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Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

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James Clerk Maxwell

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RECENT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES IN CHINA.¹

BY FREDERICK GOODRICH HENKE.

CHINA is a land of great latent forces, a country of tremendous natural resources, a nation of unlimited possibilities. Her four hundred million people constitute approximately one-fourth of the human race, which, together with the fact that the birth-rate there is three times as high as in America, is alone of striking significance. She has an available unorganized fighting strength of 63,430,000—four times the total available strength of Japan and Great Britain combined; and these are supermen, for unusually adverse circumstances have eliminated the weak, so that those that are left are inured to hardships which would kill most Europeans. In the United States, exclusive of Alaska and the island possessions, the average population falls a little short of thirty-four per square mile: for all China it is two hundred and eighty; for the plain of Cheng-tu seven hundred; and in some parts three or four thousand people gain their livelihood from a single square mile.

The resourcefulness of the people of China, and the natural resources of her 2,169,200 square miles of land, taken together, constitute a unique and unparalleled reservoir of latent forces and hidden possibilities. The Chinese people are to-day using four hundred and seventy-eight different plants for food. China has

¹ Frederick G. Henke was formerly professor of philosophy and psychology in the University of Nanking, Nanking, China, and now occupies the chair of philosophy and education in Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. He is interested in China's heritage of thought from the past and has recently published a scholarly work on *The Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming*, a Chinese idealist. He is likewise intimately acquainted with the China of to-day and is well able to interpret its conditions to Western readers.—ED.

enough coal, iron and copper to supply the world for a thousand or more years.

Developed into a military machine, China might easily become a great menace to the world; but it is to be hoped that it will not be necessary for China to take to the war-path. The people are, on the one hand, of the unafraid type, so that if they ever get fully equipped for military activity, they will represent a tremendous force; and, on the other hand, they love peace and the higher pursuits of agriculture, commerce, and literature. Their sense of values is of the more rational type. In West China during the Revolution of 1911, two armies opposed each other near the city of Chengtu. "A battle was imminent. The rice farmers sent in a petition to the generals, requesting them to postpone the fight until the people could harvest the rice, which otherwise would be destroyed. The request was granted." As culture advances, instinct and passion are brought more and more under the control of reason. Who will say that, judged from this standpoint, the Chinese are not more cultured than we often give them credit for being? What would happen if China and the United States—the two great peace-loving nations of the world—would together wage a silent war of friendly cooperation in culture and commerce, in international justice and national integrity, against those forces that tend to disintegrate the sacred institutions of humanity, and those nations that trample fraternity under foot?

However, China faces the God-of-things-as-they-are, and is trying to adjust herself to her social environment. Politically speaking, she has been awakened from her long slumber. The revolution of 1911-12 marks the overthrow of the Ts'ing dynasty and the founding of the Republic. The Manchus had been in power since 1644; they lost the throne because of lack of moral qualities. Living in luxury and dissipation at the expense of the Chinese people, they neglected to render that service which alone endears the ruler to his people and insures his place on the throne. The Ts'ing dynasty "disappeared in accordance with the natural law of service."²

The following facts had made it clear to the intelligent Chinese that a change of government was absolutely necessary if China was to maintain her national integrity and self-respect: (1) the Chino-Japanese war, in which a nation which had been held in contempt was strikingly victorious; (2) the seizure of Port Arthur by Russia, of Wei-hai-wei by Great Britain, and of Shantung by Germany; (3) the parceling of much of her territory into spheres of influence;

² E. Maxey, "Revolutionized China," in *Forum*, XLIX, p. 436.

(4) the payment of the Boxer indemnity for failure to comply with her international obligations; and (5) the Russo-Japanese war. The beheading of thirty-eight Chinese revolutionists by the order of the Imperial government, October 10, 1911, was the signal for the revolt of the troops under Li Yuan-hung at Wuchang; and at the same time rebellion was already brewing in West China.

At eight o'clock of October 10, 1911, the modern troops of the Wuchang garrison engaged in a furious attack upon the viceroy's *yamen*. Jui Cheng, the viceroy who was responsible for the beheading, fled under cover of darkness to a gunboat anchored in the Yangtze River. In a day the revolutionaries had gained control of Wuchang, Hanyang, and Hankow, occupying the great Hanyang arsenal. Almost simultaneously revolution broke out along the entire Yangtze from Shanghai to Chungking, and from Chungking far into the interior of Szechuan. On October 18, Ichang, an important treaty port on the Yangtze, went over to the revolutionaries; on the 22d, Changsha, the capital of Human province; on the 23d the city of Kiukiang on the Yangtze. The city of Nanking (historically the most important city on the river) had not been won over to the cause of the revolution.

