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Why Is Iron Magnetic?

A horse-shoe magnet attracts a steel needle. But why? We don't know exactly. We do know that electricity and magnetism are related.

In dynamos and motors we apply electro-magnetic effects. All our power-stations, lighting systems, electric traction and motor drives, even the ignition systems of our automobiles, depend upon these magnetic effects which we use and do not understand.

Perhaps if we understood them we could utilize them much more efficiently. Perhaps we could discover combinations of metals more magnetic than iron.

The Research Laboratories of the General Electric Company investigate magnetism by trying to find out more about electrons and their arrangement in atoms.

X-rays have shown that each iron atom consists of electrons grouped around a central nucleus—like planets around an infinitesimal sun. X-rays enable us to some extent to see into the atom and may at last reveal to us what makes for magnetism.

This is research in pure science, and nothing else. Only thus can real progress be made.

Studies of this kind are constantly resulting in minor improvements. But some day a discovery may be made which will enable a metallurgist to work out the formula for a magnetic alloy which has not yet been cast, but which will surely have the properties required. Such a result would be an achievement with tremendous possibilities. It would improve all electric generators, motors, and magnetic devices.

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Lest We Forget

HUMAN society, so we are told, improves by recollection. In agreeing to begin the Conference on the third anniversary of the Armistice, the powers undoubtedly cherished the superstitious idea that men may be made better by bringing back to their memory the quagmire of wretchedness. The European War, like all previous wars, made an impression; like all impressions, it fades away. It does not require a cynical pessimist to pronounce the Paris Conference a hopeless failure. The race of war equipment goes on; the race for a greater empire goes on; the race for a bigger navy goes on. The War has come and gone, why not let the past bury the past? The cry for disarmament was as old as society itself. In the wilderness the voice can always be heard; the remorseless soul refused to repent.

The reason is simple. History is it-

self a record of war. Primitive people fought for the honor of the tribe, for bare existence. Mediavalists fought for religious and political unity—*un roi, une foi, une loi*. The dawn of modern history found civilization on the old track. Men were still fighting, this time for a different principle, namely, diversity or individuality, political as well as religious. The great discoverers left the world a great legacy of blood and tumult. The scramble for gold and land brought a long train of frictions in its wake. The Age of Enlightenment furnished fuel for fire, while the Industrial Revolution only aggravated the international situation. The demand for market and raw materials gave added impetus to imperialism. Towards the close of the nineteenth century, men seemed to have reverted to the scholastic notion of cultural supremacy. "Patriotism, fretting

itself, in this state of nervous excitability with hypothetical suspicions and reports" furnished a refuge for scoundrels and the war wolves ran rampart in broad daylight

"And like the storm which Earth's deep entrails hide,
At length has burst its way and spread the ruins wide!"

Thus the throne of Mars was repeatedly overthrown only to be set up again victoriously and in 1914 on its vertex. At a dinner given in his honor immediately after the Russo-Japanese war, the Japanese Ambassador in Paris was reported to have made this remark: "When we were engaged in the development of art we were considered uncivilized but when we have mastered the art of killing, we are initiated into the family of civilized nations! The statement was devoid of irony.

In the competition of armament and the building of colonial empires, China was a victim, but she learned a lesson though imperfectly. With foes on all sides, with Korea and India as her objective lessons, and with the inundation of western superficialities what one of our modern writers complacently calls "The Moving of Waters in China," China tried to have the looks of an European Army, "*Le militarisme chinois*" says a French writer, "*est d'importation étrangère.*" The Eighteenth of Brumaire occurs in China almost once a year. The brass bands in Peking and Shanghai that play to the tune of "See the Conquering Hero Comes" and "Over There" are hardly propitious signs for a people who are intoxicated with the beauties of tranquility and peace.

We have been too skeptical lately; we have asked too many "whys." The "sound fundamental principles" on which China was founded are giving way.

China must disband before she could have a stable civil government. The powers must give up what they grabbed from China at the point of bayonets that there may be no cause for further competition for preparedness in the Far East and that history may not repeat its ugly stories of 1899.

The coming Conference gives fair promise for success, if only the optimists do not expect too much and the cynicists are willing to make it serious. Public opinion is now on the side of the peace-lovers. Today, the laborers, the students, laymen and clergy, and all those who grumble at the war tax in this country and other countries are clamouring for the reduction of armament. It was said that at the Congress of Vienna all delegates danced except one who happened to be a cripple. Then, unlike now, those who attended the Congress were either monarchs or their representatives, but now, as democracy advances, as popular opinion steadily gains ascendancy, there will be more room for hope for some concrete results. Let us hope that,

"Storm of battle, thunder of war,
Well if it do not roll our way."

What Carlyle said of the French Revolution, let us say of the world: Not by soldiery or insurrection, but by milder methods growing ever milder, shall the events of universal history be henceforth brought to pass.

Dr. Schurman at Peking

THE new American Minister to China, in his memorable address before the American Association and the American Chamber of Commerce of China, has reaffirmed the principle of the Open Door as the policy of the United States towards China.

The message came at a very proper moment. Although the principle was proclaimed more than twenty years ago, at no time does it need greater emphasis, and consequently more attention from the world, than today. Dr. Schurman did well in referring to a

clause in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which embodies substantially the same idea underlying the principle of the Open Door. He no doubt realizes how, in its very brief history and in spite of the repeated declarations of the United States, the principle was constantly in danger of being violated. People everywhere, and naturally most of all the Chinese people themselves, had already begun to wonder whether America is any longer supporting the principle so wisely declared by Secretary Hay and apparently always held to be an integral part of America's Oriental policy. Dr. Schurman's reaffirmation now leaves no doubt as to the sincerity of the United States. And there is every reason to hope that, with the strong support of America, the principle will be more generally observed than it has been up to the present.

But the American Minister's declaration is especially important at a time when America's policy towards China will very soon be put to what politicians call the "acid test". President Harding has more than once referred to the principle of the Open Door, and the Minister has now given it a more or less official declaration. The Chinese people

not unnaturally are attaching a great deal of importance to the Conference about to be convened in Washington. All the powers to take part in its deliberations have vital interests in the Pacific and the Far East; and at the Conference, they will no doubt attempt to agree upon certain fundamental principles to be applied to their future actions in that part of the world. Exactly what these principles are going to be will depend of course upon the attitude of the powers concerned, but the United States will be a considerable force to be reckoned with. Her voice alone will not determine the outcome of the Conference, but it will be one of the most important contributing factors; and we have reason to say that, if she follows her traditional policy based on justice and fairness to all, if she lends her support to China who has always desired to accord equal treatment to the different powers interested in her, all will go well with the Conference so far as the Far East is concerned. And the Far East is now the determining factor for a world peace or a world war. The factor will be one for peace if the United States and China work in harmony.

Japan Again Negotiates on Shantung

JAPAN, it is conjectured, will come to the Conference on Pacific questions with a most gentlemanly appearance. She will give the impression to the world that she is not the aggressive nation which she is taken to be, but rather a most reasonable one, modest in her claims and sympathetic to the interests of other powers. She realizes that it is no diplomacy to be outspoken and obstinate where mildness and a seeming obligingness give a better assurance of success, and there are numerous examples to show the effectiveness of such a procedure. Germany in the Conference of Algeciras, we remember, insisted on protecting the Sultan of Morocco from the aggressive designs of

France; but the French delegation got the better of their opponents by suggesting at the very first session that all agree, as a basis of discussion, to maintain the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Sultan's realm and the principle of equal opportunity. The result was that the subsequent discussion was mainly confined to details. But as soon as the conference was over, France proceeded, with no concern for the agreement made in the conference, to divide up the realm of the Sultan, to violate its political sovereignty and finally to close the door of trade and commerce to other powers.

We can be sure that the coming conference will not be so easily

fooled. But is not Japan already trying to follow the policy so cleverly adopted by France in the Algenciras conference? We believe she is. It is perfectly clear that there is an ulterior motive underlying her recent negotiations with China on the Shantung question. And the Chinese Foreign Minister has certainly shown an infinite amount of tact and diplomatic skill in rejecting them. It was first reported that China might send counter-proposals. She was wise enough not to do that; for even those would disappoint China herself as well as the whole world. The idea for a general conference on Far Eastern questions was not born of the unsatisfactory settlement of the Shantung case, but there is reason to believe that Shantung was in the mind of President Harding when he conceived of the idea. Of course the conference may be relieved of

the burden to consider the complicated question, but China would not in any wise profit by it. Besides, as the reply from the Waichiaopu to the Japanese proposals said: "although Japan has made many vague declarations she has in fact no plan which is fundamentally acceptable. . . . After careful consideration, the Chinese Government feels that much in Japan's proposals is still incompatible with the repeated declarations of the Chinese Government, with the hopes and expectations of the entire Chinese people, with the principles laid down in treaties between China and the foreign powers. If these proposals are to be considered the final concession on the part of Japan, they surely fall short to prove the sincerity of Japan's desire to settle the question."

Here is an added reason why China must not negotiate with Japan.

"Aggressive Friendliness"

COMMENTING on the speech recently given by the American Minister to China, *The Peking Leader* characterized it as "aggressive friendliness." American friendliness must not, so he told his friends, be construed to mean American indifference to their rights. While she takes no part in the "grab game" and demands no special or preferential privileges, she would not tolerate discrimination. She demands her due; that she must have.

In making this declaration, Dr. Schurman said nothing new. Open Door and equal trade opportunities had long been the keynote to American diplomacy in China. His predecessor, Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, in an interview with the *New York Times* correspondent, remarked amongst other things: "We are, therefore, primarily standing for our inherited and traditional right freely to act in China in co-operation with the Chinese without anybody else interfering." Secretary Hughes, in a communication to the Chinese Minister in Wash-

ington, stated in explicit terms that "it is the purpose of this government neither to participate nor to acquiesce in any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of foreign interests any superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in designated regions of territories of China, or which might seek to create any such monopoly or preference as would exclude other nationals from undertaking any legitimate trade or industry or from participating with the Chinese Government in any category of public enterprise."

China has never questioned the disinterested and considerate policy of the United States. Her stand at Versailles did, indeed, cast a veil of suspicion among the Chinese people but they were not slow to distinguish a personal decision from American public opinion. The remittance of the American portion of the Boxer Indemnity was itself an eloquent assurance by the new Administration of American good will towards

China. On the other hand, that China is sincerely adhering to this time-honored principle there can also be no doubt. The Federal Wireless case furnishes a splendid example. Against the protests from several governments China finally signed and ratified the Contract.

It is our hope, however, that the American Government will realize the difficulty which China has to face in faithfully observing this principle of Open Door. Dr. Schurman points out rightly that China is the concern of all. This very fact necessitates her encoun-

tering many obstacles before a decision is arrived at.

None is more desirous of opening her doors than the Chinese but hitherto her difficulty is that all keys are in the hands of others. It becomes supremely important that America should assist China, during the sessions of the Conference, to recover her independence, integrity and sovereignty. America could not get her due until China gets hers. Return us all the keys and the United States will have no further cause for complaint.

Japan in Shantung

EVERY casual traveler can tell that the Japanese in Shantung are poor successors of the Germans. "From the minute that the Japanese landed troops at Lungkow on the far northern coast of Shantung in disregard of the protest of the neutral government of China, Japan has continued to make changes and establish garrisons, and acquired territories without consulting China or any other power." She made no improvements since her occupation. "The water supply is inadequate, the electric current poor, the streets are not kept up as well as they were by the Germans, the postal service is a sore point for Japanese as well as Westerners, and it is literal feat for a resident to secure telephone connection." She has completed her economic control. In the form of military stores, she has smuggled a considerable quantity of opium and the railway guards are acting as distributing agents. She has supplied the bandits with weapons and out of the troubled waters she gets an adequate excuse. She has allowed the instalment of red lights opposite to churches.

The worst of all is that Japan has shut the door against all. She has refused to consider an Englishman as Commissioner in the Maritime customs of Tsingtao. All European and American firms, with the exception of a few,

are obliged to give up their premises, as a result of discrimination.

Japan has been notoriously known as a disturbing factor in the Far East for the last twenty years. There are liberal Japanese who long for a change. Another attempt for direct negotiation on the settlement of the Shantung question was made and rejected. The proposals such as the joint control of railway, and the joint operation of mines, are too doubtful to be acceptable. The memorandum has been interpreted as an attempt to catch the Chinese government off its guard. The question of direct negotiation is now a sealed volume.

There is rumour afloat that Japan will eventually request President Harding to mediate for a satisfactory solution of the question. The X is hard to find but upon which a goodly portion of the success of the Conference depends.

Japan can not afford to remain unpopular. She has counted on the friendship of Great Britain for the last two decades. In view of the Irish and Indian trouble, England may still play with Japan, but the Premiers' Conference made a *sincere* renewal of the Alliance very problematical. She must see that her aggression in China is not a paying policy. The world is expecting Japan to make more concessions. Japan

understands. Much of our expectation rests with Japan. If she sticks to her old way, if the Conference thereby fails to realize its purpose, the competition of arms in the Far East will go on and a heavy taxation accompanying an expanding navy may bring about consequences too serious for us to imagine.

Disarmament in Relation to China's Development*

DR. SAO-KE ALFRED SZE

Chinese Minister to the United States.

IT was nearly a quarter of a century ago that Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State of the United States and author of the Hay Doctrine of the Open Door, made the statement, "Whoever understands China socially, politically, economically, religiously, holds the key to the world's politics for the next five centuries." With Mr. Hay's statement in mind, it is gratifying indeed to receive a request from the *Harvard Crimson* for an article on the subject of "Disarmament in Relation to China's Development." It indicates an interest in my country, the Republic of China, on the part of the college men of America that is full of significance to the future relations of our two countries which have so much in common.

If the young men and women who now constitute the college groups in the United States, the persons in whose hands the future destiny of this country rests, will follow Mr. Hay's advice, there will be no need for further conferences on Disarmament. For many years the young men and women of my country have been coming to the United States to study in your institutions of learning. For many years members of Faculties of American Universities have gone out to China as Exchange Professors in Chinese Universities. The mutuality of interest that is bound to result from our study of America and your study of China is certain to result in the solution of most of the troublesome questions that come under the heading of "Problems of the Pacific."

Ambassador Harvey in one of his recent addresses in England made the statement that the Atlantic Ocean is as peaceful as a mill-pond and that the center of world interest has now shifted to the Pacific. Great Britain recognized the importance of the Pacific by sending out Admiral Jellicoe to be governor of New Zealand and President Harding has done the same in sending General Wood to the Philippines. In China's reply to President Harding's invitation to participate in the Conference on Limitation of Armament and Pacific-Far Eastern Problems, the following statement appears:

"A conference for the purpose stated meets with the hearty concurrence of the government of the Republic of China. Since the conclusion of the war in Europe the fear is general that there may again be a recurrence of the horrors of war. *Furthermore, the center of gravity in matters international has recently shifted to the Pacific and the Far East.* China occupies an important place not only on account of the extent of its territory and the density of its population, but also on account of its geographical position. The Pacific and Far Eastern questions as viewed by the Chinese people are questions affecting the peace of the world of the present day."

America's interest in China is not new. Commercially our relations began when the first American clipper ship visited the shores of my country

*Reprinted with permission of the *Harvard Crimson*.

some 136 years ago. In China, our tea merchants will tell you that they furnished the ingredients that made your Boston Tea Party famous! On July 3, 1900 Mr. Hay in his note to all the powers said:

"In this critical posture of the affairs in China it is deemed appropriate to define the attitude of the United States as far as the present circumstances permit this to be done. We adhere to the policy initiated by us in 1857, of peace with the Chinese nation, of furtherance of lawful commerce, and of protection of lives and property of our citizens—The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution (of the existing troubles) which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire."

Recently I was asked to explain briefly just what China desired or expected to get from the Conference here in November. Well, I thought this question over carefully and I gave the following answer as an expression of the desires of the Chinese people: China wants nothing from this conference except the right to preserve our national existence and the right to the uninterrupted pursuit of our happiness in fellowship with the other nations of the world. I believe that expresses our hopes and desires and when I analyze deeply into the hearts of my American friends, I believe firmly that this is exactly what the United States is trying to bring about in the Pacific. China wants to be reasonable in her demands and will be surprisingly modest. China today is not the China of a century ago; neither is it the China of even ten years ago. China today is actively in touch with the rest of the world and our people in their new development are being stirred by the same thoughts and inspirations of freedom that are stirring the thoughts

of the American people. The principal delegates to the Conference in Washington this autumn will be all graduates of American universities; and among the members of the Delegation a good portion has studied in this country and in addition there will be several who are graduates of the great universities of England.

In my study of American history I find that the United States has developed but two world policies since it became a nation. The first was the Monroe Doctrine and the second was the Hay Doctrine of the Open Door. The Monroe Doctrine, to use the words of former Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, "was not an assertion of primacy or paramount interest by the United States in its relation to other American Republics; that its purpose was to prevent foreign powers from interfering with the separate rights of any nation in this hemisphere, and that the whole aim was to preserve to each Republic the power of self-development; that so far as aiding in this development the United States claimed no special privileges over other countries." Now I firmly believe that the Hay Doctrine of the Open Door which was enunciated by Secretary of State John Hay nearly a quarter of a century ago, means almost exactly the same in its application to Asia as the Monroe Doctrine meant to the republics of South and Central America. In brief he meant that the people of China have the right to self-development and that is a doctrine which in its simplicity is perfectly understandable to Americans and Chinese alike. The principle of self-development is a principle that the American people have always demanded for themselves and it is but natural and just that they should desire other peoples to have similar rights. You have demonstrated this in your work in the Philippines and in Cuba, two conspicuous examples of American altruism that will always stand as living expressions of the American Spirit which interpreted into colloquial

American English means, giving the under dog a chance.

China became a Republic just a few years ago and in our struggles toward unity we are having many of the troubles that every nation has gone through in the fight for liberty. It required America more than three quarters of a century to accomplish national unity after the Colonies achieved independence. Americans of all peoples should have sympathy with other peoples who are trying to accomplish the same thing that you have accomplished. I ask you especially to bear these things in mind when you read newspaper stories, which are often exaggerated, regarding disorders in China. Bear in mind especially that internal troubles are more often signs of growth and development—certainly they are not indications of stagnation. Our chief difficulty in China has been that we have not had a free opportunity to work out our own national salvation; we have constantly been subject to the worst forms of foreign aggression and exploitation. Powerful nations with covetous eyes upon our rich undeveloped resources have used the modern weapons of civilization to hinder our growth and befog our purposes. America has never entered into this struggle for territory and political economic domination in China. On the contrary the policy of your country has always been one of helpful sympathetic interest and need I do more than point to the attempt of the present Administration to bring about through peaceful discussion a settlement of the troublesome questions affecting the future peace of your country, of my country, and of all other countries having interests in the Pacific.

The return of the surplus of the American portion of the Boxer indemnity payments, is a shining example of your altruistic interest in helping my people. And my Government in its decision to use that money in the education of her young men and young

women in your institutions of learning is but showing the gratitude of the people of China toward America. We want our young men and women to learn your methods of development and your spirit of freedom in order that they may return home and apply these vital things to the development of our institutions and country to the end that the result may be a unity of ideas, ideals, and ambitions on both sides of the great Pacific Ocean that will result in untold blessings in the future peace of the world.

In a wild country where there has been no development of law, men are accustomed to going about armed. If Smith purchases a new revolver, then Brown, his nearest neighbor, purchases a rifle. Some day trouble starts and there is much shooting and men are killed. The number killed depends upon the number involved and the strength of their armament. The greater armament, the greater destruction, might be considered a settled principle. In their every day relations modern men have found that it doesn't pay to depend upon brute strength in settling their differences. They have adopted certain principles of justice which draw the line between right and wrong and they abide by the decisions. In America this has been especially true not only among individuals, but among the various states of the American commonwealth. Why shouldn't the same principles of justice apply in relations of the various nations in the Pacific? Surely there is sufficient wealth and room for all of us. The European War demonstrated that no single nation can ever expect to dominate the world and use its resource of treasure and man power for selfish ends, and to the detriment of other nations. It required a terrible war to demonstrate that in Europe. With this horrible example ever present in our minds, why can't we use our good common sense and settle our troubles in the Pacific by peaceful means?

The American Policy Towards China*

DR. JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN
American Minister to China.

COLOSSAL changes have taken place in China since I first saw it twenty-two years ago. Then, the Manchus were in power and the Empire, which had already lasted for ages, seemed secure for the future; today, China is a Republic. Then, also a system of education was in operation, which for many centuries had supplied the governing officials of China; today, that classical system of education is gone and Western education has taken its place. Then, one heard everywhere that while the Chinese were very democratic in their local affairs, they were not animated by a national consciousness and were lacking in patriotism for the country as a whole; today, despite serious divisions, a strong national consciousness is in existence and an aggressive patriotism is actuating the leaders of China and the rising generation.

Disraeli used to say that in politics it is the unexpected that happens. What we have seen in China confirms that dictum. A score of years ago, even the wildest dreamer at the height of his most fantastic imaginings could not have forecast what has actually taken place in China.

Fortunately, no change has taken place in the relations between China and the United States. These are today relations of peace and friendship. China has always been a pacifist nation, and America at least pacific. We both cherish and practice the ideals of peace and with peace unbroken it has been easy to maintain friendship.

While officially the relations are the same practically, I think they are more

cordial than ever before. This is due to the fact that China has, as it were, come our way; has adopted our political ideas in the establishment of her new Republic; and the educational system of America is, I suppose, having more influence on modern China than that of any other country. Ours is the oldest large Republic in the world, and it would be strange if out of the wealth of our experience we were not able to furnish help to the youngest of Republics. Such questions as the framing of a Constitution, the relations of the States to the Central government, the rights and liberties of individual citizens, which have been thrashed out and settled in the United States, are still burning issues in China. The history of the United States cannot fail to prove illuminating and instructive to the Chinese people as they face an attempt to settle these great issues.

There is one peculiarity in the relations of the United States to China, which deserves to be specially signalized. The service we have rendered and are rendering to China is as disinterested and altruistic as any service can be on the part of beings who act under the stress of complex motives. No doubt Americans are selfish as other people are selfish but the point I am making is that in our relation to China our conduct has been largely determined by unselfish considerations. We ask nothing of China for ourselves; we want none of her territory; we

*An address before the American Association and the American Chamber of Commerce of China at a dinner in Minister Schurman's honor, Shanghai, August 26, and reprinted with permission from the Weekly Review of the Far East, Sept. 3, 1921.

desire no special concessions; and whatever comes to us, we are willing to share on equal terms with others. The political altruism of the American people in relation to China is nobly illustrated in the self-sacrificing devotion of the thousands of American Missionaries and teachers who have come here to dispense to the Chinese people the blessings of the Christian religion and modern knowledge and science.

I once heard President McKinley's great Secretary of State, John Hay, say before a dinner of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, that the foreign policy of the United States was summed up in two principles: the Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule. Under the Monroe Doctrine, we have protected the independence of the peoples of Central and South America against aggressions on the part of foreign nations. I think I may say without boasting, that towards China our national conduct has very largely illustrated the principle of the Golden Rule.

What is the policy of the United States toward China?

I answer in a word: We stand for the integrity of China and for the Open Door. We want China to remain in possession and control of her own territory and to be mistress in her own house, and we want in China the open door to the trade and commerce of all nations on equal terms.

When I first visited China in 1899, its territorial integrity and independence were menaced by the so-called policy of "Spheres of Influence." The partition of China was openly discussed and different parts were assigned to different European nations as areas of predominant influence. The sphere of one European nation was in the South; the sphere of another in the Yangtze valley; while two or three other nations were contending for exclusive spheres in North China.

We can see how this policy, so dangerous to the integrity of China, grew out of the existence of treaty ports and leased territories. From the

point of view of the foreigner, it was not unnatural extension and development of an existing situation. For China, however, the result would have been a fatal infringement of her sovereignty. Those spheres of foreign influence would have been so many enclaves virtually outside of Chinese jurisdiction and beyond Chinese control.

Happily the carving of foreign provinces out of the Manchu Empire was prevented by the Revolution of 1911 with the concomitant acceptance by the Chinese people of Western ideas of popular government.

But even before this menace to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of China had disappeared another instrument of disintegration had been devised far less crude, more subtle, and equally effective. The new weapon was the enforced railway concession with the "railway-zone" and the establishment of foreign police control and military garrisons. I need not dwell on the unhappy effects of this practice, for you are all familiar with them. It is more agreeable to ask how China may get back her territory unencumbered and be re-instated in her sovereignty unimpaired.

I note that eminent publicists in China are not agreed in the solution of this problem. One school recommends the internationalization of all Chinese railways. Another school advocates their nationalization on the ground that as things are today, all railways on Chinese soil are a vital portion of Chinese sovereignty.

I shall not enter with my limited knowledge into the discussion of this issue, which, however, I deem of momentous significance. The end aimed at by both schools is the safeguarding of China against foreign aggression and the restoration to China of her full sovereign rights. Both would make China absolute mistress in her own unabridged domain. And what I am especially concerned to emphasize is that this object coincides with the standing American policy of the terri-

torial integrity and unimpaired sovereignty of China.

The divorce of foreign political pre-organized last year by the banking tensions from financial claims against Chinese railroads is in harmony with the American policy and also with both the program of internationalization and that of nationalization. To this result the newly established Consortium has contributed, as it will also effectually contribute to the prevention of foreign one-nation control of Chinese railways.

The Consortium, as you know, was organized last year by the banking groups of the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan to make loans for public utilities in China. The bankers of any one particular nation—so far as they are included in the constituent banking group—are estopped from making loans for these purposes without offering participation in them to the other banking groups. So far, indeed, the Consortium has not made any loans for Chinese railroads or other public utilities. But the Consortium even though inactive has produced two favorable results. In the first place, its mere existence has prevented the bankers of any particular nation making such loans. The value to China of this deterrent result may be determined by the magnitude and character of the one-nation foreign loans contracted prior to the organization of the Consortium. And, secondly the cessation of loans from abroad has stimulated the Chinese bankers themselves to furnish capital for new railroads.

No result could be more fortunate for China than this development of financial independence. And the more it is practiced the safer will be her sovereignty and territorial integrity.

I now pass from that feature of American policy to its counter-part—the Open Door. This is peculiarly an American policy. It was first formulated by Secretary Hay. It demands equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of all nations in China. It

is pre-eminently a policy of fair play. America asks nothing for herself which she is not ready to concede to others.

The policy of the Open Door may be looked at from the point of view of its prohibitions. It forbids monopolies. If the merchants or financiers of one nation acquired a monopoly in China, it would be in derogation of the equal rights of the citizens or subjects of other nations. The same thing holds true of discrimination. If any favors are shown, for example, in railroad service or railroad charges on Chinese soil they constitute a violation of the Open Door.

Discrimination sometimes openly but oftener in subtle and underhand ways, has been constantly charged. Whenever it occurs it may be an injury to American business and it is a violation of treaty rights and a contravention of the American policy of the Open Door. I need not add that such discrimination has been the prolific source of criticism and all feeling, which beginning with business men here have gradually spread to wider circles of public opinion at home. I venture to assert, without fear of challenge, that nothing would contribute so much to the maintenance of good feeling between the nationals of countries having business in China as the absolute cessation of discrimination and the strictest and most conscientious practice of the policy of the Open Door in every part of China.

The governments of the Great Powers gave their assent to the American policy of the integrity of China and the Open Door in 1899. That policy, declared Secretary Hay in 1900 in a communication to our diplomatic representatives in European countries and in Japan, was "to preserve China's territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international laws, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire."

In the treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Japan one of the

objects is declared to be the following:

"The preservation of the common interests of all the powers in China by insuring the independence and the integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China."

This emphasizes, in connection with the Open Door and independence and integrity of China, the common interest of all the powers in China. It is the opposite of particularism on the part of any nation. China is the concern of all nations. And if any one nation should violate the integrity and independence of China or the principle of equal opportunities in trade and commerce that nation would, according to the terms of the British-Japanese treaty of alliance invade "the common interests of all the powers in China." The same thought may be expressed in another way. All nations have "common interests" in China. How are these "common interests" to be preserved? The answer is—by the maintenance of the independence and integrity of China and the principle of the Open Door. Per contra any infringement of these is a blow at "the common interests of all the powers in China."

It is the policy of a free field and no favors that controls American trade with China. We are aware that there are nations who have directed their diplomacy to securing for their nationals here special economic privileges. China offers incalculable commercial prizes to those who can win them. But under the established policy of the United States, Americans must win them, if at all, in a free, fair and open struggle with competitors from all the world. All we ask is that our rivals in this friendly competition shall not be granted special advantages over us. We demand common and equal economic conditions, and the common and equal accessibility to markets. I can assure American business men in China that American diplomacy under the administration of President Harding

will be vigilant in the protection of the rights and interests of America and of American citizens. American business is entitled to the same treatment as all other foreign business in China, whether in respect of production, transportation, distribution or in any other regard. The instrumentalities of communication are of immense value to modern business, as are also of course the oceanic landing-places which are indispensable to their operation. The attitude of the American government towards our rights and interests in this part of the world may be clearly discerned in that important document in which Secretary Hughes, with reference to one of these stations, declared that "there would be no valid or effective disposition of the overseas possessions of Germany now under consideration without the assent of the United States."

With adequate protection on the part of the government I suppose the next essential to the successful prosecution of business in China is cooperation with the Chinese. The representatives of large American concerns declare that if American business in China is to compete successfully with that of other nations, it must freely cooperate with native business in local enterprises, and secondly, it must liberally invest its surplus capital in the development of industries, natural resources, and public works—thus taking an active part in the industrial and commercial life of China.

I have no doubt that it is sound advice in ordinary times. And it has further recommendation in its favor that American business men in benefiting themselves also benefit equally their Chinese partners, to say nothing of the indirect advantages that flow to the Chinese consumer. And I must add that it is perhaps possible even today to carry out the first direction, namely, cooperation with the Chinese in local enterprises. But when it comes to investing surplus capital anywhere, the decline in the price of silver and the world wide depression in business

must be taken into serious consideration.

With one of these disturbing factors, at least, our government is proposing to deal. The depression and stagnation of business throughout the world is doubtless due to the impoverishment of the nations by the destructive and wasteful agencies of war, lack of capital for new enterprises, national debts of colossal magnitude which children and children's children will not be able to extinguish and the prodigal and reckless extravagance of our governments who still further deplete the capital mortgage the future, and augment the indescribable load of debt to be inherited by the future generations.

Of all nations in the world the United States is the richest and financially the strongest. It is surely a portent of hope and an augury of good results that it should be precisely the United States which has called a conference of the nations to put a stop to one form of huge and lavish expenditure in which all nations are indulging. True alike to our historic devotion to peace and our hard-headed business sense, we are leading in a movement to restrict expenditures for military purposes and at the same time to remove the causes of war.

For the Washington Conference is to consider both the subject of disarmament and the Pacific and Far Eastern questions. The two subjects are vitally interconnected. We cannot lay down the tools of war until we have removed the causes of war. Everyone knows that it is Oriental questions which today menace the peace of the world. In these questions China is most deeply and vitally concerned and she has therefore been invited to send representative to the Conference along with the former allied and associated nations. With all the nations concerned frankly stating their problems from their own point of view, with the conviction of all public leaders that international difficulties must hereafter be settled by the rule of reason and common sense, with a deep yearning

on the part of all peoples of the world (war-wearied and war-exhausted), that wars shall, in the future, be prevented, with the traditional peace-loving sentiments of the United States and its just and unselfish Oriental policy, and with the genius of President Harding for conference and the constructive adjustment of unsettled questions, I look forward with confidence to a settlement, at once fair, sensible, and in the common interest of outstanding differences in regard to Pacific and Far Eastern questions and to sparing the peoples of the world, already sorely oppressed with debt and taxation, the intolerable incubus of competitive expenditures for the armament and the preparation for future wars.

From such a consummation all nations represented at the Washington Conference will have been the gainers. The laurels of the conference will have been won by all the members alike. But no nation will in the end gain more than China, who will then enter upon a new era of her history. In that new era China will have an opportunity to unify and strengthen the foundations of her nascent Republic, to frame and establish a constitution, to organize democratic institutions, to develop a system of modern education, to make public improvements, to reorganize her economic life, and generally to prepare for herself a place in the modern civilized world worthy of the place she once held as the creator or exponent of the oldest civilization of mankind.

It is my hope to see the dawn of this brighter day for China. I should count it the supreme joy and honor of my life if even in the most insignificant degree as American Minister, I might be of service in ushering it in. And it is not incredible that the dream, though without merit of mine, may be fulfilled. For just in proportion as American policy, which I have the honor to represent and uphold, actually prevails in China, this great and venerable nation, with territory intact and sovereignty unimpaired, will march

steadily forward to the glorious future living pledge and the ever present
of which her history is a prophecy and assurance.
her wonderful people and resources the

China and Disarmament

PROFESSOR JOHN DEWEY

IN cordially acceding to the request of the editor of the CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY to say a few words about the coming Pacific Conference, I do so more because I am glad of an opportunity to give expression to my interest in China than because I feel I have anything to add to what is already matter of general discussion and knowledge. It is quite clear that the difficulties which will face the Conference are enormous. In the United States as well as in Great Britain and Japan there are those who feel that the limitation of armaments is the most important matter, and that it was an unwise move to complicate that difficulty by introducing the discussion of such a vexed problem as the conflict of international policies in the Far East. There are others (with whom I find myself in sympathy) who regard the adjustment of policies as the fundamental issue, who feel that even a sweeping reduction of armaments will not of itself materially improve international relations although it may relieve the burden of taxation; who feel that if a settlement of policies is attained, the causes of competition in armament will be largely eliminated; and that the growth of peaceful domestic sentiment and opinion in each country will compel retrenchment, when once the grounds for mutual suspicion and fear are done away with. Then there is a large number in every country which looks upon the whole matter with what President Hibben of Princeton has well termed "cynical pessimism." Some are influenced by the disillusionment which followed the Versailles peace treaties. They believe that each country is going in to get what it can for itself in the way of aggrandizement, and they have

no faith that diplomatists who represent the present political order will accomplish anything constructive. Then there are the economic radicals who believe that the rivalry of powers is the necessary expression of the existing capitalistic system, and that it is absurd to look for any real amelioration as long as capitalism is powerful.

This division of public sentiment creates an atmosphere which adds to the difficulties of a successful outcome. I am not writing in this vein, however, to encourage despair, but to suggest one direction in which the Conference may be a success, a direction which it seems to me is of chief importance for China. It is possible that a by-product of the Conference may be more valuable than any direct results which will be obtained. I mean by this a better understanding, a greater knowledge of the conditions which obtain in the Far East. In spite of the fact that the world seems to be suffering from a kind of moral fatigue as a result of the overstrain of the war, I believe that a new social consciousness is gradually forming in every country, a new type of liberal and international thought, and that this new consciousness is going to have more and more influence in shaping the international conduct of every nation.

It is not necessary to point out how awakened American public opinion is regarding everything which concerns China as compared with a few years ago. I am not enough of an inflamed patriot to assume that all of this awakening takes a form which is good for my own country or in the long run for China. Some of it, unfortunately, is mainly negative, an accompaniment of rivalry with and fear and suspicion of Japan as a potential rival, economic

and naval. But with the mass of the American people, it is the product I think of real interest in the Chinese people, sympathy for them, and a wish that they have an opportunity to work out their own destiny free from that external interference which in the past has been such an unhappy feature of the intercourse of the world's great powers with China. Now this more sensitive feeling about justice for China is not confined to the United States. I believe that it is rapidly growing in England and will become more articulate as soon as the subsidence of war passions permits a revival of political liberalism in Great Britain. In Japan there is a growing section of the population which is uneasy about the past policy of Japan toward China and who wish to bring about its revision. It is still comparatively unorganized and almost impotent against the power of the forces represented by the Imperial General Staff. But the feeling is there and is constantly growing in strength especially in the younger generation.

Now one great opportunity presented by the Conference is that of enlightening and to some extent crystallizing this sentiment and opinion in all countries. Even in Japan a favorite phrase in connection with the Conference is the need of laying all the cards on the table. What we may call the educative effect of the Conference, the indirect effect of its discussions in bringing conditions and issues to light, may in the long run outweigh the actual success of the Conference with respect to its direct and avowed aims.

I do not say this to minimize the importance of the direct aims nor because I believe that failure is inevitable with respect to them. There are rather two motives for emphasizing this phase of the matter. Other more competent persons will deal with the direct military, naval and political issues, and this educative aspect of the matter may easily be slurred over. And also this phase of the matter is the one, it seems to me, which is the most natural concern of the body of Chinese students and shows where their influence can be most useful in connection with the Conference. The world has had altogether too much propaganda of late, and I should be sorry to write anything which would encourage more of a bad thing. But there is an opportunity for Chinese students to help the world, at least the American part of it, understand better the difficulties and problems of China, internal and foreign, and in a truthful way to develop intelligent sympathy with an international policy of justice toward weak nations in general and China in particular. There are some who think that our new interest in China is because Americans want to displace other nations in order to play a greater part there itself, I hope this isn't true; I do not believe it is true. But if there is any such danger, the Conference provides an opportunity for Chinese students to present the rights of China to its own independent development and self-determination, free from intervention and tutelage which is professedly benevolent as well as free from interference which is openly hostile.

China at the Conference

PROFESSOR W. W. WILLOUGHBY

FOR many years China has been unfortunately circumstanced as regards her relations to the other Powers. Very early she developed a civilization which, in many respects, has compelled the admiration of the world, and along with this civilization a form of government and methods of administration which, as their long persistence showed, were well suited to the simple economic life which her people led. When, however, she was brought into close contact with the Western World, and was forced, whether she wished it or not, to conform to their standards of international intercourse, to receive within her borders their merchants and missionaries, and to adopt many of the features of their intense commercial and industrial life—when this had come about, it soon transpired that China had not a governmental organization that would enable her to defend herself against attacks upon her sovereignty and territorial integrity. Because of her very size, as well as because of her lack of a strong executive authority in her central government, China found herself compelled to surrender the suzerainty or sovereignty which she had previously exercised over certain areas lying outside of her eighteen Provinces, and also to consent to the exercise within her borders of various forms of jurisdiction which have lessened the efficiency of her government over her own people and derogated from her dignity as a great people.

This has been her misfortune, but it is her present great good fortune that now, when, as it would seem, in the coming Conference at Washington, there is to be a general consideration by all the Powers concerned, of their

future policies in the Far East, China is able to come to the council table with no acts of aggression of her own toward other friendly Powers which need to be explained or defended, and that she will appear as a petitioner for the recognition of and adherence to principles which are not only just in themselves but, in their application, will be of benefit to all and promotive of international peace and good will.

In other words, China, at the Conference will not have to ask that she be given any territory the legal title to which is not already conceded to be hers. She will not need to ask for rights other than those universally conceded to attach to sovereign States. She will need to ask only that certain wrongs done to her in the past be corrected, and that she be made more fully the mistress of her own household. And even these claims, it may be surmised, she will put forward, not in absolute terms, but as warranted by the progress which she can demonstrate she has made in bringing her institutions and administrative methods into consonance with the standards of right and efficiency which the Western Nations exact of themselves. Thus supported, China will be able to show that what she seeks will be beneficial to the Western Powers as well as to herself.

Whatever, then, may have been China's misfortunes of the past, she can now consider herself fortunate because of the general position in which she will find herself in the Conference—doubly fortunate, indeed, because the calling of the Conference has been upon the initiative and is to be held at the capital of a country which she has so long trusted and admired.

La Conférence Pacifique et l'abrogation de la juridiction consulaire en Chine

VEN-FOUR TCHOU

DOCTEUR EN DROIT, UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS

LA grande Conférence dite "Conférence Pacifique." à laquelle sont invitées à participer les Puissances intéressées, va se tenir à Washington le 11 Novembre.

Proposée par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis et acceptée par les autres Etats, cette Conférence est celle dans laquelle sera discuté le problème d'une paix durable: le désarmement. Serait-il possible de mettre en accord les pays participés à la Conférence sur la limitation des armements? Et cette limitation, une fois réalisée, aurait-elle pour résultat de condamner à mort la future guerre? Nous ne pouvons rien prédire, mais nous l'espérons. Nous autres, chinois, pacifiques reconnus du monde entier, nous ne ferons certainement pas obstacle au désarmement qui sera un soulagement pour tous les pays, bien au contraire, nous serons très heureux de voir que ce grand problème sera enfin résolu.

