered by one of his own cowardly band, or slain by some fearless officer of the Republic, White Wolf is always up and at it again somewhere else, and his army of bandits looms up an ever-greater menace to the tottering peace of the Chinese Republic.

White Wolf has ravaged four provinces since last November—Honan, Hupeh, Shensi and Kansu—the heart of West Central China just north of the Yang-tse river. His insurrection covers too wide an area to be reckoned as local. It is part of a wave of national discontent. And whatever may be White Wolf's own political opinions, as distinct from those of the peasantry from which he sprang, it is an open secret that his military operations have the support of a national revolutionary organization. This revolutionary organization, there is hardly need to say, is composed of the same deter-

mined men who put through the Revolution of 1911, but whom President Yuan Shih-K'ai's coup d'état of last summer drove from the country they had wrested from Manchu rule. A formidable rebellion for Dr. Sun's cause flared up last December in far-away Yunnan, the mountainous province in the southwest, China's Colorado. Widespread plots are known to be hatching in Canton and Wuchang, the centers of the 1911 Revolution. And as the news of revolt after revolt is brought up to Peking, always one reads that the strength of White Wolf increases. Only the other day the regular troops at Sianfu, the capital of the great province of Shensi, mutinied en masse on the approach of the brigand leader and turned the city over to his army. The whole country is plainly stirring with symptoms of another tumultuous change. . . .

A year ago today China might be said to be the only nation in Asia to have a free press. There were almost a thousand daily newspapers in the country, representing every phase of opinion, uncensored and uncensorable by the Nanking Constitution. In scores of cities newspapers were founded where none had ever existed before. Most of these were founded by the Southern party, and told the truth about corrupt officialdom to the people for the first time. The number of newspaper readers quintupled in two years throughout this vast empire.

Then came the reaction. The editor of the *China Democrat* (Chung Hwa Nun Pao), a graduate of the University of Illinois, and a former secretary to Dr. Sun, was put in jail for six months by the foreign court in Shanghai for approving of the Second Revolution. The *China Republican*, the Revolutionist daily paper in English, on which the present writer served for two months, immediately left the International Settlement and placed itself under the protection of the Republican authorities of the French Concession in Shanghai. French liberty gave them three weeks, then the French police nailed up the doors, and the editors fled to Japan, the editor-in-chief, Ma Soo, being seen off by a file of French marines to make sure he left the country.

These two episodes sounded the knell of China's free press. Ten papers were closed in Canton in a single day. In Hankow five editors were shot, in Peking every opposition paper was wrecked by soldiers. By March of the present year not a single newspaper was left which had ever opposed sincerely the will of the government. Then this government proceeded to pass a series of press laws which were absolutely the last word in the world in the suppression of a free press. Today in China every newspaper must make a heavy deposit to the police for "good behavior," and must be directly responsible to the police for news, editorial matter, and even advertisements. . . . Finally, an elo-