The Manchus, realizing that the uprising was rapidly spreading, now turned to Yuan Shih-kai, who had been summarily dismissed in 1909 by the regent in the name of the boy-emperor, divested of all his honors, and exiled to his home in Honan. On October 14, the regent recalled him, knowing that if the Manchus were to be saved Yuan alone could do it with his modern army.

Yuan was one of the most enigmatic characters of recent Chinese history. He early aspired to an official position. Failing to pass the examination, he went to Korea as a secretary with the army. Li Hung-chang had him appointed director-general of trade and international relations in Korea in 1883. During the Chino-Japanese war he was forced to flee from Seoul, protected by British blue-jackets. Li then helped him to the position of judicial commissioner of Pe-Chi-Li. At that time he organized China's modern army, and in 1897 he was given command of an army corps. At the time of the *coup d'état* of 1898 he at first encouraged the reform movements of the young emperor, and later betrayed him to the empress dowager. The year 1899 found him governor of Shantung. When the Boxer movement first began, he appeared to favor it; later he tested the Boxers' avowed invulnerability by having them shot. In 1901 he was acting viceroy in Pe-Chi-Li; in 1903 the reorganization of the army was entrusted

to him; in 1907 he became grand councillor and president of the foreign office.

Recalled from disgrace by the regent to subdue the revolution, he took two weeks to consider the matter, and then came forth to take supreme command of the imperial forces and to act as premier of the country. Following the formation of his cabinet, he directed General Feng Kuo-chang to push the attack on the three cities (Wuchang, Hankow and Hanyang).

Hankow fell and was burned on November 11, and the city and arsenal of Hanyang fell into the hands of the Imperialists on the 27th. While this was going on, the revolution was rapidly spreading. The city of Nanking (southern capital) became the goal of the Republicans of the lower Yangtze. On the morning of December 1, Purple Mountain, the key to the city of Nanking, was stormed by the revolutionary forces, and by the following evening the city was under their control. All men were ordered to cut off their cues—the symbol of Manchu subjection—and those who were slow about doing it had it summarily severed by the soldiers. The Republicans had gained more at Nanking than they had lost at Hankow.

To Yuan Shih-kai it was obvious by this time that the Manchu dynasty was doomed; he also knew that the supply of money was nearly exhausted. For these reasons he was willing to negotiate with the Republicans. A peace conference was arranged to meet at Shanghai. Wu T'ing-fang was the principal delegate on the side of the Republicans, while T'ang Shao-yi represented Yuan and the Manchus. T'ang was a Republican at heart, and proved himself such in action. He agreed upon the election of a national convention—the convention to decide whether the Manchus should remain in authority—and also acquiesced that the imperial troops should evacuate Hankow and Hanyang. The Imperialist generals objected, and the conference broke up. However, the throne was weakened thereby, for the soldiers left Hankow and Hanyang.

Thereupon the revolutionary party demanded the immediate abdication of the throne. The imperial princes openly called Yuan a traitor, and the Republicans tried to assassinate him on January 16, 1912. At this time a memorial signed by forty-six of the imperial generals was sent to the Court, requesting the abdication of the emperor. Moreover, the city of Peking was full of Chinese troops. For these reasons, the empress dowager issued an edict in the name of the emperor on February 12, 1912, surrendering forever the Dragon Throne. "The emperor himself announced in this abdication

edict that the republic would be the future form of government for China, and authorized Yuan Shih-kai to organize it."³

In the meantime events were also moving rapidly in the south. The revolutionary assembly—composed of delegates elected from the provinces of the republic—met at Nanking and on December 29 unanimously elected Sun Yat-sen provisional president of the Chinese Republic. He had suffered exile and risked death for the Republic, and because of this was deemed worthy of the honor. The South rallied around him and supported him; but the North clung to Yuan, refusing to recognize Sun as president. Sun then on February 14 resigned the presidency and suggested Yuan as his successor. The Nanking assembly acted on his advice and elected Yuan provisional president. The consolidation of China and the building up of sound finances now rested in the hands of Yuan.