Passons aux questions d'Extrême Orient dont la Conférence se propose de s'occuper. N'ayant pas la prétention d'étudier ici toutes ces questions, nous croyons bon de choisir celles qui nous touchent plus directement et de les traiter au point de vue juridique.

D'après le programme modifié, en ce qui concerne la Chine, nous avons vue une des questions les plus importantes et les plus urgentes à résoudre figurer à l'ordre de jour: c'est celle de l'intégrité administrative. Et pour obtenir cette intégrité, la première chose que nous avons à faire à la Conférence, c'est de demander l'abrogation de la juridic-

tion consulaire qui a assez durée et que les puissances étrangères n'ont plus raison de maintenir, par suite des réformes énormes que nous avons fait depuis la Révolution en matière judiciaire.

C'est un principe du droit public que la souveraineté d'un Etat s'exerce sur tous ceux qui résident sur son territoire. Il en résulte donc que la juridiction consulaire constitue non seulement une atteinte à la souveraineté, mais encore une dérogation au principe du droit public.

Les Puissances qui veulent maintenir la juridiction consulaire chez nous, prétendent qu'il y a un abîme entre les lois chinoises et les lois européennes et que par conséquent, il est impossible d'abandonner la garantie judiciaire qu'elles ont obtenue, garantie nécessaire pour la sécurité de la vie et des biens de leurs sujets habitant en Chine.

Dans l'origine de cette institution, la même raison a été toujours donnée par un Etat pour demander le droit de juger ses nationaux dans un autre Etat. "Lorsqu'il existe entre deux peuples, dit M. Feraud-Giraut, de très grandes différences sous le rapport de la religion, des mœurs et des lois, des rapports durables et suivis ne peuvent s'établir que s'il y a des garanties exceptionnelles, sans lesquelles il n'existe aucune sécurité ni pour les personnes, ni pour les biens." Ainsi les Vénitiens, les Florentins avaient à Byzance, des consuls qui avaient droit de juridiction sur leurs nationaux. Plus tard, vers le 16^e siècle, le traité de 1604 entre Philippe

III d'Espagne et Jacques Ier. d'Angleterre et celui conclu par François II avec la Suède consacrent tous deux la juridiction consulaire.

Si les raisons ci-dessus citées sont exactes et suffisantes pour justifier l'existence de juridiction consulaire, il ne faut pourtant pas oublier que nos lois actuelles ne sont plus les mêmes que les anciennes, cette seule chose suffirait pour appuyer notre revendication.

Dans le traité de Nankin, l'article 3 avait déclaré que les sujets britanniques pourraient vivre dans les ports à l'européenne, sous la protection des lois chinoises." Si les Puissances ont obtenu plus tard le droit de juger leurs nationaux sur notre territoire, c'est parce que nous avons bien voulu faire ce cadeau, qui nous coûte pourant cher et dont la valeur n'est malheureusement aperçue qu'après coup. La preuve en est que, presque avec grâce, nous avons accordé aux français les privilèges de l'extraterritorialité et que, quand la Prusse nous a demandé les mêmes privilèges (qui sont abrogés pour les allemands restant chez-nous depuis le traité de Versailles), notre ancien ministère des affaires étrangères ignorait la Prusse au point qu'il avait demandé à la légation française à Peking s'il était vrai que ce pays fut une grande puissance. C'est parce que, sous notre ancien régime, nos fonctionnaires, ignorant des lois et des coutumes des autres pays, ne voulaient se mêler d'aucune manière aux affaires des étrangers et qu'ils étaient même heureux de voir que les procès entre étrangers étaient jugés par leur consul.

Mais maintenant les choses sont changées. Notre pays se réveille. Vers la fin de l'ancienne dynastie, nous avons déjà procédé à la réforme, surtout dans le monde judiciaire, dans le but de nous adapter au système moderne. Nous possédons des codes et nous avons des tribunaux.

Parmi les codes qui restent encore en projets, il y a le code civil, le code de procédure civile, le code de procédure criminelle et le code commerciale.

Les codes ou les lois nouvellement

rédigés et mis en vigueur sont les suivantes: la loi sur l'organisation judiciaire, le code pénal, l'ordonnance des commerçants, celle des sociétés commerciales et la loi sur les contraventions de simple police etc.

Quant aux institutions judiciaires, organisées d'après la loi sur l'organisation judiciaire du 17 Février 1910, nous avons des tribunaux de District, correspondant aux tribunaux de 1^{ère} instance, connaissant des affaires de 1^{ère} instance; des tribunaux supérieurs correspondant aux Cours d'appel et la Cour suprême, siégeant à Peking, chargée d'unifier l'interprétation et l'application de la loi.

Passons à ceux qui sont chargés de rendre la justice. Les juges sont inamovibles et possèdent des garanties constitutionnelles pour leur permettre d'exercer leurs fonctions en toute indépendance. Pour être nommé juge, les conditions sont très sévères, non seulement il faut avoir une connaissance juridique, certifiée par le diplôme d'une école de Droit, mais un examen spécialement organisé à cet effet est encore imposé.

Telles sont les réformes que nous avons réalisées en matière judiciaire depuis la Révolution. N'est-il pas suffisant pour montrer que notre justice est organisée telle qu'elle doit être? Le moment n'est-il pas venu pour demander d'abroger la juridiction consulaire qui a perdu aujourd'hui sa raison d'être? Dans le traité de commerce conclu en 1902 avec les anglais et celui en 1903 avec les américains, n'ont-ils pas fait les promesses, quoique platoniques, de l'abandon de leurs privilèges de l'extraterritorialité? Devant ces progrès incontestables et ces promesses formelles, nous croyons que les Puissances étrangères, plus particulièrement celles qui nous ont fait leurs promesses, ne voudront pas maintenir plus longtemps cette juridiction si choquante au principe du droit public. D'après le programme de la Conférence Pacifique, l'intégrité administrative en Chine y figure, il est donc de notre devoir d'y présenter notre revendication en cette matière.

China is Key to Peace*

DR. PAUL S. REINSCH.

THE limitation of armaments, however much it may lift the burden of taxation from the nations of the world, is an attempt to cure a disease by treating its symptoms. The result of that phase of the conference, so far as the prevention of war is concerned, will largely be superficial. Much of the international economic competition and many of the international jealousies which give occasion for war will still remain, regardless of the size of the world's armies and navies. But in seeking to find a solution for the problems of China, the Washington conference will be getting at some of the root causes of war itself, and it is in the possibility of their removal that the greatest significance of the meeting may be found.

There can be no assurance of permanent peace in the Pacific so long as the forces which make for war are allowed to continue at work in China. At the present the situation there is full of material for mutual suspicion and for constantly increasing friction. If the nations are to be permitted to stake out claims, the squatters will eventually come to blows.

Unless some very definite action is taken to prevent the growth of this feeling there is no way to avoid a conflagration. But it is within the power of the nations which will gather to discuss these problems to remove the cause of danger by taking definite action in regard to the questions of economic preferences.

The actual partition of China has not yet begun. The fact that certain nations claim "spheres of influence" has often been misunderstood to mean that the Chinese nation has actually

surrendered its sovereignty over certain sections of the country. "Spheres of influence," however, are nothing more or less than claims on the future. There are in existence certain agreements concerning special preferences in limited localities. It is true, of course, that if these agreements are allowed to stand they will be given force as they are of longer standing and as others of similar import are added new divisions will gradually spring up and thus actual political spheres of influence will come into existence, making these various localities the virtual dependencies of the nations interested. Once these spheres of influence are recognized eventual partition is certain.

DANGER IN ECONOMIC PREFERENCES

The essential need of China before the conference is to secure definite assurance that all further development of economic preferences and influences will be prevented. No matter how loudly the Governments assembled around the conference table may proclaim that they are seeking no political rights and that they seek the preservation of China's national integrity, yet if they determine to hold and develop such economic preferences the political unity of China will soon become a mere shadow. The question is not that of formulating a new international policy in regard to China, but of making effective a policy already solemnly adopted and frequently declared. All of the powers concerned have affirmed their support of the general principle of the Open Door.

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Whether they will now positively support application of that principle to every situation—there is the vital question. The great task of the conference is not to bring about the adoption of a new China policy by the powers assembled there, but to secure from them a definite unequivocal application of the old in all specific cases where it has been overlooked or ignored in practice.

The economic mastery of a locality is equivalent to its political mastery. This is particularly true in the matter of railroads. Though railroad development is an economic activity yet if one Government should own and operate a railroad within the territory of another a most pernicious mixing of economic and political activities would result and, in the end, the political would doubtless predominate. This fact makes the Japanese control of the railroad in Shantung Province the crux of the whole Shantung question. With the exception of the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railroad and a short French line in Southern China running from Annam into Yunnan Province, the Shantung Railroad is the only line in China owned by a foreign power. Other powers have loaned capital for railroad building, but in every other case the ownership and operation has been in the hands of the Chinese.

The Japanese maintain persistently that they have no designs upon the political sovereignty of Shantung Province or of China. Their argument, therefore, is much the same as though a foreign power, having occupied the State of Pennsylvania, should assert its willingness to relinquish all claim to political control of the State, asking in return merely the city of Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania Railroad System. For China to negotiate with Japan in regard to Shantung is equivalent to the surrender of her claim to the railroad. All discussion of the sovereignty of Shantung is beside the point. Japan could only have secured a sovereignty over the that province by capturing it from China and even

the Japanese make no such claim. The troops along the railroad are there for military occupation.

REFUSE JOINT CONTROL

It is only in the Kiao-Chau leasehold of about 200 square miles that the question of sovereignty enters it at all. In any negotiations with Japan over the return of Shantung the essential question—that of the railroad—would not be touched. The Japanese insist that China should be willing to consider Shantung on the basis of a partnership arrangement, the two nations controlling the railroad of the province together. But the experience of the Chinese with such joint enterprises has been far from reassuring; they know who would actually control. Meantime, though prolonging the military occupation, Japan is attempting to get a firm hold on the railroad and to utilize it as an economic force with which to turn the entire province into a Japanese sphere of influence.

Japan's attempt in Shantung differs from what other powers have from time to time done in China in that she is seeking to own and operate a railroad in the interior of the country, and to claim a general economic preference. The issue has been befogged, as the Japanese have suggested that in return for yielding up their "territorial rights" in Shantung they should receive certain definite economic privileges. As a matter of fact, Japan has no territorial rights whatever, even in Manchuria, much less in Shantung. It is the growth of claims for economic privileges that constitutes the real menace to the sovereignty of China.

In view of these facts, therefore, it is essential that, in addition to supporting China at the coming conference in regard to the control of her railroads, the conference should see to it that the general agreements concerning the equality of economic opportunity in China should be given actual force, which they have hitherto lacked in certain specific cases. This could be done by an agreement among the powers to the following effect: In

view of the fact that the principles of equal opportunity and Chinese integrity have been repeatedly asserted in formal international agreements, each nation will engage itself not to use any existing or future special agreements to claim for its national economic preferences of any kind in any part of China.

Such an agreement would render obsolete certain claims now still maintained, which are based on informal letters written by Chinese officials to foreign representatives. For example, in 1914 a letter was written by the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs to the French Minister expressing joy that a frontier incident had been amicably settled; in order to promote general good feeling the Chinese official concluded that if, hereafter, foreign capital should be needed for the internal improvements of Kwangsi Province, French capitalists should be the first appealed to. Agreements of this kind as well as such vague and ambiguous screeds as the Lansing-Ishii agreements, which each party will interpret differently, should be rendered obsolete by a clear application in detail of the open door declarations.

If these two questions, that of the control of the Shantung railroad and of the growth of local economic privileges, are not cleared up and settled

there is certain to be unending trouble. In addition China may demand a greater degree of tariff autonomy in order that she may have a more adequate national income, and also she may ask for the abolishment of extraterritoriality. But these, however important they may be, are not the main issues involved. Regardless of a smoke screen of reiterated generalities, there must be an actual commitment to the policy of eradicating special preferences and interests in China if anything of significance is to be accomplished. It is well, before the conference, to beware of the watchword: "Give up political rights and retain economic privileges." At present there are no political rights to give up, while to retain economic privileges is the surest way to bring in political consequences.

America and American interests are vitally concerned in the just solution of these problems. The various issues all resolve themselves finally into the question of the open door and whether or not the United States will continue to insist upon its maintainance. With Chinese problems predominant in the proposed agenda for the conference, Americans interested in that nation's development will watch with intense interest the policies which are followed out.

National Unity In China

DR. JOHN C. FERGUSON.

NOTWITHSTANDING the statements which have been widely published as to divisions in China which have resulted in the setting up of an independent government at Canton it is my opinion that in all matters affecting the general interests of the people, China must be regarded as a unit. The problems which have caused a separatist movement are internal and when not wholly personal are concerned with the way in which new republic institutions shall be established.

In the first place there is no difference of opinion between North and South, East and West, as to the firm intention of maintaining a republican form of government. The days of a monarchy in China are ended and this fact is clearly recognized by all parties in all sections of the country. The deposed Manchu Emperor Hsuan Tung remains in a small portion of the former palace as a guest of a nation over which his fathers ruled. His only chance of becoming head of the nation is that of any other citizen of the Republic; he must be elected to the office of the president.

Secondly, there is no real divergence as to the existing constitution. All have departed from strict loyalty to its provisions. There is no parliamentary government at present either at Peking or Canton though in both places it is acknowledged that there can be no proper republican government without a body representative of the people. Peking issued the call for a Parliament to be elected in March of this year but election could not be held. In Canton some members of the old Parliament which was dissolved

by Li Yuan Hung have assembled at intervals and have called themselves a Parliament but neither the country as a whole nor even the Canton leaders themselves have taken this parliament seriously.

The root of the trouble is, as I have pointed out elsewhere, that the Nanking Provisional Constitution, though an excellent temporary provision, has been stretched to such a thinness during the years which have elapsed since its adoption that it has no longer any substance. It was meant to do duty for a few months and has been kept busy for ten years with a consequent loss of all original vitality.

Thirdly, there is no difference in the records of Peking and Canton as to the use of armed forces in the settlement of national troubles, though it must be acknowledged that President Hsu Shih Chang is the one outstanding national figure who has always consistently and strenuously opposed this plan. Peking sent northern troops into Kwantung province but Canton has sent Kwantung troops into Kwangsi province in recent months, not to mention the "Second Revolution" at Shanghai in 1913 promoted by the present head of the Canton Government. I am not defending one party and condemning another, my point is that both sides in the matter have pursued a wrong policy. China can never be coerced by any leader or leaders into the orderly ways of a genuine republic; it must be led and guided.

Several of the Boards of Peking continued to function in Canton. The Ministry of Finance collects customs dues and the salt revenue. The Ministry of Communications controls the

postoffices and has general supervision of the railways and telegraphs. The Ministry of Justice receives legal cases on appeal and transmits them for hearing to the Supreme Court. Cantonese hold high places in the Peking Government and there is no distinction made against them in any of the provinces.

It will be seen from what I have written that the Peking Government, apart from the fact that it is the only government in China recognized by foreign nations by the appointment and reception of envoys, is justly considered as the most representative organ for the expression of the will of the Chinese people; but in order that all shades of opinion may be correctly represented, Canton should be given one delegate who should sit with the other delegates in Washington as was the case in Paris. Peking with its Ministries composed of men from all

the provinces can speak for the whole nation whereas Canton speaks only for one province. The probable delegates from Peking are Dr. Yen, a Shanghai man, Minister Sze, a Chekiang man, Minister Koo, a Shanghai man and Dr. Wang Chung-huei, a Cantonese. The advisors are Wang Ta-Hsieh, a Chekiang man, Chow Tze-cho, a Shantung man and M. T. Liang, a Cantonese. Only one of these men, Mr. Chow, is a northern man and even he spent all his early years in Canton. This delegation, if any, is qualified to speak for China as a nation and not for any section or party. By fairness to the interests of all parts of China and by firm maintenance of national rights and honor, it can make a permanent contribution to the strengthening of national unity. It must be remembered that China is China, one and indivisible.

China and Portugal at the Washington Conference, The Question of Macao

GE ZAY WOOD

THE fact that Portugal is to participate, together with Belgium and Holland, in the conference on limitation of armaments and on Pacific and Far Eastern problems, makes one reflect and ask, what interests has Portugal in the Pacific or the Far East to justify her participation. Like China, Belgium, and Holland, Portugal is to take part in discussions concerning the Pacific and the Far East, but not in those concerning limitation of armaments. Holland has extensive colonial possessions in the Pacific; Belgium is said to have large economic interests in China; but what interests, territorial or otherwise, has Portugal in the Orient?

It is true that Portugal has colonial possessions in East India, but her principal claim to attention, which justifies her being included among the Powers to deliberate on questions concerning the Pacific and the Far East, is undoubtedly her possession at Macao—a delta at the mouth of the Canton River (Si-kiang, as it is called in Chinese), the sovereignty over which and over its adjacent territories has been a subject of dispute between China and Portugal for a number of years. In 1887 a treaty was entered into between China and Portugal, in which the former recognized Macao and its dependencies as a "Portuguese possession." In the absence of a clear delimitation however, the question of sovereignty over its adjacent territories and waters has never been definitely settled.

Now, strictly speaking the question of sovereignty over Macao and its adjacent waters and territories is one

which concerns China and Portugal only, and one for the two said countries to settle. It is neither proper nor necessary to bring this matter up before the Washington conference.

On the other hand, the fact that China and Portugal have not been able in the last thirty-five years to bring about a settlement mutually satisfactory makes it desirable to suggest that the question be considered and settled permanently at the Washington conference. This suggestion becomes all the more pertinent when it is remembered that among the principles to be discussed and applied to China at the conference is one concerning her territorial integrity. Inasmuch as the Macao question vitally affects China's territorial integrity and independence, it may not be out of place to have it thrashed out in the full view of the other Powers who are, nominally at least, interested in the preservation of China's territorial integrity.

It is yet unknown whether or not China's official programme at the conference includes the Macao question. It is the better part of wisdom not to bring it up, for she has a multitude of questions which she likes to be settled at the Washington conference, and to which she must devote most of her attention. Now, Portugal has been invited to participate in the conference. While it is unnecessary to predict what she might or might not do, it would be no surprise to the world if Portugal should decide to discuss the Macao question and to press at the conference for a settlement favorable to herself, which she had so far failed to arrive at

with China directly. China will have, in that case, no choice but to take up the challenge and to demand the restoration of Macao in accordance with the principle of territorial integrity, even at the risk of antagonizing one of the few participating Powers whose sympathy for China and whose co-operation with her in the settlement of a number of Far Eastern questions are greatly to be desired.

What argument or arguments can China offer for the restoration of Macao, granting that the question will be brought up, if not by China herself, but by Portugal, at the Washington conference? To answer this question intelligently requires an acquaintance with the history of Macao, which is also the history of diplomatic and commercial relations between China and Portugal for hundreds of years.

Macao proper (latitude 22° 11' 50" N., longitude 113° 34' E.) is situated at the southern extremity of the Si-kiang (the West River) delta, about 40 miles from Hongkong and 88 miles from Canton. When used to designate the Portuguese colony, the term consists of, besides Macao itself, also the islands of Taipa and Colowan, the area of which, taken altogether, is about four and a half square miles. The peninsula of Macao is attached to the island of Heungshan by a narrow and sandy isthmus, and on this peninsula is situated the city of Macao, which the Chinese call "Aomen" and the Portuguese, *Cidade do Santo Nome de Deus de Macau*, well-known, for its theatres and gaming houses. It was first "occupied by the Portuguese in 1557, after their traders and trading ships had been driven away from Ningpo and Foochow."¹ This was "a settlement which was, until the British occupied Hongkong (1841), the only piece of European territory in geographical China."² It is recorded that the first attempts of the Portuguese to open up communications with China were made early in the sixteenth century. As far back as 1514 (or 1516) a Portuguese merchant named Rafael Perestrello made his way to China; but

it was not until 43 years later—in 1557 that Portuguese traders began to settle at Macao, with the sanction of the Chinese Governor at Canton.

According to a well-known sinologue, the occupation of Macao by the Portuguese "was commenced under the pretext of erecting sheds for drying goods introduced under the appellation of tribute (to the Emperor of China), and alleged to have been damaged in a storm."³ Another authority on Chinese history pointed out that the permission to erect sheds, to dry and to store cargo, was given "by means of the customary pecuniary inducements" presumably to the Chinese Governor.⁴ In some quarters it has been held that Europeans in general, not only Portuguese, had erected temporary shelters in Macao as early as 1537, and that it was only in 1557 that a "Golden Chop" was granted to the Portuguese by the Chinese Emperor in the nature of a charter of the colony.⁵ There is no official record that such a charter had been granted, but it has been generally agreed that the occupation of the Peninsula of Macao by the Portuguese in 1557 had been approved by the Emperor. Whatever the arrangement might have been, with or without Imperial sanction, it was clear beyond doubt that "the Chinese regard the settlement simply as a trading station under their own authority, and did not recognise Portuguese sovereign rights."⁶

That Chinese sovereignty over the peninsula remained unimpaired is amply borne out by the fact that the Portuguese paid an annual rent for the use of the place to the Magistrate of the Heungshan district, which was undoubtedly "a full recognition of sovereignty" of China over the territory.⁷ This rent was paid from the very be-

¹ H. B. Morse, *The Trade And Administration of China*, 3rd revised edition, 1921, p. 286.

² C. A. Middleton Smith, *The British in China And Far Eastern Trade*, p. 207.

³ S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, Revised Edition, Vol. II, p. 428.

⁴ H. B. Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, Vol. I, p. 43.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Macao, (Handbook prepared under the direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, No. 81).

⁷ H. B. Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

ginning until Governor Amaral of Macao engineered the famous *coup d'état* in 1849, when Chinese authorities were driven out and Chinese tax collection stations were destroyed. The rent amounted at first to 1000 taels per year. In 1691, a reduction was allowed. From 1691 until some time after 1740 the annual rent was 600 taels. From 1740 until 1849 it was 500 taels only. It is known that in 1843, a request was made for abolishing the annual rent. Inasmuch as this constituted the only thin thread which bound the sovereignty over the territory to China this request was refused absolutely by the Chinese authorities.

While the Chinese insisted on their sovereignty over the territory and regarded the settlement nothing more than a trading post, the Portuguese, on the contrary, treated the Macao peninsula as their own property. "Authority was at first exercised by the captains of the various fleets that visited it for trade; but in 1583 a municipal government was established in the form of a Senate, consisting of the principal residents. This Senate exercised all the functions of government."⁸ Another step of usurpation was taken in 1628 (the date has been variously stated as 1615, 1623, and 1628) when a Royal Governor was appointed by Portugal to take over the government of the peninsula. His power was, however, limited to military matters, the civil administration remaining with the municipal Senate. It is not known whether or not the Chinese authorities had protested against this usurpation, although it is admitted that they had "never ceased to regard Macao as part of their own dominions," and taken "advantage of every opportunity to introduce changes which led to the increase of their influence, even in the town of Macao itself."⁹ According to H. B. Morse, in the very first ordinance which was passed in 1844 by the Governor and Legislative Council of Hongkong (under the authority of the act for the government of British subjects in China) Macao was declared to be "a

place within the dominions of the Emperor of China."¹⁰ The Portuguese protested against this recognition, but the British Government is said to have answered that "two independent sovereignties could not exist in the same place." In 1749, an understanding was arrived at between the two parties, whereby it was agreed that Europeans committing crimes in Macao should be surrendered to Chinese authorities for trial. This admission by Portugal of Chinese criminal jurisdiction in the peninsula of Macao constitutes another recognition of Chinese sovereignty over the territory. "Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Portuguese even yielded to a Chinese demand for the payment of tribute and establishment of a Chinese custom house in the city, while a representative of the Chinese Governor of the island of Heungshan sat to administer justice among the Chinese residents of Macao."¹¹

We need only refer briefly to the modern history of Macao in order to have the necessary diplomatic background. In 1833, the old system of administration of the peninsula by the Senate was abolished, and the colonial system such as Portugal had adopted elsewhere was introduced. In 1842, after the British occupation of Hongkong as a result of the Opium War, the Portuguese authorities also opened negotiations with the Governor at Canton to establish the status of Macao and to obtain for it the entire freedom enjoyed by Hongkong. This attempt proved to be entirely futile. Hongkong was declared a "free-port" after its annexation, and as it was cutting into the profits of Macao, the Portuguese authorities made Macao also a free port in 1845 by a Royal Decree of November 20 of that year. In the following year, Amaral was appointed Governor of Macao. On March 5, 1849, Governor Amaral closed the Chinese custom house in Macao, on the ground that inasmuch

⁸ *The Foreign Office Handbook on Macao*, p. 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. I, p. 338.

¹¹ *Foreign Office Handbook on Macao*, p. 9.

as Macao had been made into a free port, and as Portuguese custom house had already been abolished, it would not be right that a Chinese custom house should remain open. On March 8, Governor Amaral wrote to Viceroy Hsu Kwang-hsin of Kwangtung and offered to regulate the trade between Macao and Chinese ports. No answer is known to have returned.

Thus, for tens of years, largely due to the negligence on the part of Chinese authorities, the status of Macao was never distinctly defined; nor was the commercial intercourse between Macao and Chinese ports definitely regulated. On August 13, 1862, a treaty of commerce was signed at Tientsin by the representatives of China and Portugal, but it was never ratified in consequence of a misunderstanding or dispute in regard to the sovereignty of the territory. In the ninth article of the treaty there was an implication of the supremacy of the Portuguese authorities over the peninsula of Macao. In order that there should be no possible misunderstanding about China's sovereignty over the territory, China insisted that an express stipulation of her right of domain to the peninsula be inserted in the treaty. This was not done, and consequently the treaty, which was the first one concluded between the two countries, was never ratified.

But this state of affairs could not be allowed to drift indefinitely. Thus another attempt was made by both countries in 1887 to arrive at a permanent settlement of the question. The result was the conclusion at Lisbon, March 26, 1887, of a preliminary agreement, whereby China, on the one hand, agreed to the "perpetual occupation and government of Macao and its dependencies by Portugal as any other Portuguese possession," and Portugal on the other hand, agreed "never to alienate Macao and its dependencies without previous agreement with China". These provisions were confirmed by the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between China and Portugal, signed at Peking, December 1, 1888.

The delimitation of the boundaries of the colony remains yet to be carried out, negotiations in 1909 for that purpose having proved to be fruitless. Portugal claims, in addition to the peninsula of Macao, the island of Taipa and Colowan, the eastern part of Lappa, the small island of Dom Joao, and the north part of Wongkam. China admits no claims to the possession of anything except Macao itself.

In 1908 happened the well-known *Tatsu Maru* incident, which raised the question of Portuguese sovereignty over the adjacent waters. In 1909 a Demarcation Commission was appointed to delimit the boundaries of Macao and its dependencies in accordance with the second article of the treaty of 1887. As the Portuguese claim covered the whole of the peninsula of Macao as far north as *Portas do cerco*, the island of Lappa, and many other small islands, China could not admit, in the absence of documentary evidence, even half of the territory claimed. The negotiations failed to bear fruit. But recently, Portuguese authorities in Macao essayed to get hold of a portion of Chinese territory, facing Macao. This high-handed measure brought them into direct conflict with the Canton Government.

From the above short account, two things are clear; that, although Portugal's right of occupation of Macao has been recognized by China in the treaty of 1888, the boundary of the territory has never since been definitely agreed upon; and that, just because of the lack of a clear demarcation, Portugal has claimed territories and waters adjacent to Macao, which are distinctly Chinese.

Properly speaking, then, the difficulty between China and Portugal grows out of the indefinite nature of the territorial limits of the Portuguese colony at Macao. This difficulty would be soon removed if the two countries could arrive at a satisfactory line of demarcation. For China to ask for the restoration of the island would seem, at the first sight, to be asking too much. It is perhaps with this reason in view

that China, if she can possibly help it, prefers not to touch upon the Macao question at all at the Washington conference. On the other hand, as has been pointed out before, if Portugal should choose to discuss the matter, China should have no choice but to press for retrocession of the territory. She can base her claim on the following grounds.

In the first place, the occupation of Macao by Portugal encroaches upon the territorial integrity of China. Inasmuch as the Washington conference seeks to enforce this principle of territorial integrity, it is but the first and the most practical step for the powers to restore Macao to China. In other words, the retrocession of Macao and its adjacent territories is but the details in the application of a general principle. Unlike Hongkong which was ceded to Great Britain as a result of war, Macao was gradually taken over by Portugal without a scintilla of justification. Even the treaty of 1887, in which Portugal's title to the territory was recognized, was not entered into by the Chinese themselves. The said treaty was the work of Sir Robert Hart, who, out of his anxiety for a satisfactory settlement in regard to the question of collecting opium revenue at Macao, did not hesitate to sign away China's territorial rights.

The second ground is that the colony is of but little use to Portugal, while her possession of it violates the territorial integrity of China. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Macao boasted of a large volume of trade.

Since the establishment of Hongkong by Great Britain as a free port, Macao as a commercial entrepot has been reduced to insignificance. The harbor is being silted up by the alluvium brought down the West River, and before long Macao will lose even its importance as a commercial port.

While it is economically worthless to Portugal, it is strategically important to China. "Potentially Macao is a place of great strategic importance, for it commands the chief avenue of approach to Canton." Fortunately, the most cordial relations have been maintained between China and Portugal for hundreds of years. If serious difficulty should develop between the two countries, the occupation of Macao by Portugal would be nothing short of a national menace to China. In the interest of self-defense and self-preservation, therefore, China has the unquestionable right for demanding the restoration of the colony.

And, lastly, from a practical point of view, it may be said that Macao, though under Portuguese administration, has remained Chinese territory, to all intents and purposes. The bulk of the population of the peninsula consists of Chinese largely. The most recent census available is that for December, 1910, which gives the total population of the colony at 74,866. Of this number, 71,021 are Chinese, 3,298 are Portuguese, and 244 are foreigners of other nationalities. If the principle of self-determination is to be applied to Macao, no doubt exists that the territory will become Chinese.

China and America Are Fighting for the Same Principles

J. B. POWELL.

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AT a recent gathering in New York City of Americans and Chinese, a friend of mine who lives in Canton expressed the hope that some method might be devised whereby China might be unified. He was thinking of the coming conference in Washington on Limitation of Armament and Pacific-Far Eastern Problems. I expressed full sympathy with my friend's suggestion, and added the hope on my own part that some method might also be devised at the same time for bringing about unity in America among the Republicans and the Democrats on a continuous foreign policy toward the Far East.

Since it required about three quarters of a century for the United States of America to become a unified nation, I think an American should be the last person in the world to become impatient with China's struggles toward unity. After years of residence in China and a more or less intimate relationship with Chinese in all parts of the country, I have developed a profound confidence in the common sense of the Chinese people and in their ability to unify and develop their country if given half a chance. If the misunderstandings that result from lack of transportation, communication and contact, could be eradicated, the citizens of China, in my opinion, would have little to disagree about regardless of whether they lived in the North, South, East or West.

It is useless in a magazine read so widely by Chinese students as the

Chinese Students Monthly, to state that the coming Conference means much to China. It also means much to America. I believe the seriousness of the situation is more deeply realized among the citizens of China than among the Americans. In spite of the advice of Hon. John Hay, former Secretary of State and author of the Open Door Policy, given nearly a quarter of a century ago to the effect that, "whoever understands China socially, politically, economically, religiously, holds the key to the world's politics for the next five centuries," Americans generally know little about China or the Orient. This is amply demonstrated by examining the courses of study offered in the average college or university of the United States. For this reason the hundreds of Chinese students in this country—men and women—have a great responsibility and opportunity in the education of their immediate associates regarding China, the young republic of the Orient.

In our entire history as a nation, America has developed but two world policies, the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door. The former applies to the South American Continent and the latter to Asia. Just what do these world policies mean? Hon. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State during the last administration explained the Monroe Doctrine in these words: "It is not an assertion of primacy or paramount interest by the United States in its relation to the other American

Republics; that its purpose was to prevent foreign powers from interfering with the separate rights of any nation in this hemisphere, and that the whole aim was to preserve to each Republic the power of self-development; that so far as aiding in this development the United States claimed no special privileges over other countries."

In the *World's Work* for October I find this explanation of the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door: "The Open Door is the Monroe of Asia. The Monroe Doctrine was an assertion that the countries of the western hemisphere must be secured against foreign efforts to seize their territory or to interfere with their political institutions. That is exactly what the Open Door proposes in behalf of Asia. In practice, the Monroe Doctrine has given all nations an equal opportunity to trade in the western hemisphere and to invest their capital in the development of the natural resources of North and South America. This again is exactly what the Open Door proposes as the principle in Asia."

As an American citizen with business interests in China I am often asked, just what kind of a settlement of the China problem, does the American business man desire. I believe the answer of the American business man in China is contained in the foregoing explanations of the meaning of the Open Door. The American business man in China wants to see a strong united China that will be able to protect her own territorial integrity; a strong China in the sense that America is strong, with a government that has its foundation in the enlightened consent of the people themselves. Dr. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister at Washington recently stated that all China desired from this conference was the right to preserve her national existence. In truth, China and America desire the same thing—are fighting for the same principles. Persons who assert cynically that Americans de-

sire an Open Door in China for selfish reasons, overlook the significant fact that Americans are themselves bound by the doctrine of the Open Door. In fact American citizens in the past are about the only ones who have been bound by the Open Door doctrine. I personally know of many cases where Americans have been prevented by their government from accepting monopolistic contracts in China. In practical American terms, the Open Door in China means a first-rate Anti-trust law for China. It means the abolition of secret preferential freight rates on railroads, just as it means the ultimate abolition of all spheres of influence. Under the doctrine of Open Door of equal opportunity as applied by the United States in its government of the Philippine Islands, the Chinese merchants there have been able to develop until they now conduct approximately 80 per cent of the internal business of the Islands. Chinese who have prospered so well in the Philippine Islands and who know that American policy in the Philippine Islands has been almost entirely to the benefit of the citizens of the Islands themselves, have no misgivings regarding American policy toward China. Secretary of State Hughes stated our policy towards China admirably in his note of July 1 addressed to the Chinese Minister when he reaffirmed our adherence to the Open Door:

"The government of the United States has never associated itself with any arrangement which sought to establish any special rights or privileges in China which would abridge the rights of the subjects or citizens of other friendly states: and I am happy to assure you that it is the purpose of this government neither to participate nor to acquiesce in any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of foreign interest any superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in designated regions of the territories of China, or which might seek to create

any such monopoly or preference as would exclude other nationals from undertaking any legitimate trade or industry or from participating with the Chinese Government in any category of public enterprise."

There were many deeds of heroism during the recent world war that will enliven the pages of history for all time. All nations that participated have brilliant examples to their credit, but the outstanding example for all of us was the struggle of the people of Belgium. They fought against the conquerors of their land by an overshadowing enemy until they were literally driven beyond the boundaries of their little country, but they didn't stop fighting even then. They continued to fight and their spirit stirred the hearts of lovers of freedom and liberty everywhere. The citizens of the Republic of China must realize that the destiny of China as an independent nation rests finally with the Chinese people themselves. The American people generally sympathize with the people of China in their struggles toward unity and modern development. There was nothing so stirring as the fight of the young students of China and their struggles to arouse their countrymen

to the national peril, following the adverse Shantung Decision by the Paris Peace Conference. There wasn't an American living in China at the time who didn't feel like taking off his coat and joining in the fight. This spirit is the thing that counts in these modern days. The young men and women of China have the biggest job before them that any people ever faced. They have more at stake than the youth of any country. They have the monumental problem of maintaining in this modern world a civilization that is a wonderful thing to those who know and understand it. They have a contribution to make to the modern world that the modern world needs in the settlement of its problems. A China that built the Great Wall; that built the Grand Canal; that has produced works of art that are the wonder of the modern world, certainly has a further contribution to the world's civilization and well-being. If China will but do her part, she need not fear for the future, for freedom loving men and women in all countries will rally to China's assistance just as they rallied to the assistance of little Belgium in her hour of need.

China and Japan at the Conference

CHARLES D. WARNER

AS the day approaches for the assembling of the Conference on Limitation of Armaments, public attention is directed more and more upon the problems affecting China. For the aspiration of that Republic to gain a position of full sovereignty like that of other nations together with the imperialistic ambition of Japan constitute the great outstanding feature of the Conference. Indeed, the peace of the world depends upon a settlement of this situation, a settlement which must be satisfactory to China.

There are indications that the Cantonese government of the South and the Peking government are coming into agreement for the sake of the nation's salvation, and that the delegation that will come to Washington will represent a unified China, so that there will no longer be any validity to the argument advanced by the Japanese that she will be unable to discuss in the Conference her relations with a country which has no government.

The world knows that China will enter the Conference with the United States as her staunch friend. She comes, also, as a new self governing nation which the Versailles Conference declared itself bound to protect. Without any question the Shantung situation will be presented and it will be decided in favor of China. Public opinion in the United States may be said to be unanimously in favor of China in that controversy. The facts, the evidence and the principles of international law are all on the side of China.

A great international lawyer said to the writer recently, "If you have a leased apartment and desire to sublet

it you must get the consent of the owner. Or if an enemy comes into the apartment and drives you out, the enemy cannot legally hold the premises, for you are the owner of the lease." Germany held a lease of the Kiao Chau Peninsula. Overcome by Japan the lease of Germany naturally vanished and the title or ownership reverted to China. The case is perfectly clear.

Moreover, the Versailles treaty gave to Japan only the rights in Shantung which were owned by Germany. Japan agreed to this settlement, although China did not. But since the signing of the treaty, Japan not only refused to return Shantung to China, but has made many other encroachments upon the sovereignty of her neighbor. The nations which will be represented in the Washington Conference know all these facts.

But about Japan. The record reveals that she never has gained any territory by diplomacy. All her gains have come by the use of force. She seized Korea, Port Arthur and Formosa.

At the time Viscount Ishii entered into the Lansing-Ishii agreement under the terms of which Japan was to act as the good friend of China and protect her, Japan had already entered into secret agreements with Great Britain, France and Italy under which they were to stand with Japan in her Chinese claims.

She urges the necessity of over population as the excuse for expanding and gaining more territory in Asia. She has not colonized either Formosa, Mongolia or Manchuria. Her population is less in proportion to her territory than that of many nations in Europe, yet we

do not hear these nations crying for expansion.

The fact is that all of Japan's energies are directed towards the increase of her imperial and economic power, and back of her over population argument is simply an overweening greed.

Her delegates are coming to Washington hoping to deceive the diplomatists who will be assembled here. She will not succeed, for they know the facts.

The United States desires to maintain the policy of John Hay in China.

She wants China to be untrammelled and to be in a position to work out her national destiny. She wants all the powers who have special privileges in China to readjust their relations so as to be in harmony with China's dignity as a sovereign state.

Japan must be held in leash and must not be permitted to encroach further upon the rights of China. She must be forced to get out of Shantung and restore the peninsula to its sovereign owner.

The Lansing-Ishii Agreement

GEOFFREY C. CHEN

CAJOLEMENT and dissimulation distinguish Japanese diplomacy in Europe and America, force and threat describe its working in Asia. On August 24th., 1914, Okuma sent a special message to the American people, saying, "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 any other peoples of anything which they now possess. My government and my people have given their word and their pledge, which will be as honorably kept as Japan always keeps promises." And "as Japan always keeps promises," the Twenty-One Demands resulted within a year of that "promise"! Might the Lansing-Ishii agreement be a "promise" of this sort? Certain facts which were not known then, not even to Mr. Lansing himself, have been recently revealed as to make the purposes and intentions of the Lansing-Ishii agreement very clear to the historian.

During the World War, the one avowed aim of Japan was to take the unusual advantage of every changing or changed war situation; so as to isolate China and to exploit her boldly. After the great Russian retreat before the massed artillery offensive on the German eastern front, after the fall of Vilna, Russia began to exhaust in man and munition; and Japan initiated the Sazonov-Motono agreement signed in 1916. It was a repetition of the previous secret treaties of 1907, 1910 and 1912; and it was done without the knowledge of America and China but with the British assent. It was a crime in China to excel the British crime in Persia in 1914. With the impending Revolution

early in 1917, the strength of the Allies was considerably weakened and the Allies were in dire need of Japanese assistance in European waters. It was then the best time for Japan to bargain for, as he has succeeded, her secret treaties with Britain and France. Without a knowledge of these secret treaties, one can hardly grasp the full meaning of Motono's speech at that time. As he asserted, "nobody disputes that Japan occupies a special position in China." But he continued, "In safeguarding our own interests, we must respect carefully those of others, and we must try first of all to move in accord with other powers with whom we have special agreements and try to reconcile our interests with those of other nations."