He appointed T'ang Shao-yi prime minister. T'ang was a member of the Tengminghui, a political party, and naturally arranged his cabinet in such a way that the members of the Tengminghui were in the majority. This was the beginning of party politics and party strife. The Tengminghui worked for a United States of China, in which each of the eighteen provinces should be self-governing; while Yuan wanted a constitution which centralized all power in the president, including the right to appoint and dismiss the provincial governors. T'ang Shao-yi resigned the premiership, and his successor, Lu Cheng-hsiang, stayed but a short time. Chao Pin-chun, a devoted follower of Yuan Shih-kai, followed Lu.

The Tengminghui and several other parties were consolidated into the Kuomintang, or National party. The election of the new Chinese parliament took place on March 13, with the result that the Kuomintang secured a large majority. They chose Sung Chiao-jen as their candidate for the premiership, and he left his residence at Shanghai for Peking, proposing to travel by way of the Shanghai-Nanking Railway to Nanking, and from there on the Pukou-Tientsin Railway to Tientsin and on to Peking. While at the Shanghai-Nanking Railway station at Shanghai, he was shot from the rear by an assassin, succumbing in a short time. The plot of assassination was traced to the door of Chao Ping-chun, the premier.

About this time President Yuan and his followers were able to secure a £25,000,000 loan from the Five Powers—usually known as the Five Power loan. Originally Great Britain, Germany, France

³ Adolf S. Waley, *The Re-Making of China* (New York), p. 54.

and the United States were interested in placing this loan. Secretary Knox, under Taft's administration, had genuinely encouraged a group of American bankers to participate in Chinese enterprises. Later, however, the United States government withdrew its support, with the result that the American bankers ceased negotiations. Russia and Japan, however, joined the group, glad for the opportunity of having something to say in affairs Chinese. The United States, on the other hand, surrendered a splendid opportunity to participate in the conference of nations in matters of vital interest to China and America. The "Open Door" policy of John Hay is still nominally operative; actually it is little more than a *flatus vocis*.

In July, 1913, the second uprising occurred in China. An excerpt from the declaration of independence proclaimed at Canton the nineteenth of July will serve to indicate the attitude of the revolting party:

"Whereas Yuan Shih-kai has violated and spoiled the universal peace and rebelled against the Republic, both God and people are angry with him, and he should not be allowed to live. I, the Tutuh, representing the opinion of the people, have published his crimes and am going to punish him.

"Yuan Shih-kai has been accustomed to the use and employment of cunning tricks and has devoted his mind to influencing ignorant people generally, in order that they should fall into his trap. Therefore those who follow him or side with him, are really unaware of the numerous crimes of Yuan Shih-kai and are consequently 'taken in' by him."⁴

Yuan was accused of murder, bribery, unconstitutionality, and maladministration; of hiring Mo Shi-ying to assassinate Sung Chiao-jen and then having him murdered; of spending \$100,000,000 in the capital and refusing to allow parliament to audit it. Yuan, on his part, stated that the revolutionists were merely agents of the opium traders, who were using this means of reestablishing the opium business.

The uprising failed because the people as a whole were apathetic; because an insufficient amount of money was contributed; because the navy remained true to Yuan; and because the Five Powers advanced Yuan \$10,000,000 to put down the rebellion. Sun Yat-sen and General Huang-hsing escaped to Japan.

Yuan virtually became dictator. At the close of the rebellion he had the following proclamation issued:

"The President of the Chinese Republic (Yuan Shih-kai) hereby

⁴ *Independent*, LXXV, 648-50.

offers the following rewards for the capture and handing over alive or dead of the following persons:⁵

“Huang Hsing—One Hundred Thousand Dollars.

“Cheng Chi-mei—Fifty Thousand Dollars.

“Huang Fu—Twenty Thousand Dollars.

“Si Shu-cheng—Twenty Thousand Dollars.

“Dated this 31st day of the Seventh Moon of the Second Year of the Republic of China.

“Signed and Sealed by the Civil Protector of Shanghai,

“Tseng Ju-cheng (Admiral).”

The matter of framing a permanent constitution to take the place of the provisional constitution now engaged the government. Parliament in session in Peking undertook the work of drafting one, but Yuan's wishes were not sought, and none of his personal agents were admitted. This was too much for Yuan. He took matters into his own hands, issuing a mandate which dissolved the Kuomintang on the ground that it was a seditious party. There were then not enough members left in Parliament to constitute a quorum, and for that reason it could not convene. Thereupon Yuan dissolved parliament, and in December, 1913, appointed a committee to revise the provisional constitution. The new constitution was the result. This gave the president practically supreme power over the executive branch of government. In him was vested the authority to appoint all civil and military officers and to dismiss all officials except judges. The power of absolute veto over action of the legislature was given to him. In case of urgent matters when the legislature could not convene, he had the power to issue ordinances to take the place of existing laws. When the legislature convened these had to be approved. Loans and increase of taxation, to be valid, were to be made by the legislature.⁶

President Yuan was gradually drawing the lines tighter and closer. Representative local assemblies were abolished and the provincial governments were consolidated in provincial headquarters in the hands of officials who were pledged to support Yuan.

Toward the end of October (1914) he issued a remarkable mandate. “The most renowned scholars of East and West,” it read, “are agreed that in framing a fundamental law it is essential to bear in mind the conditions of the people: no good can possibly come of

⁵ These men have since that time been nominally pardoned.

⁶ “The Chinese Constitution,” *Outlook*, CVII, 512.

cutting one's feet to fit a pair of shoes."⁷ The shoes he offered were good comfortable shoes made on the old dynastic last: The president was to be elected for ten years (with eligibility for reelection) by an election commission consisting of fifty members from each of the two houses of Parliament. The presidential election law was announced in the last days of December. "If at election the administrative council should think it advisable that the president should hold office for another term, two-thirds of their votes shall be sufficient for his reelection."

The plan gave the president the right to nominate three persons, from among whom his successor was to be elected. The names of the three he wrote on a golden tablet; he enclosed the tablet in a golden casket and locked the casket in a stone strong-room in the presidential palace. Another mandate (also of December, 1914) stated that "no member of any political party shall be eligible for membership in Parliament." Obviously Yuan was laying plans for a *coup d'état* whereby he would take his seat on the Dragon throne.

But an ominous cloud had appeared on the horizon—one that foreboded no good for China. The European war had started with tremendous violence, and Japan, as an ally of England, was beginning the siege of Tsingtau in the province of Shantung. On August 15, after a session of the elder statesmen of Japan and the chiefs of the general staff and the naval board before the imperial throne, a note was handed to Count von Rex, the German ambassador, which, after stating certain demands, ended with the following ultimatum:

"If a reply, agreeing unconditionally to these demands, is not received by noon of August 23, 1914, the Japanese Government shall take whatever steps it deems necessary."⁸

A few days later the Japanese Government forwarded the following communication to the Foreign Office at Peking:

"Owing to the aggressive action of Germany, unfortunately a war has been started between England and Germany, and the peace in the Far East is about to be disturbed. The Japanese Government, after consultation with England and considering the present circumstances and the future of the Far East, has been obliged to take this last course for the assurance of the peace of the Far East and the preservation of China's territorial integrity and the maintenance of peace and order in the same country."

⁷ Vide J. O. P. Bland, "At the Sign of the Velvet Glove." *Atlantic*, CXV, 748-54.

⁸ Jefferson Jones, *The Fall of Tsingtau* (Boston, 1915), p. 34.

The whole world, including Great Britain, knew that Japan was not fundamentally interested in "the preservation of China's territorial integrity and the maintenance of peace and order" in that country. She was simply making use of an opportunity to gain a firm foothold on Chinese soil, to acquire the dominant influence in Chinese internal affairs, and to open the country for Japanese exploitation. It was a step in the carrying out of the Japanese expansion movement. "Her population is threatened with overcrowding; work for the people is a necessity; emigration to desirable countries is practically prohibited by foreign antagonism; money must be had to carry the enormous burdens imposed by her present national politics."⁹

Baron Mackino, as minister of commerce, made the following statement about four years ago:

"It is our ambition to be to the East what Great Britain is to the West. We have left no means untried in making a thorough investigation of the present conditions in China, so as to arrive at as accurate an estimate as possible of what is to be expected in the commercial relations of that country with Japan in the near future. . . .

"It is not too much to say that a great part of our hope for future financial rehabilitation in Japan depends upon how we can further develop trade with China. In this matter we cannot afford to be beaten by our foreign competitors; for the very welfare of the nations depends upon it."