What Japan tried to have was a bargain in which she has more advantage than the other party, or a bargain, as the Ishii-Lansing agreement, in which Japan secures the oyster and gives up the shells. In 1917, Japan was supporting the An-Fu Clique in Peking in the hope of snatching away the Fifth Group of the Twenty-One Demands. The Allies were tied up by secret agreements; the only fear of Japan would have been the United States, with whom the Japanese might have sought for a certain agreement even America had not gone to the European war. The fifth item of the Root-Takahira notes of Nov. 30, 1908, reads, "Should any event occur threatening the status quo as above described or principle of equal opportunity, as above defined, it remains for the two governments to communicate with each other, in order to arrive at an understanding as to what measures they may consider it useful to take." But when the United States did

go to war, Japan saw her long desired opportunity. Busily engaged in war as she was, the United States could hardly afford time carefully to study the Far Eastern question. It was at this historical and tragical moment that the magical statesman of Japan was able to make, with a lot of camouflage, the so-called Lansing-Ishii agreement.

After the fashion of war mission to America headed by Balfour for the British, and Joffre and Viviani for the French, came the Japanese mission which had no specific negotiations for either military or financial matters. As Ishii, on his arrival in Washington, told the Associated Press, there were only two purposes of the coming of his mission: to convey congratulations to U. S. for her entrance to war and to determine how best to cooperate with United States in the War. He asserted, "Japan is entirely unselfish in her aims." When he solemnly spoke to the United States Senate that Japan "did not enter this war because any selfish interest to promote or any ill conceived ambition to gratify," the secret agreements between Japan and the Allies had been signed almost a year. Only at present do we see that the Lansing-Ishii agreement, the chief product of the mission, was to complete that series of agreements which, more than any other single group of acts, were to destroy the Chinese confidence and to obstruct the American success in the Paris conference.

The Japanese ambassador in London told the British that the Lansing-Ishii agreement was to defeat "German machination," and was to prove the "resolute solidarity" of the Allies. The British public believed it. And when Ishii declared, at the N. Y. municipal banquet, Sept. 29, 1917, "at no time in the past and at no time in the future do we, or will we, seek to take territory from China or to despoil China of her rights," most of the Americans forgot their official protest against the Twenty-One Demands on China of two years before. Quoting Charles Sumner's "moral elevation" and "true grandeur

of humanity," Ishii concluded his speech in the Boston State House by confirming that justice and happiness must constitute "a rule for guidance in international affairs." He reassured the conservative Bostonians that "this rule fills the ideal of the true spirit of Japan in her dealings with you and with the world." How far the artistic Japanese forgery and flattery have succeeded to accomplish the untold diplomatic purpose, might be imagined by a reading of those comments and remarks made by the distinguished Americans in Ishii's audience. Don C. Seitz of the "New York World," saw more virtue in the Japanese than in other war missions of the year. "The other gentlemen all came to the U. S. to get something; but these (Japanese) gentlemen have come to give us something." An experienced diplomat, Elihu Root, was almost hypnotized by Ishii. His admiration of the Japanese statesman led him to say that the "frankness and charm" of the latter's expression "awakened kindly interest, and the authentic character of his statements carried conviction."

"The people of America, who now hold their foreign affairs in their hands," said Root, "wish to be forever friends and brethren of the people of Japan." Fortunately or unfortunately for Mr. Root, it was Lansing and not he who knew the secret negotiations this time. Perhaps he would not have been so optimistic about international relations, had he been in the place of Mr. Lansing.

From August to November the American public was cheered and flattered by Ishii, who never tolerated any open negotiation with a democratic people. Addressing the national press club in Washington Sept. 21, 1917, he said, "I have not told anyone what I have said in the pleasant conversations I have had with the officials in Washington, and I do not believe for a moment that the high officials have told anyone either." "There are. . . some things which can not be openly discussed, because of a wise embargo upon unwise disclosures." Even on the day when

the formal notes exchanged between Lansing and Ishii were published, the American Secretary of State remarked, "at the present time it is inexpedient to make public the details of these conversations." In view of the fact that China had been more cordial with America since her entrance into war in August,—a relation regarded by Japan with much apprehension; and that the loss of Russia from the ranks of the Allies, pointing to a decided need of unity of counsel and of effort between America and Japan, there seems reason for the belief that a certain amount of pressure was brought to bear on America to recognize the aspirations of Japan in China. This the United States apparently yielded to Japan at the expense of China and of her own interests, for after a series of conferences in Washington between Secretary Lansing and Viscount Ishii, the agreement was issued on November second.

There are two important clauses in this agreement; that the United States recognized Japan's "special interests" in China; and that both the United States and Japan repledged themselves to observe the principle of the "open door" and the territorial integrity of China. The terms here are self-contradictory. "Special interests" imply special privileges, either commercial or political. These privileges are in direct contradiction with "open door." "special interests" only mean the mild beginning of creating exclusive interests. The same sort of contradiction had existed in the treaty between Great Britain and Japan, made in 1905, concerning Korea. Three months after this treaty, a Japanese protectorate was established over Korea; five years later Korea was formally annexed. The Lansing-Ishii agreement aroused a great fear, especially on the part of China, that history would repeat itself.

The term "special interest" is obviously vague. It may mean anything to Japan. In this vagueness of meaning there is possibility of future misunderstanding. The Japanese had understood such a possibility. Motono

was "of the opinion that in such a case Japan would have better means at her disposal for carrying into effect her interpretation than would the United States." A Japanese writer, Mr. Tomimas, regarded "special interests" a decided advantage to Japan, for he said, "U. S. saw it a wise policy to offer Japan a present of 'special interests' in China for Viscount Ishii's pocket . . . rather than to touch the delicate questions at home, especially under unfavorable circumstances in the course of the present war." On the clause of "special interest" itself, he commented that, "it is only fair . . . to leave these questions to be interpreted in practical politics under actual circumstances which develop from time to time."

It was stated in the agreement that "territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries," and that consequently Japan was entitled to the "special privileges" named. We know that territorial propinquity exists between the U. S. and Canada; the former desired special relations of reciprocity; but, when Canada did not wish to enter into these relations, there was no question of using force to accomplish them. Territorial propinquity does not seem to be a sufficient reason for acquiring special privileges against the will of the people concerned. Furthermore, if territorial propinquity were generally recognized by the other powers as creating special relations, "the Philippines have a propinquity to China differing only a little in degree and not at all in kind from that which Japan and her insular possessions have. If the propinquity of the latter is a basis for special interests, what becomes of that of the former?"

The Lansing-Ishii agreement has not a bit of effect upon the aggression of Japan in China, just as the Root-Takahira agreement in 1908 did not check in the least Japan's designs so manifestly shown in the Twenty-One Demands. The two agreements resemble each other in that both the contracting parties pledged themselves to the principles of the "open door" policy and the

territorial integrity of China; but the Lansing-Ishii agreement differs from its predecessor in that "the government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part of which her possessions are contiguous." Mr. Lansing in his testimony given before the Senate Committee on foreign relations, informed us that the Viscount pressed for the use of a term that would mean "paramount control"; and that Mr. Lansing refused to use any such term or to admit that Japan's "special interests" in China were more than the special interest the United States has in Canada or in the peace and prosperity of Mexico. It is then hard to understand that under these circumstances any agreement should have been made. If, as the Japanese understand it, "special interests" may mean "exclusive interests" in the event of practical politics, then the agreement may or help to create a Japanese "sphere of influence" in Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, Shantung and Fukien,—an area equal to Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas and Kansas. While fighting in Europe for the rights of small nations and "to make the world safe for democracy," the American government has for the sake of temporary security in the Pacific, forsaken the policy of justice and square deal, and has removed a safeguard against the disintegration of the most populous Republic on earth.

In regard to the independence and integrity of China, the 1908 agreement contains the phrase, "the independence and integrity," while the 1917 notes contain the phrase, "independence or territorial integrity." The Lansing-Ishii agreement seems to limit the interpretation of "Independence;" and "Integrity" is qualified as merely territorial. It mentions a "territorial sovereignty," but not "sovereignty." Of course, sovereignty cannot be without territory. But one should wonder why sovereignty is merely territorial. The Lansing-Ishii agreement does not express any idea of political integrity as

to be maintained in China and by China. It only wishes Japan to respect the "territorial integrity" of China. It may mean, especially to the Japanese, that China's territory is to be integral as Korea's territory still is at present. From Root-Takahira to Lansing-Ishii is virtually a diplomatic victory for Japan.

The defeat was over the United States and China; but China in addition to the inquiry was insulted by the action of Lansing-Ishii agreement, the negotiation of which she had not been informed till its completion. With all its good intentions towards China, the American government decidedly ignored Chinese sovereignty, not only in the notes, but during the negotiation for them. As soon as the Chinese government learned of the agreement at issue, an official protest in order to avoid misunderstanding, was despatched to the Japanese, British and the United States governments. It made the idea clear that China recognized special interests only in so far as they existed by virtue of treaties and agreements to which she was a party.

The editor of the "North-China Herald," a British weekly in China, thought that the Lansing-Ishii agreement "ought to go to a long way towards obliterating that distrust among the Chinese for Japan." But suppose Japan and the United States should sign another agreement, word for word like that of 1917, only substituting the word "Mexico" for "China"; do you think that would improve the relations between Mexico and the United States? Would it not rather disturb the friendship not only between Mexico and the United States, but also between Mexico and Japan?

The British thought that the agreement "puts an end definitely to past misunderstandings between Japan and America by its mutual recognition of the special interests of the former in China . . . and of America's peculiar concern in the welfare of this country." The Lansing-Ishii notes "prove that the views of the two nations on their policy

in China are in complete harmony," thus commented the London "Times." Even in Lansing's opinion, "the visit of Viscount Ishii and his colleagues has accomplished a great change of opinion in this country. By frankly denouncing the evil influences which have been at work, by openly proclaiming that the policy of Japan is not one of aggression, and by declaring that there is no intention to take advantage commercially or industrially of the special relations to China created by geographical position, the representatives of Japan have cleared the diplomatic atmosphere of the suspicion which had been so carefully spread by our enemies and by misguided or over-zealous people in both countries. In a few days the propaganda of years has been undone, and both nations are now able to see how near they came to being led into the trap which had been skillfully set for them." It took only another year's experience with the Japanese to convince Mr. Lansing of the "Japanese rapacity" of "an autocratic government." For six months he sat

at the Hôtel de Crillon, ignorant of what the Japanese had secretly snatched from China and the Allies, impotent and disregarded; in the end he was compelled by duty to sign a treaty which he believed "legalized the mastery of might and revived the doctrine which the war was fought to destroy."

After the sad events relating to Shantung, Yap, Eastern Siberia, Sakhalin, and the consortium in China, the American public should now become wiser as Mr. Lansing seems to be. Is it successful to ignore the double standard of Japanese diplomacy in dealing with the Far Eastern problems? Is it worth while for the United States in the coming conference at Washington, to cancel the Lansing-Ishii agreement, which was only an important pronouncement and not a final treaty in committing this country as a covenant? If the first question is answered in the affirmative, and the second in the negative, China has to face the struggle,—struggle for existence.

MARCH OF EVENTS AT HOME

THE POLITICAL SITUATION AT HOME

For the last three months, roughly from July 10 to October 15, the political situation at home has undergone no fundamental change, although there has been a decided shift of power from one military chieftain to another. On July 25 Inspector-General Lu Yung-ting deserted his post and fled into French Indo-China, thus bringing his own bucaneeering career to an end. Kwangsi is now partly under Kuomintang control, with isolated spots still in the hands of Lu's erstwhile followers. At about the same time Hupeh and Hunan became the battleground of another "mid-summer war," resulting in the forced retirement of Inspector-General Wang Chuan-yuan of Hupeh. At the time of writing Hunan seems to be holding its own ground with Yochow in the hands of General Wu Pei-fu, who has succeeded Wang as Inspector-General. General Hsiao Yao-nan, Wu's first lieutenant, is now Military Governor of Hupeh. Far and away in the Northwest, General Chen Shu-fen, one of the few remaining Anfu men in actual command of troops, has been apparently eliminated from the scene. His successor in Shensi is General Feng Yushiang, that much advertised Christian General. The other provinces are much as they were; with Yunnan quieter after General Chi-yao left, Szechuan still chaotic and under many petty commanders, Manchuria practically independent and the others in fitful moments of obedience and defiance of Peking.

Despite the efforts of both the Peking and the Canton Governments towards centralization, the provinces seem to be actually pulling apart. Indeed there is a distinct movement for provincial autonomy or home rule with a view to

eventual federation of all the autonomous provinces to form a United China. For this purpose a number of provinces had called Provincial Constitutional Assemblies to meet and draft constitutions. It is significant to note that all these documents so far completed and published provide a place for that central of federal government to be created.

The unification of the country on the old lines without fundamental alterations still seems remote. General Wu's idea of a National Convention with constituent powers to decide all pending legal and political issues, put forth in 1920 but never tried, has assumed a new name: that of the Kuling Conference. Present indications show that the Kuling idea has only isolated and half-hearted support and is likely to fall through.

THE PACIFIC CONFERENCE

Simultaneously with the invitations issued to the British, French, Italian and Japanese Governments to take part in a discussion on the limitation of armament and Pacific-Far Eastern Affairs, China was invited on the same day of August 11, 1921, by President Harding to participate in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern Affairs. Six days later, that is on the 17th of August, China made its reply through the Chinese Minister at Washington accepting the invitation and expressing satisfaction that the Government of the Republic of China was to co-operate on a footing of equality with the other governments in the Conference.

This innocent exchange of notes signalled the opening of a new chapter in the history of diplomacy, particularly that relating to the Far East. People at home at once realized the important bearing the Conference would have on China's destiny. Nu-

merous societies for the study of Pacific problems and for the support and encouragement of the delegates have been formed, and some of them are even sending their own representatives to Washington. Subsequent developments show the popular instinct to be correct, for the proposed agenda of the Conference covers such vital items as the Open Door, the Territorial and Administrative integrity of China, besides many other important questions.

The personnel of the Chinese Delegation has not yet been officially announced, although it is understood to include W. W. Yen, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs in Peking; V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister to the Court of St. James and recently president *pro tempore* of the League of Nations Assembly; Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister at Washington; and Wang Chung-hui, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Peking and recently elected Deputy Judge of the Court of International Justice. Despatches from Peking report that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs intends to make China's preparation so complete that she will be ready for the discussion of any topics that may come before the Conference. The advance party of the Chinese Delegation, composed of secretaries and experts headed by Dr. P. K. C. Tyau and Y. S. Tsao arrived at Washington early in October and is now engaged in preliminary preparations. The main Delegation is already on the way and will be in Washington in due time.

Beyond the mere statement that China will enter the Conference "in the spirit of friendship and with a cordial appreciation of the importance of the elimination of the sources of controversy," there has been no official announcement of the policy to be pursued. It seems certain, however, that she will seek an equitable solution of some of her outstanding problems created by treaties and conventions imposed on her by foreign powers.

The claim for recognition and repre-

sentation in the conference by Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Government in Canton has been a knotty problem both for the Peking Government and the other powers. Late in September the press reports seemed to agree that recognition of the Canton Government was out of the question, and if Canton wanted representation, that could be had only through co-operation with Peking. In other words, a "mixed" Delegation such as that in Paris would be acceptable to the other participating powers. Peking is understood to have approached Canton for a joint representation and to have been repeatedly rebuffed by Canton. Latest despatches suggest that should Canton eventually join Peking, the Southern delegate would be Mr. C. C. Wu, now Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Canton Government.

PROPOSED AGENDA FOR THE CONFERENCE

Text given out by the State Department Sept. 21 and published by the New York Times and other papers on Sept. 22, 1921. It is understood that the other Powers are favorably disposed toward this proposed agenda submitted by the State Department.

Limitation of Armament:

- (1) Limitation of naval armament;
 - a. Basis of limitation;
 - b. Extent, and
 - c. Fulfillment.
 - (2) Rules for the control of new agencies of warfare.
 - (3) Limitation of land armament.
- Pacific and Far Eastern Questions
- (1) Questions relating to China; principles to be applied and application.
 - a. Territorial integrity,
 - b. Administrative integrity,
 - c. Open Door—equality of commercial and industrial opportunity,
 - d. Concessions, monopolies or preferential economic privileges,
 - e. Development of railways, including plans relating to the Chinese Eastern Railway,

- f. Preferential railroad rates, and
- g. Status of existing commitments.
- (2) Siberia (similar headings).
- (3) Mandated islands (unless questions earlier settled).
- (4) Electrical communications in the Pacific. (This last item was added to the proposed agenda and made known October, 12, 1921).

JAPAN'S NEW PROPOSALS ON SHANTUNG

In order to have the Shantung question out of the way when the Conference on the Limitation of Armament and Pacific-Far Eastern Questions meets in Washington, Japan again approached China with a new set of proposals and conditions regarding the restoration of Kiaochow. These proposals were handed to the Waichiao Pu by the Japanese Minister in Peking on September 7th, 1921. They were of the same nature as previous proposals although minor concessions had been made in favor of China. China's rejection of the offer was a foregone conclusion, but her reply was not delivered to the Japanese Minister until October 5th, 1921. The reply commented on the proposals one by one, except the 4th and the 8th, which, respectively provided for the renunciation of the preferential and optional rights as regards the employment of persons and the supply of capital and materials based on the Kiaochow Convention with Germany, and the appointment of delegates for the arranging of details should the proposals be accepted. As to the rest of the proposals China finds them to be "still incompatible with the repeated declarations of the Chinese Government, with the hopes and expectations of the entire Chinese people and with the principles laid down in treaties between China and the foreign powers." The reply further declares that "in view of the marked difference of opinion between the two countries, and apprehending that the case might

long remain unsettled, China reserves to herself the freedom of seeking a solution of the question whenever a suitable occasion presents itself," thus plainly hinting at the probability, if not certainty, of China's bringing up the question in the coming Pacific Conference. The salient points of the Chinese reply are:—

(1) The lease of Kiaochow expired immediately on China's declaration of war against Germany. Japan is only a military occupant of the leased territory which should be returned to China without conditions. There can be question of any leasehold.

(2) The opening of cities and towns in Shantung for foreign trade should be left to China's free and unfettered action. Agriculture in Shantung can not be engaged in by foreigners. Only those rights and interests lawfully acquired by foreigners can be respected.

(3) The Shantung Railway should be entirely Chinese-owned and operated, to form part of the Chinese Government Railway system. China should purchase back one half of the line within a fixed period on the basis of a reasonable valuation.

(4) For construction costs of Tsinan-Shunteh and Kiaochow-Hsuchow lines, China will negotiate with international banking bodies. The Chefoo-Weihsien Railway should be treated differently.

(5) The Customs House in Tsingtau should be placed under the complete control of the Chinese Government.

(6) The various kinds of official, semi-official, municipal and other public properties and enterprises should be returned to China without unnecessary arrangements.

(7) Japan should withdraw her troops at once. China will immediately send a force to police the Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway.

Thus the Shantung Question is not fundamentally different from what it was in the summer of 1919, with Japan claiming the rights to succession granted by the Treaty of Versailles and China refusing to recognize the validity of a treaty to which she her-

self was not a party, and which treaty transferred to another party rights and property which she considered had reverted to herself on her declaration of war against Germany.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN MONGOLIA

Since last March the Mongolian situation has remained obscure, although the public has the vague idea that because of internal politics China has not been able to assert her historic sovereignty: in fact no serious attempt in that direction has ever been made. In the absence of any interference from China, Mongolia has set up a "republic" with its capital at Urga. The head and the personnel of that government nobody has taken the trouble to find out. About the middle of September General Baron Ungern-Sternberg, the Cossack Anti-Bolshevist leader who was primarily responsible for the fall of Urga early last Spring, was reported to have been captured and executed by the forces of the Far Eastern Republic. The earlier stage of Russian-inspired activity seemed to have passed and the Mongolians are, on the surface at least, in actual control. They have proclaimed a Mongolian Republic and are conducting some sort of a government. The Soviet Government of Russia takes an active interest in the situation and is said to be actually fathering the Mongolian scheme. A Peking despatch of Oct. 14 even credits the Moscow Government with military control over Mongolia. Moscow is also reported to have offered its good offices to Peking with a view to bringing about the restoration of amicable relations between Mongolia and China. Peking regards the Soviet offer as unacceptable, but is ready to negotiate with Mongolia on the basis of the autonomy clauses of the tripartite agreement signed in 1915.

THE AMERICAN WIRELESS AGREEMENT RATIFIED

The conclusion of a wireless Agreement by the Chinese Government with the Federal Telegraph Company, an

American corporation, for the joint temporary ownership and operation of wireless stations in China has been a subject of diplomatic conversations and exchange of notes. The Agreement was signed on January 8, 1921. Immediately after the fact was known, the British, Danish and Japanese Governments lodged protests against the Agreement as being in violation of existing commitments between China and their governments and nationals. The same Agreement also furnished the theme for Secretary of State Hughes to reiterate and reaffirm the principle of the open door, when he assured Minister Sze that it was not the intention of the American Government to withdraw from the position taken by it in support of the rights accruing to the Federal Telegraph Company under the Contract of January 8th. On September 19, the Ministry of Communications signed a supplementary bond issue, thus completing the contract and enabling the Company to begin at once the work of construction. A later despatch from Tokio reported that Japan would lodge a new protest against the Agreement, as it violated terms of the Mitsui Company Contract of 1918. Up to the date of writing, no new development has transpired; but it is quite possible that the whole question of the various wireless and cables agreements may be brought up in the Pacific Conference as they form part of the existing commitments and are also means of electrical communications in the Pacific, an item newly added to the proposed agenda.

CHINA'S PROTEST AGAINST REPORTED YAP DEAL

The Foreign Office in Peking handed an identical note to the American and Japanese Legations, protesting against the reported allocation of the Yap-Shanghai Cable to Japan. The notes were handed to the two Legations on September 30 and maintained that the American-Japanese Agreements could not authorize Japan to lay a cable be-

tween Yap and Shanghai, unless the consent of China was obtained. China's legal point was that Germany's cable rights lapsed on the declaration of war and these rights naturally reverted to China. A Washington report of October 1 stated that Chinese sovereignty would not be infringed upon, as the landing of a cable on Chinese soil without China's consent was not touched upon in the tentative and informal agreement.

FAILURE OF THE BANQUE INDUSTRIELLE de CHINE

The Banque Industrielle de Chine, a Sino-French Bank with principal offices in Paris, France, closed its doors in the last days of June, 1921. The financial situation in China was for a short time seriously disturbed, as the Banque had extensive connections in the Orient. This was aggravated by the fact that bank notes of the Banque were in wide circulation in some of the treaty ports, and the fear that its notes might not be accepted on the market created something liké a panic.

Fortunately this was averted and the public saved from suffering by the prompt action of the Chinese bankers who advanced several million dollars for the redemption of the notes.

CHINA TO REGULATE TRUST COMPANIES AND EXCHANGES

For the last few months trust companies and stock and produce exchanges monopolize public interest. In Shanghai alone, it is estimated that there are no less than 500 such companies in operation, each capitalized from \$100,000.00 to \$10,000,000.00. It would seem that a period of "wild-cat banking" has begun in China. With the idea of preventing a possible panic, so inevitable a companion of over-speculation, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in Peking is now considering proper measures of control. The advice of businessmen has been eagerly sought, and the Chairman of the General Chamber of Commerce, Mr. C. C. Nieh, has been called to Peking for consultation and advice.

PAO-TIEN HSIEH.

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CLUB NEWS

BALTIMORE

Chinese Students Celebrate To Mark Tenth Anniversary Of Founding Of Republic.

Members of the Chinese Students' Club of Baltimore met at the Celestial Restaurant, West Fayette Street, last night and commemorated the tenth anniversary of the Chinese Republic which occurs today. A banquet was served and short addresses made.

There are 16 members of the club, 10 men and 6 women, of whom 14, 10 men and 4 women, are students at Johns Hopkins University or Johns Hopkins Medical School, and 2 women are students at Goucher College. The headquarters of the club is at 2518 Maryland Avenue.

Following the banquet the club was reorganized and new officers elected as follows: Dr. Chong Eang Lim, president; Miss Hui-Ching Yen, vice-president; Shih-Hsi Lin, secretary, and Dr. Ko-Chi Sun, treasurer. *The Sun, Baltimore*, October 10, 1921."

CINCINNATI

The Chinese Students' Club of Cincinnati held its first meeting of this term on September 25th, in which officers for the present term were elected. Mr. M. C. Chou was elected president; Mr. K. P. Liu, treasurer and Mr. K. C. Liu, secretary.

The club has a membership of 11 this term. In addition to those who were here last year, the club embraces two new members, M. Y. Li, from University of California, California, and Miss Lydia B. Hu, from Wesley College for Girls, Oxford, Ohio.

With the exceptions that Mr. M. C. Chou is working with a machine tool manufacturing concern; Mr. Liu Chee is taking course in a medical college and Mr. Y. H. Wang is attending the Ohio Mechanics Institute, all the Chin-

ees students here are studying at the University of Cincinnati. Miss Lydia B. Hu is in the Medical College of the University, and Messrs Dip Louis, Henry Chung, T. C. Tse, K. P. Liu, C. K. Tan, C. K. Chang, Y. Li, and K. C. Liu are in the Engineering College. Miss Lydia Hu and Mr. C. K. Chang just started the first year course in their respective colleges; Mr. Henry Chung is in the junior class; Messrs Dip Louis, Y. Li, and T. C. Tse are in the pre-junior class, and Messrs K. P. Liu, C. K. Tan, and K. C. Liu are in the sophomore class.

ILLINOIS

There are nearly one hundred Chinese students registered in the different colleges at the University of Illinois. Engineering and Commerce are the two courses most popular among us. More than ten of us are in the Graduate School.

We gave a reception for the newcomers on September 23. Dr. Carnahan, Dean of Foreign Students, extended welcome to the new students in behalf of the University. Many American friends were present.

On September 30, we had our first business meeting. The forthcoming Washington Conference was the subject of discussion for more than one hour. Unanimously, we decided to continue our publication of "Young China", a pamphlet published by us from time to time since 1919, with the view to bringing about a better understanding between China and the United States. We will make the next issue a "Washington Conference Number."

LIEN LAI
Secretary.

M. I. T.

No club meeting has yet been held this year. But the Chinese students of M. I. T. have attended the two general

meetings of the students of Greater Boston, held at the beginning of the college year of 1921, to discuss matters concerning the Washington Disarmament Conference and also the celebration of our National Day, the Tenth of October. The Chinese students of Cambridge have also been asked to join in a parade on Columbus Day, Oct., 12th., for the celebration of the 75th Anniversary of the City of Cambridge.

In the 17th. Annual Conference of the Eastern Section of the Alliance, M. I. T. was well represented with a large delegation. The Club has won again the Gurley Trophy for the Inter-Club Stunt Contest through the fine performance of Messrs. F. C. Ede and Z. Z. Li.

The Club has over 60 members this year. The officers for the year are as follows: President, Y. C. Chen; Vice-President, Y. L. Ta; Chinese Secretary, C. T. Chien; English Secretary, J. A. Lo; Treasurer, Z. Z. Li.

MILLS COLLEGE

As there are only three of us over here at Mills, it is impossible to form any club of our own. But we do want you all to know, that Mills College treats her Chinese students very cordially and kindly. The faculty has a wide interest in our work. Each member is ever ready to advise us to the best and to help us in difficulty.

This campus is small and very democratic in ideas. This allows us to come to know our instructors and fellow students better. We are like one big family, everyone is eager to learn the best from the other.

Do you know that this is a girl's college, and a private, religious institution! Everything, Y. W. C. A. meetings, or chapel, is conducted in a non-sectarian manner, but we do have a chance to look into, and think about religious life. We have dormitories and another girl, Chinese girl, and myself live here.

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

Two old members of Mount Holyoke Misses B. K. Yaug and S. Y. Ting ex-

press with great pleasure their welcome to three new members who are Misses Nora Hsiung of Tientsin, Lois Todd and Dr. S. W. Kwan of Canton. We congratulate both Misses Hsiung and Todd who have successfully passed the comprehensive entrance examination and are now members of the Freshman class. Dr. Kwan who received her degree from Canton Hackett Medical and had been teaching there for years entered the college as a special student.

As we have now five members, it is hoped that organization will soon be started and officers be elected to carry on its tradition which we two have enjoyed in our Freshman year and which has been neglected for the past two years owing to the small number of members.

SOO YUIN TING

MICHIGAN

At the end of last semester in June, we elected the following members to be our next administrative officers: Mr. H. H. Lu, President; Miss G. T. Liu, Vice-president; Miss A. L. Giang, Recording Sec'y; Mr. C. Y. Liu, Corresponding Sec'y; Mr. C. Henry Chen, Treasurer.

About the opening of the College, when old students were returning, they seemed to have brought back with them new spirits and inspirations. The statement can well be proved by mentioning the picnic which was given to the new students of this Club by the old timers, on Sept., 24. Anybody who was present that evening would be perfectly agreeable in saying that everybody enjoyed everything. We had plenty of unusual good eats and among them we unanimously voted for the "fire leg" omelette and the honorable mention went to the person who brought the stuff over from China. The new members especially enjoyed their initiation which if they would recall was the first privilege ever bestowed upon them in their life—that was to bring the girls home.

A meeting was called by the president on the evening of Sept. 30. In the meeting there was an election of dele-

gates to the Board of Representatives of the Chinese Students' Alliance. The names were Messrs. F. C. Ling, C. Y. Liu, K. H. Pei, Y. S. Seto, and Misses Helen Wong, Y. L. Lowe. The plan of celebrating the Double Ten was also discussed. After the business transaction, there was a social and games party in which everybody was lively and enjoyable to the extreme extent. All the merit of success goes to the Social Committee chairman, Miss E. T. Tsao.

C. Y. LIU.

NORTHWESTERN

In several ways the Northwestern University Chinese Student's Club is unique in its history this year. First the spirit of the club members is most praiseworthy as all the members have unconditionally pledged their unalloyed allegiance to the club and to its program of work for the ensuing year. Besides it has the largest membership which it ever had before, about forty in number. Secondly most of the members are men of many years' experience in teaching and otherwise in China and, therefore, are taking post-graduate studies in the respective fields, namely, Education, Religious Education, Law, Commerce, Medicine and Dentistry. About one third of the Chinese attendance here is specializing themselves in the following categories of commerce—Foreign Trade, Banking, Business Finance, Business Administration and General Commerce.

Now comes the mentioning of the election of officers for the year 1921-1922 and the celebration of our tenth anniversary of the birthday of the Republic of China on the evening of the tenth of October. The result of the election came out as follows: President, Daniel C. T. Tung, Vice-President, Miss Anna Lan, Recording Secretary, T. R. Hsieh, Corresponding Secretary, Livingston S. Y. Hu, and Treasurer, Lincoln Dsang. The club celebrated China's National Holiday—October 10th—with a Chinese banquet in the city of Chicago on the evening of the

10th. It was very well attended. After the dinner the club had a long and interesting meeting with some of the leading officers of the Chinese Students' Alliance in the United States of America considering mainly the club's responsibility towards supporting the Alliance's program regarding the Disarmament Conference to be held in Washington next month.

OHIO NORTHERN

The first meeting of our club in this fall was held on Sept. 12th. The new officers of this term were elected. They were as follows: President, Hymn May; Secretary, P. Y. Lamb; Treasurer, L. T. Lee.

Messrs. T. H. Fang B. S. and C. T. Gee B. S. in C. E. are about to leave us to take post-graduate work in Ohio State University and U. of Michigan, respectively, and Mr. L. Y. Lee to U. of Wisconsin to pursue further study in mining. To them we extend our hearty wishes for their success.

P. Y. LAMB

OHIO STATE

The celebration of the "Triple Tenth" Anniversary of our Republic this year was an unprecedented success. Altho the occasion fell on Monday making it reluctant for many to lay aside their books, the attendance was almost 100 per cent. Because of shortness of time for preparations, the program was not so elaborate as it used to be but it was good enough to suit the occasion. All the speeches were patriotic, encouraging and interesting. Several addresses could not fail to move tears but one was enough to tickle you to death. Seriousness alongside with some sense of humor constituted all the talks of the night. Mr. T. J. Wu's "Three-Six" seemed to have brought us to Shanghai. "Chu-lien-gi" sung by Mr. Richard Li (Li-Lau-Ban) accompanied by Mr. J. K. Huang's "Hu-Chin" could not but stimulate our desire to hasten back to Peking before "Small Yu" goes to the Promised Land of Peace. "To make the representation perfect" in the words of Mr. H. J. Huang a Cantonese tune was

offered. So far as music is concerned, China as a whole was very well represented. Beginners to learn dancing could scarcely forget the "Waltz" for which Honolulu is especially noted. A Hawaiian tune is not much to be wondered at but it is the music played by the Chinese born in Hawaii that counts. Music of this sort given by Messrs. E. F. Leetoma and Edward Ho kept the audience in constant uproar. You can imagine how crazy our members are over the jazz altho none have actually taken any dancing lessons. After all, the music served very well to remind us of the "Paradise of the Pacific". Games offered by Mr. C. C. Yuan wound up the programme of the evening. Few speeches, some musical selections, little stunts and light refreshments brought the great day of our country to a happy close.

With the departure of ten members mostly thru graduation came an equal number of new men. So the census this semester shows no gain and no loss in the population of the club. Among the new comers are Messrs P. K. Chen, C. A. Ma, T. J. Wu and Baldwin Huang from Tsing Hua College; Mr. P. T. Lu from Peking University; Mr. Richard Li from Golden, Colorado; Mr. Z. Y. Tsow from the University of Wisconsin; Messrs. E. F. Leetoma and Edward Ho from the University of Hawaii and Mr. George K. Huang from the University of Illinois. Messrs C. T. Chiang and and Y. T. Yang departed for China last month. Mr. Kao Shen left us for Effingham, Ill., where he specializes in photographing, Mr. J. Y. Chan is now in Central Y. M. C. A., Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. T. C. Chang is taking his post-graduate work in the Teachers' College, Columbia University. Mr. Y. S. Tsen went to N. Y. immediately after the Summer Session and so far no word has been received from him. Mr. W. D. Thom is working in a certain chemical laboratory here at Columbus. May success and good luck attend them all. The officers for this semester are as follows: President, C. S. Chu; Vice-president, T. H. Shen; Secretary, C. C.

Yuan; Treasurer-manager Y. T. Loo.
C. C. YUAN

PENNSYLVANIA

1921 bids fair to be the banner year for the C. S. C. of the University of Pennsylvania. The editors of the Conference Daily meant business when they voted our delegates at the Conference as the gayest. With a handful of men, we captured the fattest trophy at the Conference, the Great China Corporation silver cup, for all-round athletic championship. Second to the Liberty Bell that attracts pilgrims from all over the world to the city of Philadelphia, this self-same cup will be our proudest possession, for this year at least.

Our membership has reached 57 the high water-mark in our history. Dear old Wharton claims half of us, for dear old Wharton gives us the best education in commerce and finance.

On September 26, we held our first regular meeting at which 12 new members were introduced. They were F. Chow (Honkong Univ.), H. T. Chun, H. L. ée (St. John's Univ.), C. L. Hsu, E. C. Ling, T. P. Yang (Tsing-Hua College), J. C. Liu (Chicago), T. C. Liu (California), L. C. Tai (Nankin Univ.), P. C. Yang (Beloit), C. C. Yung (Tufts), and K. Y. Yung (Canton Christian College.) Besides these, there were T. C. Ling (Columbia), C. Y. Hsu, C. Y. Yao, and S. M. Voo (Nanyang College) who came after the school opened.

We celebrated our National Holiday with a banquet at the Nankin Restaurant. Every member made a patriotic speech. It wasn't a "dry" evening because all were over-flown with "spirit."

H. S. Chou.

MICHIGAN COLLEGE OF MINES

"Hi! there Waiter!
Steen big beers!
M. C. M. —Engineers."
"Hematite! Pyrite!
Sis boom dah!
M. C. M. —Rah! Rah! Rah!"

China is vigorously represented in Michigan College of Mines this year by nine of her ambitious mining engineers—the future developer of the real modern civilization in Asia. With the unconquered spirit and warm-hearted interest which characterize all the members of our little club, we start our school year with a very active and inspiring event and that is the celebration of the tenth anniversary of our beloved Republic.

In the evening of October tenth, our National Night was given in the College Club House and Gymnasium. Besides Professors and the leading citizens in town, over six hundred of our American friends were present. We were very much honoured to have had Dr. F. W. McNair, President of Michigan College of Mines, and Hon. Judge P. H. O'Brien of the circuit court of Houghton, as our guests and speakers.

The program commenced with an opening remark by the president of our club and was then followed by Dr. F. W. McNair's speech in which he emphasized several things that China needs today, particularly that universal education and material development are the chief factors that can afford us to have a free government. Then, Mr. P. H. Lee, one of our club members, gave a short talk about the present conditions in China. Hon. Judge P. H. O'Brien was the last speaker who gave us a very inspiring speech on the historical and friendly relations between China and America.

Right following this, we were much entertained by Mr. P. H. Wang, one of our active members, who gave us a Chinese Solo which was so beautifully sung that it set the whole audience with yells. Then we ended our program with our National Anthem and cheers.

This is the first time in the history of the Chinese Students' Club of Michigan College of Mines that we celebrated our National Birth Day in a formal program, and we members of the club felt that it was an unexpected success.

We wish through the Monthly to express our hearty thanks to Miss Kath-

erine Nickerson who played "The Star-Spangled Banner" at the opening of the evening, and also to Dr. F. W. McNair who permitted us to use the College Club House and Gymnasium.

The officers of the Chinese Students' Club of M. C. M. for this year are as follows: President, Mr. N. Kuo; English and Chinese Secretary, Mr. C. W. Pan; Treasurer, Mr. H. Y. Liu.

CHARLES W. PAN.

PITTSBURGH

Although our membership has decreased to only eighteen we have all the same old spirit and "pep" in us as before, if not any more. Each individual is doing his best to make our Club a "Progressive One."

We are very happy to have five new members added to our membership list, they are as follows: Messrs. G. F. Woo, C. Y. Heen, H. Y. Ma, H. S. Yee, C. S. Y. and T. K. Yu. To them we extend our heartiest welcome.

For the past two months the Club has devoted much time to the discussion of plans for celebrating October 10th. We would be very anxious to have it successfully done as in previous years, were it possible for such a few members to do. Unfortunately, owing to some misunderstanding of the last year's celebration the Chinese Merchants in the downtown district of this city refused to finance it this year in this work. We are indeed exceedingly sorry for this happening. In order to have something special for this great day of the history of our beloved country, a special meeting was called this month to decide a final program which, to the agreement of the members present, shall be a banquet among ourselves. Our special committee previously appointed is now doing their best to make this banquet a unique one.

Very sorry so many members have departed this year, some returning to China, others continuing their studies elsewhere. Though many miles away, we still hold them in memory. If it were at all possible for me to have the space to write on the members of this

Club, their records and achievements may take from me too much time. Since I can't, I will merely repeat in a modified form, the words of Lincoln in his wonderful speech; "The Club will little note or long remember what they said here; but it can never forget what they did here." May this passage reach to every one of our fellow members who is away.

The present officials of the Club are as follows: Mr. D. C. Chang, Pres.; Mr. Quil, Eng. Sec.; and Mrs. T. S. Tung, Chinese Sec.

Nellie Yee-Quil.

SCHENECTADY

Our club as a rule, never has a long roll of members. This year, being no exception, we have only five; and the officers are as follows: Mr. M. H. Pai, President; Mr. C. K. Lan, Vice President; Mr. K. T. Chao, Secretary; Mr. K. C. Choa, Treasurer; Mr. C. Fung, Member at large.

On October, the second, the Big Five gathered, and a round table peaceful talk was practically about all we had.

During the summer we had the pleasure of having Messrs. C. C. Kwong and P. C. Kwong, both of Cornell with us. They worked in the American Locomotive Company while they were here.

Our new members are Mr. C. K. Lam, M. E. '21, Michigan, working in the American Locomotive Company; and Mr. Kenneth C. Chao, a freshman pursuing Chemistry in Union College.

Mr. P. C. Cheng, formerly of the G. E. Co. has left us for Worcester Polytechnic Institute to further his education in Electrical Engineering. With the same ambition, Mr. C. L. Yu has also departed, but he went to Cornell.