The Japanese began their attack on Tsingtau, having in view the larger objective. Troops were landed one hundred and fifty miles north of the city at Lungkow on soil that was distinctively Chinese, and from there they pushed on through Chinese territory to Tsi-nan-fu, the capital city of Shantung and the terminus of the Shantung railroad, passing *en route* through Tai-mo and Weihsien. Command was taken of the Shantung railway, and such native employes as seemingly opposed them were shot. In a few days western Shantung was in the hands of the Japanese.

Tsingtau surrendered at 7:05 A. M. on November 7. Governor-General Meyer-Waldeck and his men had fought valiantly, but the opposing force—17,000 against 3800—was too strong. By 7:30 the Rising Sun flag was floating from the peak of every fort and hill in the vicinity.

China was in distress. Her neutrality had been violated, and

⁹ James Davenport Whelpley, "East and West: A New Line of Cleavage." *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1, 1915, p. 887.

she could do little or nothing. Yuan had ordered his people to show their good will toward the troops. What more could he do?

But there was more trouble ahead for China. The Japanese premier Okuma issued a message to the American people; it was published in *The Independent* of August 24, 1914. "As premier of Japan, I have stated, and I now again state to the people of America and of the world, that Japan has no ulterior motive, no desire to secure more territory, no thought of depriving China or other peoples of anything which they possess."

Notwithstanding this message, Mr. Hioki, Japanese ambassador to Peking, called upon Yuan Shih-kai on the evening of January 18, 1915, and presented a note making the most radical demands. When these became known to the world, the Powers naturally made inquiry of the Tokyo government, and the latter despatched a seemingly innocent *communiqué* to the Powers. The original *communiqué*, of about four times the length of the one sent to the Powers, covered these among other equally vital demands: China is not to lease or cede any part of Shantung to a third power; Japan is to be allowed to build a railway from Chefoo or Lungkow to join the Tsinan-Kiaochoo railway; China is to grant Japanese subjects the right to open all mines in Southern Manchuria; the consent of the Japanese government must be obtained before a third power is granted permission to build a railway in Southern Manchuria or eastern inner Mongolia; no island, port, or harbor of China shall be ceded or leased to any third power; influential Japanese advisers in political, financial and military affairs shall be employed by China; the police departments of important places in China shall be jointly administered by Japanese and Chinese; China is to purchase a fixed ratio of the quantity of munitions of war from Japan, or Japan shall establish in China a jointly worked arsenal in which Japanese experts are to be employed, and for which Japanese material is to be purchased.

The Chinese were worked up to a fever heat by this time, but they knew the futility of engaging in open war with Japan. The latter country was able to set up for China a super-Monroe doctrine. Demands, with some modifications but similar intent, were presented with the suggestion that an answer would be expected at once. China did not answer forthwith. On May 7, a reply to the Japanese note was demanded. Japan began to mobilize her army and navy in preparation for an invasion of China. There was no way out, "and at half-past one o'clock on the morning of Sunday,

May 9, China, the oldest nation in the world, passed under the virtual domination of Japan."¹⁰

The Chinese however are resourceful, and above all else they are fully awake. China's fighting blood is up and has been expressing itself in three ways: (1) A nationwide boycott against Japanese goods; (2) a nationwide "National Salvation Fund" movement for raising Mexican \$50,000,000 from the Chinese, "the money to be used to arm China against foreign aggression and to develop home industries which shall manufacture those lines of goods now supplied by Japan"; (3) A nationwide movement of solidarity, removal of corruption, and development of resources.¹¹

Mr. Willard Price, who investigated the boycott of Japanese goods, found that the Japanese have lost heavily—"more," one Chinese merchant said, "through the boycott than she can ever gain through the success of her demands." In Chungking, West China, the advertisements of Japanese patent medicines and tooth powders were painted over and burnings were held of Japanese goods outside the city. In Hangchow (of Chekiang) and in Hunan, Japanese shops were closed and deserted. Mr. Price saw a list of seventeen Japanese firms in Hunan, together with the losses they had incurred—amounts from \$900 to \$31,000. Throughout the city of Wuchang a pamphlet of double meaning was circulated. When read in the customary way from top to bottom, it read, "Countrymen! Our country is becoming a second Korea. The hearts of the people! Take what is written to heart," and so on. When read from right to left, these statements read: "Citizens—Don't—Buy—Japanese—Goods!"

The boycott is thought to be more than a passing expression of emotion. It is impossible at this time to forecast the outcome of Japan's venture. Many seem to think that the move on the part of Japan is a menace to the United States as well as to China. In the *New York Herald*, Mr. Rea, editor of the *Far Eastern Review* (Shanghai), has made the following statement: "It is on record that every move our financiers or manufacturers have made to expand their influence in China, has been met with the undisguised hostility of Japan, and our right to transact business with the Chinese government has been repeatedly challenged and denied."

In the *New York Sun*, Mr. Rea made the assertion that "Japan is prepared to go to war with America to enforce the principle of

¹⁰ Jones, p. 207.

¹¹ Willard Price, "China's Fighting Blood Up." *World's Work*, XXV, pp. 725-29.

racial equality and to contest with us the supremacy of the Pacific. She wants to get some of the costs of such an undertaking out of the control of China."¹²

Whether Mr. Rea is extreme in his standpoint or not, time will tell. Interpreted in the most favorable way, Japan's aggression must be looked upon as implying an attempt to get control of the Chinese situation. Japanese statesmen of authority have said as much, and every indication points that way.

Meanwhile, the political situation in China again attracted attention. Yuan Shih-kai held the center of the stage. During the latter part of the summer and early fall, insistent rumors were current that Yuan might try to have himself declared emperor. The President himself issued a number of statements in which he affirmed his belief that the Republic would continue. As late as November 22, the *Independent* published a statement to that effect. Yuan asserted that his enemies were saying that he desired to become emperor. The indications, however, were not lacking that he was really ambitious to secure the throne. Not the least of these was the resignation of Vice-President Li Yuan-hung. Mr. Suh Hu, writing in the *Outlook* (Sept. 1, 1915), said: "The question of titular change is of very little importance in the minds of true Republicans of China. The Chinese democracy, they realize, now exists only in name. For almost two years the country has had no parliament, no legislature, no provincial legislature, no district councils. There are no political parties, no freedom of press, no freedom of speech." Suh Hu is laboring under the impression that President Goodnow favored a constitutional monarchy for China; but in this he is probably mistaken. The report that he favored the monarchy was circulated to facilitate the overthrow of the Republic.¹³

In December, Yuan nominally referred the question to the provinces: "Do you wish to return to a monarchy?" Actually the matter was referred in a controlled way to groups who were loyal to the President. There was little, if any, popular desire to change the form of government.

On December 11, the following telegram was sent out from Peking: "Acting as Parliament, the Council of State to-day canvassed the vote on the question of a change of government of China to a monarchy, and found that the votes of 1993 representatives

¹² "Menace to the United States in Japan's Triumph over China." *Current Opinion*, LVIII, 386-388.

¹³ "China's Momentous Choice." *Independent*, LXXXIV, 169 (November 1, 1915).

out of 2043 qualified to vote on the proposition were favorable to the change." The Council of State urged Yuan to accept the throne. At first he declined, but later accepted with the proviso that he continue as president "until a convenient time for the coronation." On New Year's Day he anticipated the honor by seating himself upon the Yellow Chair.

When Liang Chi-chao of the 1898 *coup d'état* fame was asked whether he favored reestablishing the monarchy—he originally favored a constitutional monarchy—he said, "I have always opposed a revolution, hence I am opposing you now as I opposed you before, for a revolution always retards the progress of a nation." This meant that he did not favor Yuan. He was kindly disposed toward the southern provinces, as is shown in the fact that he joined the governor of Kwangsi in issuing a manifesto impeaching Yuan and his misadministration.

Following the acceptance of the throne by Yuan, an uprising broke out in Yunnan province. Though 50,000 troops were sent to subdue the rebels, the movement spread over the provinces south of the Yangtze River, assuming such proportions that Yuan thought it best to renounce his ambition for the throne. The monarchy had endured just one hundred and one days. Yuan brought it to a close with the following edict:

"I have myself to blame for my lack of virtue. Why should I blame others? The people have been thrown into misery; the soldiers have been made to bear hardships; commerce has declined. Taking this into consideration, I feel exceedingly sorry.

"I am still of the opinion that the designation petitions submitted through the acting Li Fa Yuan (State Council) are unsuited to the circumstances of the country. The official acceptance of the throne of the eleventh of December is hereby canceled, and the petitions are hereby returned through the State Department to the Tsan Chen Yuan, to be forwarded to the petitioners for destruction. All preparations connected therewith are to close forthwith...."