In July, Messrs. C. C. King, P. S. King, L. H. Shen and V. T. Sun sailed for China. Upon their landing, Mr. L. H. Shen will have in his charge the lamp department of General Edison Company, while Messrs. C. C. King and V. T. Sun will be found in the Cost Accounting Department of the same

Company. According to the latest report, Mr. P. S. King will hold the office of Mechanical Engineering of Chili Soap & Alkali Co., Tientsin.

RENSSELAER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

Summer Activities

The members of the Troy C. S. C. spent the past summer in a variety of ways. Some of us spent it in performing professional practice in engineering work, as Mr. E. S. Hsieh in the Waddel's Consulting Engineers' Office at New York, Mr. P. C. Liu in the Rensselaer Chemical Laboratory and Mr. David S. Hung in New York Central Railway. Some spent it in extensive travelling and exhaustless sporting as Messrs. Y. C. Cheng, P. C. Chuang and many others. Again there are others who believe in the fact that a summer vacation is a time for rest. So we had some of us spending their time during the past summer for exclusive rest in some summer resort as Pittsfield, N. Y.

In spite of the differences in the ways we spent our summer, we felt when we came back to school and unpacked the suitcases one and the same thing that the last summer had been a pleasant one with us.

New Cabinet

The new cabinet for the Troy C. S. C. was installed at the end of last school-year after the election which took place sometime in last May. The new officers for this year are Mr. E. S. Hsieh, President (re-elected), Mr. P. C. Chuang, Treasurer, and Mr. D. S. Hung, Secretary.

Members, Old and New

Mr. S. P. Huang got the degree of Doctor of Engineering last June; Mr. T. Y. Sze, the degree of Electrical Engineer; and Mr. P. C. Kwan, the degree of Chemical Engineer. The latter two have started back home while Dr. Huang plans to stay in the States for one more year or two. Dr. Huang is now in the employment of the Edison's Company at Fourteenth Street, N. Y.

Besides the departure of the three graduates mentioned we had also four other members leaving us. It seems that we must have suffered a great loss in the number of membership. In fact we have not. For this year we have welcomed to our midst six new members, thus making a total membership of twenty-two.

Four of our new members come from the T. H. C. Peking. They are Messrs. T. H. Chou, C. K. Kao, T. C. Wang and T. T. Hsiung. Two new members are transferred to this Institute from some other institutions in the country. They are Messrs L. Chai and J. Wong.
David S. Hung.

IOWA STATE

The "Old Gold Spirit" of our members is a source of our pride. The remarkable success of our Famine Campaign on the campus last winter is merely one instance of the realization of this spirit. It grows. It renders our Club activities to be brighter and brighter. We opened our program for 1921-1922 with a good many happy views: *First*, the Club grows by 25 per cent in size. Five new members came to join with us. They are: T. L. Chen from Nanking University, H. Chiang and T. Chiang from the University of Illinois, Edward Lum from Hawaii, Frank Hsu from Waseda University, Tokio; and Leonard S. Hsu from Leland Stanford. *Second*, the increase of club activities results at the establishment of our Publicity Bureau, our Chinese Information Exchange, etc. *Third*, the participation in religious activities becomes an important function of our Club. A special Bible class has been organized for our members. We expect to organize a speaking committee for lecturing the religious status in China among others, before American audience. *Fourth*, the first meeting of the year which was held on October first, showed a vivid spirit of our members. Both Rev. R. R. Reed of First Presbyterian Church and Leonard Hsu of Historical Society gave interesting

talks. *Lastly*; An elaborate program has been prepared for the "Double Ten" celebration. Everybody is enthusiastic to contribute something in order to show up his or her patriotic feelings.

The Club officers this year are: T. M. Lau, president; Miss D. F. Djou, Vice-president; W. L. écha, English secretary; L. T. Yuan, Chinese secretary; Miss W. Y. Kwong, treasurer and Leonard S. Hsu, chairman of the Publicity Bureau of the Club.

Leonard S. Hsu.

WASHINGTON

Dr. M. M. Skinner, professor of foreign trade at the University, has accepted the Exchanging Professorship of Canton Christian College. He has been a close adviser to all Chinese Students at the U. A farewell banquet was given in honor of his leaving. He is going to "sell" Seattle and the University of Washington to China. After the dinner, an industrial excursion was led by him to the Washington Producers' Exhibition.

The "Times", a prominent daily paper in the city, has invited the students to visit their building and different departments. It is a very up-to-date concern and was furnished with all newest equipments. A picture of the visitors was taken and published in the next day's issue of their paper.

This city and its vicinity is an ideal place to spend the summer vacation. The following have been to the Seabeck Students' Conference: T. J. K. Lee, Joseph Tuck, Toby Chen, Quincey Chen, Wilson Lee and Rose Law Yow. The excursionists who enjoyed a good time at Mt. Rainer, one of the best National Parks are Vicar King, K. T. The, Lancy Chan and Ben Cheng.

After the Summer School was over, a farewell party was held in Mrs. Weage's home. Music, stunts and games occupied most of the evening. The following are the destinations for the students who left here: S. W. Tung, Quincey Chen, H. S. Bien, C. H. Wong for New York; Ben Cheng for Columbia; T. J. K. Lee for Lowell,

Mass; Lancy Chan for Cornell; Suen Chen, T. W. Kwok for Michigan; J. A. Jower, C. W. Poy and F. T. Lou for Oregon Agricultural; and N. S. Tsoi (trip), T. C. Van and Nelson T. L. Chen for China.

Few of the students who just came from China have been added to our club list. They are C. C. Wolfe from Ham-bury School, Shanghai; S. I. Wang from Peking Government Law School and Z. L. Wang from Futan University, Shanghai, James K. K. Lum from Manila, P. I. joined us in the mid-year.

Personal News: Rose Law Yow has been elected vice-president of Lambda Rho and secretary of U. of W. Arts Club; Sam Chinn as President of the U. Architecture Club; Fred Wong as Asst. Instructor of Chemistry at the University. Lots of honors and good will has been extended to Chinese students at the University. W. P. Huang has engaged part of his time as Editor of "Chinese Star", a weekly Chinese newspaper organized recently under aspects of Republic National League. The wedding of May Woo, our graduate coed and C. H. Chiao will be held at the First Baptist Church in late September.

JOSEPH TUCK

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

For the past two years Wellesley had not enough Chinese students to keep up a formal club. That explains the reason of our long silence in the Club News column. But this year the high standard of Wellesley, her famous beautiful campus and other attractions have become known to the majority of Tsing Hua girls and two other private students. They all wanted to become loyal daughters of Wellesley. Unfortunately the college could only take four. So we had to welcome four instead of eight. In addition to the three old students, "we are seven" without brothers. Wellesley never had such a big group of Chinese students before.

On September the twenty-ninth, the old students gave a welcome dinner to their new friends. Everybody felt at home with our own food, and all enjoyed a great deal. After dinner, we talked about business. All agreed that since we are more than five at present, it would be our duty and privilege to organize a local club. Consequently, Miss H. W. Yung was elected president and Miss T. Hu, secretary. The other students are: Misses P. K. Yang, C. L. Kwei, Z. N. Loh, K. S. Wong and W. T. Zia. The last four names are new.

T. HU

YALE

"In commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China the Chinese Merchants' Association of New Haven and the Chinese Students Club of Yale University entertained last night about two hundred and fifty guests at a general reception in Dwight Hall following a dinner given in the Far East Restaurant.

Among the guests present were: Dean and Mrs. F. S. Jones, Dean and Mrs. Charles R. Brown, Dean and Mrs. Thomas W. Swan, Dean Burton T. Twichell, Miss Grace Munger, Mrs. Henry W. Farnam, Mrs. Harlem P. Beach, President T. Blakeslee, of the Mechanics Bank, Judge Hoyt of the city court, Prof. and Mrs. F. W. Williams, Prof. and Mrs. J. C. Adams, Mr. and Mrs. William Arthur, Mr. and Mrs. L. B. Baker, Mr. and Mrs. John Sheppard, Mrs. Edward H. Hume, Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur Clark, Prof. K. S. Latourette, Mr. Ganson, Mr. S. S. Day, Mr. Franklin W. Price, G. Depew and many American students from various departments of the university, notably these were either born in China or have spent many years in China. At the dinner Mr. Lee Woo, leader among the Chinese business men, acted as the toastmaster, and in the reception, Mr. C. C. Hsiang, president of the Chinese Students Club, was the presiding officer."

PERSONAL NOTES

Miss Rachel Lee, after her graduation from Northwestern, has taught a year in one of the kindergarten schools of Chicago. She returned to Nanking in the summer and is now teaching in the Southeastern University there. The Club understands that she is making good over there and wishes her all success.

K. S. Liu, Ph. D. Northwestern is appointed vice-president of the Southeastern University.

S. E. Liu has finished his course for both B. D. and M. A. at Northwestern University last summer. He sailed for China last August.

F. H. Huang, former President of The Chinese Students' Alliance has just arrived at Washington as a secretary to The Chinese Delegation to the coming Conference on Limitation of Armaments and Pacific and Far Eastern Questions.

Y. L. Tong, another former President of the Alliance, has been appointed Third Secretary to the Chinese Legation in Havana, Cuba. He is staying at Washington as a Secretary to the Chinese Delegation to the coming Conference. He will proceed to Cuba after the Conference.

Y. S. Tsao, Editor of the Monthly 1911-1912, and now Charge d'Affaires at the Chinese Legation in Copenhagen, Denmark, has been appointed Associate Secretary-General to The Chinese Delegation.

G. Z. Wood, Editor-in-chief of the Monthly 1920-1921, is now working for The Chinese Delegation.

H. H. Chang, Associate Editor of The Monthly 1919-1920, Kwang-Lai Lou and P. T. Hsieh, are now attached to The Chinese Delegation.

V. F. Tchou, LL. D. University of

Paris has recently arrived from China as Second Secretary to The Chinese Legation in Washington.

G. T. Chao, now Director of The Chinese Educational Mission in Washington has been joined by Mrs. Chao who has just arrived from China.

Philip T. Sze, Assistant Manager of The Monthly 1912-1913, has been appointed Third Secretary to The Chinese Legation in Washington.

Ta Li, former editor of The Monthly, has been engaged to work for the Bank of China. He has recently sailed for Home to take up his new position.

P. K. C. Tyau, Barrister-at-law, Inner Temple, England, is appointed Chinese Minister to Cuba. He is now serving as Secretary-General to The Chinese Delegation and will proceed to his new post after the Conference.

M. T. Z. Tyau, LL. D. (London) recently connected with The League of Nations at Geneva, is expected in Washington where he will serve in the capacity of a secretary, to The Chinese Delegation.

Y. Lewis Mason and Y. S. Huang, both of Chicago, have written an excellent play entitled "The Cheney Family" which was successfully given on two occasions during the "Double Ten" Celebration by the authors together with Messrs. R. C. Chen, C. M. Meng, Chi P. Cheng and Miss Esther Kan. It is allegorical in nature and depicts the present national and international situation in China.

Y. C. Mei, Professor of Physics in Tsing Hua, is now doing some research work in physics in the University of Chicago, while T. New professor of Biology in Tsinghua, is making some experimental work in the University of Texas.

BOOK REVIEW

La Chine par Emile Hovelague. Paris, Ernest Flammarion, 1920.

M. Hovelague follows a long line of distinguished French writers on China. The present book is, so far as we know, the first one by the author on the subject. It is the result of a travel, which was rather extensive although not prolonged, but the author has the eye to see as very few others have. It is an altogether admirable and penetrating analysis of Chinese civilization, and easily towers above practically all the books published on the same subject within the last forty years. The number of such books is legion. Many of them were written by travellers like M. Hovelague himself, others by residents of many years standing, but most of them by the missionaries. It is a remarkable fact that the authors were in the main either Englishmen or Americans. This is significant. Mr. Ku Hung-ming, that much abused scholar and thinker, said somewhere that in order to understand the Chinese people and their civilization, one must be broad, simple and deep. Neither the German, nor the Englishman, nor the American, in his opinion, combines the three qualities. The Frenchman is different. "The French," Mr. Ku continues, "well, the French are the people, it seems to me, who can understand and has understood the real Chinaman and the Chinese civilization best". And not only is the Frenchman broad, simple and deep, he has another quality without which no one can enter into the spirit of the Chinese civilization, namely, delicacy. M. Hovelague, I think, is a Frenchman *par excellence*. He combines in him all these qualities and many more. And the result is that his book not only presents a subtle and correct analysis of the spirit of the Chinese people, it has also that charm and attractiveness, that felicity

of style which makes it very pleasant reading.

The division of the book is, from the Chinese point of view at least, somewhat unsatisfactory. The third section on China's foreign relations might have been very well omitted, if only for the architectonics of the book. There is infinite tact in limiting it to only some forty pages,, about one-seventh of the entire volume. It is undoubtedly helpful as giving a *résumé* of the history of Chinese intercourse with Western nations. But a *résumé* of that nature, even though it is in the form of a progressive commentary, and not a mere chronicle which it has the danger of falling into at the hands of writers with less taste and culture, does not very well fit in with a work which takes up the spirit of the Chinese civilization for its subject. This is a serious fault. But the remaining sections of the book are splendid—those on China and Europe, Ancient China and New China. They will be regarded as a valuable contribution to the appreciation of the Chinese nation.

M. Hovelague has his predecessors constantly in mind, men like Eugene Simon, author of *La cité chinoise*, Mr. Lowes Dickinson and also Hearn in Japan. He is certainly a worthy successor. He is however, a bold thinker, much bolder but perhaps less urbane and less restrained than Simon. Simon is to use an ugly term, more realistic. He delights in anecdotes to enforce his ideas. His book inspired Mr. Dickinson, than whom few are more audacious in thought; and it is with Mr. Dickinson that M. Hovelague is really allied. Take, for instance, his discussion of the inward pride of the Chinese people. The Chinese, in his opinion, hate the foreigner more than the Japanese; and this for the reason that they see in their own civili-

zation those qualities of sincerity, of sweet reasonableness, of restraint and orderliness which make for the happy life, while in Western civilization, the one predominant feature is its glaring hypocrisy. Here are some more reasons why the Chinese considers his civilization superior to that of the West. "And first his religion," says M. Hovelague, "appears to him more rational than ours. He practices it, while with us, all our actions are negations of what we profess. His institutions appear to him to be superior because they do not help to create misery, inequality, exploitation of man by man as ours do. His society, which is largely rural, his civilization which is open to all, appear to him more human, more sweet and lovable than our industrial civilization founded on social inequality and subject to pertual turmoil and merciless conflicts. They give more profound satisfaction of life than ours. We are restive, superficial, as we are so much preoccupied with the problem of how to get a living that we forget how to live—the internal life, which is the only thing in life that really counts".

The contrast is interesting, and more of it is certainly welcome. M. Hovelague feels too keenly the differences between China and the West. "Occidental life", he continues, "Occidental life appears to the Chinese, to the reflective Oriental, to be fashioned in a way that is opposed to the true life: it tends towards destruction. He thinks that it is founded on falsehood, a fundamental error which dehumanises it. Between its religions and its practice; between the principles of right, of justice, of humanity of equality, of Christianity which it professes and those things which it actually applies, there is absolute discord; between the egoistic ends which it seeks and the disinterested aims of all true civilizations, the opposition is complete. Its naturalism creates injustice, riches and misery in equally excessive amounts, the hatred of the classes, despise, mutual misunderstandings between the rich and the poor, which are

as exclusive of one another as those of India, an enlightened barbarism, a moral anarchy worse than the savagery of the uncivilized. That which we impute to Germany as a consummation of this barbarism, Chinese impute to all Europe, because at bottom the ideal of material greatness in Germany seems to them to have corrupted all Europe". M. Hovelague is of course pronouncing his own judgments on Western civilization in the fashion of Goldsmith, Montesquieu and lately Mr. Dickinson. How far the reflective Chinese will go with M. Hovelague cannot be easily determined, but at least there are some who agree with Tagore while speaking of the greater India. "If India", says the eminent poet-philosopher, "If India had been deprived of touch with the West, she would have lacked an element essential for her attainment of perfection". Nevertheless, M. Hovelague's strictures will, we hope, make a useful purpose. They will, we hope, make the young Chinese, especially the students, who now arrogate to themselves the title of the saving remnant, exercise greater caution in the generalizations on the uselessness of their spiritual inheritance and induce them to study more their own civilization.

H. H. C.

China Year Book. 1921-1922.

Messrs. H. G. W. Woodhead and H. T. Montague Bell and the Tientsin Press are to be warmly congratulated upon the publication of the China Year Book for 1921-1922. As a book of reference, the China Year Book has very deservedly earned a wide reputation, and all those interested in China must have felt very much concerned when it discontinued publication in 1919. Mr Woodhead, with the assistance of Mr. Montague Bell, has now made all of us debtors in editing the book for this year which is replete with the most useful information. The editor has very wisely turned over the publication to the Tientsin Times, Limited, so that it is able to include

the latest statistics. Messrs Routledge in London printed and published the first five issues, but, as the editor says, there are numerous disadvantages in not having the entire work prepared and published in China.

The pages have increased in size as well as in number, and the table of contents show a wide range of subjects which were not covered by the previous issues. The chapter on newspapers and periodicals is new, and is extremely important as so complete a table is scarcely available elsewhere. It extends to 36 pages, and gives a good indication of how far the newspaper has penetrated into the social life of the people. Another distinguishing feature of the book is its publication of strictly first-hand information. In the chapter of the Consortium, for instance, practically all of the important official documents are included, and in a similar way, the chapters on finance, currency, defense etc., are full of reliable statistics. The book leaves little to be desired and is certainly an asset to any library. A bibliography appended to each chapter giving the most important books and publications on the subject with which the chapter is concerned will make the book more perfect.

H. H. C.

Must We Fight Japan? By Walter B. Pitkin. The Century Co., New York, 1921.

After reading *Must We Fight Japan?* one may well conclude with some degree of certainty that there is no recent book on the Japanese-American question that has been better presented with clear thinking and careful investigation, as the newly published work of Professor Pitkin, of Columbia University. The author has no intention of spreading propaganda or appealing to the reader's emotion; he simply states facts and truths regarding the relations of the United States and Japan, with special reference to the Pacific Coast and to Japan's Asiatic neighbors. He further sets down the things that points towards stupendous war

with Japan as the result of American and Japanese conflicting interests, and the things that may prevent a war and force the two countries to find a basis of agreement. However, he contends that the United States must have a definite and safe policy towards her Pacific neighbor so that she may not drift into war with her which may prove ruinously costly and decisive.

The author considers the situation between the two countries really dangerous because of the many questions involved,—Siberia, China, Yap, Hawaii, California, the League of Nations, etc. The cause of friction may lead to disastrous results at any time. Optimists should take care that there is no time in which to let things drift. Conditions between the two countries are even in such a precarious posture that, the psychological factors being ever so little disarranged, the Vladivostok "incident" might have meant war. The question of war between the two Pacific powers have been openly discussed among the Japanese people and in the newspapers of Japan, although the people on this side of the water do not as yet realize its real bigness and closeness. It is interesting to note here that Japan has been all this while making elaborate military and naval preparations in a rather surprising degree, in spite of the heavy burdens she must bear in order to maintain her policy. In the case of the navy, the writer believes that, despite the vastly superior forces of the United States, Japan is absolutely impregnable against any serious invasion by American navy and secure against a starvation blockade. This he partly bases upon the authority of Amiral Fletcher and partly upon statistics.

Professor Pitkin believes that it is very difficult for the United States to send an expeditionary force to attack Japan, for "Japan is twice as far from America's ultimate base of supplies as Germany is; hence, on the most conservative basis if estimating such matters, Japan would be four times as difficult

to attack on her grounds as Germany would be." Furthermore, all the wars in the past tend to prove that "no war carried on at long range can get under way in much less than a year and such a war requires at the very least another year or two to reach some decision. Army and navy officers with whom I have discussed the matter are convinced, from their recent experiences, that a far eastern war, once seriously undertaken, would have to run on for at least three years in order to get definite military results. That would mean a new war debt of something like \$40,000,000,000 or \$50,000,000,000 for us to carry."

Speaking of the policy of the United States toward Japan, the author thinks that the former should at once disarm all kinds of suspicion of imperialism by giving the Philippines their independence with further delay; should enter into a naval disarmament plan of a drastic sort with both Great Britain and Japan; and should cease to oppose or check any resistance, tacit or otherwise, to Japanese colonization in any country where the living standards are not already higher than those of the Japanese. However the United States should firmly exclude not only Japanese, but also immigrants from all

other countries where the standard of living is low, and should proceed to assimilate the aliens here already as much as possible. The author's conclusions and proposals are interesting in that he has tried, according to him, to conceive them in a spirit of scientific statesmanship instead of old-fashioned diplomacy.

The book is divided into five parts. The first part deals with the Crisis and its Complications; the second, the Situation in Japan; the third, the Crisis in Hawaii and California; the fourth, How to Deal With the Crisis; and the fifth, Expert Opinions on Some Problems of Policy. For the last part the author reprints a series of articles written by some of the authorities on the Far Eastern question, such as Mr. E. T. Williams, now Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature at the University of California. All these articles are very interesting to read. The whole book should be studied by every Chinese student especially, because of the great problem involved that may even endanger the peace of the world in the near future, having particular bearing on the Far East.

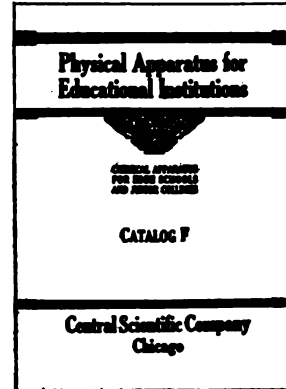
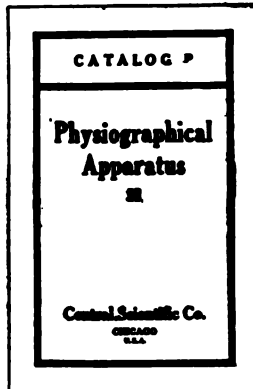
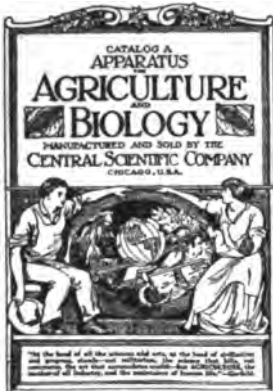
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CORRESPONDENCE

A Few Facts About the New Literary Movement

Dear Editor:-

It is certainly his utter failure to grasp the true aim and significance of the New Literary Movement in China, and probably also his unwarranted presumption that no profit whatsoever can be gained from any revolt from the established standards and accepted ways of evaluation, or from simply what he terms the "national tradition", that has led Associate Editor, Wu to attack the above movement with such vehemence of feeling and in such outspoken statements as are found throughout the large part of his long article, entitled "Old and New in China" in the last January issue of the Monthly. While I sympathize with him in the plea for careful distinction between the "merits and demerits of contemporary American life, literature and education" and not rashly imitating foreign civilizations in the reconstruction of our national life, I must part with him when he puts "innovation, revolt, and democracy" in the same category with "imitation of foreigners and licentiousness" and then sets them all—a group of tendencies not necessarily connected—against "humarism, national tradition, age-long experience and wisdom." We hold that there are both good revolts and bad revolts, thoughtless innovations and thoughtful ones; and that there is the constant need of revision of traditional standards, of deviation from accepted "ways of doing things" and of expansion of life and life-expressions. Often the "age-long experience and wisdom" teach us to revere element already found in our consciousness and

embodied in our life. But equally often new experience and new wisdom spur us to revolt from certain ideas and practices which we find no longer hold, to give up certain impossible dreams and romantic hopes, to check certain unnatural and pathological tendencies, to break certain shackles and bondages, to free ourselves from certain unfounded fears and cherish larger and nobler ideals, to take on fresh points of view which are impossible in the past, to recognize new values and to value and to employ better standards of evaluation, to experiment on new schemes and new arrangement; whether in our morality, education or literature, in our social, economic, political, religious, aesthetic or intellectual life. "Age-long experience", if rightly read and interpreted, by no means always requires that we make the past our pattern and fetish. Oftentimes it calls us to bury the past and to create a new heaven and earth. That the better minds of this generation have outgrown the idea that anything "new" and unprecedented is by its nature "Satan-like" and unworthy, and have gradually come to see that the real business of men is to live an ever richer and fuller life rather than to conform slavishly to antiquated traditions, should make grateful, with more faith in man, not disdainful and despairing, screaming like a child and uttering words of condemnation like a pope. Newness and irrationality are not always inseparable. So long as we have not lost our ability to see this truth, we are entirely unable to "appreciate and understand" that the fact which Mr. Wu has pointed

out to us; that certain American "professors, men of great learning and renown, were 'conscientious objectors' to the use of the fountain-pen on *account of its modernity*!" No if these savants have no better reason than that, let us spare no words of ridicule upon them. If we of the new literary movement are accused of the crime of following the New, thereby misleading the youth of China, we reply that nobody should find fault with a literary ideal and practice merely because it is new. But if our censor goes on to voice the charge that we are addicted to "slavish imitation," we "rebels" ask him only to discriminate more carefully between senseless imitation for the sake of imitation, which is neither our policy nor that of any worthy son of New China, and real improvement so far wrought by us to answer pressing necessities and serve good purposes in the art of writing. Our critic is greatly at fault when he impetuously sentences the new literary movement as belonging to the "irrational cult of the new" and then sends the former with the latter to his dungeon of hot condemnation.

Having said this much, I beg that my comment be not understood as a challenge to our Associate Editor or an attempt to win him over to my camp. I refrain from attempting that not very pleasant and well-nigh impossible task; and for a good reason. Long before the appearance of his strongly worded charge called out my writing, the literary revolutionists had stated the considerations which led them to say farewell to the old time-honored literary style and practices and adopt a new diction, declared their guiding principles and ideals and announced their programme of further action. Neither have they allowed adverse criticism addressed against them to go unchallenged. It is indeed not too much to say that during the last two years, the leaders of the movement found themselves constantly engaged in controversies with "conscientious objectors" of all descriptions—from preeminent educators and accomplished literary men to

mere fanatic devotees to the "irrational cult of the Old" (if I may use this expression coined after Mr. Wu's, but with the consciousness that whatever is old is not necessarily irrational), and from old conventional pandits to younger leaders trained in Europe and America. Every conceivable form of argument has been, I suppose, brought forth. But be it noted, it was always immediately examined and answered. Now at last Mr. Wu comes upon the stage as a critic. Yet in reading over his writing, one finds that the arguments he raises against the literary ideals and practices presented by us "rebels" are not new, but those which we have again and again confronted and answered successfully at least from our point of view. Under these circumstances, if I am to enter upon a formal and complete discussion with him, I must and can do no more than repeat the same answers. Our former arguments must have reached his eyes, but apparently he has not been convinced. I will, therefore, not repeat them. As I am writing, I can not help smiling and congratulating myself for this wise decision; for my silence may render me less exposed to the danger of being called "parrot-like."

In all ages and in all lands, "conscientious objectors" are always inconvertible, at least by us mortals. While a fountain-pen user may and must give up the hope of convincing "conscientious objectors" that such an instrument is useful in spite of its being modern, he need not suffer wild statements about it. So, though I confess my impotency to win our severe and haughty critic, I would not free my self from the duty of checking any misunderstanding of the new literary movement, engendered by words from careless and irresponsible observers and over-anxious defenders of tradition. All that I want to do now is to present a few facts about that movement. I hope I shall offend no one and gain the consent of all.

1. The "vernacular literature" advocated by us does not mean the authorization and indulgence of the use of

local pronunciation and slangs. Just the opposite of what our critic stated, is our aim; that is, to bring about a unification of our spoken language by creating a literature which employs living words and expressions from the lips of living men and women, words and expressions we meet and use in actual life, but (take heed, my readers!) refined, retouched, and standardized. When we are first emancipated from and discard the use of the conventional written literary language and actually avail ourselves of living words and expressions as the medium of communication in writing, slang and local color will inevitably crowd the pages penned by less careful and educated persons. But in the long run, the local color will inevitably give place to the refined, retouched, standardized and universally accepted words and expressions embodied in and sanctified by the new imperial (I didn't say "democratic"!) literature—not a literature which like the old, stands aloof and would have nothing to do with the language spoken, but a literature based upon the very spoken language itself and claiming kinship with it. This ideal throws upon us concrete problems and its realization requires hard work. But we feel so young and so strong of spirit that we are and shall ever be glad to work at it. Let all enjoy perfect freedom, each party in its own way; the haughty traditionalists in their being "conscientious objectors," and we heretics in our being conscientious workers. As to the deplorable diversification of pronunciation, we need the new system of phonetic alphabet to help us out. Only remember that the "vernacular literature" and the phonetic system are two things; and that it would be gross injustice to accuse the former of authorizing "local pronunciation." It would be too much to say pronunciation is no concern of the "vernacular literature," but as a matter of fact the unification of the former rests upon means lying outside the latter.

2 I join our critics in deploring the lack of creative artistic production, but

unlike them I do not say this is the fault of "vernacular literature." Rather, we should hold the poverty of mind and vision responsible for the situation. This poverty is general, among heretics as well as among the orthodox. The artificial cloak of the conventional school gives its followers no advantages over the rebels; it can not deceive our eyes, which see under it the same deformed and ugly limbs, the same ungraceful physique. Our writers have to learn to observe keenly, to feel intensely and sympathetically, and to keep their spiritual eyes open to the mystery of life. We pray for heaven-sent messengers and master singers. When will they come? But when they do come, let them sing to us in our homely diction, so familiar yet so sweet, so unconventional yet so pure, so near to us yet so transcending us; so that all of us, from woodcutters to tradesmen, from villagers to city dwellers, from carpenters and masons to men in libraries and laboratories, would listen and respond. These geniuses alone can put the shabby conventionalists and weak pretenders to shame. Not we, not we!

I look forward. So do my fellow-rebels. The present offers us little or no satisfaction. Yet I am ready to say that once in a while I do meet beautiful little verses in "The Renaissance" or "La Jeunesse" and short stories (for instance, some of those composed by a young lady in Peking) which delight me. Many others are willing to say the same.

3 As the movement comes into recognition, many who have been "educated in missionary schools and can not express themselves in ordinary Chinese prose clearly and correctly" may have thrown in their lot with us. But the main fact to be noted by impartial observers is rather this; the cradle of the movement is the National University, and its early supporters are invariably men from other native institutions of higher learning. Whoever in the rank and file may be, guidance to the further progress of the movement still lies with the more capable members in its staff.

By this I mean not only its earlier famous promoters but also such able and mature minds as will join us in the future, bringing in their talent and earnestness as their gifts when they join. Let the fact stand out prominently, lest careless observers will be induced to think that here again is a case of a new, elevating movement coming from Christian missionary education.

4. We need not, then, account for the origination of the new literary movement or the rapid acceptance of its principles by sheer ignorance and incapability. The phenomenon is an unmistakable manifestation of high aspiration of the younger and more vigorous generation, an indication of its power to meet its own needs and to formulate its own ideals. A movement born of protest against the past, of a desire to free the present from the limitations of the past, will not however unduly depreciate the past, nor forget the relation of the past to the present. We are not hostile to the study of the thought and institutions of our forefathers. We emphasize study in proper spirit and perspective only. We know we are intimately related to the past; and a clear understanding of it will increase our ability both to interpret the present and to divine the future. This is our firm conviction. So if there is any "deplorable lack of the study of Chinese classics, history, philosophy, art and literature," we of the "irrational cult of the new" are the first to join, to join with others in an effort to remedy the situation. A few facts may be given to show that there is no failing of interest in scholarly study of Chinese thought and literature on our part. A professed "rebel," lecturing at the National University on the history of Chinese literature is reported as being engaged in the task of producing a complete, modern history of the Chinese literature. The first comprehensive and masterful presentation of a history of Chinese philosophy is the work of Dr. Hu Shu, the ring-leader of the literary "rebels." Remember also, it is

Dr. Hu who made the suggestion that boys and girls in our public high schools should be required to master before graduation the content of a long list of books, all being literary productions of the past.

I am saying all this in order to correct the mistaken notion that the "Literary Revolutionists" are a group of fanatics who in entire disregard of our intellectual and spiritual inheritance would have nothing to do with the past—a clique of radicals who, being blind to the fact that the present arises from the past, attempt to annihilate the latter by simply ignoring it. We are not so childish. But what our movement, as a literary movement, is primarily concerned with is the advocacy of a new literature rather than of anything else.

5. Evidently we can not talk about "abolition of the Chinese language," abolishing it for what? To be sure we find in China isolated persons who publicly declare that Chinese language should place to some foreign language! But we can afford to laugh. It is humorous. Three years ago I received from Washington D. C., a score of blotters, on one side of which printed a water-color picture of Mary Pickford, and, underneath, a few lines in English recommending to us that English be our new national language! This opinion is older than the vernacular literature movement and should not be confused with it. There is certainly no logical connection between this opinion and the new movement than there is between the words of my propagandist and the picture of Mary Pickford—save that in each case both were found on the same page. The literary revolutionists have no desire to abolish the Chinese language in favor of any other foreign language. Reformation, not abolition, is our catchword.

Kiang Shao-Yuen
5745 Drexel Ave.,
Chicago, Illinois

CHINA AT THE CONFERENCE

To the Editor of the Monthly:

In regard to the coming Washington Conference, I wish to report some of my impressions resulted from the very recent informations.

As it is known, the negotiation on Shantung between China and Japan broke off on October 5th. and that on Inner Mongolia between Japan and the Chita government ended on October 9th. Having failed to secure advantage by direct and possibly secret negotiations, Japan now send troops and war ships to Shantung (See the cable news appeared in the Oct. 8th issue of Chung-San-Yat-Pao, San Francisco). I fear that the Washington Conference will not discuss things in particular but only the general situation, and that the basis of argument will naturally be from the "present status" and not from the light of past treaties and secret understandings. Thus we Chinese shall have little to say about cancelling the Twenty One Demands and the Paris decision on Shantung! Even the United States, when she wishes to abrogate the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, she shall only do it outside or after the Conference. I should like to ask students in International Law, just what is the best course for China to take if what I fear comes true.

My professor in Russian is the official translator for Russian in the State Department, Washington. He reads all

the Bolshevic newspapers from Moscow and Petrograd. And from these papers we learn that the Soviet Government has been planning to call a conference in Moscow, similar to and simultaneous with the Washington Conference. The recent organization of the Soviet government at Olgar, secretly helped by the Chita government, gives strong evidence for the working of such a scheme. The Russian government also wishes to invite China to participate in that Moscow Conference for the Far Eastern Questions, so the Bolshevic papers say. To me, there is a possibility for the Canton Government to accept such an invitation. I know that the Canton Government has during the past year sent more than a dozen representatives to Moscow, among whom is Prof. Kiang, formerly of the University of California. And I also know that according to yesterday's cable news, the Canton Government is not going to consider the request made by Peking of sending either Dr. C. C. Wu or his father to join the Chinese Delegation to Washington. I should like to ask the practical politician in China of the way to stop the civil war when, should the Moscow Conference become a fact, China shall be divided diplomatically.

Cordially yours,
GEOFFREY C. CHEN.
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SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

Full Text of Japan's Proposals on Shantung

Translation of the Proposals for the Settlement of the Shantung Question presented by the Japanese Minister in Peking to the Waichiao Pu on September 7th, 1921.

General principles for the readjustment of the Shantung questions:—

1. To Return to China the Lease of the Kiaochow Bay Territory and the right relating to the Neutral Zone.
2. In case the Chinese Government on its own initiative throws open the entire Leased Territory as a commercial port, recognizes the liberty of residence, industry, agriculture and other lawful undertakings of foreigners, and respects and recognizes the vested rights of foreigners the Japanese Government agrees to the withdrawal of the proposal for the establishment of a special and international settlements. With a view to foreign residence and commerce the Chinese Government will as soon as possible throw open suitable cities and marts in the Province of Shantung. The regulations governing the opening as marts of the above-mentioned places will be formulated by the Chinese Government in consultation with the interested countries.
3. The Shantung Railway and the mines thereto appertaining are considered as an organization under joint Chinese and Japanese operation.
4. All preferences and options relating to the employment of persons and the supply of capital and materials that are based on the Kiaochow Convention are to be removed.
5. The right to the extension of the Shantung Railway and any option with regard to the Chefoo--Wiehsien and other railways are to be assigned to the common undertaking of the new Consortium.

6. The Customs Administration at Tsingtao is to be made even more truly and clearly than the system under the German regime an integral part of the Chinese Customs Administration.

7. The administrative government properties within the Leased Territory is in principle to be ceded to China but further agreements will be made relating to the administration and maintenance of public construction.

8. For the conclusion of further agreements relative to the details involved in the execution of the above mentioned arrangements and to other matters the Chinese and Japanese Governments shall as soon as possible appoint delegates.

9. Although further agreements are to be concluded between China and Japan relative to the organization of the Special Police Force for the Shantung Railway upon receipt of the notification from the Chinese Government of the organization of the Police Force the Japanese Government shall according to its repeated declarations immediately announce the withdrawal of its troops and shall withdraw them upon the handing over of the functions of policing the railway to the Police Force. Note:—Proposals published simultaneously in Peking and Tokio on September 16th, 1921.

China's Reply

Telegram from the Waichiao Pu dated October 5th, 1921, on China's reply to the Japanese proposals for the readjustment of the Shantung Question delivered to the Japanese Minister at Peking on the same day, received by the Chinese Legation in Washington on October 6th, 1921.

With reference to the important Shantung Question which is now pending between China and Japan, China has indeed been most desirous of an early settlement for the restitution of her sovereign rights and territory. The reason why China has not until now been able to commence negotiations with Japan is because of the fact that the basis upon which Japan claims to negotiate are all of a nature either highly objectionable to the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, or such to which they have never

given their recognition. Furthermore, in regard to the Shantung Question, although Japan has made many vague declarations, she has in fact had no plan which is fundamentally acceptable. Therefore the case has been pending for many years, much to the unexpected of China. On September 7 Japan submitted certain proposals for the readjustment of the Shantung Question in the form of a memorandum together with a verbal statement by the Japanese Minister to the effect that in view of the great principle of Sino-Japanese friendship Japan has decided upon this fair and just plan as her final concession, etc. After careful consideration the Chinese Government feels that much in Japan's new proposals is still incompatible with the repeated declarations of the Chinese Government, with the hopes and expectations of the entire Chinese people, and with the principles laid down in treaties between China and the foreign powers. If these proposals are to be considered the final concession on the part of Japan, they surely fall short to prove the sincerity of Japan's desire to settle the question. For instance.

Proposal (1) The lease of Kiaochow expired immediately on China's declaration of war against Germany. Now that Japan is only in military occupation of the leased territory the latter should be wholly returned to China without conditions. There can be no question of any leasehold.

Proposal (2) As to the opening of Kiaochow Bay as a commercial port for the convenience of trade and residence of the nationals of all friendly powers, China has already on previous occasions communicated her intentions to do so to the powers, and there can be no necessity for the establishment of any purely foreign settlement again. Agricultural pursuits concern the fundamental means of existence of the people of a country; and according to the usual practice of all countries, no foreigners are permitted to engage in them. The vested rights of foreigners obtained through lawful processes under the German Regime shall be respected but those obtained by force and compulsion during the period of Japanese military occupation and against law and treaties can in no wise be recognized. And again although this same article in advocating the opening of cities and towns of Shantung as commercial ports, agrees with China's intention and de-

sire of developing commerce, the opening of such places should nevertheless be left to China's own judgment and selection in accordance with circumstances. As to the regulations governing the opening of such places, China will undoubtedly bear in mind the object of affording facilities to international trade and formulate them according to established precedents of self-opened ports and seas, therefore, no necessity in this matter for any previous negotiations.

Proposal (3) The joint operation of Shantung Railway that is, the Kiaochow-Tsinan Line, by China and Japan is objected to by the entire Chinese people. It is because in all countries there ought to be a unified system for railways, and joint operation destroys unity of railway management and impairs the rights of sovereignty, and, in view of the evils of the previous cases of joint operation and the impossibility of correcting them, China can now no longer recognize it as a matter of principle. The whole line of the Shantung railway, together with the right of control and management thereof should be completely handed over to China; and after a just valuation of its capital and properties, one half of the whole value of the line not returned shall be purchased back by China within a fixed period. As to the mines appurtenant to the Shantung Railway which were already operated by the Germans, their plan of operation shall be fixed in accordance with the Chinese Mining Laws.

Proposal (5) With reference to the construction of the extension of the Shantung Railway, that is, the Tsinan-Shunteh and Kiaochow-Hsuchow Lines, China will, as a matter of course negotiate with international financial bodies. As to the Chefoo-Weihsien Railway it is entirely a different case and cannot be discussed in the same category.

Proposal (6) The Custom House at Tsingtau was formerly situated in a leased territory, and the system of administration differed slightly from others. . When the leased territory is restored the Custom House thereat should be placed under the complete control and management of the Chinese Government and should not be different from the other Custom Houses in its system of administration.

Proposal (7) The extent of public properties is too wide to be limited only to that portion used for administration purposes. The meaning of the statement in the Japanese memorandum that such property will in principle be transferred to China, etc., rather lacks clearness. If it is the sincere wish of Japan to return all public properties to China, she ought to hand over completely the various kinds of official, semi-official, municipal and other public properties and enterprises to China to be distributed, according to their nature and kind, to the administration of the central and local authorities, to the municipal council and to the Chinese Customs, etc., as the case may be. Regarding this there is no necessity for any special arrangement, and

Proposal (9) The question of the withdrawal of Japanese troops from the Province of Shantung bears no connection with the restoration of the Kiaochoo Leased Territory and the Chinese Government has repeatedly urged its actual execution. It is only proper that the entire Japanese Army of Occupation should now be immediately evacuated. As to the policing of the Kiaochoo-Tsinan Railway, China will immediately send a Police to take over the duties. The foregoing statement gives only the main points which are unsatisfactory and concerning which the Chinese Government feels it absolutely necessary to make a clear declaration. Further, in view of the marked difference of opinion between the two countries, and apprehending that the case might long remain unsettled, China reserves to herself the freedom of seeking a solution of the question whenever a suitable occasion presents itself.

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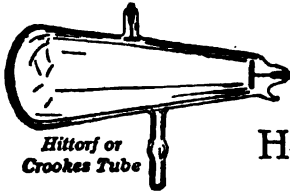
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SIR James Mackenzie Davidson visited Professor Roentgen to find out how he discovered the X-rays.

Roentgen had covered a vacuum tube, called a Hittorf or Crookes tube, with black paper so as to cut off all its light. About four yards away was a piece of cardboard coated with a fluorescent compound. He turned on the current in the tube. The cardboard glowed brightly.

Sir James asked him: "What did you think?"

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Lord Northcliffe on the Far East

LORD Northcliffe, according to his critical biographer, has always been in the right in matters of great consequence, "so right that we are apt to forget the number of times he has been wrong." If he had made mistakes elsewhere, his opinion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance such as he recently expressed to the Tokio correspondents who interviewed him at Manila is, at least from the Anglo-Saxon point of view, essentially correct. The Alliance, in his belief, has done its work; it has lost its *raison d'être*. It has outgrown its usefulness. On the part of Great Britain, there is no longer an aggressive Russia or a menacing Germany. Japanese assistance in India is dubious at best while her expansion in the Pacific has been a source of apprehension for the British Dominions. On the other hand, Japan has utilized the compact to the utmost; she is slowly but steadily approaching a point beyond

which she can not go without straining her relation with England. When Mr. Ferrero, the noted Italian historian, says that the "Anglo-Japanese Alliance means the preponderance of two allied powers in Chinese affairs above all other powers—Asiatic, European, or American," he really sees only half the truth. The renewal of the Alliance will eventually mean the preponderance of one power. And single domination Japan can not hope to attain.

It is quite evident then that British public opinion, with the exception of a few who advocated its renewal on purely sentimental grounds, today prefers to let the compact sleep. It does not pay, after all, to lay too much stress on the dead letter, to hurt the susceptibilities of a third party without any compensating gains. Lord Northcliffe's boyish frankness gains ascendancy over his romantic sensationalism and it is only natural that his reception in Tokio

would give us an impression of an autumnal chillness. To some of his kinsmen, Mr. Boulger for instance, it would seem that he is again subjecting himself to grave suspicion for creating international bitterness.

If, then, Lord Northcliffe really represents British public opinion, if it is not an evidence showing his lack of *esprit de suite*, if it is not one of the fits and starts of a discontinuous soul, if he is not influenced by the fact that he is speaking on American soil and at the doors of British Dominions, if, finally, it is not an epilogue of his squabble with the premier, we might expect that the Alliance will enjoy a natural death without much bickering at the Conference.

Lord Northcliffe goes further than that. He assured the Japanese that should the Conference prove abortive, should a struggle be coming in the Far East, Great Britain will stand by the United States. The English-speaking peoples, so he tells us are drawing nearer to one another and the rope that binds them will be tightened by any sign of hostile actions from peoples of the Far East. To the Japanese it is the ghost of racial equality reappearing; it is Europe against Asia. Self-respect demands that Japan should make a similar statement and the Tokio newspapers are not slow in declaring that the Japanese Government is equally willing to drop the Alliance.

We have reason to believe that the Alliance would not be brought up at the Conference provided, of course, there is a consensus of opinion to the contrary. Europe is indifferent. American public opinion is decidedly against its renewal. The United States is expanding commercially in the Far East. The Alliance stands in its way. Of the various "interests" which Mr. Hughes brings out of American subconsciousness, that of American trade opportunity in China is certainly one, and a very important one. To allow the renewal of the Alliance means to defeat the purpose of naval reduction for the

combined naval forces of Japan and England would still outstrip those of the United States by 300,000 tons. It would set Mr. Hughes' doctrine of simplification at naught. The American delegates therefore would not go so far as to interfere in a pact that apparently concerns only two parties. By arriving at an understanding among the three powers which seems to be the *à la mode* theory in this country, the United States might make the Alliance ineffective without directly attacking it. Upon the agreement of the three powers depends the success of the "ten years" naval holiday." However unpopular it may be both in Japan and England, the contracting parties would not let the Alliance go without anything to take its place, and this for "face" sake, if not for anything else. We quite agree with Mr. Simonds that "the British are perfectly willing to arrive at an amicable separation from their Japanese ally, but are resolved not to be dragged through the publicity of a divorce court at the behest of a third power." Great Britain can do a great deal both for herself and for the United States by bridging over the gap that separates Japan and America. An abrupt cancellation, although unlikely, will tend to lower British prestige without doing much good to the United States. The probable happy outcome, so far as we are able to ascertain, is an open and fair triple agreement with regard to the policies to be pursued in the Pacific,—and let the Alliance repose in its eternity. China would not object to such an agreement on the condition that she is fully informed as to its nature and application and that it is not reached at her expense. In such an agreement China has at least friend to count upon.

Much, however, will depend upon the development of the Conference and the sagacity of the delegates. Renewal or non-renewal, failure or success, for good or for ill, the Conference will mark a new era in the Pacific. That much is certain.

China's Ten Principles

CHINA'S Ten Principles. Nothing shows more conclusively the desire of China to promote peace and a general understanding and good-will among the Powers having interests in the Pacific and the Far East than the statement made before the Conference by China's delegate Dr. Sze. There is nothing in the nature of a surprise such as we found in Secretary Hughes' history-making speech. While we can conceive many possible ways for the limitation of naval armament, there is probably only one way for the solution for the problems in which the Pacific and the Far East are involved. These problems may be extremely complicated; they may embrace numerous conflicting interests of the different Powers; but any satisfactory solution of them, one which will establish permanent peace for the world, has to be sought in the proposal made by China. It is because China has been more sinned against than sinning. While the different Powers are inclined to be one-sided and prejudiced on account on their having certain already established interests in one nation, China has to deal with them all. She sees their numerous desires and aspirations; she sees the conditions whole and sees them steadily; and she only, it seems, occupies the position to harmonize them and to weaken those conflicting forces which are in danger of setting the world afire again. China's statement must not therefore be construed as manifesting a selfish desire to get the most out of the Conference. It does of course, when it is agreed to by the different Powers and ultimately embodied in their policies, bring numerous advantages to China; but these should only legitimately belong to any power occupying a respectable position in the family of nations. And the important point is that, without recognizing those fundamental principles so clearly and generally set forth in the Chinese statement, it is hardly con-

ceivable that the causes of war will be permanently removed. When China is given the opportunity to evolve a system of government that will be suited to her needs without foreign interference of any sort; when, in other words, the territorial integrity as well as the political and administrative independence of the country is guaranteed; and when finally the Powers agree to establish the principle of the so-called Open Door, most ardently advocated by the United States and equally ardently endorsed by China; then it is difficult indeed to see how the Powers could ever become enmeshed in inextricable complicities and opposition to one another. The history of the Far East shows that where opposition and conflict occur, it is because those very principles which China has now once more affirmed have been grossly violated. It would be very unjust to China and to the world, we think, if the statement were taken to mean as an instrument whereby China attempts to reduce the interests of the Powers. There is every guarantee, on the other hand, that those interests will be preserved and so enlarged and harmonized that they will arouse permanent good-will and friendship among the nations instead of animosity and hatred which has always characterized Far Eastern politics and which, of late, has grown so strong that it is necessary to call this Conference for its suppression and extinction. The Powers will have nothing to lose and everything to gain from an acceptance of China's statement. They can rely upon China's good faith that she "is anxious to play her part not only in maintaining peace, but also in promoting the material advancement and the cultural development of all the nations." She is only too willing to make her vast natural resources available to all peoples of the world: for, with nations as with men, it is only through the renunciation of a narrow, selfish, bigoted and

national policy and the development of a wholesome and magnanimous spirit that fellowship and genuine accord will ultimately be made to prevail. That spirit of co-operation, so healthily cultivated by the United States and not less zealously imbibed by the other Powers, is now everywhere in the air,

and there is every reason to hope that, through the principles enunciated which will in all probability be accepted as a basis for discussion, the Powers will come to have an agreement satisfactory to all and conducive to the realization of those ideals of peace which this struggling world is hankering after.

Japan's Surplus Population

THERE has been of late much propaganda on the subject of Japan's surplus population. Papers everywhere, and especially those here in America, have been devoting column after column to the discussion of this seemingly important problem. Those who have a more critical eye deny that it constitutes any problem at all, while others who are willing to be beguiled by whatever is brought to their attention and at the same time think that Japan should at least be given satisfaction in this matter if her desires in many other respects have been thwarted, believe that it does constitute a problem, and one which is fraught with terrible consequences if it is not solved. Writers of the second category are of course more solicitous of Japan's welfare, and, inasmuch as they are mostly Occidental writers, are also, by so doing, solicitous of the welfare of their own countries. But it is better to remind them that there is still a third party, at whose expense these writers are willing to grant Japan's request, who has emphatically stated that it will not tolerate any settlement involving the sacrifice of its interests. It is of especial importance that Dr. Yen, the Chinese Foreign Minister, at a time when the problem is going to be brought up for discussion, recently declared, "the Chinese people would regret if the Washington Conference failed owing to a disagreement of the participating powers over Far Eastern questions, but they hope that China a-

lone will not be obliged to pay the price of securing an agreement. They are determined, if the price to be paid involves Chinese political and territorial entity, it will be resisted as unjust and unacceptable". The statement says in effect that whatever may be the outcome of the discussion over the question of Japan's surplus population, China must remain, as she has always remained for centuries, master of Manchuria. It is an integral part of her geographical life and under no circumstances will it be alienated.

It is not necessary to go into the details of the propaganda on the subject. Numerous articles, with censored figures, have at least given a semblance of truth to the argument for expansion. We, on our part, will allow them to stand unchallenged, especially as the Japanese Government is wisely withholding the publication of the latest census taken but a year ago. It stands to reason that the Japanese Government would be only too anxious to reveal the result of the census if they showed that the population is actually growing. Let us however, give it the benefit of a doubt, and let us even go so far as to suppose that it is growing. The question would then follow: what territory is to be assigned to this extra population? We will not give figures, for they are easily accessible to those who are interested in the subject. But there is Hokkaido, there is Formosa, there is Saghalien, and there are numerous

other islands which are able to satisfy Japan's demands for many, many years to come. They are all under Japanese control, but are they inhabited by the Japanese to the extent which would convince any one that Japanese population is growing with the rapidity with which it is usually credited? The Asiatic mainland should normally be out of the question, because China, and China has always included Manchuria, is herself as densely populated as any part of Japan. The world is only giving to itself another riddle when it suggests that density superimposed upon density would produce sparseness. Rather must it follow common sense

that density can be relieved only when it is directed to where there is room to receive it. And in that case, we would suggest that those, who are full of the milk of human kindness in regard to Japan's "pressing" problem, consider other possibilities of solution. Let them open up Australia to the Japanese, and Canada too, and immediately the problem, which has been made so much of by these sympathetic writers, will dissolve itself into thin air, leaving not a rack behind. It would then be a solution indeed. To introduce Manchuria or Shantung into the arena would mean confusion worse confounded.

The Death of Hara

THE death of Hara is an irreparable loss to Japan. All his personal friends as well as those who are anxious for a better understanding between China and Japan, can still recall how he moved a vote of censure against the author of the twenty-one demands; how in spite of his defeat, he undeviatingly adhered to his belief; and how, only very lately, his proposals on Shantung were interpreted as a confession of weakness. Little by little, and against overwhelming odds, he had the satisfaction to see that Japan is turning her thought towards international cooperation. It requires patience, inexhaustible patience, to change the deep-rooted psychology of a nation. It is hard, and especially in Japan where all agree that her greatness is due to the cruisers and regiments at her disposal, for a man like Hara to blaze his path without being kicked out of the Cabinet by the military advocates. General Takeyuno went so far as to say that the conflict between the General Staff and the Foreign Office has ended with the ascendancy of Hara.

In an address given at the reception of Baron Makino on his return from

the Paris Conference, the Premier intimated to his countrymen that cooperation and not militarism ought to be the principle of international affairs in the future. "Old ideas were hard to give up. Peace in the Orient depends upon the sincerity and straightforwardness of diplomacy."

Liberal Japanese will remember him mainly as the leader of the Seiyukai party, as a man of the people, having several times declined the peerage offered to him. It was under him that a part of the Japanese soldiers in Siberia were withdrawn, that the qualification for franchise was reduced from ten to seven yens. He it was who proposed to give suffrage to the educated. Those who accused him of insincerity ought to keep in mind the tremendous task he had to perform. A mere mention of some of the adroit statesmen—Okuma, Yamagata, Kato,—with whom he had to deal would have sufficiently discouraged any one else without his fibre.

His death is still a mystery. Only the train of events will show the effect of this loss on Japanese politics and diplomacy. A member of the Japanese Delegation in Washington represented

Hara as having endorsed Harding's call for Conference as God-inspired. If this is simply a coloured tribute, we can at least fairly believe that the Premier did stand for a conciliatory policy at the Conference.

Mr. Bland wrote a year ago:

"Premier Hara and the Seiyukai Party behind him would, I believe, welcome an Anglo-American-Japanese entente and a common reconstructive policy in China—indeed, they have publicly advocated it. For they, like ourselves, have one principal object in view, which is trade, and ever more trade, in China; and the events of the last few years have convinced many of them that the Military Party's methods are not calculated to advance that object. And even those who hold that a continuance of chaos in China would be profitable to Japan, are beginning to realize that such profit would be very dearly purchased at the price of national isolation."

Mr. Bland's theory is becoming quite prevalent in America at present. It is futile to speculate just what difference it will make between a Japanese Delegation with a Hara and one without. We can however safely say that the triple agreement to which all look forward has lost one of its staunch supporters.

As a "Commoner" it is perhaps too much to compare him with Pitt, but a moderating influence in Japan at this juncture is scarcely less needed than Pitt's organising genius. To bring Japan out of militarism at the beginning of the twentieth century is just as colossal a task as to bring England out of Walpolean corruption of the eighteenth. If the policy of Bismarck was switched to a different track, the world might probably have avoided one of its grimmest realities.

Tuchuns and Finance

IT is most unfortunate that on the eve of the discussion of Far Eastern questions the financial conditions at home should make a very unfavourable impression upon the world. It has been held for a long time, ever since the Republic was established, that the Chinese Government, in financial as in other affairs, has shown utter incompetency. The turbulent regime has been accepted everywhere as a proof that all is not well with the Chinese people. It has been customary to hold the tuchuns with their predatory followers responsible for all the chaos. And so indeed are they the greatest sinners. They it is who are maintaining by all odds the biggest army in the world. We wonder if they do not feel very uneasy to be left uninvited to take part in the deliberations of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament, for, beyond doubt, they have the most cogent arguments to offer why, instead of remaining where they are, they should be ranking delegates occupying

a position no inferior to that of Kato. We should, of course, give them the benefit of a doubt whether they would agree to disarmament or disagree on armament. But anyhow, all the Chang Tso-lins and Tsao Kuns must feel exceedingly disconcerting to see that, in spite of being commander of numerically speaking the strongest army in the world and in spite, in addition, to every generous donations to the Chinese delegation, they are still left unheeded by the nations now gathered in Washington. They have every reason to feel humiliated, especially when they think that their exalted position has given them so much prestige in their own country and is accountable for so great a part of its present conditions. And they *have* been virtually rulers of our unhappy country, their influence being so all-embracing that the Treasury has certainly shrunk in fear before them. With the exception of 1914, all the years showed a tremendous deficit in our

national budget. That fortunate year itself would have probably shared the same fate if the big loan of £25,000,000, the biggest ever floated in the history of China's foreign financial obligations, had not helped to save the day. It is perfectly simple to explain whither goes all this money. The budget shows that every year about 25 per cent to 50 per cent of the expenditures is devoted to what is not only an unproductive activity, but one that is also positively harmful. It does seem profitable after all that the bandit-leaders should be made interested in the proceedings of the Washington Conference. Their fate should be the subject of discussion. Something may possibly result from their realisation that the public opinion, both at home and abroad, is strongly against the maintenance of a militaristic order.

To come back to China's financial complications. It would appear, from what has been said, that foreign loans must now form a tremendous amount. They have actually been more than doubled within the last ten years, although we may probably still console ourselves that the total amount is far from being really appalling when compared with that of other countries. It is around two billions of Chinese dollars, which is certainly smaller than the debt of practically every important nation in the world.

We do not maintain, of course that just because the sum is not large, the financial condition is what we desire. But the point is that, in spite of the general impression of China's financial insolvency, we have facts to present which would convince the world that, given a period of time within which it is hoped banditry will be eliminated, China could achieve such results as would compare favourably with those

of other countries. But the recent default of two American loans, those of the Chicago Continental Bank and the Pacific Development Corporation, and the controversy over the Hukuang Bonds are a very serious assault upon what hope is left for China in the discussion of her financial questions before the Conference. They have not only deepened the impression of her financial incapability, but have also constituted themselves as facts ready to be made use of by the other powers to show that China is actually in need of help for a sound and thoroughgoing financial reorganization. We are still very hopeful that the question of international control will not be brought up for consideration; for, it is evident, any control of China's finances cannot be a simple financial affair. It involves those more subtle and essential elements of our national life which we are sure every citizen of China is willing to fight for to the point of death.

But at the same time, we have to admit that the two cases of default are serious handicaps, especially as they are complicated, immediately before the Conference, with the controversy over the bonds of the Hukuang Loan. It almost amounts to a controversy between China and the United States. Mr. Lamont is of course the moving spirit of the American side of the Consortium, and the issue is between him and Mr. Simpson. Whoever he may be, the world recognizes Mr. Simpson as an adviser to the Chinese Government; and it is certainly most unfortunate that, rightly or wrongly, the issue would be regarded as one between two countries which, now more than ever, should show the greatest amount of co-operative spirit for the solution of the numerous problems of the Pacific.

Do We Want an American-Japanese War?

CRITICS of China apprehend that she is playing off one power against another. She is intriguing; she is promoting a war between America

and Japan; she is adopting the tactics of Turkey. Such observations which seem to discredit China are really an insult on American intelligence.

The American public, we believe, is fairly well informed about the situation in the Far East. The State Department has first hand information about Japan and there seems to be no necessity for China's enlightenment either public or private. Some of the Californians know the Japanese better than we do. Ask Senator Johnson. As to her actions in the Far East in general and China in particular, what more do we need to say? Do we need to tell the United States that Japanese policies are diametrically opposite to their own? Do we need to tell the American people that Japan is a constant menace to the territorial integrity of China? Do we need to remind them of their failure to neutralize the Manchurian railways? Do we need to tell them about the Twenty One demands and the case of Shantung,—terms that will soon appear in the dictionary of classical allusions? Mr. Lansing knows. Colonel House knows. Mr. Wilson knows although he attempted to ignore it at one time. If America was pleased with the presence of Ishii, she now knows what the agreement really means. America now knows what Japan's intention in Siberia is. Take any American in Shantung or Tsingtao and he will tell you that Japan believes in closed door. Take any American resident in Tsingtao and he will tell you what Japanese control means. Take any American missionary in Korea and he will tell you what Japanese domination amounts to. Take any American soldier in Siberia and he will tell you what Japanese discipline looks like. China desires to expose them but Japanese action makes it unnecessary. To watch Japanese action is certainly much simpler than to decipher our complicated ideographs or to listen to our monosyllabic conversations.

China does not want a war between Japan and the United States. She has everything to lose if Japan won. On the other hand, a defeated Japan does

not necessarily mean a strong China. In the words of Mr. Croly: "A war between Japan and United States undertaken for the defence of China would create conditions likely to increase her subjugation. If Japan won, the Japanese Government would apparently be entitled to seize China as the prize of victory as it seized Korea and part Manchuria as the prizes of a victory over Russia. If the United States won, its victory would be so enormously costly that it might well seek compensation at China's expense as well as Japan's. It could hardly fail to become as dangerous to the independence of its ward as was its enemy. He who proposes to protect China by a costly war is a poor friend of China. War about China between two foreign powers would increase China's dependence, not her independence." China wants Japan as a friend. She welcomes Japan to her raw materials and markets, provided she comes with nothing in her sleeve. China is perfectly willing to accord to her trade opportunities just as she accords them to other powers. The trouble hitherto is that when a Chinese sees a Japanese merchant, he sees the ghost of a kidnapper. The dual personality of the Japanese makes mutual understanding impossible. China sincerely hopes that Japan will turn her thought toward a more constructive foreign policy especially in China. Great will be our regret if she must learn her lesson through a military defeat.

China comes to the Conference with a modest purpose. She has no inherent hatred against the Japanese. She wants no war. Still less does she want to invoke the military help of a third power. She wants redress of grievances but not assistance for revenge. The Anglo-Irish parallel does not apply. If the sweet words of Mr. Kawakami did not convince the Americans, it seems impossible to believe that Chinese intrigue, if any, could start an American-Japanese War.

The Chinese Tariff Situation

H. F. MERRILL*

THERE is no record of the beginning of China's trade by sea with Western nations; but the first recorded arrival of a European ship in China was that of a Portuguese craft in 1511. In 1517 four Portuguese ships entered Canton and were allowed to trade there; and in the few years following trading posts were established at Ningpo, Foochow, Amoy and Macao. The English made their first venture in 1635, but only at long intervals after that did they do any more trading, until towards the end of the 17th century, when they succeeded in establishing themselves at Canton and Amoy. Trade gradually increased during the 18th century, the East India Company having a monopoly of the English part of it. American direct participation in the Canton trade began in 1784 and soon assumed considerable proportions. Up to 1834 the trade of foreigners at Canton and other Chinese ports was carried on under conditions laid down by the Chinese. The foreigners had no diplomatic or consular representatives in China—the traders were content to accept the conditions as to duties, fees and restrictions which the Chinese imposed on them. At Canton, which was by far the most important of the trading ports, these conditions required, amongst other things, that all purchases, sales, importations and shipments should be made through the appointed agents of the Chinese Government, known as the Co-Hong. The Co-Hong settled all the regular and irregular claims of the Imperial Treasury and the numerous officials, high and low, who were parts in the machinery of collection and required oiling. The foreign trader had only to pay the Co-Hong the amount of its bill against him, which, while it was, of course suf-

ficient to cover the Government demands and leave a wide margin of surplus to the Co-Hong, was nevertheless never so immoderate as to wipe out the profits of trading in the early days when competition was not so keen as it became later. There was no fixed national Customs—tariff—certain fees, tonnage dues and gratuities had always to be paid, but there was more or less elasticity in the principal items.

As trade increased, in the second quarter of the 19th century, the British Government, hitherto taking little notice of the doings of its subjects in China, began to awaken to the growing importance of this port of the British foreign commerce, and in 1834 made an attempt to enter into diplomatic intercourse, on terms of equality, with the Chinese Government, with a view to establishing trade under more satisfactory conditions. The British overtures were rejected, however, the Viceroy at Canton refusing to receive any communication from the British agent, unless in the form of a petition, which form Lord Napier could not consistently adopt. The failure of this attempt was followed by increasing difficulties and disputes in connection with the conditions and restrictions imposed on traders, and especially with regard to the regulation of the opium traffic—and after five years of constant turmoil, with periods when trade was entirely suspended, actual war between Great Britain and China resulted at the end of 1839. This war was carried on desultorily for three years, when peace was made at Nanking in August 1842 the Treaty there signed made provision for foreign trade at Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai under much more liberal

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conditions than those that had obtained before the war. These conditions included the fixing of a uniform and moderate tariff on imports and exports, the abolition of the Co-Hong, and the residence of Consuls who should communicate directly with Chinese officials. The tariff drawn up and agreed to in pursuance of the provisions of this treaty was promulgated in 1844, and trade was carried on under it until it was abrogated by the Treaty of Tientsin signed in 1858 and ratified in October 1860. The latter treaty introduced the detailed tariff and trade rules which in form and substance have continued in force to the present day.

In one sense it may be said that this tariff of 1858 was forced on China—that is, China was compelled, as one of the conditions of the cessation of hostilities, to agree to the making of a fixed and uniform tariff applicable to imports and exports at all the ports opened to foreign trade. But the tariff was drawn up and rates fixed by representatives of the Chinese and the British Governments, and there is no evidence that the Chinese did not have a fair hearing in the fixing of the rates of duty and in the drawing up of the rules for the conduct of trade. Some articles of which China stood most in need, or the importation of which she wished especially to encourage, were put on the free list—such as gold and silver bullion, and coins, rice and other grains; while the importation of salt, in which China wished to preserve a government monopoly, and of arms and munitions of war, was prohibited, as was also the exportation of rice and other grains, and copper cash.

Almost simultaneously with the signing of the treaty with Great Britain in 1858 a similar treaty was made with the United States, including an identical tariff; and treaties with the principal European nations followed shortly—all setting forth the same Tariff and Trade Rules.

This Tariff was based on the principle of a five per cent ad valorem rate

of duty on imports and exports; but, to facilitate collection by the avoidance of disputes over values, a specific rate of duty according to weight or measure was assigned to as many as possible of the articles making up the trade list—these specific rates being fixed on the basis of five per cent of the then values of the various articles. It was a tariff for revenue only—the protective principle did not enter into it; and there was no reason for protection against foreign competition except such as was provided by absolute prohibition, as in the case of salt.

The 1858 Tariff was not followed immediately by complete smoothness in the conduct of the trade; for the Chinese were not well equipped, through knowledge and experience, for the administration of Custom House in their dealings with foreign merchants and shipping. There continued to be grievances on both sides, arising from underhand dealings with venal official employees by the less scrupulous foreign traders, whereby they were favored in the matter of weights and duties to the disadvantage of their more honest competitors; and from smuggling and evasion of duties due to inefficient control. But gradually, by availing of the services of selected foreigners appointed to responsible posts in the Chinese customs, system and method were introduced and an efficient service was built up which administered the Customs business to the satisfaction of both the Chinese Government and the foreign merchants.

The Chinese Government has always felt keenly the restrictions placed on it by its treaties with foreign nations, whereby it has no power to make its own tariff and trade regulations and to change and modify them to meet changing conditions. This feeling has grown stronger year by year, as China's membership in the family of nations has become of longer standing and the Chinese have become better acquainted with the relations existing between the independent nations of the world and have

seen how jealously every nation, even the smallest, clings to tariff autonomy and the regulation of trade within its own borders as amongst the most important of its sovereign rights, with which no outside interference would be brooked. That China should be subjected to the humiliation of denial of the sovereign rights acknowledged and respected in the case of other nations is felt to be unfair and injurious. Such discrimination is deeply resented, and a determined effort is being made to put an end to it. China's stand is taken first, and principally, on the abstract principle involved—that is, on the right, acknowledged throughout the civilized world, of every independent nation to regulate trade within its own borders. On this abstract question alone it is difficult to see how any reasonable justification of the treatment to which China is subjected in the matter of the Tariff can be set up and maintained. But besides the bare argument of abstract right, China has the strongest economic grounds for claiming tariff autonomy in the heavy and long continued fiscal loss that has been borne by her in consequence of her inability to make changes in her tariff to suit altered conditions.

China is a silver using country. All money transactions are settled by payment in silver. When the Tariff of 1858 was made the specific rates of duty attached to each article of import and export was stated in taels, mace and candareens—the tael being a fixed weight of pure silver (something over one ounce, Troy), the mace one-tenth of a tael and the candareen one-tenth of a mace. For example, the duty on White Shirtings was fixed at 8 candareens per piece of 40 yards—the duty on Drills at 1 mace per piece of 40 yards—on Copper ingots at 1 tael per picul (133 1/3 pounds), and the export duty on Tea and Raw Silk at 2 taels 5 mace and 10 taels, respectively per picul. At the time the tariff was made a silver dollar, Mexican or Spanish, as largely used in China, was worth about

ten per cent more than the American gold dollar, and for some years thereafter this relative value was maintained. After 1870 there was a gradual fall in the value of silver as compared with gold until in 1882 the silver dollar instead of being at a premium was at a discount of ten per cent under the gold dollar. In the last ten years of the century the relative value of silver fell still more rapidly until in the year 1900 a Mexican or Spanish dollar was worth less than 50 cents gold. The consequence of this great depreciation in the value of silver was, of course, a constant increase in the value stated in taels, of merchandise imported, while the specific nature of the tariff did not allow of any corresponding increase in the amount of silver collected as duty. The tariff, as we have said, was intended to bring in a revenue of five per cent ad valorem, and its specific rates were based on that principle. No one could foresee the great fall which was to come in the value of silver, or how sadly this tariff would fail, in years to come, to bring in the five per cent ad valorem which it was intended to produce. In the year 1892 the value of foreign goods imported into China was Taels 140,298,086, on which the import duty collected was Taels 6,722,756—equal to 4.78 per cent ad valorem; in 1895 the value of imports was Taels 172,853,145—the import duty was 6,039,582 or 3.49 per cent; in 1898 imports were valued at Taels 217,761,975 and the duty collected was 7,223,642—3.32 per cent; and in 1901 the value of imports rose to 280,472,693 while the duty was 8,556,700, or 3.05 per cent. China's loss in import duties alone for the ten years 1892-1901 amounted to over 30 millions of taels—the loss in export duty was probably even greater.

This great falling off in China's revenue came at a time when her foreign debts were enormously increased—first by the financing of the Japanese indemnity in 1895, and later by the Boxer indemnity in 1901.

These were gold debts, and the pay-

ments for interest and amortization had to be made in silver converted into the currency of the creditor countries at the rate of exchange of the day of payment. The periodical payments thus became greater as silver depreciated, the lowest value of the tael being reached in 1903, when it exchanged for 28 1/2 pence, as against a value of 79 1/2 pence which it had had in 1871, and a value of 40 pence even as late as 1896. It is true that there was a great and rapid increase in the exchange value of silver in the years 1916-1920, from which the Chinese Government benefitted; but the very high exchange did not last long, though silver remains well above the 1903 low figure.

In the Treaty of 1858 provision was made for a revision of the tariff every ten years, but all attempts to take advantage of this provision were fruitless, for one reason or another, until 1901 when, as a part of the settlement of the Boxer indemnity claims, a revision of the tariff fixing duties on a basis of a full five per cent ad valorem—taking the average value of each article during the three years 1898-1900, was made by a joint Commission of China and the Treaty Powers. This revised tariff went into effect in October 1902. Another revision took place, by agreement, in 1919—to restore the five per cent ratio where, in case of many articles, it had been disturbed by conditions arising since 1902.

In these two cases of tariff revision China has not been able to exercise her own authority and initiative, but has been dependent on the consent and agreement of the nations with which

she has treaties, and whose representatives have had an equal voice with the Chinese representatives in fixing the rates of duty. The work of revision has been delayed and hampered by the necessity of getting the agreement of *all* the nations having treaties with China. For even after the principal nations concerned, i. e. those having the largest trade with China—have given their consent to changes proposed, some one of the smaller nations, having an insignificant share in the trade, can block and repeatedly has blocked, negotiations by withholding consent, solely for the purpose of gaining some special advantage for itself as the price of its agreement. The attitude of the petty recalcitrant cannot be disregarded, for the reason that every treaty between China and other nations contains a "most favored nation" clause by virtue of which the subjects of any particular nation must be granted free and equal participation in all privileges, immunities and advantages which, at any time, are granted by the Chinese Government to the subjects of any other nation. From which it follows that if any one nation, however insignificant its trade with China, holds obstinately to its original tariff and refuses consent to revision, the traders of all the other nations will have, and will inevitably exercise, the right to pay no higher duties than those laid down in the original tariff.

This is the state of affairs, humiliating to national sentiment, destructive of sovereign rights, and injurious to her financial interests, that China seeks to put an end to.

Humanistic Education in China and the West

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MOST of the Chinese I meet tell me what China needs is a Renaissance that what China needs is a Renaissance with all that a Renaissance implies in the way of a break with the past. Now the present Renaissance movement owes its inception to the pressure upon China from the Occident, and has developed thus far, so far as it has developed at all, on occidental rather than on Oriental lines. It is perhaps well that I should explain at the outset that it has been my business for many years past, in connection with the teaching I have been doing at Harvard, to study the nature of the European Renaissance or break with the mediaeval past that took place in the sixteenth century and to trace the main currents of European thought and literature from that day to this. I have been giving special attention to what one may term the second great forward push of individualism, or emancipation from traditional standards, that took place in the eighteenth century. The characteristic of this occidental movement, as I see it, has been, from the sixteenth century down, its tremendous expansiveness. It has been, first, an expansion of men's knowledge and control of natural forces in the interests of comfort and utility. This first or utilitarian side of the modern movement already has its prophet in Francis Bacon; you may know its votaries by their pleas for organization and efficiency, and in general by their confidence in machinery. The second side of the great expansive movement puts its main emphasis on emotional expansion. and stresses at one time the fraternity

that is to be achieved by this emotional expansion, at another time, the self-expression that it encourages. This emotional side of the movement had its prophet in the eighteenth century in Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

To bring together the two sides of the movement, mankind as a whole is to advance constantly in the control of nature to the ends of utility and comfort, and at the same time is to be united increasingly by the spirit of brotherhood conceived as a process of expansive emotion. This movement may be defined in its totality as humanitarianism. At the centre of humanitarianism as a philosophy of life is the idea of progress, which in some form or other is the true religion of our occidental expansionists. The typical man of the nineteenth century conceived that as a result of the combination of scientific discovery and expansive sympathy, he was, in Tennyson's phrase, moving towards a "far-off divine event." Instead, it has turned out that he was moving towards Armageddon. A revulsion of feeling has ensued and the most interesting development of occidental thought of to-day is the increasing tendency to doubt the idea of progress in the form it has assumed during the past two centuries.¹ Certain persons are inclined to inquire whether some essential element was not omitted in our occidental break with the past, whether in the expressive phrase of the Germans, we have not poured out the baby with the bath water. As a result of this omission, the real issue is seen

¹ See, for example, Dean Inge's *Idea of Progress* (Romanes Lecture for 1920.)

to be not the struggle between the forces of progress and those of reaction, but between civilization and barbarism. More than fifty thousand copies have recently been sold in Germany of a book by Oswald Spengler with the significant title *The Downfall of the Occident*. Everyone recognizes that the Occident has been amazingly successful in its pursuit of power, but the question may be asked whether it has not got its power as the expense of wisdom.

Now the struggle between new and old that is beginning in China is along lines very familiar to students of occidental tendencies. On the one hand, is what seems to be an effete tradition, on the other are those who are working for a progressive and organized and efficient China. Another type of Chinese progressive is, I am told, for throwing over the Chinese classics, and going in for occidental writers of the extreme Rousseauistic type like Ibsen, and Strindberg, and Bernard Shaw. Now up to a certain point I sympathize with the aims of the Chinese progressives. China needs to become organized and efficient; she needs to acquire to some extent the machinery that has grown up in the Occident if she is to protect herself against the imperialistic aggression of Japan or the powers of Europe. China is likely to see something resembling the European industrial revolution. China also needs to escape from the rut of pseudo-classic formalism into which she had fallen as the result of a too inert traditionalism. At the same time China should not in its eagerness to become progressive imitate the Occident and pour out the baby with the bath water. It should be careful, in short, however much it repudiates the mere formalism, to retain the soul of truth that is contained in its great traditions. When one examines these great traditions one finds certain striking analogies with our Western traditions that the representatives of the utilitarian-sentimental movement have been so busy discarding.

The Western traditions have been partly religious, partly humanistic.

The names that sum up these two aspects of tradition most completely are those of Aristotle and Christ, corresponding in a general way to those of Confucius and Buddha in the Far East. A writer in the *Revue Philosophique* points out that just as Saint Thomas Aquinas combined along scholastic lines Aristotle and Christ in his *Sum of Theology*, so Chu Hsi was making about the same time in China a scholastic combination of Buddhist and Confucian elements in his great commentary.

Let us ask ourselves what is the element of wisdom in these great traditions, losing which the East as well as the West will fall from genuine civilization into a sort of mechanical barbarism. This problem of civilization was never so urgent as to-day. For something without analogy in the past has taken place as the result of the discoveries of physical science: all parts of the world are being brought into physical and economic contact with one another. For instance, as a result of the European war, cotton went to forty cents a pound, the increase in wages that resulted for the colored people of our American South enabled them to buy silk shirts and underwear and this caused in turn a commotion in the market for raw silks at Tokio. The fiery chariots in which the ancient Chinese Taoists dreamt of flying through the heavens are becoming a reality. The trip from New York to Peking, or from New York to Buenos Aires may in no distant future be taken as quickly and with more comfort than the trip from New York to Boston as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. In view of such inventions as that of the wireless telephone one may say that the whole world is, in a very literal sense, becoming a whispering gallery. Think of the danger if the words that are whispered are to be words of hatred and suspicion, if men are to be bound together in a huge mass of interlocking machinery and at the same time remain spiritually centrifugal!

Let us then discuss in a very positive-

and critical fashion the question which, as I have just said, is most urgent at the present hour—the question of civilization versus barbarism, considering first the question of civilization in general and then that of Chinese civilization in particular. What strikes one in surveying the past is the tendency of men to look on their own country and its ways of viewing life as civilized and on the men of other countries and their ways of viewing life as barbaric. The Greeks showed a considerable degree of assurance when they deemed themselves alone civilized and dismissed the vast outside world as barbaric. Dr. Johnson showed perhaps a still greater degree of assurance when he said of the Greeks themselves: "Demosthenes, Madam, spoke to an assembly of brutes, a barbarous people;" and also when he remarked: "For anything I see, foreigners are fools."

No country, however, is a more extreme example of the tendency in question than the China of the past. China was the civilized world; it was in the Chinese phrase All-under-Heaven (Pootien-shia); the rest of the world, if recognized at all, was dismissed as a vague fringe of outer barbarism. Buddhism, to be sure, penetrated into China from without. But a memorial to the throne that was composed by a statesman of the Tang period begins as follows: "This Buddha was a barbarian."

Now in a way I sympathize with this confidence of old China in its own civilization if not with the arrogance that led it to dismiss as of slight value the achievements of every other type of civilization, and I am going to state why in my judgement traditional Chinese civilization deserves a high rating, when compared with the civilization of other countries; this reason is first and foremost that, in spite of all its corrupt mandarins and officials of the past and present, China has perhaps more than any other country, planted itself on moral ideas. Joubert, one of the most sagacious of French critics, writes of the Chinese: "Are they in as imperfect a state as is com-

monly supposed? They have been frequently conquered, we are told. But are we to make the institutions of a country responsible for the chances and incidents of war? And is not long duration a sign of excellence in laws, as utility and clearness are characteristics of truth in philosophical systems? Now what people ever had laws more ancient, which have varied less and which have been more constantly honored, loved, studied?" One may add to what Joubert says about the traditional preoccupation of the Chinese with moral ideas that this interest has been displayed predominantly on the humanistic level. It has not been primarily naturalistic, like that of the Occident at the present time, nor again mainly religious, like that of ancient, and to some extent, modern India; the chief concern of the Chinese has been rather with the ethical aspects of men's relations to one another in this world. For example, the so-called Sacred Edict of Kang Hsi (early eighteenth century) which is admirable from a purely humanistic point of view, is positively disparaging in its mention of both Buddhism and Christianity.