In his hope that the southern provinces would forthwith rally to his support he was greatly mistaken. While some of the Peking papers thought him sincere, the Shanghai press continued to challenge his patriotism and his moral integrity. The Japanese government was out of sympathy with him and rumors were current that he would soon have to face a movement directed from Tokyo for his overthrow.

But now a surprise was awaiting the world. On the sixth of June Yuan passed away, and the news of his death was flashed around

the globe. Though poisoning was officially denied, he died "amid an atmosphere saturated with suspicion and intrigue." The next day his eldest son committed suicide, whether because of grief, the dictates of filial piety, or some other reason. Vice-President Li Yuan-hung was designated Yuan's successor.

Li is a man fifty-two years of age, with large experience as a soldier. After graduating from the Pei Yang Naval College, he joined the navy, serving in the Chino-Japanese war, during which time he jumped from a ship into the sea to save his life. This experience seems to have turned his inclination toward the army, for he entered the service of the well-known viceroy, Chang Chitung. Later he buried his pride and went to Japan to study military tactics, because he saw that his training was inadequate. In his new capacity as president he will doubtless do what he can to bring together the North and the South. Whether he will succeed in uniting China and in rehabilitating her finances remains to be seen. His is a great task.

CAN CHINA SAVE HERSELF?¹

BY GILBERT REED.

CHINA'S salvation depends more on herself and on heaven than on help from foreign powers. In fact foreign powers, taken together or taken singly, have often proved more of a menace than a blessing. The most that can be expected in the way of altruism is from foreign individuals rather than from foreign governments. If any foreign government can be induced to help China it is rather due to national self-interest than to altruistic motives, or possibly it is due to the high altruistic sentiments of some one individual who happens to be in office, and has ventured to carry his religion into politics.

It is very well, and very easy, to talk of principles. It is about as easy as for the Chinese to draw up regulations. The harder task, and the really serious problem, is to carry out some of these principles, and get to doing something. Even principles introduced into a constitution are no guarantee of a nation's salvation. The constitution is a palladium of liberty. What is still needed is that all the people and all the officials begin to do something with a practical bearing on the public weal.

Do the Chinese possess the quality of being "up and doing?" Will they undertake some one thing and see it through?

In 1895 I presented to the Military Council of the empire a Memorial on ways to develop Manchuria. This was before Russia had begun to press in, and the proposals were meant to forestall any aggression. Prince Kung, Weng Tung-ho, Jung Luh and the rest of them complimented me highly on my ideas and my "good heart," and—nothing was done.

The same year I had about a dozen conferences with Li Hung-chang about a university for Peking. This was a pet scheme of his. I helped him to draw up a plan. Shortly he said to me, "No, use, nothing can be done; my colleagues don't want a university."

¹ Dr. Reid has recently published a series of papers on this subject in the (Chinese) *National Review*.

Those were the bad days of the Manchus, who are guilty of every failing that the Chinese have. Now we have a republic, such as it is. Progress is in the air. Educated men who have seen the world are to the front. We are living in better times. Something at last is going to be done.

Having eaten much bitter from the open hand of the Japanese, China has been stirred as never before. A national spirit "moves upon the waters," and yet the old question arises, "Will the Chinese carry through that which they have begun?" Various movements have been set a-going, new societies have been started; will they go on to the end?

Lest it be thought that we only talk of principles and think in a general, indefinite way, we will close these discussions of China's salvation by specifying a few practical enterprises for the government and the people to undertake. There is nothing new in what we say; we merely give an enumeration, so that any Chinese who is at leisure may feel the call to do something.

I. China needs in Peking a first-class, well-equipped, high-grade university, superior to the high school standard and better than any university started by missionaries. Then will Li Hung-chang's dream come to realization. Some university in Shanghai, in Tientsin, in Hongkong, or in Hankow should not take the place of a real university at the national capital, controlled by the faculty and the president rather than by the students.

II. China needs a national system of education, supported not from the national revenue, but from local and provincial resources. This system needs to be national, directed from the Ministry of Education, but the management and support of each school should be local. Universal education, if aimed at, should be of an elementary kind, like the "three R's" in the west. Hence stress should be laid equally on a university and on primary schools. Taxes for public schools should go to them and for no other purpose. Universal education must be simple; the special and the expert is for the few. So a national system of education is better when it is simple than when it is elaborate.