But the utilitarian-sentimental movement that is now being introduced into China also professes to be civilized and ethical, and in the name of its own conception of civilization and ethics, it will show itself ready, as it has with us, to discard traditional ethical conceptions whether humanistic or religious. I can only express the conviction at the risk of seeming unduly dogmatic because of my failure through lack of time to give all my grounds for this conviction, that the present movement in the Occident is at its very heart not ethical but pseudo-ethical. Let me return for a moment to its notion of progress. There is a sense in which everybody should believe in progress. Confucius showed that he believed in progress when he said of his disciple Yen Yuan: "Ah, what a loss! I used to see him ever progressing and never coming to a standstill." But the utilitarians have

fallen into a palpable confusion between moral and material progress.

I am going to quote on this latter point a passage from a young English critic, Mr. John Middleton Murry. In his "Evolution of an Intellectual" (1919), he writes as follows: "There would not be the faintest trouble in reading modern history in such a fashion that the disaster of the war would appear, not a terrible aberration of mankind, but the logical culmination of all that process of complicating and multiplying material satisfactions which began with the Industrial Revolution in England and has usurped the name of civilization. This so-called civilization, it could be clearly shown, has acted merely as a multiplying instrument. It has increased the desires of man, and increased the horror of the method he has always chosen to attain them if unimpeded satisfaction were not permitted. * * Modern civilization is only a complex of material discoveries and it is nothing more. In other words it is not a civilization at all. It is a material condition which has usurped a spiritual title. The excitement of the process of its creation was so great that the peoples involved in it had no time to look about them. The fervor of activity was upon them, and they made, with an ease that now seems to us almost miraculous, the assumption that their fervor was a moral fervor. * * Words of real moral and spiritual import were, we will not say debased, but transferred from one scheme of values to another. * * The language of morality became the language of materiality.*** There were no adequate spiritual controls. The problem is how to create them."

Disraeli says that the English-speaking peoples have been unable to distinguish between comfort and civilization. The word comfort itself is an interesting example of that tendency of which Mr. Murry speaks to transfer words from one scheme of values to another. "Blessed are they that mourn for they shall be comforted." The American of the present day

wishes to get his comfort without any preliminary mourning; and this is a main aspect of what has been termed our criminal optimism. Moreover the utilitarian debasement of general terms is only half the story; the sentimentalist has also tampered with the right meaning of words in his endeavor to prove that it is possible to satisfy the requirements of the moral law by some process of emotional expansion. All other modern revolutions were preceded about the middle of the eighteenth century by a revolution in the dictionary. It was about that time, for example, that the word conscience began to take on its present meaning; instead of being a still small voice, as it had been traditionally, it became a social conscience that operates rather through a megaphone.

Now the way to deal with such confusions and sophistries is not simply by an appeal to the past or to some form of traditional authority. Since the persons who utter these sophistries profess above all to be modern, one should meet them on their own ground and deal with them in a thoroughly modern, that is, in a thoroughly critical spirit. According to Mr. Murry, material progress has been able to pass for spiritual progress only by a twisting and perversion of general terms. This reminds us that Socrates, the first great exponent of the critical spirit in the Occident opposed to the sophists of his time and their uncritical break with the past a rigorous definition of general terms. We are reminded also of a saying of Confucius. When asked what he would do first of all if the reins of government were put in his hands, he replied that the first thing he would do would be to define his terms and make words correspond to things. The man who wishes to practice the Socratic and Confucian art of making words correspond to things and to discover how far our current theories are in accord with the actual facts of human nature must use the past as his laboratory. One should remind the modernist, who piques himself above

all on being experimental, to how great an extent tradition itself is only a convenient summing up of actual experience. Confucian doctrine, for example, can be judged not only by its fruits since the age of Confucius, but reflects a great body of moral experience in the ages that preceded him. I cannot forbear quoting at this point a passage from the late M. Chavannes, Professor at the Collège de France, and at the time of his death the most accomplished of occidental sinologues: "Confucius was, as it were, five hundred years before our era, the national conscience which gave precision and corroboration to the profound ideas of which the classic books of remote antiquity reveal to us the first outlines.* He went about proclaiming the necessity of conforming to the moral ideal that China had slowly conceived in the course of centuries; the men of his time refused to obey him because they found it too difficult to give up their comforts or their interests; they felt nevertheless that his voice had a more than human authority; they were moved and stirred to the depths of their being when they were touched by the potent spirit coming from the distant past which summoned up in them the truths glimpsed by their fathers."

Let us turn then to this Confucian tradition, resting as it does on an enormous mass of concrete experience, for light on the question that I declared to be so urgent at the present moment—the question as to what is the centripetal element in human nature, the element that really brings men together on the spiritual level, and not merely, like our mechanical devices, establishes a material contact between them while leaving them spiritual, by centrifugal. Confucius defines the specifically human element in man, not in terms of expansive emotion like the sentimental humanitarians of to-day, but as a "law of inner control;"¹ and herein he agrees with the best humanists of the Occident from Aristotle and the Greeks down. If a man is to be truly human,

he cannot expand freely along the lines of his ordinary self, but must discipline this ordinary self to a sense of measure and proportion. But most people, says Aristotle, do not wish to do anything of the kind; "they would rather live in a disorderly than in a sober manner." So that humanists in both the East and the West oppose to the democratic doctrine of the divine average the doctrine of the saving remnant. A man who accepts a truly humanistic discipline tends to become what Confucius calls a superior man² (Chun tzu) or what Aristotle calls a highly serious man (*σπουδαῖος*). Personally I am struck by the central soundness of this Confucian conception. It does not proscribe sympathy; it would merely have sympathy tempered by selection.³ You no doubt recall that apostles of an indiscriminate fraternity were abroad in ancient China as they are in the Occident to-day. The attacks of Mencius on Mei-ti and his followers who were for suppressing discrimination in favor of brotherhood still hold good against our western sentimentalist, for instance, against Tolstoy and his followers.

If the superior man is a great blessing to the world it is less because he engages in what is now known as social service than because he is setting the world a good example. Plato defines justice as minding one's own business. As a result of our current "uplift" activities the point is rapidly being reached where everybody is minding everybody else's business. The meddler and the busybody has perhaps for the first time in the history of the world got himself taken at his own estimate of himself. We are in fact living in what some one has termed the "meddle ages." It might be well to reflect on what Confucius says of his ideal ruler, Shun. Religiously self-observant, he says, Shun simply sat gravely on

¹ I borrow this rendering of *li* from "The Sayings of Confucius" translated by Mr. Lionel Giles of the British Museum.

² "True aristocrat" would perhaps be a better rendering. "Superior man" has about it a slight suggestion

³ The element of sympathy is of course abundantly present in Confucian *jen*.

his throne and everything was well. Shun was minding his own business in the Platonic sense and the force of his example was such that other people were led to do likewise.

Humanistic ideas of the kind I have been describing were maintained in old China by a system of education. That this education had fallen into a rut of pseudo-classic formalism and that it had from the start grave deficiencies must, I think, be freely granted. But even here you must be careful not to pour out the baby with the bath water. There was, for example, a great idea at the bottom of the old civil service examinations, however imperfectly it was carried out. There was to be selection and severe selection on humanistic lines among those who aspired to serve the state, but the basis of the selection was to be democratic. This combination of the democratic with the aristocratic and selective principle is one that we can scarcely be said to have solved in the Occident. Our democratic development has been won largely at the expense of standards; and yet without leaders who are disciplined to the best humanistic standards the whole democratic experiment is going, in my judgement, to prove impossible. Let me take up almost at random another point in the old Chinese education that has been very severely and to a large extent rightly criticized—namely, the undue emphasis on memory. Since Rousseau and his attack on memory in his "Emile" we have been tending to fall into the opposite extreme in the Occident. We have forgotten the uses of what I would term the selective memory. This type of memory must always play a large role in any genuinely humanistic training. You memorize great poems or the sayings of the sages even though they do not mean much to you at the time. This meaning is illumined by later experience. As it is, when children should be storing up in their memories the winnowed wisdom of the past, they are likely, as a result of our current sentimental prejudice in favor of child's "literature," to be

reading some such books as "The Tale of the Flopsy Bunnies" or "Peter Pumpkin in Wonderland."

My own general conviction, then, so far as I may venture to express a conviction on the basis of my imperfect knowledge of China, is that you can get rid of many things on the periphery of your traditional education, you can get rid of much that is scholastic in the Confucian basis of this education, you can modify much that is in the old books themselves; many of the rules of good form for example that are laid down in the "Li Ki" seem to me to be no more of the essence of that decorum or law of inner control which must be at the heart of every true humanism than the fact, which has also been piously handed down, that Confucius ate ginger at every meal. You may, again, enrich your education greatly with elements drawn from the Occident, especially on the scientific and naturalistic side, and so acquire the material efficiency that China lacks. I believe, however, that with all the peripheral changes you need to retain a certain central rightness in the traditional conception. This rightness seems to me to derive from the perception that the maintenance of civilization is due, not primarily to the multitude and to some "general will" in Rousseau's sense that emanates spontaneously from a supposedly divine average, but to a saving remnant or comparatively small number of leaders. The ultimate basis of sound leadership is the type of character that is achieved through self-discipline, and this self-discipline itself has its root in humility or "submission to the will of Heaven." I am inclined to think that Confucius is superior to many of our occidental humanists in his clear recognition of the fact that the law of measure is itself subject to the law of humility.

The mention of humility raises the question to what extent distinctively religious elements should enter into your new education; for Confucianism, admirable in its own way, is not, in any complete sense of the word, a religion. This question is too large to be ade-

quately treated in a talk of this kind and I am not planning to discuss it in any detail. I may say, however, in passing, that I have been struck by one thing in my study of Buddhism—and when I was a youth I was at pains to learn both Sanskrit and Pāli in order that I might gain some knowledge of Buddhist doctrine at the source,—and that is, that in its original form Buddhism is much nearer to the modern spirit, which I have defined as the positive and critical spirit, than the Mahāyāna, which is practically the only form of Buddhism you have had in China. A certain number of Chinese should study Pāli—some indeed are now doing this in America—not only to understand various aspects of the past in China but to discover how far this ancient faith may still be a living force upon the present.¹ Judged by its fruits in life and conduct Buddhism at its best is a striking confirmation of Christianity.

The conclusion of the whole matter is this: You cannot afford to neglect the ethical side of your Renaissance, nor again can you afford to be pseudo-ethical, as you may be, if you adopt too uncritically certain notions that are current in the West today. Specifically you will run the danger of losing what is best in your own great and civilized past without acquiring what is really civilized in the Occident. You will merely acquire, if you are too utilitarian, our machinery—our typewriters and telephones and automobiles—and, because the latest machinery is likely to be the best, you are likely to assume the same of our literature, and to run after our Rousseauistic eccentrics. The remedy, it seems to me, is not to lose touch with your own background in the name of a superficial progress, and at the same time to get

into closer touch with our background beginning with the Greeks. You will find that the two backgrounds confirm one another especially on the humanistic side, and constitute together what one may term the wisdom of the ages. It seems to me regrettable that there are less than a dozen Chinese students in America today who are making a serious study of our occidental background in art and literature and philosophy. There should be at least a hundred. You should have scholars at all your more important seats of learning who could teach the Confucian Analects in connection with the Ethics of Aristotle. On the other hand, we should have at our important seats of learning scholars, preferably Chinese, who could give courses in Chinese history and moral philosophy. This might prove an important way of promoting a real understanding between the intellectual leaders of Orient and Occident. The tragic failure of the past century has been the failure to work out a sound type of internationalism. Science is in a sense international, but it has been turned to the ends of national aggrandizement. The type of brotherly love that has been preached in connection with the humanitarian movement has proved even more fallacious. Why not work for a humanistic international? An international, one may say, of gentlemen who, without rising necessarily to the sublimities of religion, feel that they can at least unite on a platform of moderation and common sense and common decency. My hope is that, if such a humanistic movement gets started in the West, it will have a response in a neo-Confucian movement in China—a Confucianism that will be disengaged from all the scholastic and formalistic accretions with which it has been overlaid in the course of centuries. In any case the decisive battle between humanists on the one hand, and utilitarians and sentimentalists on the other will be fought in both China and the West in the field of education.

¹ It is not easy to get an adequate notion of Buddhism through translations. The difficulty is in the rendering of the general terms. Fausboll, for example, has rendered fifteen different Pali words by the one word "desire" in his translation of the *Sutta-Nipata*. (Vol. X. *Sacred Books of the East*). In his translation of the *Dhammapadam* (*ibid.*), Max Müller has (ch. XVI) rendered by "love" two different terms, neither of which properly has that meaning.

China's Hopes at the Washington Conference*

DR. PHILIP K. C. TYAU

Chinese Minister to Cuba and Secretary-General of the Chinese Delegation to the Conference on the Limitation of Armament.

I appreciate deeply the honor of being invited to address this Association of University Alumnae, for I realize the wide influence which you, as individual members of the Association, exercise in forming the public opinion of your country. The women who graduate from American colleges, like their brothers, have had careful training in the fundamental issues of national and international life. You are now able to express your opinions on all national matters by the use of the ballot, and through this same means you are able to help also in determining your country's policy in foreign affairs.

I am asked to speak a few words on the coming Conference on the Limitation of Armament and, having only just come from China, I cannot do better than to tell you how the people of my country regard this Conference.

Of all the countries whose representatives are gathering in Washington there is not one whose people evince greater interest in, or entertain higher hopes from the assembly called by President Harding, than China. On the other side of the Pacific, the word "Washington Conference" or "Pacific Conference" (it is seldom referred to as "Disarmament Conference") are on the lips of everyone who takes the slightest interest in public affairs and we are found in prominent positions on the pages of every newspaper in China, vernacular of foreign. That this is so, is evident to everyone in China. Why it is so, is well worthy of consideration, as any attempt to analyse the opinion of my people on their own international position throws light on this important,

though subtle, factor in the problems of the Far East. Once you appreciate the difficult position under which China has been placed through force of circumstances which no longer obtain, I am sure you will not refuse the sympathy which the Chinese Delegation will ask of you.

It is just ten years ago this month that the explosion of a bomb in a house in the Russian Concession in Hankow started the revolution in China which overthrew the Manchu dynasty and transformed the oldest and largest empire in the world into a Republic. There has been some turmoil in China ever since, as was to be expected. Republics are not born in a day; neither are they brought into the world in a quiet and peaceful manner according to prearranged schedule. Young China has had many and numerous infantile ailments, and may even have, some time or other, an attack of colic, but she is a lusty youngster and has come into the world to stay, to grow up, and to confound the wisecracks who say she was born too soon and cannot live. The present turmoil in China is not only in indication that the people are awake, struggling even fighting for peace; it is also the cause of the Chinese looking with interest and hope to any kind of a conference which promises peace, not at any price, but as the result of deliberate compromise and rational understanding.

In politics, we Chinese, more than any other people in the world, think in terms of international understandings. This is not from choice, but from neces-

* A speech given in New York City

sity. There is no large country in the world, not even Germany in her present defeated condition, which is so tied down and bound up by one-sided treaty obligations to foreign countries as in China. What ever way we turn in planning for the political regeneration of our country along modern western lines, we run into stringent treaty obligations which curtail the sovereign powers of our country and impose on it obligations hardly second to those the allied powers are striving to enforce against Germany. For this reason we have to think in international terms and consider international affairs, even at times when the internal predicament of our country would, under normal conditions, make foreign affairs a mere minor consideration. Thus a conference like the one soon to assemble in Washington means much more to the internal condition of China than to that of any other country.

The fact that the international conference on Far Eastern affairs is to be held in Washington inspires the Chinese people and government with hope and even confidence. Ever since the day when Mr. John Hay, in 1899 induced the powers of the world, in the midst of their scramble for concessions in China, to endorse the principle of the Open Door, or of equal opportunity, in the development of Chinese trade and industry along lines made necessary by her contact with the Western world, America has been regarded as one of the friends of China in the family of nations. This friendship of the Chinese for Americans is not of a purely sentimental and unreasoning kind. The friendship is sincere and well founded and America has recently done much to justify and encourage it. At the present time, the good will of my people is one of the biggest assets the American possess in the Far East and its value is being more and more appreciated by American interests of all kinds in China. My people expect more from America than from any other country.

In a general way, the Chinese expect

America, at the Conference, to bring about another, and this time a real, reaffirmation of the "Open Door" policy of Mr. John Hay, or equal opportunity for all and special privileges for none. Naturally we, ourselves, want to be one of the leading partners in this equal opportunity for trade and industrial development in our country, and at present one of our chief concerns is to see that this sound principle, first enunciated by America, should be actually lived up to by all. Secretary Hay's announcement of the Open Door doctrine was made just before the Boxer troubles broke out in 1900. During these troubles, and after, the Open Door policy was reaffirmed at the suggestion of the American State Department in treaties with, and between, foreign powers interested in the Far East. During the recent World War this international agreement, like many others, was frequently violated, both in letter and in spirit. One of the practical results which China hopes for from the Conference is a reaffirmation of the Open Door policy of equal opportunity, coupled this time with some arrangement which will cause each and every nation to think twice before violating, even in spirit, a solemn international agreement, sponsored by the United States and ratified by the nations assembled in Washington.

China, like all countries, has suffered during the World War. One of her misfortunes in international affairs is that during that great struggle many things were done in China by foreign governments that would not have been tolerated by world public opinion, nor have been permitted by foreign interests concerned in the development of the Far East, if the world had not been engaged in a life and death struggle over issues then more vital than any questions arising in the Far East. Some governments wronged China during that period much more than did others; but nearly all, at one time or another, failed in some respects to live up to the principle of the Open Door and equal opportunity, while some

seemed to think that the opportunity existed chiefly for themselves and for China not at all. China might easily present a list of specific grievances, but this will be unnecessary and perhaps inadvisable, if the delegates next month show a real desire, born of enlightened self-interest, to right past wrongs and in future to live up to the old principle, reaffirmed and reinforced by definite sanctions.

China, with a navy almost on a par with that of Switzerland, is interested only in a general way in the problem of naval disarmament, in the narrower sense of the word. But the Chinese are vitally interested in the preservation of peace in the Far East, as they know only too well that in a world struggle in the Orient they would suffer at the hands of all the belligerents, no matter whether they took sides or attempted to remain neutral. But the Chinese believe that the surest, if not the only, way to prevent war in the Far East is to remove the causes of war.

The most ominous of the latent causes of war in, or over, the Orient, is the intense rivalry of the foreign nations in their policies in that part of the world. The more they disregard, in this rivalry, the principle of the Open Door and equal opportunity, and the interest of China, for that of opportunities based on force, the greater becomes the danger of another world war. Everyone recognizes today that the Far East is the part of the world replete with great possibilities; the possibilities of vast material development in which all the nations can share in proportion to their geographical and other natural advantages; but also the possibility of a calamitous struggle in which all, even the eventual victors, are certain to suffer. All recognize today that another world war, entirely apart from the losses in lives and pub-

lic treasure, is fraught with dire possibilities to the social foundations of every nation participating in it, either as victors or vanquished. We Chinese, as the least militaristic people in the world, hope that the Washington Conference will create a new international spirit, and formulate a new agreement between the nations, which will eliminate all chances of a world struggle in the Far East. Conditions in China, and the policies of the various foreign governments in their relations with China, form the basis of all the various and complicated problems which go to make up the Far Eastern Question. China has every interest in the world to do her share to aid the nations in finding a rational answer to this question. To enable her to do so she must be allowed to work out her own destiny and to rehabilitate herself as a free and independent nation and this can only be done by the Foreign Powers voluntarily unloosening their hold on her as a result of aggression or of Treaties obtained by force of arms and not through international reciprocity.

The Chinese in Washington will present China's case with entire frankness, not only to the members of the Conference, but to the American people and to the world at large. China will welcome as full and complete publicity as the other nations will agree to, because she recognizes that American public opinion will be as potent factor in gaining that world public opinion which has been one of China's greatest assets ever since the days of the Paris Peace Conference. China counts upon America's assistance in the gathering of the nations at Washington, not only to reaffirm and establish the much disregarded principles of International Law but also to develop from them a new system of International Equity as a living force in the public law of the Far East.

An Ancient Ideal and a Modern Application

PROFESSOR F. W. WILLIAMS

IF I were asked for a word of advice to the Chinese students now in America I think I should compress it in the single word *patience*. By this word I do not mean submissiveness or mere endurance. Beaten people and slaves have these qualities; they grow old with them and become the nations that submit to the fate that in the end destroys them. Political patience; the quality that prepares a policy and estimates its nature and cost, training mind and body to meet the emergency whatever time or labor is demanded, is a rarer and finer thing which only a few in a generation can expect to possess in perfection. Cavour had it; with it he succeeded in bringing about the liberation of his country in spite of obstacles which many enemies and even some friends piled up in his way. The kind of patience a statesman needs is only to be found in men of extraordinary ability and developed by a thorough education. Sometimes a genius—like Nurhachu—gets his education in constant campaigning, but genius without training does nothing constructive. The ability to discover a solution to a problem and then to provide for its execution by studying and arranging every detail implies a mind of original powers and of immense patience. I am convinced that there are some such minds in China to-day—there are never many of them in a country at any one time—but the obstacles to their practical education in statesmanship in China as it is for the moment are almost insuperable. This is why I look for the coming leader from among the large group of young men who are receiving their

training abroad. And the reason for my expecting him from among those who are studying in America is based upon my conviction that no Western country provides such a type of schools and Colleges as ours for character building. There are plenty of places in Europe where the curriculum is as broad and the intellectual life as intense, but none of them seems to afford the same range of social activities with their persistent influence upon temper and mind which prepares a boy for self restraint and leadership in mature life. The Chinese student sufficiently large minded to grasp the conscience of our American undergraduate life with its emphasis upon fellowship, fair play, honorable competition and social equality, while understanding enough to ignore the trivial and selfish elements common to human nature everywhere, will return home with a better preparation for the task before him than he can get in either Europe or Asia.

And in observing the public affairs of America he will see for himself how immeasurably far from perfection our Republican institutions are. Democracy at best is only one way of carrying on a government; it has its serious drawbacks and may in time be found to be a type unfitted for certain peoples. It failed utterly in Greece and the experiment on a great scale is only a matter of four generations in the modern world. The youth who hopes to help in the task of restoring China's administrative system does well to realize the imperfections of our government rather than to worship blindly an ideal democracy which never

existed anywhere on earth. He will rid himself, moreover, of the obsession so general in China that Americans are falling over each other to help the Chinese out of their scrapes, and that they will risk anything to rescue the new Republic, just because it is a Republic. Americans are actively sympathetic with Chinese efforts to save their national heritage but it is a law of life with nations as well as individuals to care first for one's own. No nation can allow its honor to be protected by another; it may be greatly helped in a crisis or moment of weakness but in the long run it must provide for its own defense or fail.

Lastly, the student returning from America to China will be able to apprehend the inevitable downfall of a government which allows corrupt practices in its operation. No government is entirely free from graft amongst its officials; it is a political disease common to them all, but a commonwealth sensible of this weakness will fight corruption all the time; one which accepts it as inevitable is doomed to disruption. To say that corruption in the East is a sort of inheritance from old times does not mitigate the danger of continuing the ancient habit. It is a greater peril in this age of severe economic competition than ever in the past.

Here, then, are three things which an old friend of China would like to impress upon the mind of every Chinese student now in America: the danger of worshipping a republican form of government as a political fetish which must be grafted upon the accustomed habits of an ancient nation at all hazards. It is a magnificent experiment, and I for one wish it success with all my heart, but I want the com-

ing statesmen of to-morrow to look upon democratic institutions with detachment, refusing to commit themselves to these or any other formulas of statecraft until they are proved obviously to be fitted to the needs of a transformed China. Secondly, the Chinese people must be persuaded by their own leaders that their salvation depends upon their ability to get together and defend their country from foreign harpies by united action, not by calling for financial and military protection from foreigners. It is a hard saying, I know, for prevailing ignorance makes the common people as a whole easy prey to political charlatans, poverty is acute, and some of the natural resources of the land have been already sold to strangers for a mess of pottage; but the leader with faith, with character, with patience, can save the situation. And finally, this leader must be honest all through; he must be prepared to meet the insidious temptations of even his own friends with the familiar "Oh, what's the use?" argument, when attacking the Augean stable of corruption. Yet this too can be achieved by the man endowed with superlative constancy—though I confess that, in view of the difficulties in the way of this Galahad of reform, the proposition seems a mere counsel of perfection. Patience is a virtue not unknown in China's great men; Confucius had it in perhaps a greater degree than any heroic figure in history. When all the Chinese students in America are looking to the Washington Conference to discover a formula to save China I am old-fashioned and even pedantic enough to commend to them an ancient ideal, the Patience of Confucius.

What Can China Expect from the Washington Conference?

PROFESSOR KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

THE attitude of the friends of China toward the Washington Conference varies greatly. There are some who hope that the gathering will be able to put China on her feet to abolish or restrict greatly exterritoriality, to begin the curtailment of the foreign spheres of influence and leased territories, to give the nation tariff autonomy, to restore completely Chinese authority in Shantung, and to take steps toward restoring it in Manchuria. They hope that Japanese activities may be checked, and that 1922 will be made memorable by great steps toward the renewed unity and the complete independence and territorial integrity of China. There are others who are frankly cynical about the Washington gathering. They were disappointed by the Treaty of Versailles and believe that the self interest of the stronger nations will be as dominant at Washington as it was at Paris. They are of the opinion that the European powers, Japan and the United States will bargain with each other—partly from selfishness and partly to remove friction among themselves and so to make possible the partial disarmament which is necessitated by their over-strained budgets and the demands of large sections of their populations—and that the bargains will be at the expense of the politically weaker nations,—China and Russia. Still others are of the opinion that the gathering will break up without accomplishing anything, with the territorial situation as it was before the conference, and with the hope of the peaceful settlement of the Far Eastern situation more remote, with jealousies intensified and conferences discredited.

It must be frankly admitted that the majority of thoughtful people, at least in the United States, feel decidedly chastened by the recent spectacle at Paris and are hopeless of any Utopia arriving immediately on the heels of an international conference. Selfishness reinforced by might is still too powerful to be overcome completely or even largely by the idealistic aspirations of the race. Some of us are, however, hopeful that the gathering, while not finally settling the problems of the Far East or ushering in the Millennium, will ease the friction that has threatened the peace of the people around the Pacific and will satisfy so far the legitimate desires of China, Japan, and the other countries interested in the East of Asia that further conferences will be possible and the talk of war and armaments be discounted. There are in the main three grounds for our hope. In the first place there is an earnest and widespread demand that the burdens of armaments must be lightened and a profound conviction in many hearts that another great war would prove fatal to civilization and that positive and thoroughgoing steps must be taken to make it impossible. Selfishness here in part fights on the side of the idealists, for the expense, the danger to business, and the threat to the stability of the existing economic and social structure of society involved in war and threat of war tend to enlist capitalists, politicians, and working men in the cause of disarmament and peace. One cannot count too much upon enlightened self interest, as those learned to their sorrow who before 1914 prophesied that the cap-

italists of Europe would not permit a war that would involve the continent in economic ruin. The sobering spectacle of the wreck brought on by war is, however, with us as it was not in 1914, and while those who hope for peace and justice cannot place any great reliance upon the selfish interests and the warweariness of the nations, they sought to be able to count more on them than they could in 1914. Then, too, the very fact that so many are sceptical about the conference is not without its encouragement. If we do not expect too much, we may hope that a pleasant surprise will attend whatever worth while results the gathering achieves, and this attitude of mind would be far more favorable to lasting peace than were the bitter disappointments and the disillusionment that followed Paris. In the third place there is ground for hope in the fact that there are in each of the nations concerned, groups of people, often influential, that are working for a just settlement of the Far Eastern situation. While these are probably but little if any stronger than they were in 1918 and 1919, they have learned something from their partial defeat at Paris, and can probably make their influence count for more at Washington than they did at Paris. These, in the main, are the grounds for hope. One cannot say certainly that they will be justified by events, for prophesy is decidedly unreliable, but the situation by no means calls for despair.

If these hopes are to realized, definite steps must be taken by the conference toward achieving some very definite results. In the first place a reasonably adequate opportunity must be given China to work out her political and economic salvation. As long as she remains weak and divided she will be a center of international jealousies and rivalries and a menace to the peace of the world. As a market and a source of raw materials she is so important that as long as any nation fears that another may get an unfair

advantage in her trade there will be intrigues and friction. Moreover, were she to be divided by some unhappy development of events lose her independence she would still be menace to the peace of the world, for the Chinese are too great and able a people ever to be content with anything short of unity and complete autonomy, and any nation that attempted to dominate her would find that to be possible only through the use of overwhelming force. Just what steps the conference should take to give China the opportunity to save herself are in the very nature of the case a matter of dispute. To attempt to discuss them here would extend this paper beyond its proper limits. Those of us who have strong convictions as to what should be done must learn to be tolerant of the opinions of others and not to feel too bitterly disappointed if all we had hoped for is not achieved.

If the Washington Conference is to succeed, it must deal justly by Japan as well as by China. We have all of us heard of the situation which confronts that country until we are either in danger of neglecting it or regarding the talk about it as interested and unreliable propaganda. We need to remind ourselves again and again, however, that Japan proper has a population which already numbers over fifty millions and that the island portion of the empire is approximately only about the size of the state of California. The best relatively unoccupied portions of the earth are preempted by the white race and are not likely to soon be opened to immigration from the Orient. Japan's only course, is, therefore, to transform herself into a manufacturing nation and exchange the products of her factories for foodstuffs. If she becomes an industrial nation she must have both raw materials and a market. For both of these she looks naturally to the continent of Asia and feels that her very life depends upon having free access to it. She finds it, however, in danger of being acquired by powers, and

under these circumstances her militarists have been able to justify a policy of territorial expansion. Japan has a right to ask that the neighboring continent be kept open to her on the same terms that it is to other nations, and upon the security of this right depends her existence. It does not necessarily follow, however, that she has a just claim there to territory. If the open door can be assured her without political possession she will have all that she has a right to ask. If she demands more her own safety and peace of the East and of the entire world will be jeopardized. The day of territorial imperialism ought to be declared ended. If it is not, all the disarmament conferences in the world cannot prevent recurring wars.

Now if China is to be saved from her present weakness it must be chiefly through the efforts of her own citizens working to construct a sound economic, educational, moral, religious, and political life. All that the other countries can do in conference or otherwise is to give them an opportunity and leisure to work. Similarly, if Japan is to be saved from the inevitable and disastrous results of aggressive imperialism, it must be chiefly by the efforts of the liberals among her own people. Under

such circumstances, all that the Washington conference can be expected to do is to adjust matters in the East that the sounder elements in China and Japan shall be given a chance to work and shall be encouraged by the feeling that other countries are willing to give them what, in the American parlance, is known as a "square deal". This the Washington conference can and ought to do. The ultimate welfare of the Far East must be achieved by the patient labors of the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Koreans, each working patiently for a sound life in his own country. China can never be saved by the powers meeting in conference, although they may aid her by giving her citizens a chance. She can only be saved by those of her citizens who are willing to work patiently, undismayed because the task is long, honestly, never yielding to the temptation to personal illegitimate profit, unselfish, never counting the cost to themselves, and courageously, fearing neither men nor obstacles. It gives hope to many friends of China to know that in the colleges and universities of this country there are Chinese who see this and are resolved to devote their lives to this end.

China at the World Council

STEPHEN BONSAI

AS the great powers of the world who were associated in the war to save civilization, with whom are making common cause several other nations with Far Eastern possessions, assemble in Washington the American friends of China, and their name is legion, needs must gird up their loins for a struggle long impending—that can no longer be postponed.

China comes with a clean record to the world council that is convened today in the great hall where through the devotion of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the memorials of the great struggle which was fought out to maintain the Jeffersonian proposition that all men are born free and equal and with equal rights to the privileges and responsibilities of self-government are enshrined. The friends of China, the friends of a world peace, all who believe that our common civilization is worth saving, are hoping that this august assembly of world leaders will give world-wide currency and recognition to the doctrine that was first pronounced in the city of brotherly love in these then isolated colonies one hundred and fifty years ago.

China gave immediate and unreserved acceptance to the invitation of our honored president to participate in the Conference for the discussion of the limitation of arms and the Pacific questions. Since the days when her early contemporaries such as Greece and Rome flourished, China has been an advocate of world democracy and of world peace, and of recent years, although China has not always prospered under these conditions as now at times applied, her belief in the underlying principles has not abated.

Whenever I have spoken of these matters with my Chinese friends, I often find a want of agreement as to

unessentials, but a unanimous belief in the underlying principles of international mutuality. They are firmly convinced that there is an essential harmony between the true interests of all Nations, and they are confident that the Conference now so auspiciously opened will reveal the firm basis upon which such harmony may be established for all time and against all who may for selfish purposes, seek to destroy this harmonious state of affairs.

As I write these hurried lines, the great concourse passes by my window and the muffled drums with which our great unknown hero is escorted to his everlasting resting place across the Potomac, high up on the Virginia hills, falls upon my ear. I am more than sure as I see the President on foot doing honor to that immortal phalanx of youth that came from many climes and from many countries, the flower of our age and world who suffered and died that the world might live, that the thought uppermost in the American President's mind when he summoned the wisest from all lands to take common counsel upon the state of our civilization, was that they too, should dedicate their lives to the completion of the work our soldiers and our sailors had so worthily begun. He and other leaders are calling upon us to see to it that the blood of the martyrs should not have been shed in vain, that the era that is about to dawn should be worthy of such sacrifice.

I am quite aware of the danger of giving advice upon a situation with which I am far from being familiar, and I recall with approbation what Mr. Balfour, who is now with us again as the leading English delegate said when he arrived in Washington and called upon President Wilson for the first time after we entered the War. "Mr. Presi-

dent," he said, "while I greatly fear that every nation must learn by its own sad experience, I beg to inform you that the book of our mistakes and our errors committed with the very best intentions in the world is open to your inspection by the special order of His Majesty, the King."

And of course, I am well aware that it ill becomes an American who was born in the shadow of our own great Civil War which was fought out for four years to settle at the cost of a million lives, a constitutional question, to criticize the civil commotions which according to the cables are today in progress in certain districts of China where in my day law and order, reigned. Indeed, I do not criticize the motives of any who participate in these affairs. Probably if the truth were known the motives would rebound greatly to their credit, but the civic commotions resulting are to say the least inopportune, and they give some color to the report that enemies of China are circulating to the effect that the longest-lived realm that the sun has ever shone upon is approaching the last chapter of its glorious existence.

Of course, I know, as do all Americans and others at all conversant with Chinese conditions that "between the Four Seas all men are brethren" in so far as resistance to outside aggression is concerned, but what is needed to strengthen China's case as it is presented before the world court now convened in Washington is a keynote declaration such as our great Lincoln, the Emancipator, made to the Confederate Envoy when he met them for the pur-

pose of establishing bases of peace in one of the darkest hours of American history.

At a juncture, when as even now with China, our territorial integrity was menaced by domestic and foreign enemies. "Gentlemen," he said, "here is a sheet of paper. Let me but write one word upon it at the top and you can add whatever you like" and the great man wrote "Union", and then turned the sheet over to his adversaries. Unhappily this Union was not achieved until more rivers of blood had flowed and many a heart" in both North and South was desolate. With all due respect to Mr. Bafour, why should not China profit by our example? Why should not sectional differences and constitutional interpretations be forgotten in appreciation of the great danger in which today the great Middle Kingdom is involved? In "union there is strength" and if the people of China but present a solid front to the dangers by which they are threatened assistance from America or elsewhere would not be needed, but merely congratulations and felicitations. A united China could easily rise superior to her domestic problems and then go forward with her sister nations in the campaign that will happily result from the Conference in Washington a campaign against those long borne servitudes of war, pestilence and famine; and it seems plain that not until such an alliance as is indicated here sha'll be formed can our boasted but greatly menaced civilization reach havens of safety.

Theories of Laughter

A Criticism of the Principal Theories of Laughter with Special Emphasis on that of Henri Bergson.

KWANG LAI LOU

EVER since man tasted of the tree of knowledge, the perplexing phenomenon of laughter, like that of dream, has obstinately haunted his mind. From the primitivistic conception of sleep to the startling revelation of its hidden principle by Freud of our time, from the crude interpretation of laughter by the savage to the ingenious explanation of the ludicrous by H. Bergson man's speculative faculty has ever been at work. Familiar things, however, are often mysterious. Mankind has always dreamed, but the ultimate cause of dream still remains a secret; so has mankind laughed, but to seek for a final explanation is likewise an impossibility. Laughter, like dream, will forever be the Riddle of the Sphinx. Like the problem of immortality it will eternally elude the grasp of understanding and reason.

Many a phenomenon of laughter will admit of different interpretations just as a diamond or crystal will radiate different colors or hues when the different faces are exposed to the beams of the sun. And then any ingenious theory of the ludicrous can account for only certain forms of laughter, but it will meet with discomfiture and become ludicrous itself when a conscientious attempt is made to fit it in all its varieties. The "musical laughter of Italy" sounds quite strange to the ears of an Oriental, whereas the "grimly humor" of the Chinese will probably shock the sensibilities of the Westerner. To seek for an adequate explanation in the philosophical theories of the sages is a futile attempt. Again, what causes a poet to look grave will split the sides of a man on the street, while what throws a small boy

into convulsions of laughter will arouse in an aged person only feelings of anger and disgust. In short, if any philosopher of the ludicrous should in his zeal for unity direct us to his theory for an adequate explanation of every variety of merriment, we would meet with only disappointment and, to our amusement, find in the relation of his theory to the phenomenon a good illustration of "inconformity". However precarious a philosopher's position always is he will do well not to embark on this kind of enterprise, for whereas he might succeed in establishing some truth in other domains of thought, he surely will meet with opponents at every turn of his argument. It is because the case of one is just as good as that of the other, since every one has in that matter God's plenty of evidences and witnesses. But the battle among philosophers as to the ultimate cause of laughter will be waged so long as the speculative faculty of man remains as active as ever and so long as zeal for knowledge is with us always a strong instinct. On the one hand, man, being the laughing animal as defined by some philosophers, will continue to laugh without being able to explain or justify his act, or he is convinced beyond doubt that while he may admire by rule and live by rule, he shall never by rule learn to laugh. On the other hand, philosophers, being endowed with great powers for reasoning, will continue to spin out fine theories of the ludicrous and in their zeal for philosophical unity will continue to put the whole universe in his Procrustean bed. But not all men are pragmatistic least of all, philosophers. Why not then let us exercise our large tolerance and in-

dulge them in their spinning cobwebs in their brain.

First is Aristotle's, for as he showed man the myriad avenues of thought, so did he open our mind's eye to the vista of theorizing about laughter. "Comedy" he tells us in the "Poetics", "is an imitation of characters of a lower type, not however, in the full sense of the word bad," and again, "the ludicrous is a subdivision of the ugly and consist in "some defect or ugliness which is not painful or destructive". This reference of the laughable to the ugly and disgraceful maybe said to foreshadow the principle of oral degradation, although Aristotle never claimed any exhaustive treatment of the subject. Cicero, in his Discourses on Oratory and Orators, is apparently under the influence of Aristotle, as his exposition of the subject in question bears out our statement. He says, "the seat and province of what is laughed at lies in a certain offensiveness and deformity, for those sayings are laughed at solely or chiefly which point out and designate something in an inoffensive manner". But a more careful attempt to formulate a theory of the ludicrous by localizing the secret force of the laughable in something unworthy and degraded in the object is to be found in Thomas Hobbes. According to him "The passion of laughter is nothing else but sudden glory arising from sudden conception of some eminency in ourselves by comparison with the inferiority of others, or with our own formerly."

But this "*Schadenfreude*", this malicious joy of comfortably looking at a sufferer from a place of safety is surely not the main spring of laughter in all its forms. It may be and indeed is responsible for several varieties of laughing satisfaction, just as this malicious joy, this egoistic joy, is present with some persons in reading or looking at a tragedy because these human beings are unusually gifted with the instinct of self-preservation. But Hobbes errs, like Lucretius, in believing that all forms of laughter are due to this "*Schadenfreude*," for they should

be reminded that not all human beings are bundles of selfish desires and impulses and instincts, although no one is purely altruistic as I am convinced there is no such thing as altruism pure and simple. I would ask, "where is the sudden glory in eminency in the baby's smile of healthy contentment? In the beatific radiance of the clergyman described by one writer as a "good visitor when he goes his rounds"? Again, does this theory explain "the slow, gradual enjoyment of a laugh" which George Eliot said. "is seen only in fat people"?

However, as this theory of moral degradation assumes its mature form in Alexander Bain, it would be only fair to test it as he has stated and developed. "The occasion of the ludicrous" he defines as "the degradation of some person or interest possessing dignity in circumstances that excite no other strong feeling". Here improvements on the Hobbesian theory have been made such as the extension of the object of degradation and the absence of counteracting emotions, pity or disgust. But these improvements are mere safeguards, fortifications, so to speak, of their position; in no way has he changed the central principle of degradation. Indeed he challenges Herbert Spencer who takes a different view of the matter to produce an example of a pun that does not involve the idea of degradation.

But what would he say to this little model conundrum which contains a pun, if such a thing exists "when does English butter become denationalized?" the answer to which is, "when it is made into a little Pat." Here all the joke lies in the patness of the answer, so to speak. One has no contempt for the English or their butter, or for even the little Pat; and certainly one has only a profound admiration for the maker of the conundrum. Again, what could he say to those peals of laughter caused by seeing the charming unsuitability of the "grown-ups" coat and hat to the childish form? Are the

clothes thus morally degraded or is the child?

But it is no use to persecute Alexander Bain, for no philosophical system or theory is free from the sin of bigotry, and hence no one is impervious to attack. We may now proceed to examine the second type of theories of humor. "Instead of setting behind our enjoyment of the ludicrous an emotion, or a change in our moral superiority namely, a sense of our own superiority or something else's degradation, it sets a purely intellectual attitude, a modification of thought activity" "the laughter according to this theory result from a peculiar effect on our intellectual mechanism such as nullification of a process of expression or of an expectant tendency. It is this disinterested intellectual process that brings about the feeling of the ludicrous and its expression in laughter." This is the theory of incongruity and the first protagonist is Kant. "The cause of laughter" he says "is the sudden transformation of a tense expectation into nothing" Kant's best example is the story of a Hindu who, seated at the table of an Englishman in Surat, saw a bottle of ale opened from which the froth came out profusely and violently; he expressed his surprise at the unwonted sight and said in explanation of his astonishment, "I do not wonder at its coming out, but how any one could have put so great a mass of foam into so small a bottle, I could not understand". It is natural that we laugh at the Hindu, but we laugh, not, as Kant says, because our expectation which has been held in a state of tension, when relaxed, suddenly disappears into nothing; we simply laugh at the ignorance of the man who seeks the difficulty in the wrong place. Another of Kant's stories is this. A circle of his friends were displeased at some one who was boring them with a long and improbable tale, designed to prove that through grief the hair of a person could turn gray in a single night, when a waggish rogue began to set forth the details of the grief of a

merchant who on his return home from India encountered a heavy storm and was obliged to throw all his possessions overboard, adding that he was so much grieved at his loss that the same night his wig turned gray. We are sure that every one present laughed, but did they laugh because their expectation ended with a sudden disappointment and the argument vanished into nothing? Not at all. They laughed at the disappointment of the first speaker who was convinced of meeting an ally when he was duped by an actual adversary in ambush. It is true that dissolution of expectation gives rise to laughter in some cases, or in cases where apparent similarities turn out to be really unrelated, we have the element of surprise. Sidney Smith's instance of the famous retort by an Irish Colonel to Louis XIV is a case in point. "Reiterated applications for advancement had been met by the King with the testy remark, "that gentleman is the most troublesome officer I have in my service" "Sire" said the Colonel, "your majesty's enemies say precisely the same." Here at first sight the colonel was confirming the King's statement and yielded his own claim. But really he was strengthening his position in the most cogent manner. Addison's Tory Freeholder is another example. "I am for passive obedience and non-resistance" he said, "and I will oppose any Ministry or any king that will maintain this doctrine". But this theory of Kant can work well only within narrow limits. It can not explain the exultation of the savage on having his enemy, nor does it supply any adequate reason for the spontaneous and unoccasioned laughter of a child.

Thus the theory offered by Kant falls short of comprehensiveness and has to relinquish its claim to universality. One that is more carefully developed is by Arthur Schopenhauer. He asserts that "laughing arises from a suddenly conceived incongruence between some real object and its idea and that it is nothing but the expression of this incongruence". And in an-

other place he states that in the origin of the ridiculous is the paradoxical and therefore unexpected subsumption of an object under an entirely heterogeneous idea". In other words, "the incongruity is the incongruity between preception and conception and the greater the disparity between preception and conception, the greater the laughter. But while a great deal of profound truth is contained in the theory of Schopenhauer in as much as he is the first to explain the ludicrous not objectively from the thing laughed at, which method all the aestheticians pursued from Aristotle down to the present time, but to explain it subjectively from our laughing. However Schopenhauer's examples are not felicitous. He held that the type of all fun can be seen in the diagram of a tangent meeting a circle! We expect the curve to be continuous when lo! it seems to develop into a straight line. With a charming candour he proceeds. "The ludicrous in this case is no doubt, extremely weak; on the other hand it illustrates with exceptional clearness. the origin of the ludicrous in the incongruity between what is thought and what is perceived". But what ever our German philosopher's humor may be, it is anything but ludicrous to the students of geometry. Perhaps Schopenhauer would have come nearer the mark, had he said that this was his way of regarding circle tail off into a straight line for laughter in normal people is largely in subjective matter. And yet Schopenhauer's passion for philosophical unity is too overpowering and the desire of philosophers to put an ocean into a cup is too strong with him to make such necessary concession. Here is another example which James Sully thinks has a more promising look but which, to my mind, is equally doomed to failure. Soldiers on duty in a guard house have some one arrested and allow him to join in their game of cards. However, as he cheats, they kick him out, entirely, forgetting that he is a prisoner. Now do we laugh at the incongruity of the treatment of

arrested people and at the general doctrine that rascallions must be kicked out? No, we simply laugh at the stupidity of the soldiers who, in their zeal to punish a rascal, allow their prisoner to escape. Further it is a well known fact that we laugh more readily and freely at a man's foible, say, his shyness or awkwardness when we know that this is the characteristic expression of the man. We laugh more freely and readily at Don Quixote, at Falstaff when we have ceased to think of him as a possible model of decency and respectability and when we apperceive his behavior by means of the concept answering not to the type of normal and ordinary persons, but to the general behavior and manner of Falstaff or Don Quixote himself. Instead of laughing at incongruity as Schopenhauer would have us believe, we laugh in this case at congruity. Thus the result of trying to fit every variety of laughter into our German philosopher's theory is like the attempt to squeeze the body of a fat man into a boy's clothes. .

However, Schopenhauer's theory of the ludicrous contains a germ of truth, as has been said, and would explain a vast array of phenomena of laughter, had he been less ambitious and less cocksure about the all-sufficiency of philosophical theory. In other words, if he had recognized, as philosophers do not condescend to do, that truths are many and that there is no one truth, he would probably have struck a more correct note. For he should have modified his statement by saying that incongruity in order to provoke laughter must not be accompanied by other counteracting emotions such as pity and disgust or disturbing factor of thought as is present in the solution of mathematical problem. We all experience that when we are deeply absorbed in any intellectual work or weighed down by heavy feeling we are not easily excited to laughter. The reason is that while the depths of our being are stirred we have no mind and heart to play over its surface. The

jest is frozen on our lips if we perceive that there is a dark background behind a certain comic action or situation. The breaking of our parents' limbs, as Sidney Smith pointed out, could not give us laughter. And what serious and compassionate person would laugh at Elisha or any old man of his kind? When we read in Homer that the limping of the lame Hephaetus was watched with peals of merriment by the assembled gods, it is because the gods are not touched by feelings of pity and humanity. Again who would shake his sides in reading Shakespeare's perfect simile of a face where sorrow is mixed with gladness and a sky where sunshine struggles with shower? And who thinks of wit in Shelley's

As flowers beneath's Mays footsteps waken

As stars from nights loose hair are shaken?

In a word any theory that is to claim any truth at all must be guarded by qualifications and modifications, for whether or not we have any unity in our thought and in the intangible world, we can hardly attain absolute unity in this actual everyday world. There is no absolute truth as there is no absolute law on earth.

And yet such is the passion for philosophical unity with the great thinkers that one after another has attempted to yoke together the two theories, not necessarily antagonistic to each other, but at the same time not susceptible of indissoluble union and fusion. Herbert Spencer tried to accomplish this difficult task by combining the theory of Hobbes and that of Schopenhauer and calling this combination the theory of descending incongruity. Fouillée also tried to show that the theory of incongruity supplements the theory of degradation as contrast to the formal element and faultiness the material. But we have seen in the course of our discussion that whereas cases are to be found to illustrate the co-existence of the element of incongruity and the element of moral degradation, cases are also many, indeed numerous that re-

fuse to be explained by the combined theory.

Hazlitt, on the other hand, attempted to draw a distinct boundary line between the two. He said in "Wit and Humor" that "The ludicrous is where there is the same contradiction between the object and our expectations, heightened by its being contrary to what is desirable or customary" and that "the ridiculous is that which is contrary not only to custom but to sense and reason". And he said that the ridiculous is properly the province of satire. Thus in the opinion of Hazlitt, the ludicrous has to do with the intellectual principle, the principle of incongruity, whereas the ridiculous has to do with, the principle of moral degradation. But we know that much that is ridiculous is also ludicrous and much that is ludicrous is also ridiculous. In a great many cases they shade into each other and admit of no hair-splitting distinction.

II

Thus we see none of the theories have stood our test. They are all in ruins, because they are built on quicksand foundations. But man is an optimistic animal. Whether or not we have studied the philosophy of the great German thinker, Leibnitz, we are most of us his unconscious disciples. Inspired with the possibility of constructing a new theory of laughter, M. Bergson has in his essay "On Laughter" given us one neatly rounded and all the world seems to think that the brilliant French philosopher has cut the Gordian knot. In Bergson's opinion the ridiculous consists neither in incongruity, nor in moral degradation, but in want of elasticity in automaticism, in one's inability to suit oneself to the changing environment. Life according to him is in flux and hence incessant adaptation is necessary, while automaticism is blind repetition. Whenever we find any automaticism, inelasticity, in a word, lack of adaptation to the changing environment we have the comic. Hence laughter is critical and corrective. It is a social gesture.

And because it is critical, it is incompatible with emotion or sympathy with the object. In a word laughter is intelligent and cold criticism of conduct and manners. Bergson says "The comic appeals to the intelligence pure and simple; laughter is incompatible with emotion. Depict some fault, however trifling, in such a way as to arouse sympathy, fear or pity; the mischief is done, it is impossible for us to laugh." "Any individual" says Mr. Bergson "is comic who automatically goes his own way without troubling himself about getting into touch with the rest of his fellow beings. It is the part of laughter to reprove his absent-mindedness and wake him out of his dream. Each member of society must be ever attentive to his social surroundings; he must model himself on his environment; in short he must avoid shutting himself up in his own peculiar ivory tower." "Therefore society holds suspended over each individual member, if not the threat of correction, at all events, the prospect of social snubbing which, although it is slight, is none the less dreaded. Such must be the function of laughter. Always rather humiliating for the one against whom it is directed, laughter is, really and truly, a kind of social ragging".

In short, the fundamental ideas of laughter are with M. Bergson (1) the changing environment, based on his theory of creative evolution and flux of life and (2) the rigidity and ones inability to adapt oneself to the ever changing environment. But, with all deference to Mr. Bergson's intellect may we not explain all the phenomena of laughter by the opposite theory? Instead of saying that the ludicrous consists in the contrast between the mechanization of life and change of environment, may we not say that the ludicrous consists in one's inability to shape one's life according to the standard society might set up as a counterpoise to the flux of the environment? Of course, here again, laughter is a social gesture, a social corrective but the end at which laughter is directed

is different. In the theory of M. Bergson, laughter is a result of our inability to change as fast as we can, but according to this interpretation laughter is a result of our inability to remain the same, that is, according to the standard. Bergson says "why do we laugh when some one slips on the ice? Because he has stupidly stepped on a slippery surface just in the old careless way in which he stepped on the rough ground, forgetting to adapt himself." I would not say this is wrong. But is it not also true that we laugh because the man who has stepped on the ice did not know how to conform to the standard that is regarded necessary to follow in skating on ice namely, the particular way of walking on ice. Such a man is like a rustic laughed at by the people in the city because he does not know how to adapt himself to the standard of the city which is a fixed element, not in flux. Bergson again says "what is there so funny about absence of mind? about Newton holding the egg in his hand while his watch was boiling in the saucepan? About the Oxford don who at the railway station handed fifty cents to his wife and kissed the black porter." Here evidently Bergson's ingenious theory does not hold water because if Newton should have boiled his egg in the saucepan and held his watch in his hand or if the Oxford don should have kissed his wife and given the fifty cents to the black porter, Newton and the Oxford don would be acting in conformity to the standard of society. As it is, Newton and the Oxford don, I am afraid, carried Bergson's principle too far; they are too elastic and too eager to adapt themselves to the new environment. Bergson gives many other examples, but every one of them can be explained according to the interpretation I have proposed. But although it would be delightful mental exercise to test each of Bergson's examples, the temptation has to be resisted.

Thus in many cases, if not all, we have the phenomenon of excessive elasticity, excessive adaptability as is shown

in the unstable character of fashion, for fashion is at its inception quite comic because of its deviation from the standard. It ceases to be comic only when it is accepted as standard that is, when it reaches the second stage—fashion par excellence. If Bergson should be right, fashion at its inception would be anything but ludicrous. But do we not laugh at its first symptoms? Do we not laugh at novelty, innovation, at any thing that is new and strange, at any thing to which we are not accustomed? Is it not because that fashion is laughable since it is a radical departure from the established standard? Somebody says that the subtlest analysis by which Bergson's argument is illustrated is that of the mirthfulness in caricature. It is said to be comic, because it is rigid. But can we not explain this by saying that it is comic because it does not conform to the standard which is that we should not laugh all the time, nor weep all the time, neither wear perpetual gloom, nor manifest eternal grinning. Of course the standard is a tacit one, not a proclaimed code. If Bergson should say that the caricaturist simply uses the element of rigidity in us which is independent of altering environment, why is not, say, the naive utterance of a child, on the death of its mother that she is only sleeping and will wake up,—why is that not comic? The child in saying this is surely inelastic, automatic, rigid, unable to adapt itself to the altering environment. The death of mother—what great change in environment! But we do not regard this utterance of the child as comic, because naivety and innocence is the standard nature of a child. Naturally we do not expect children to behave like adults.

But in proposing the idea of standard as a substitute for the theory of changing environment, I do not mean to propound an oracle. I shall not erect a superstructure myself after demolishing the superstructure built out of the inventive brain of philosophers, for any such airy superstructure will meet with the same fate. I do not pre-

tend that this idea of standard is such a comprehensive theory that it is, (as is often claimed by philosophers,) the final statement of the ultimate cause of laughter. Nay it may be entirely wrong and worthless and in that case may be laughed away as should be the treatment meted to every attempt at discovery of the secret of life which is to be hidden and not known.

But the theory of Bergson has another aspect and that is laughter is intellectual, critical, primarily an act of the brain, divorced from emotion, something in its essence logical. As Horace Walpole has said "Life is a comedy to the man who thinks." And as George Meredith has pointed out in his essay on Comedy, laughter is thoughtful. By this aspect of his theory which has I think, affiliations with the theory of incongruity just as its other aspect, namely, inadaptability to environment has close kinship with the theory of moral degradation, Bergson has explained after a fashion, the laughter of the French, for Bergson's illustrations are drawn from the comedies of Molière which reflect the temper of the French mind. But has Bergson explained the laughter of mankind? Or to narrow down the scope of our inquiry, has he accounted for the laughter of the English? The comedies of Molière are all written from the point of view of the dispassionate cold observer showing the defects of each character and performing admirably the function of the critic. People should not be too ambitious (*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*); too impulsive (*L'E'touffé*); too clever (*Les Précieuses*); too exacting (*Le Misanthrope*). Molière is always perfectly wise and entirely reasonable. *Tartuffe*, *Lávare*, answer to the definition of Bergson. But professor Bergson, being a true Frenchman could only account for the laughter of the French and would by implication throw the English into the category of "agelasts" or non-laughing animals and would also by implication deny the existence of any comedy in English. We know,

however, that nature has not been partial in the bestowing of this essential ingredient of life and that comedies are not an unknown entity in English literature.

How then can we explain this puzzle? The reason is not far to seek. The English attitude toward the whole of life is emotional and sympathetic. They are incapable of intellectual detachment. This is reflected in literature and especially comedy. The English prose is marked not by clarity, logicity, perspicuity, but by emotional warmth and color and is instinct with life. English comedy, like the English prose, is not the pure and simple thing, because the thought of the English man is never that dry clear thought which uses the French prose as a medium. The English man will not be a cold logical animal for any length of time. His feelings always knock for entrance. Consequently Shakespeare who is the Moliere of England did not laugh with his brain alone, but with his whole soul—a laughter M. Bergson's definition is innocent of. M. Bergson lets us into the inner workings of the French mind at a play, but gives us no key to the secret spring of the English disposition to risibility. Bergson can tell us why the French laugh at Tartuffi, but can he explain why we laugh with Falstaff? Is here any social gesture, any criticism, any act of judgement? Are our sympathies kept in abeyance when we read or look at the comic figure? The truth is Shakespeare's figures are not a criticism of life; it is a piece of life imaginatively realized. Falstaff is not judged, but accepted. Falstaff appeals to the Falstaff in ourselves. Like Dogberry, he is our common stupidity, enjoyed for the dear fool that is part of every man. Shakespeare has submitted Falstaff to every indignity that flesh is heir to. Falstaff's reputed cowardice, his misadventures with the merry wives, the shifts to which he is put, the pits into which he is thrust—these are Shakespeare's way of emphasizing Falstaff the merry fat old man and Falstaff

the futile and delectable wit. In short Shakespeare's laugh includes vice and folly in a humor which is the tolerance of nature for all her works. This humor lies at the other extreme from the critical laugh of pure comedy. And so do the broad humor of Aristophanes and Rabelais.

Again, Shakespeare's "romantic" comedies of the sea and forest are as different as Falstaff from the pure comedy of Molière. Here is no social gesture, no correction of the folly of humanity. We have instead human moods and temperament imagined and conveyed in perfect speech—the radiance and love of women, the wisdom of princes and the faith of friends, all subdued to the light of the forest and to the sounds of meadow and sea. Laughter plays through all these romantic comedies of Shakespeare over all mortal feelings and fancies, stilled perhaps into silence by a walking shadow, but rippling afresh as the shadow passes. In short Shakespeare's laughter is a delicate and vibrant sympathy, including every fool, seeing life itself as a misunderstanding that must pass, as a pageant of the incongruous wherein all beautifully agrees when we embrace it.

Shakespeare's laughter is of that specific kind the meaning of which is expressed by the term humor, "the genial humor that combines with the sense of the ludicrous an underlying sympathy; the humor that loses its venom but not its point, because it involves a profound feeling of tenderness and tolerance for one common human nature." The following passage is an example:-

But man, proud man,
Dress'd in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most
assured
His glassy essence, like an angry ape,
Plays such fantastic tricks before
high heaven,
As makes the angel weep; who, with
our spleens,
Would all themselves laugh mortal.
(*Measure for Measure*)

Such a passage as this is suffused with a keen sense of this incongruity and yet our laughter thereby evoked is not the heartless laughter of the spectators of Moliere, but the laughter which with some pain is brought. Take two passages from Burns, for Burns like Shakespeare, is too full of humanity to indulge in merciless wit. His "*Tam O' Shanter*" is a good example.

Where sits one sulky, sullen dame,
Gathering her brows like gathering
storm,

Nursing her wrath to keep it warm.
Another example is a bacchanalian song

It is the moon, I ken her horn
That's blinkin in the lift sae hie;
She shines sae bright to wyle us
hame,

But, my sooth, she'll wait a wee.

Through this sympathetic element in humor which Bergson religiously excluded from his theory of the ludicrous, humor comes to recognize in pathos its family likeness. The heart is thus open to the feelings of compassion and rendered more responsive when the images presented depend upon association. This process is illustrated in poetry dealing with childhood. Take the scene between Hubert and the little prince Arthur in King John. With the sheer pathos of the passage is mingled a tender vein of humor in the little faults in taste as when he shows how well he remembers his own kindness. In the treatment of the little princess in Richard III, of the young Martins in Coriolanus, and of the boy Manilius in "Winter's Tale" we find this strain of wistful humor reappearing amidst the sadness of the situation. In the following passage of Shakespeare, humor and pathos are mutually greatly intensified by their juxtaposition. "Courage man" said Romeo to the wounded Mercutio, "The hurt can not be much." "No", answers the irresponsible gallant it's not deep as a well nor so wide as a churchdoor; but 'tis enough, 't will serve. Ask for me tomorrow, and you shall find me a grave man." Nothing could be more tragic than that Mercutio should die with a

jest on his lips, nothing more comic than that a man should joke on the threshold of death.

Thus we see Shakespeare's laughter or his humor is to be explained neither by the theory of moral degradation nor by the theory of incongruity nor by Bergson's social gesture or automatism. It is a laughter that conceals tears. It is a humor epitomized by Carlyle in his essay on Jean Paul. It is a laugh of the soul; it proceeds from the heart, not the head; its essence is love, not contempt. In that "inverse sublimity" which we call humor Shakespeare exhorts into our affections what is below us. Indeed the feelings of Shakespeare never desert him whether his genius finds its expression in comedy or tragedy. Even with the happiest of his merriment one feels that there is agitation of a certain troublesome emotion in his breast, which Plato calls *φθόνος*. This humor has therefore nothing to do with moral degradation and the sense of our superiority on the one hand and the incongruity between idea and object on the other. For to be humorous is to be sympathetic, to put ourselves in the situation of the person we are laughing at, and the moment this picture of our suffering, though imaginary, presents itself, where would be the sense of our superiority and the feeling of sudden glory? Humor, again, unlike wit, plumbs the depths of our thought and feeling and holds the firm conviction that qualities inconsistent and incompatible at the first glance and on the surface need not be so with human nature which binds the world together. Hence humor is tolerance. It tries to perceive the unity underlying diversity whereas wit seeks to chuckle over the superficial diversity, blinking the underlying unity.

Bergson's theory is, however, not only inapplicable to the comedies of Shakespeare. It is also inapplicable to the comedies of manners of Congreve. Here life turns to be a brilliant pageant wherein all the players are supernumerary. Here there is no loud passion

or emphasis; but a harmony of agreeable voices "congreging to a full and natural close." True, in the comedies of Congreve as in the comedies of Molière feeling is absent. But Molière abstains from passion as a critic, whereas Congreve does so from as an artist of the social background. While many things are good or bad in the comedies of Molière, nothing is good or bad in the world of Congreve. The comedy of manners is removed from the sphere of morality. Charles Lamb rightly regarded "these sports of a witty fancy" as "a world of themselves almost as much as fairyland". He said that we go to this play in order "to escape from the pressure of reality". The figures that flit across the stage have no moral substance and are proper subjects neither for approval nor for disapproval. In a word this comedy is a pure show having no relation to the every day actual world. It is neither immoral as Macaulay thought nor has it claim to be moral. It is non-moral. Although these comedies of Congreve are not English because not national and although they form a mere episode in English dramatic history, still they constitute a distinct genre of comedy. If M. Bergson could not stretch or contract the dimensions of this comic spirit in order to fit him into his Procrustean bed, so much the worse for Bergson. People who have an artistic temperament will leave his morals and his critical spirit with his morning coat at home and enjoy the play all the same.

III

What I have attempted to show thus far is that none of the theories of the ludicrous can adequately explain every variety of laughter, especially that species of humor which is an intermingling of thought and emotion with the predominance of the latter. But the philosophers fail because their vaulting ambition overleaps itself. Had they known that laughter is the real line of demarcation between races and kinds of people and that the causes of laughter are complex and intricate

their passion for universality would not have been so intense.

So complex and intricate indeed are the causes of laughter that various explanations have to be sought for its various forms. A certain form of laughter which is *Ho, Ho, Ho*, consisting in quickly repeated ejaculations of shouting, may be explained by the notion that it is a shout of triumph, the loud announcement of victory and expression of joy at a success of some kind. But this triumph is not in any way due to the sudden glory of our eminence and superiority, nor is it due to painless deformity or degradation. It is triumph pure and simple, the joy of accomplishment without "*Schadenfreude*" or malicious joy which is premeditated and finds its realization in its success. We laugh sometimes when we have accomplished a difficult task, but we do so not because we feel our superiority or the degradation of the object, but because we feel relieved of the task and we feel that we have recovered our freedom and liberty. The boisterous laughter of the school boy suddenly let loose from the school is one of triumph, but without any taint of malicious crowing. The laughter of a student of mathematics when he has just solved a knotty problem is again a shout of triumph, but the dominant feeling is a feeling of relief, of getting out of the entanglement. Again, when a child plays hide and seek with its nurse, the child laughs as soon as it finds her. But who would think that in this case the child laughs because the child sees anything incongruent or because the child sees anything degraded in the nurse? Who would not say that the child laughs because it is overwhelmed with the joy of success, namely, meeting the nurse again? This shout of triumph is what James Sully would call a sudden release from a state of constraint accompanied by a sudden incoming of gladness.

But after throwing stone at every philosophical theory of laughter and after this long discussion of the ultimate cause of the ludicrous we may

console ourselves with the thought that laughter is largely a subjective matter. There is no reason why A. Bain should place Archimedes in his list of objects that "cause feelings of pain, anger, sadness, and loathing". To a person philosophically inclined the spectacle of Archimedes is the symbol of sublimity. And to a man of Spinoza's turn of mind, the example of a Chinese Emperor Yuan expounding the doctrine of Buddhism during the siege of his capital is a model of striving after the highest good of life. Many, too many, on the other hand, will regard both Archimedes and Emperor Yuan as the incarnation of sheer folly and insanity and would, instead of showing respect to their devotion to learning, shower upon them laughter and mockery. Again the murder of one's grandmother is certainly one of the most awful things in the world, but in Anderson's story of "the Great Klaus and the little Klaus" the fact that the Great Klaus was enticed into killing his grandmother in the hope of obtaining a great price for the body of the good old lady is one of the funniest points of the narrative. I was told by an American traveller in India that whenever he stopped over in an inn, the first question the inn keeper would ask of him is "what do you think of immortality"; and that to our traveller is the most amusing experience in his life. But to the other wordly Hindu such a question is very appropriate. The fact that the most serious thing may be the object of laughter shows the foolishness of the attempt at discovering qualities in objects that will invariably provoke laughter. Let Aristotle or Bergson test the validity of their theory by negatively verifying it in the tragedies of the Greek. Take the story of Clytemnestra. Nothing can be more tragic, more wholly sad than the thought of a mother waiting and watching for her son who does not come, because he has fallen in battle. Yet to the Israelites, the thought of the mother Sisera looking through her lattice and wondering why her son delayed his

coming presented a spectacle irresistibly ludicrous. We make merry our Falstaff, is there no tragedy there? Prince Hal laughed at the comedy; King Henry saw the full force of the tragedy. Who so funny as Dogberry? His blunders and his stupidity are irresistible. But would the pretenders of culture and refinement see the joke? Again do we not know of persons who would laugh at the misfortunes of their friends, whereas really sincere men would blush at the very impulse?

All these examples go to show that the hard and fast line drawn between comedy and tragedy is artificial and mechanical. Shakespeare is therefore wise in interweaving grave diggers into Hamlet, the Nurse into Romeo and Juliet, and the porter in Macbeth, not because it is Shakespeare's primary intention to relieve the tension of the audience, but because few things are comic or tragic in and of themselves. To a man with a serious turn of mind all these comic episodes and amusing incidents only intensify the dark gloom and tragedy of the play, whereas in the eyes of the light-hearted the tragic ending becomes ludicrous, preceeded as it is by those facetious demonstrations. A Chinese sage remarked, "a benevolent man sees benevolence everywhere; an intellectual man wisdom!"

Even when we do agree to laugh at the same thing we often laugh at different aspects of the object. The controlling factor is the individual's humor. One may laugh at the idealist because his ideals and dreams are never realized in this everyday actual world. Another may side with the philosopher and sneer at the vanity, folly and aimless life of the madding crowd. That is the view Emerson takes in his essay on the comic. "The best of all jokes is the sympathetic contemplation of things by the understanding from the philosopher's point of view. There is no joke so true and deep as when some pure idealist goes up and down among the institutions of society, attended by men who know the world, and who, sympathizing with the philosopher's

scrutiny, sympathizes also with the confusion and indignation of the detached skulking institutions. His perception of disparity his eye wandering perpetually from the rule to the crooked, lying, thieving fact, makes the eye run over with laughter". It is like the story of Don Quixote in which every one finds some thing ludicrous, though different persons would be found laughing at opposite sides of the same contrast. A couplet from A. Schopenhauer may illustrate this:-

"Our parson's the good sheperd of
whom the Bible spake,
His flock all soundly sleeping
and he alone awake."

One person would find the good ridiculous because his ideal does not coincide with the real fact. But another would hold fast to his ideal as being more real than the real and would laugh a hearty laugh at the other party.

This brings us to the point that whereas many things appear either tragic or comic according to the mood and the temper of the mind of the individual, the real tragic element in life, which are not to be mistaken by any normal person for the comic have an objective reality and hence a universality of appeal. But this is denied to comedy. While we will agree as to what is really grievous and tragic, we will never come to terms with regard to what is really ludicrous. The world is united by weeping and divided by laughing. An English man sees little fun in Alceste. A French man sees in Falstaff only a fat man. The Greeks made fun of the peaceable decent creature—frog, as bear witness the so-called Homeric hymn of "The Battle of the Frogs and the Mice" and the tragedy of Aristophanes to which the frogs give the title. But we Chinese have never given any insult to this little creature. On the contrary some lower class people actually make it a sacred animal. It is unnecessary to multiply examples. Enough instances have been given to prove that the ludicrous is not inherent in objects, but is largely a subjective matter.

But in maintaining or rather pointing out the subjective nature of laugh-

ter and hence of comedy. I do not mean to commit myself to any philosophical theory which always claims universal application and infallibility; I have only indicated one characteristic of this ever present phenomenon of our life. To frame an absolute law or theory that is to rule in the domain of thought or in the region of unknowable is of course possible and will win the philosopher reverence and admiration. We are astounded by the almost super-human ability of Descartes to prove the existence of God and we are equally amazed at the equally super-human skill of the French philosophers of the 18th century to prove the non-existence of God. But the attempt to establish absolute law or theory in this every day actual world is only a delightful mental exercise. Facts, like disobedient children will always rebel and show defiance at the command of authority. Brunetre thought that all the drama could be brought under the rule of "conflict," but William Archer showed his delusion and tried to persuade the world to believe that "crisis" not "conflict" is the one thing necessary in all kinds of play. No sooner however, did William Archer propound his oracle than C. Hamilton asked for the explanation of certain dramas which are models of excellence, but without "crisis." If therefore any law or theory is to be valid in this actual every day world, it must be carefully guarded and protected by qualifications and modifications, by specifying conditions and circumstances under which a certain phenomenon will happen. It must be conscious of its limits. It must be humble. Laws of science and laws of legal nature are constantly mindful of the virtue of humility. But the philosophers, in their passion for revealing the secret of the universe and of life, believing in the infallibility of human reason and fondly imagining that a theory that is hatched in their ivory tower will always be unchallengeable and hold good in the universe, forget the virtue that is enjoined by Jesus, Confucius and Buddha.

The Perils of the Shu Road

BY LI T'AI PEI

Translated by Miss Amy Lowell

A LAS! Alas! The danger! The Steepness! O Affliction!
The Shu Road is as perilous and difficult as the way to the Green Heavens.
No greater undertaking than this has been since Ts'an Ts'ung and Yü Fu ruled the land.
For forty-eight thousand years no man had passed the boundary of Ch'in.
Westward, over the Great White Mountain, was a bird-track
By which one could cross to the peak of Omei.
But the earth of the mountain fell and overwhelmed the Heroes so that they perished.
Afterwards, therefore, they made sky-ladders and joined the cliffs with hanging pathways.
Above, the soaring tips of the high mountains hold back the six dragons of the sun;
Below, in the ravines, the flowing waters break into whirlpools and swirl back against the current.
Yellow geese flying toward the peaks cannot pass over them;
The gibbons climb and climb, despairingly pulling themselves up higher and higher, but even their endurance fails.
How the road coils and coils through the Green Mud Pass!
With nine turns to a hundred steps, it winds round the ledges of the mountain crests.
Clutching at Orion, passing the Well Star, I look up and gasp.
I sit long with my hand pressed to my heart and groan.
I ask my Lord how long this westward wandering will last, when we shall return.
It is impossible to climb the terrible road along the edges of the precipices.
Among the ancient trees, one sees only

Male birds, followed by females, fly to and fro through the woods.
Sometimes one hears a nightingale in the melancholy moonlight of the lonely mountain.
The Shu Road is as perilous and difficult as the way to the Green Heavens.
The ruddy faces of those who hear the story of it turn pale.
There is not a cubit's space between the mountain tops and the sky.
Dead and unrooted pine-trees hang over sheer cliffs.
Flying waterfalls and rolling torrents outdo one another in clamour and confusion;
They dash against the perpendicular walls, whirl round ten thousand rocks, and boom like thunder along the ravines.
This is what the Two-Edged Sword Mountains are like!
Alas! How endless a road for man to undertake! How came he to attempt it!
The Terraced Road of the Two-Edged Sword twists between glittering and rocky summits.
One man alone could hold it against a thousand and mow them down like grass.
If the guardian of the Pass were doubtful whether those who came were enemies of his kinsmen,
He could fall upon them as a ravening wolf.
At dawn, one flees the fierce tigers;
In the evening, one flees the long snakes
Who sharpen their fangs and suck blood,
Destroying men like hemp.
Even though the delights of the Embroidered City are as reported,
Nothing could equal the joy of going home at once.
The Shu Road is as perilous and difficult as the way to the Green Heavens
I turn toward the West, and, gazing long, I sigh.

The Far Eastern Situation

PUTNAM WEALE.

LET me first thank you very sincerely for the privilege of addressing you on a vital subject and also for your great courtesy in inviting me as your guest at today's luncheon. To find a body of men in this city able and willing to give special consideration to Chinese Questions is one more proof that America is fated to play a large part in the settlement of all Pacific issues. You will no doubt wish to hear from me today, not in vague or general terms but very precisely and clearly. In England, which I only left a month ago, I was asked a good many times just what I considered the Pacific question to be. I invariably answered that the matter must be divided into two distinct parts. First, the general issue connected with sea-power, island-bases and large migratory racial movements; and secondly, the narrower issue of the Far East. Naturally, it is about the second part that I wish to talk to you today. The problem of the Far East is by no means as insoluble as some people imagine. It is overburdened with detail and made tedious by the slowness with which changes come and yet in essence it is very simple. Let me give you some preliminary indications. There had been rivalry between China and Japan for seven hundred years prior to the war of 1894, which definitely stripped China of her suzerainty over Korea. But this rivalry was no stranger than the long contest between England and France, which was waged in one form or another practically from the Norman Conquest down to our own time. Japan triumphed over China in 1894, because she had learned the lesson of Western efficiency more quickly than her neighbor. In the settlement, she made only one false move, the abortive attempt to annex purely Chinese territory, the Liaotung peninsula. I do not attach much im-

portance to this war except in its indirect effects; the real crisis in the Far East dates from the settlement of the Russo-Japanese conflict of ten years later. It has never been properly realized what a stupendous effort this was for Japan and how gallant she was to attack her great northern neighbor. I can only say by way of comparison that the burdens, financial and otherwise, placed on the Japanese people were every bit as heavy for them as the burden placed on the peoples of Europe by the war just ended. The outlook was tinged by another circumstance. The people were angry with their government for the treaty of peace and believed that they had been cheated of their just deserts. It is very important to realize all the implications of these statements. The Japanese Government, although autocratically constituted, is highly sensitive to pressure from within and afraid of that pressure, because there being no true constitutional checks on its authority there is ever present the fear of tumult and riot and even revolutionary outbreak. I attribute the whole series of acts committed by Japan in China during the past 16 years more to popular pressure than to bureaucratic desire. The people disappointed in the concrete results achieved by war and overburdened by taxation, constantly spurred on their government to coercive action. It is a fact, for instance, that the famous Twenty-one demands were prepared outside the Government offices in Tokio and only taken up and adopted by the foreign minister Kato and the Prime Minister Okuma in the hope that success would give them an unchallenged leadership among their own countrymen. This is also true of the whole series of loans to China, amounting to so many millions during the World War period. They were vain attempts, in obedience to public

sentiment, to stake out a special claim in eastern Asia. As for any actual necessity for Japan going overseas to relieve the pressure of her population, the facts today prove conclusively that there is no such pressure. Korea, after being 16 years in Japanese hands has less than 400,000 Japanese immigrants, or an average influx of 25,000 a year. Formosa, after 26 years ownership by Japan, has little more than 100,000 Japanese residents. The leased territory in Manchuria and the South Manchuria Railway Zone have under 90,000 Japanese. That is, during the two decades Japan has only sent to these regions slightly more than half a million people. If we examine the emmigration from the British Isles during a like period, we find a figure so vastly superior to this total that it is made quite plain that there is no such pressure in Japan as there is in the United Kingdom. Moreover, last year's statistics show that the Japanese increase in population has fallen from half a million annually to 280,000. If this diminished birth rate is maintained, it will be yet another proof that the cry of overpopulation is entirely fictitious. There is one final remarkable fact. Japan has at home in her own territory enough land to take care of 40 years normal increase. The northern island of Hokkaido is still only sparsely colonized and could carry ten millions more. Similarly, if the crown lands belonging to the imperial family were thrown open to the colonization of the Japanese people there would be room for an additional ten millions. A country that has available land which could support an increased population of 20,000,000 and yet cries that it must expand abroad is actually dishonest. What Japan requires is not overspill areas but what I call wealth contact areas. In other words, wherever on the shores of the Pacific the white man has pioneered and created his standards of life, there do the Japanese desire to go. They do not like Latin America as much as

other parts. What they really desire is access to Anglo-Saxon America and Anglo-Saxon Australia, where the standards are immensely higher than elsewhere and the cash returns correspondingly great. That seems to me everything that needs to be said on this side of the question.