III. China needs improvement in her agriculture. This does not mean that the Chinese have not been good farmers or good gardeners in the past; it only means that they have something to learn from the west, especially from the science of farming. Thus the farmers of the State of New York have at last acknowledged that they can learn from the graduates of the Agricultural Department of Cornell University. It will not be long before this new

department in Nanking University, a union of three missions, will be gladly utilized by the provinces of Kiangsu and Anhwei.

IV. Afforestation is another practical work needing to be taken in hand. It is nearly thirty years since Dr. Joseph Edkins wrote a series of articles on this subject in the first Chinese daily of Tientsin. The reform has been urged on Chinese officials again and again, but neglect of a plain duty has been the rule rather than the exception. The Germans at Tsingtao and along the line of the Shantung Railway have set a good example, and have always been ready to encourage the planting of trees in other parts of China. Professor Bailie of Nanking University is carrying on the same needy work in connection with his agricultural department. It ought to be possible to get every governor to see that all the officials under them, in conjunction with the gentry, shall undertake in a simple way the planting and preserving of trees. An editorial in *The National Review* for July 24 gave a clear statement of what can be done in all parts of China.

V. Here comes in another important reform, that of conservancy. A National Bureau for this purpose has already been established, with Mr. Chang Ch'ien as the enthusiastic director. The American Red Cross Society dispatched engineers to study the problems in the region of the Hwai river, and it was expected that Americans were to raise the money to undertake model conservancy works. Americans are the only ones with abundance of means—all the more abundant through sales in time of war—and their good fortune should lead them to carry on this Red Cross proposal. Should American philanthropists lose their ardor, it is left to the Chinese to perform one more part of China's salvation. The task for the whole of China is gigantic, but a start should be made.

VI. Another practical reform is currency reform. We are not ourselves particular whether gold or silver or copper is made the standard, so long as some standard is agreed upon. In our opinion gold should be the standard, seeing that this is the standard throughout the world. This does not exclude the wider use and circulation of silver and copper and paper, but gold is the standard and the ratio of exchange is definite. A definite plan of currency reform was agreed upon by Dr. Ch'en Shin-t'ao and foreign experts before the Manchu dynasty came to its untimely end. Under the republic the Ministry of Finance has invited currency advisers, and for a while there was a special bureau und Liang Ch'i-chi'ao; but the reform has gone no further than the academic stage. It needs to be put into practice.

VII. Mines should be opened and railways built on the co-operative basis, with Chinese and foreign capital, but no more concessions should be given outright to foreigners, at least until the law is established that two foreign nations at war with each other cannot in consequence take possession of each other's property, rights or concessions within the domains of Chinese territory. The way should be open for foreign capital and proportionate control, but not for absolute foreign control. If foreign capitalists do not care to cooperate they had better be left out. If the Chinese, on the other hand, continue to hamper and frustrate all foreign help, they too should be left alone. Cooperation means cooperation, nothing more, nothing less.

VIII. China should go on with her salt reforms. A first-class English adviser, with experience, is at the head. His advice should be trusted and followed. A system as efficient as the Maritime Customs will soon be developed, bringing revenue to the government and forming a model for other departments.

IX. In our humble opinion *likin* should be abolished, whether foreign powers agree or not to increase tariff. Internal trade should be free from all impediments. Free trade, whatever we say of it in an international sense, is an absolute necessity in a national sense, within the bounds of one's own country.

X. A national banking system needs to be established so that the Chinese in one part of the country can trade with those in another through a common medium of exchange. The Bank of China or the Bank of Communications should have branches in every city of China, so that the same notes can be accepted everywhere throughout the country. If a cheque from a bank in New York City may be cashed at the Hongkong Bank in Shanghai, a cheque of the Bank of China in Chungking should pass with the same bank in Shanghai.

These are enough practical points to show that scope is given for a large variety of talent in China.

It is to be hoped that Japan and England, France and Russia, Germany and the United States, Spain and Portugal, and all the rest, will have mercy on China by giving her a chance to set her house in order. Should the exhilarating experiences of the past year after all prove a sedative, and in the course of the next ten years no reform be undertaken, or rather carried out, we will then yield to the superior argument of our friends the Japanese, and welcome their paternal sway in China as it has been so gleefully welcomed in Chosen.