So far as the other element in the problem is concerned, namely, China, the statement can be made just as simple. The Chinese people have been for some years in a state of mild chaos, because that condition has been absolutely necessary for progress and change. One thing only I regret, the mildness of it all. It would have been much better if they had shown more fierceness and hit out more strongly, particularly at their enemies, as that would have earned for them more attention from the world and thereby won for them more justice. Progress in China, as in every other country in the world, is dependent on conflict and contest, not on pathetic subordination to a bureaucracy, which seems to be the ideal which all those who criticize China have in mind. There has been perfectly stupendous progress in China if we compare the position of the people today with their position ten years ago. They walk faster, think faster, talk faster, and act faster. Anyone with any powers of observation must concede these facts. And with all this there is growing up a national consciousness and a will-to-act utterly unknown ten years ago. It simply means that today they are awake and about to march forward. In these circumstances certain phrases written down in the agenda of the Washington Conference to cover China are very important. The particular sub-head I have in mind is entitled, "Principles To Be Observed". And then follow the various categories such as "Administrative Independence", "Railways", etc. What are the principles to be observed, in dealing with China? Is it possible to state them tersely? I say it is. Simply apply to China the

same ideas that you apply to every other country, merely modifying them so as to give past practice a certain status and build up on that foundation. Here is a concrete illustration. It must be laid down categorically that China must own and control all her communications, telegraphs, posts and railways, the technical and financial details being dealt with in the light of past practice. The test case is the matter of the Shantung Railway, which must be placed on precisely the same footing as all other railways, under the ownership and control of the Ministry of Communications as the trustee of the nation. For three years I have been insisting that the railway is the whole Shantung question and that once that has been dealt with there will be nothing left to cause conflict between the two powers. Had the Chinese delegates at the Paris conference dropped the rest of the Shantung business and merely insisted upon the retro-cession of the railway as being vital to the life of the State, it would have exposed as nothing else could have done the whole Japanese plan of campaign. With out railways to penetrate the back country, the Chinese seaboard offers no attraction to the Japanese and would be immediately evacuated. There is only one other matter besides ownership and control of all communications that is vital to China today. That is control of her tariff. She must have tariff autonomy. I favor immediately doubling the present five per cent import tax and immediately abandoning the archaic system of coast trade taxation. That will in any case do two things. It will bring in sufficient revenue to do away with constant borrowing and will inaugurate what is absolutely essential for inter-provincial solidarity, that is, free trade within the limits of the Republic. I also suggested whilst in England that trading zones ten miles wide as in the case of the Manchurian railways, be established along all railways and rivers in China, where foreigners would be per-

mitted to own land and erect factories, precisely on the same footing as Chinese under exclusively Chinese jurisdiction. This will involve a partial abandonment of the principle of extraterritoriality. Its full abandonment cannot come for ten years or more, since I have been assured by the Chief Justice of China that it will take that time to complete all the modern codes that are now being compiled, not to speak of training the judiciary. It may be news to you but it is a fact that during the past year the British Foreign Office has been prepared to abandon extraterritorial rights in the matter of trade-marks. In a dispatch of the 7th of September, 1920, Lord Curzon intimated that he was prepared to take the initiative in the matter of establishing special Chinese trademark tribunals, having exclusive jurisdiction over this important commercial matter, which has long been a subject of bitter dispute. Furthermore, I was given to understand in London that Britain is prepared to take the initiative at the Washington Conference in offering to retrocede the Weihaiwei leased territory to China provided that all powers with similar leased territories follow an identic policy and execute it at once. These are important statements which I am sure you will appreciate. There is one final observation I would like to make. That is that if Washington is to be a success, precise dates and figures must be set to every arrangement made. There must be no general promises of any sort or description. There must be dates, figures and amounts, worked out and stated in black and white in every case so that no dispute is possible. If this is done it will give a powerful impetus towards reconciliation between striving parties in China. They will faithfully carry out pledges given at Washington. They will certainly exert themselves in an exceptional way once they see that they are being treated with justice, for there is a formal and ceremonial

side to the Chinese character which has not been changed under the republic and which likes precision and contractual obligations and is eager to execute them so long as they have the mutually beneficial character of a commercial bargain.

Gentlemen: I have concluded. I believe that vast progress can be achieved in China, not by political interference but by political abstension. The contest between various parts of the country has been waged largely because of political interference in the past. Give men a wider horizon, open up new activities for the masses and you will very speedily create forces far stronger than those possessed by a handful of military commanders.

That is true statesmanship and not such things as reactionaries speak of, foreign boards of control. No board of control in China would ever work a day. The Chinese have powers of passive resistance superior to any in the world. If they are encouraged and stimulated such is their perseverance and ingenuity they can create almost overnight a myriad of most fruitful activities. If, on the other hand they are opposed and oppressed, they can become a vast fortress of mud, impervious to every missile. Which will you have? A myriad most fruitful activities or that most elementary of thing a fortress of mud?—*A speech given at The China Society of America on October 31, 1921.*

Oriental Elements in Schopenhauer

YUNG TUNG TANG.

IS Schopenhauer a Vedantist or a Buddhist? That is a much disputed question. One group of eminent scholars, headed by Doctor Karl Neumann, would like to elevate the great European pessimist to the rank of Mandgalyayena and Cariputra. Another army of competent orientalists, under the able generalship of the late Professor Paul Deussen, takes pains to find for the German pantheist a place among the followers of Badarayana and Cankara. Strictly speaking, however, Schopenhauer is neither. His philosophy, it is true, wears a garb of Oriental pedantry. But Schopenhauerism is only a legitimate child of the German Romantic age; his naturalistic method is only a legacy from the eighteenth century empiricism; his mystic longing and aesthetic revery express at best the emotional side of mediaeval Europe. The best wisdom of the Orient Schopenhauer never grasped.

Schopenhauer, with all his cold indifference to nationality, failed to isolate himself from the storming environment of the nineteenth century Germany. He was proud of his originality, but gave us nothing essentially new. He hated his contemporary "philosophical windbags," but the Schopenhauerian "will" is almost another name for the Fichtean Ego. Ever since the time of Kant, Germany was swept over by a movement with the lawlessness of "Lovell", the self-contemplation of "Titan", the sorrows of young Werther, and the insatiable longing of the "blue flower." Amidst this terrible and vast whirlpool, Schopenhauer, much against his own expectation, was only an eddy. The feeling of restlessness which caused his pessimism, was the folly of his time—the folly under which succumbed a stream of "original genius"

from Werther to René, from Childe Harold to Rolla; and the folly in which we find grim humourists like Heine, rebellious lyricists like Musset, Satanic muses like Byron. Schopenhauer was the theorist among the poets.

The wayward and lawless character of the Romantic movement is shown in its throwing an Arcadean glamour on the orient. In the Mahabharata and Ramayana the Romanticists imagined that they had discovered "an elephantine Mediaevalism". About China, a country, "surrounded (sic) by a remarkable long wall", Heine said, "Birds and thoughts of European scholars fly over the walls, and when they have feasted their eyes with the wonderful sights, they return to us and relate the most delightful tales of that strange country and people." Sanskrit study began through the patronage of Warren Hastings, but the Oriental light was refracted through the Romantic medium of Schlegel. What is more unfortunate is that since Locke and Kant, metaphysical discussion was in vogue. Intoxicated with the notions of phenomenon and noumenon, Western scholars came to speak of the Oriental religions in terms of metaphysics, which, in the western sense, is foreign to the great Hindus. So Schopenhauer quoted Sir William Jones, "The fundamental tenet of the Vedanta school consisted not in denying, but in contending that it has no essence independent of mental perception." In regard to Buddhism, Friedrich Schlegel spoke of it as "a class of void abstractions and a pure nihilism."

In spite of their admirable zeal, the romanticists were scantily and badly informed about the Orient. Even Schopenhauer once said, "up till 1818, when my work appeared, there were

but few exceedingly incomplete and scanty accounts of Buddhism to be found in Europe." And he confessed, "I have certainly not been under its influence." The doctrine of Gotama was then known through the accounts of the later Mahayana sects, while the tenets of the Upanishads were studied through the interpretation of Cankara, who, living as late as the 6th century, converted the early theories into a system of his own.

The best Indian wisdom, in my opinion, cannot be appreciated without a survey of the original teaching of Gotama, the Buddha, and a study of the early Upanishads, all by themselves, and not through any later scholastic medium.

Such was the oriental learning Schopenhauer could possibly command, and, little as he knew, he mixed badly Indian catch-words with his own metaphysical jargons, and misapprehended all-together the peculiar character of the Oriental religions. He was quite confident with Taine that "strictly speaking, the Hindus are the only people, who, with the Germans, have metaphysical genius—and one can say, without exaggeration, that it is only on the banks of the Ganges and of the Spree that human nature is attacked from the bottom." Similarly the Y-King was converted into "a mathematical philosophy," dealing with time and consequently number. He was not aware that all the clear-minded Chinese derived usually from the Book only practical and moral precepts.

As for the Brahmins, what did they care for ontology, so long as they acquire religious peace from Vedas, sacrifices, and hermitage? What interest could they have in metaphysics, who, intent on self-renunciation, fix their eyes on the Brahmat through which "all regards and all desires are obtained?" Their search indeed touches a vital point in metaphysics, but their intention and method were not those of the philosophers. Yet Schopenhauer would like to derive for us from the

much abused words *Tat tvam assi* "the form of knowledge which follows the principle of sufficient reason." He compared Brahmanism and Buddhism with Empedocles and Pythagoras, and rejoiced in finding in the theory of Nirvana the exact parallel of the Nebular Hypothesis. Nothing, however, is more distressing and unprofitable to Gotama than metaphysical entanglements. "The Tathajara is free from all theories." "The religious life does not depend on metaphysical dogma."

Schopenhauer had a great interest in psychology, but his system, as he himself acknowledged, had its basis, on logical analysis. His "will" is supposed to be the Absolute arrived at through deductive reasoning. Herein lies another great difference between the Oriental and Schopenhauerian attitude. For the teachers of the Upanishads and the founder of Buddhism, human nature and not logical entities formed the proper subject-matter of their analysis. What they deduced is the way of Vedic, Salvation for one, and march sequence of misery for another. In tracing unflinchingly everything to Brahma, the Vendantists were adopting the Idealistic tone of Plato, while, in applying vigorous analysis to morals, Buddha was at one with Socrates, and it takes long strides from Plato to Hegel, or from Socrates to Kant.

The intense interest in human nature of the best Hindus is also at the furthest removed from the emotional naturalism of Schopenhauer. He praised every spot that is entirely "uncultivated and wild, left free to itself." As a child "he feels himself one with nature." His naturalistic taste led a strenuous study of sciences, including even amphibiology and ichthyology. But, while the emotional Romanticist saw no difference between the feather biped creature, and his "fellow-sufferer" the suadrupeds, the Hindu supernaturalists, were not interested in the sciences of the body, but the salvation of the soul, and maintained the distinction of the divine and animal elements

in man, which the naturalists would like to destroy.

For Schopenhauer, cosmology takes the place of theology; man is by nature metaphysical and not religious, and a blind force governs both body and soul, whereas to true Vedantists and Buddhists, it would be indeed a surprise to rank human psychology with the phrenology of Gall, whose lectures at Hamberg the Young Arthur attended daily at the risk of deceiving his superiors "with cunning pretexts." With all the inconsistencies in the genuine tests of Buddha, and in the early Upanishads, the great teachers always had their final aim in salvation, while the general tenets of the philosophy of the "will" are highly colored by the scientific spirits.

With a naturalistic conception of life, Schopenhauer was hopeless in understanding rightly the supernatural points of view of the Hindus. Yet, strange to say, it is just that philosopher who has been singled out to be a western Vedantist or Buddhist. The confusion appears more curious when one considers the irreligious character of Schopenhauer. At the instance of his Voltairian father, and of his indifferent mother, Arthur Schopenhauer became the free thinker of his time. Apart from baptism and formal confirmation, he established no relation with the church. His natural desire was to resist the common appeal to anything extramundane, anything outside or beyond life, as the basis of either hope or fear. But Buddhism and the Vedanta were true religions, and taught essentially humility and peace of the soul. Schopenhauer's egotism is at the opposite pole from humility, just as his untutored emotionalism is diametrically opposed to religious peace.

Yet it is this egotism that leads scholars to compare Schopenhauerianism with Hindu religions. Did not the Vedanta and Buddhism lay tremendous stress on the self? Yajnavalkya said "Verily, not for the love of gods are the gods dear, but for the love of the Self the gods are dear", and here

is the Buddhism saying, "Self is the Lord of self. Who else can be the lord?" But is this Egotism? There is the difference of the world between self exaltation under unrestrained emotion, and self-education with the will to peace.

The age of Schopenhauer was filled with the philosophers of "genius", whose business it was first of all to transcend every body else. In philosophy, "Subjectivism is all truth." "The world exists for me, and tomorrow I propose to make a new world," proposed Friedrich Schlegel. Schopenhauer related with great conceit how he was repeatedly recognized as a future man of renown by strangers. He was sure of his title to immortality. "Ever since I began to reflect, I felt myself in opposition to the whole world." This lack of humility gives rise to pessimism. For, if one is the best of men, then, according to the Romanticists, one is surely to be envied by mankind, "the selfish and heartless creatures." Nature conspires against geniuses among whom, Schopenhauer, thought he was one. The spinster whom he threw out into the street in a fury, the publisher who disposed of his *magnum opus* at waste paper price, the Danish Academy which condemned unjustly his prize essay, and above all the "Berlin Professors", who, as he was very sure, formed a plot to injure him and through whose efforts his lectures were wasted on bobtails—all men worked against that mighty successor of Kant. Whenever the postman brought a letter, he would think of possible evil. He trembled at contact with the barber's razor. The slightest noise at night would make him scream and seize the pistols that were always ready. He fled from the mere mention of an infectious disease, and escaped from Berlin at the approach of cholera.

Such terror, the Hindu teaches never experienced for they were not ego-centric like Schopenhauer. What is the real self they treasured? They seized in themselves the universal, and permanent elements of mankind, while

Schopenhauer only gloated over the uniqueness in himself.

The Self of the Hindus signifies the importance of responsibility, and the ego of the Romanticist is the incarnation of indeterminate desires. The Self of the Great Hindus is set up as an example to mankind, and the ego of the Romanticist is exalted above all men, and as he thinks himself the best, he denounces the whole human race, which does not offer him the best enjoyments. Schopenhauer would accept the worship of the whole world, for he alone is "destined to immortality", and, failing in this, he would plunge into deep sorrow, and condemn all his fellow sufferers, whereas the wisdom of the Orient resulted in such words of joy: "Let us live happily then; not hating those who hate us; among men who hate us let us dwell free from hatred."

The opposition between the best Hindu systems and Schopenhauer Pantheism may be clear by comparing their fundamental assumptions. The essence of Hindu religions is not expansive emotion but the will to peace. There was no aesthetic contemplation which is unrestrained indulgence in feeling, but only intellectual concentration as the means of self-conquest. There was no musical reverie the pulses of which "have not ceased to beat through the centuries of Barbarism, and in it a direct echo of the Eternal has been left us, intelligible to every capacity and exalted even above virtue and vice." There was no denial of the independence of phenomenal existence, but only a withdrawal of the mind from dwelling therein; or a contrast in the strongest terms of the worldly and the spiritual life, the lower and higher path.

Nor would the Hindu understand the "Will" of Schopenhauer, i. e. the feelings, passions, and emotions. "The will, as Schopenhauer expressly said, is only that which is common to man and beast. It guides our action, and rules over our intellect, etc. Its desires are boundless, its claims inexhaustible an every satisfied wish begets

a new one." He might have used appropriately the Fichtean exclamation for his own system. "My philosophy makes life, the system of feelings and desires, supreme." And according to his own interpretation, Maya and Sam-sara are only different forms of the Will, and the doctrine of transmigration demonstrates the will's indestructibility. But, if the will is nothing but the source of growth, how can it ever be the will to concentrate?

Under the same Romantic impulse, Schopenhauer endowed the intellect with emotional qualities. "Intellect, at its best, should be without purpose." Genius consists in an abnormal excuse of intellect and in perfection and energy of intuitive cognition. "No sober man can be a genius." "To compare useful people with geniuses is to compare bricks with diamonds." The Samyasi, as he thought, is a man who kills the will or impulses not in favor of the will to refrain, but in favor of the purposeless intellect. It is due to the Maya of Brahmanism or the power of the Will, that the intellect is captivated hauer thought that pure intellect is associated with an excess of sensibility and with violence of passions. It is needless to say how far his conceptions of intellect is removed from the Hindu doctrine, and how distorted his interpretation of Maya and Sam-sara is. The intellect, according to the great Orientals, must accept limitations from the ethical Will; to analyse is to refrain. Turning to the Upanisads, we shall find the ever present idea of subordination of intellect to will. "That Self cannot be gained by the Veda, nor by understanding, nor by much learning." Nor is that Self to be gained by one who is destitute of strenght or without earnestness, or without *right* meditation." On the contrary, Schopenhauer complained; "In an purposeful meditation, the intellect is not free."

Such is the shaky foundation—the Will and the Intellect—of Schopenhauer's Pantheism. And hence the

notion that his mystic revery is shared by the Vedanta is false. Another untenable belief is that both Schopenhauer and Buddhism upheld pessimism. Here again the error is due to a superficial verbal suggestion. Gotama said "Birth is painful, and so is old age; disease is painful and so is death. Union with unpleasant is painful, painful is separation from the pleasant; and any craving that is unsatisfied, that too is painful." Schopenhauer echoed, "The present is forever unsatisfactory; the future, uncertain, the past, irrecoverable." Because of this coincidence, he conceded to Buddhism the pre-eminent position over all religions, and rejoiced to see his teaching "in such close agreement with a religion which the majority of men upon the earth hold as their own." Most scholars endorse his pride willingly—the more so on seeing a bust of Buddha placed by his bed side. But to any who is acquainted with the difference between the Buddhism and Schopenhauerian attitudes towards life, the confusion is inconceivable and unfortunate.

To Schopenhauer, the best form of religion is pessimistic. Every great religion is pessimistic, and as far as redemption goes, it necessarily rules out any pessimistic view. Christianity must reveal to men the sweetness of paradise. The Vedanta wanted to use the inner fire *tapas*, to burn away the body of despair, but it admits, "Brahma is Joy and Knowledge." Buddha had to compensate his enlightened followers with the joy of the conquest. "Let us live happily then, though we call nothing our own. We shall be like the bright gods, feeding on happiness." The world, so far as it is transitory, is full of pains. But the path of Nirvana gives us an exalted peace. Only the man, lazy in thinking and short of self-control, mourns and suffers. So it is said "as rain breaks through an ill-thatched house, passion will break through an unreflecting mind."

Reflection then is the Buddhism way to enlightenment, while emotion is the core of Schopenhauerianism. For Buddha "thoughtlessness is the path of death;" and to think means to control or the will to refrain. For Schopenhauer, pure vegetation is the essential trait of genius. Consequently the Buddhist analysis of pain, expresses only an insight into the degenerated side of an individual or the uncovered portion of mankind. Misery is not what he felt but only what he saw. The master would not allow his disciples to indulge in passion, for an Arahat should be passionless. On the other hand, Schopenhauer brooded over the misery of mankind, due to the insatiable longing of a voluptuous heart. He was not so much disgusted with the wretchedness of the human race, as he was dissatisfied with the emptiness of his own life.

This egotistic dissatisfaction was expressed under the pretext of humanitarianism. He liked to shift to the shoulders of the whole world the burden of his own soul. "To be cured of this illusion and deception of Maya and to do works of love are one and the same." In spite of his seeming benevolence, it is not hard to trace his humanitarianism to mere egotism. For, whenever his individual longing and group sympathy clashed, he fell into ludicrous contradictions. He was indignant at Brockhaus's delay in printing his book as the usual trick of the publishers against poor authors, but he would not lend a helping hand to his mother and sister in time of bankruptcy. He praised martyrs for suffering slight and execution for the well-being of mankind; but, during his days of obscurity, at the injustice and neglect of his genius, he would cry "my contemporaries have been for me as all contemporaries." He bestowed a kiss to the whole world, but what was Germany to him? A mere geographical unity, created by historical accidents and preserved by disdain of the "Berlin Professors" for their "plot" against him, but loved Atma

(his pet dog) because he could find in it only intelligence without any human dissimulation. He denounced women as an "unesthetic sex" intellectually shortsighted and without sense of justice—a prejudice surely due to his relation with his mother and sisters and perhaps with his mistress in Venice—but he loved dearly all brutes. "Thou goest to women", said his pupil, Friedrich Nietzsche, "forget not they whip." Touched by the sad air of the orang-outang, the master compared the gaze of this creature, arrested on the borderline of humanity, to the gaze of Moses before the Promised Land.

Yet Schopenhauer would like us to believe that he taught a Hindu doctrine of compassion. Ego and Nature are naturally sympathetic. Does not "That art thou" prove it? Nature clings to us for help. Was not Buddha kind to his horse? But undoubtedly a humanitarianism based on insatiable Egotism contradicts the religious compassion based on self-denial. A Buddhist is just. He conceives a natural disgust toward the wicked side of human nature, but does not at all deny to the already converted any enjoyment of spiritual life. He likes to show all the lighted path, but will not enlighten, as it is impossible, anyone without his own right efforts. "What is the use of the teacher's wailing when the pupils would not learn?" "Let no one forget his own duty for the sake of another's, however great". "You yourselves must make the effort, the Buddhas are only teachers."

He failed utterly to appreciate the Hindus. His patheism is an attempt to fuse together the metaphysical blunder of confusing good and evil, with the emotional projection of his own aspiring spirit into Nature. Pessimism is

his means of enlarging the field of longing of his own ego, ended with irresponsible humanitarianism. In his two methods of salvation, Naturalism and Romanticism join hands. The musical revery is only a recognition of "the inmost history of the self-conscious will, the most secret of life, longing, suffering and delight; the ebb and flow of the human heart;" and asceticism is connected with the consciousness of the identity of one's (Schopenhauer's, to be sure) own nature with that of all things of the kernel of the world."

Indeed Schopenhauer is in some respects great, but in him there is also found an unsound tendency. His hard-headed honesty, his command of language, his morbid craze of knowledge, his vast erudition, his clinging to conviction, his energy shown in action and writing—all these count, among his merits. But, we need not go far, to test the strength of Schopenhauerianism, in the confusion of Richard Wagner, the revolt of Nietzsche and the unwholesomeness of Leo Tolstoi are his well-known offspring.

Nor was he ever truly happy in his life. A doctrine of strenuousness gives to the Buddha the sense of "joy and knowledge" in his last days.

Since I went out, a pilgrim have I been,

Through the wide realms of virtue
and of truth,

And outside these, no really "saint"
can be.

When it is reported by his biographer, the proudest of men at the glimpse of clear and soothing dawn, gazed on the peaceful river Mainz, there passed over him a momentary humble recognition that he had lived a divided life. Such is the hollowness of the romantic life.

Tariff Autonomy for China

BY F. H. HUANG, PH. D.

Secretary to the Chinese Delegation

CHINA'S loss of her complete freedom to levy a maritime customs duty within her own territory dates from 1843, when, as a result of the well-known Opium-War with Great Britain, China was forced to accept a customs rate based upon a uniform 5 per cent ad valorem, both for imports and exports, as part and parcel of the Nanking treaty. In return for this concession China received nothing from Great Britain. The absence of reciprocity in the treaty obligation shows clearly that this provision was simply a kind of war settlement.

Since 1843, and on account of the most-favored-nation-clause in treaties between China and foreign countries, China was bound to extend this tariff arrangement to nearly all treaty powers. A promise has already been given by Great Britain in 1902 to raise the rate of import duties from 5 per cent to 12½ per cent on condition that China removes all her internal dues and taxes on imports and exports, and that all other powers trading with China join in this undertaking without other concessions being granted to them than the removal of these charges. Even when, however, this promise is carried out, the fundamental injustice remains that China is denied the freedom to alter her tariff as she sees fit.

LAND FRONTIER RATES

This one-sided restriction in the fixing of tariff rates is applied not only to maritime customs, but also to the frontier customs on land. Following the example of other powers, Russia, which had since 1689 a regular commerce by land with China, exacted for the first time from her a scheduled tariff embodied in the commercial treaty of 1862.

The peculiar point of the privilege granted to Russia is that the rate for Russian trade is reduced to two-third of the general tariff, i. e. to about 3 1/3 per cent ad valorem. This provision was adopted after the Russo-Japanese War for Japanese trade by land. In 1885 China was forced to agree to reduce her land frontier duty to seven-teenths and six-teenths of the maritime customs rate for English and French imports and exports respectively. Thus, land frontier customs were fixed by treaty at a still lower uniform rate than 5 per cent.

TRANSIT DUES

Wide as is the sphere of disability in the fixing of the frontier tariffs, the one-sided treaty obligation does not stop there; it extends further to internal customs in the form of transit dues. Unlike modern states in Europe and America, China, is divided into many internal customs districts. All native traders have to pay dues called Likin for their merchandise when it passes from one customs district to another. As these districts are numerous, the dues amount to a large sum, if the distance which the goods have to traverse is great.

In 1842 and 1875 the Powers gradually induced the Chinese Government to accept in treaties the clause that their subjects or citizens should pay a duty of 2 1/2 per cent in addition to the export or import duties as the case may be, at the spot where goods were ready to move for a definite destination within Chinese territories, and that this light duty should exempt them from all internal dues en route. Thus, by treaty, the Chinese authorities are compelled to penalize native merchants as compared with foreign traders, since the

Likin payable by the former is invariably far higher than 2 1/2 per cent transit dues paid by the latter.

Such is a sketch of the essential features of the conventional tariff: A 5 per cent maritime customs rate, a land frontier customs rate of about 3 1/2 per cent, and a 2 1/2 per cent transit dues. An examination of all these arrangements will reveal that they have been operating to the detriment of China's best interest and this for the following reasons:

1. *A Denial of the Right of Self-determination.*

The right to tax is an inherent part of the Sovereign rights of a nation. Any interference with tariff-fixing implies a curtailment of the right of self-determination which is entitled to every independent country.

2. *Yielding of Insufficient Revenue.*

While in most modern states customs duties—the import duties proper—often yield from 10 to 50 per cent of the entire revenue. China derives only 6 per cent of her total income from the import duties of the customs. For the Government is not at liberty to readjust the tariff for revenue purposes. Although a low rate on those articles, such as machinery and raw materials, the importation of which is essential for the economic development of the country, tends, in the long run, to increase the source of revenue, a uniform low rate for all commodities under the present arrangement can have no other result than the injury of industry and commerce and the consequent reduction of those sources of revenue.

Moreover, customs rates being fixed by treaty at a uniform level, it is impossible for the government to make the tariff in such a way so as to secure the maximum return for every article. Financial experience shows that goods like sugar, tea, and many others can bear a little higher duty without causing a decrease in the amount consumed, while the demand for certain goods would greatly be diminished if a low rate even of 5 per cent ad valorem

should be levied. Now a uniform rate being fixed for all articles alike, a part of the revenue, which may be secured by a higher rate on some commodities is lost while another part which might be obtained, if the rate on certain other were reduced, is not forthcoming. The small return of customs revenue is in part responsible for the slow reorganization of China which is essential not only to the well-being of the 400 millions Chinese people, but also to the prosperity of the world at large.

3. *Inequality in Taxation.*

Under the present arrangement, China is not free to tax commodities according to their classes. She is compelled to levy similar tax rates on necessities as well as on luxuries and to make no distinction as between raw materials and manufactured goods. The poor people whose ability to pay is limited, has to pay just as much tax for their necessities as the rich man who is able and ought to pay more for their luxuries. This gross injustice, especially on the laboring class, depending as they are on necessities for their daily consumption, is a great insult to humanity.

4. *Check upon Economic Development of the Country.*

It is a common place to state that China is abundant with natural resources. To develop these resources is a benefit not only to those who inhabit the country, but also to the world at large. The low uniform tariff rate fixed by treaty, however, makes this development impossible. For the low customs rates, which deprive China of sufficient revenue, compels the Chinese government to retain a bad tax such as Likin which is a great obstacle to industry and commerce. Because of the existence of the Likin tax, native products and raw materials are not to be brought to the world market at a reasonable cost. And as long as the Likin system obtains in China, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for China to develop her internal trade and industry, thereby increasing the purchasing

power of the Chinese people for foreign commodities. The slow economic development of China is in a very large measure responsible for the tardy growth of her trade with foreign countries.

CONCLUSION..

For reasons enumerated above, it is plain that China is denied the right of self-determination in tariff making, that her present tariff arrangement with the treaty powers has resulted in insufficient customs returns, in gross

injustice to tax-payers and in checking the economic development of the country. It is to the benefit not alone of China but also of the world at large that the tariff restrictions imposed upon China should be immediately removed. For the restoration of tariff autonomy to China would enable her to abolish the Likin system, thereby, facilitating the development of trade and commerce within the country as well as between China and foreign states.

China and the Washington Conference

BY CRAWFORD MORRISON BISHOP

Correspondent of the New York Evening Post

IF the Powers participating in the Conference succeed in reaching some agreement on the subject of the limitation of armaments and on the outstanding questions affecting the Far East, we may expect their conclusions to be embodied in the form of treaties or conventions relating to these several matters. It is true their positions may be simply stated in an exchange of notes, or in the form of identic or unilateral declarations. But on subjects of general importance affecting all the powers, and particularly those affecting existing treaties, we may expect the agreements to be evidenced by formal treaty.

In regard to the revision of existing treaties, there is to be considered the possibility of agreements with China for the reduction of existing fortifications or the renunciation of the right to erect fortifications within the leased territories in China. This would apply to the ports of Tsingtao, Dairen, Port Arthur held by Japan, Kwangchowwan by France, Kowloon and Wei-Hai-Wei by Great Britain. There can be no denying the fact that the fortifying and use of these portions of Chinese territory as naval and military bases are a great expense to the countries that maintain them and a continual menace to the peace of the Far East.

It is to be hoped that there will be a renunciation of the claims to preferential or exclusive rights to the construction of railways, development of mines employment of capital for commercial or industrial purposes and the employment by the Chinese Government of advisers in certain provinces which are now made by France, Great Britain, and Japan by treaties or agreements with China or with one another. These include specifically the provinces of Yunnan, Kwantung, and Kwangsi

claimed by France the whole of the Yangtze valley (including about 8 provinces) claimed by England, Fukien, Shantung, South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia claimed by Japan. Russia should also renounce claims to North Manchuria, Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang. The insistence on these extravagant claims by the powers concerned has been in violation of their professed abherence to the principles of the Open Door, and has retarded the normal development of China for over 20 years. We cannot expect a state of peace to be very lasting which leaves the door open to controversies such as a persistence in these claims would entail.

Along with the relinquishment of these claims, and in consideration of China opening the whole of her territory to foreign trade and residence, we may expect a revision of existing treaties along the lines of abolishing or modifying the rights of extraterritorial jurisdiction now possessed by the treaty powers over other subjects. This may be made contingent upon or be coincident with the inauguration of reforms in China's legal, judicial and police systems under the joint supervision of the powers. The relinquishment of this right will be a decided step toward preserving for China her territorial integrity and will tend to preserve equality of commercial opportunity. It will enable China more effectively to enforce her laws for the suppression of the opium traffic. The powers are pledged to assist China in this respect by the provisions of the Paris Treaty and the Hague Conference, but it is difficult to prevent smuggling on the part of foreigners as long as extraterritoriality prevails.

In addition to the withdrawal of foreign expeditionary troops from

Chinese territory, there may also be provisions made for the international control of wireless and cable stations located in Chinese territory, since the exclusive control of these by a particular power gives it a strategic advantage not only over China but over foreign powers. Likewise there must be a renunciation of the right to maintain foreign railway "guards" or military police along the lines of the Chinese Eastern and South Manchurian and Shantung railways, or any other railways within Chinese territory, since this has simply afforded an excuse for the introduction of any number of active services troops into the interior of China.

There is also to be considered the possibility of an abandonment by the colonial powers of preferential tariffs, exclusive concessions or monopolies which prevail in certain colonies in favor of the citizens of the mother country. These have been provocative of disputes and even wars in the past, and with the increase in the intensity of competition might not inconceivably lead to a disturbance of the peace in the future. This would apply to such colonies and dominions as Formosa, the Philippines, Sumatra, Java, Australia, New Zealand and the Dutch East Indies. Provisions placing the nationals of all countries on an equal footing with those of the mother country as regards trade, the investment of capital, the development of the resources and industries of the islands would do much to smother jealousies and promote harmony among the powers in the Pacific. It would help also in the development and prosperity of the colonies themselves.

It is to be expected that the Conference, if it is to have a successful conclusion, will result in a convention providing for the limitation or reduction of the military and naval programs of the participating powers. But there is a further step which they could take toward securing peace in the Far East, and that would be the signing of an unlimited treaty of general arbitration

by each of the participating powers providing for the submission to arbitration of all questions which may hereafter arise between any two or more of the signatory powers. There is in force at present a treaty of limited arbitration between Great Britain and the United States, signed April 4, 1908 and renewed in 1913 and again in 1918 for a period of five years. A similar treaty was concluded by the United States with Japan on March 5, 1908 and renewed for the same period. The United States also concluded a treaty of arbitration with China on October 9, 1908. These are all, however, treaties of limited arbitration, embracing only differences of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties and of questions which do not effect the vital interests, independence or honor of the parties. Moreover, the United States and China, not being members of the League of Nations nor signatories to the Covenant of the League, are not bound by the arbitration clauses toward each other or toward the other powers, nor the latter toward them. It remains, therefore, for the United States, since it has already taken the initiative in this direction by concluding these treaties and by summoning the conference, to propose to each of the participating powers the conclusion of a general treaty of arbitration, binding each power to refer all disputes of whatever nature arising between any of them, which cannot be settled by diplomatic means, to the arbitration of the Hague tribunal, or to arbitration by some other method. Such a treaty would do far more to assure the permanent peace of the Far East than any general agreement for the limitation of armaments could possibly effect. It would also automatically render the Anglo-Japanese alliance harmless so far as this country and the other participating powers are concerned, and it would assure China for the first time in her history an impartial hearing of her disputes with foreign powers.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance: It's Past and Present

CHUNG HUNG LIU.

I. ORIGIN.

IN the early spring days of 1902 the Anglo-Japanese Alliance came to the world as a surprise. Great Britain at last abandoned her 'splendid isolation' and entered into alliance, for the first time on a plane of equality, with an Asiatic power. The event was unprecedented but the motive was clear. It meant concerted effort to safeguard the Far East against Russian aggression.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century Russia's ambition in the Orient was manifest and her progress was steady. The Trans-Siberian Railway brought her vast eastern dominion within easy reach of the capital. Railway concession in the north and lease of Port Arthur in the south brought Manchuria within her grasp. Then the eastward progress continued to Korea. Trade concessions followed by military privileges were daily tightening the Russian grip.

The advance alarmed two powers in particular. Japan saw in it both the obstacle to her ambition and the danger to her existence. Forty years of reform had infused the Empire with new energy and this energy sought expansion. For expansion in Korea she had recently risked a war with China and in consequence of victory exacted Port Arthur as an additional reward. But Russia snatched away the reward and intruded with increasing aggressiveness into the very region which Japan had fought for. Patriotic Japanese saw that the advance of the Muscovite Power must be stemmed. But how? For Japan to fight against Russia alone the difficulty was already

that of a pigmy against a giant. But the experience of 1895 pointed to the possibility that it was against three giants she might have to fight. Japan naturally sought for a giant as her aid.

This giant was easily Great Britain. Ever jealous of further increase of the already great prowess of Russia. England rightly recognized that the new expansion was potent of immense accretion of power. And the direction that it took, though involving no immediate danger to British possessions, threatened British commerce in the newly opened Orient. She too was anxious to stem the tide of aggression and was likewise unable to do it alone. Far East was after all too far for her, in spite of her undisputed naval supremacy. Moreover, the serious drench of resources made by the Boer War, from which she had just emerged, incapacitated her for the time being to take active part in distant Asia. Therefore she readily welcomed the proposal of Japan which made the rising Power of the East her partner instead of being her enemy's.

Thus came about the Alliance of 1902. The treaty declared in its preamble 'the maintenance of peace and the preservation of status quo in the Extreme East as its object. Both countries pledged to respect the independence of China and Korea but in view of the special interest of Great Britain in China and that of Japan in Korea as well as in China, either was allowed to undertake measures for the protection of the interests. If in so doing it

¹ *London Times*. July 14, 1920, 11 a. Text of the Treaty of Alliance.

should be involved in war with a third Power the other ally was to keep strict neutrality. But if the third Power should be aided by others, then the other ally must come to the aid and make war in common. Thus if England or Japan should be engaged in war with Russia alone, she would be assured of the neutrality of the other and if Russia should have the aid of France or Germany, she would have the aid of the other ally to resist the combination. This removed for Japan the nightmare of coalition which threatened her in 1895.

The treaty was received with popular approval in both countries. And well should it be so. For Japan the advantage was decidedly great. Her prestige was much enhanced by the recognition that her cooperation was valued by such a power as Great Britain. Her position was materially strengthened as well. With a strong ally behind her, she could speak with firmness in peace and could fight with security in war. This was well proved in the Russo-Japanese War two years later. Russia's unreasonable aggression she now dared to resist and when the resistance brought about the War, France, who nine years before joined Russia in compelling Japan to relinquish Port Arthur, now stood aloof, chiefly in deference of England. Thus the Alliance achieved the very 'keep-the-ring' arrangement which Japanese statesmen desired.

For England the advantage, tho by no means so very great, was considerable. Having a friend on the spot she was assured that her commercial interest and her territorial possession were in safety. This security relieved her much force and much expense which otherwise would be necessary for their protection. Had she failed to conclude the Alliance in time, Japan would, under the stress of circumstances, have entered into agreement with Russia. And an aggressive Russia aided by a submissive Japan would have imperiled British interest beyond doubt. Now

the possible lieutenant was made strong enough to oppose the principal and arrested Russian advance by her brilliant victory.

2. DEVELOPMENT.

Before the Russo-Japanese War was formally concluded, the treaty of Alliance was revised and renewed. Japan had by her victory proved herself the worthy ally of England and England's contribution to the Japanese success was duly appreciated. Both sides desired a closer friendship. Indeed Russia was no longer the menace of the Far East but provision still had to be made against possible revival of the thwarted ambition. The rising eminence of Germany in the Orient also had to be guarded against. So the Alliance was continued in its revised form. The important changes are as follows:³

1. In case either of the Allies should be engaged in war against wanton attack or aggressive action, both allies were to make war in common and to conclude peace in common. This established a much closer relationship than the first treaty which pledged but neutrality, and joint action only when there were more than one power in opposition.
2. The scope was extended from 'Extreme East' to India and Eastern Asia in general. The first Treaty was concerned with only the Extreme East which meant China and Korea. It was pronouncedly one-sided in favor of Japan. England was to share responsibility in Korea the country of exclusive Japanese interest. In return, Japan was to share the responsibility not in a region of exclusive British interest but in China where the interests of Great Britain and of Japan were not widely different. Now the inclusion of India balanced the evident inequality.

³ *London Times*. July 14, 1920. 11 a. Text.

3. Korea was no longer the country whose independence both were to respect but the region in which Japan, owing to her preponderant interest, was given a free hand. This change was natural in consequence of the development of Japanese power in Korea.

Scarcely half of the ten years duration stipulated for the second Treaty had passed, a further revision took place. The Treaty of 1911 contained one significant change. It was the provision that in case either ally has concluded a treaty of general arbitration with a third power, it shall not be obliged to go to war with the third Power if the latter should be involved in war with the other ally.' The third Power definitely pointed to the United States with whom Great Britain had just such a treaty of arbitration pending. The change was made for the obvious desire of Great Britain to avoid possible conflict against kindred America on behalf of alien Japan. It cost Japan some dissatisfaction. She saw in America's increasing interest in the East and the racial difficulties in immigration, possibilities of conflict and she certainly disliked to have England withdraw her support in such crises. But even with this exception the Alliance was still valuable to Japan and the concession was therefore made. Minor changes are: (1) Omission of the article concerning Korea, which was considered superceded, since Korea was now only a Japanese province. (2) Omission of the article concerning India which was considered superfluous. Probably the omission was made to accompany that one on Korea in order to restore the balance of advantage between the Allies. The procedure of the revision was memorable as the first instance in which the Imperial Government of Great Britain consulted her colonies in framing a treaty.

The operation of the Alliance has been, on the whole, advantageous to both Allies. It made Japan a very great power in the eyes of other coun-

tries and in her own estimation. It was this Alliance that enabled her to keep a closed ring in war with Russia. It was this Alliance that gave her the pretext of seizing Kiaochow in the late war. And above all it was this Alliance that gave her the assurance to adopt active and aggressive policy in the Far East which she would not have dared to do if without a strong ally. For England, she desired peace in the East and peace this Alliance has helped to maintain. She wished to avoid burdensome armament to protect her interests in distant Orient and this burden the Alliance has helped to mitigate. She feared Russian aggression and German preponderance in Asia and it was her ally who checked the Russian advance in 1904 and deprived Germany of her stronghold in 1914. The promptness of Japan in combating Germans in Kiaochow was animated by selfish desire rather than by faith to her ally as the attitude of Japanese in the whole affair, the hostility they expressed against British cooperation in the capture of the city,' and the uncompromising exaction in the Paris Conference afford abundant evidence. But whatever the motive, the clearing of the Germans in the East was pleasing to England all the same. In general, Englishmen are inclined to share the views of Sir Edward Grey that the test of the value of the Alliance was to be the two-fold question: "Had the Treaty of Alliance made its object secure and had it tended to promote peace?" Both these questions could be unhesitatingly answered in the affirmative.' This is apparently true. But one can not be so unhesitating if he recognizes that the Alliance has helped to foster the aggressive policy of Japan and this policy was portant of great conflict in the future.

3. PRESENT STATUS.

The Treaty of 1911 was made for ten

* See A. M. Pooley: *Japan's Foreign Policies*. London 1920. P 24, 29.

† Speech of Sir E. Grey, 1908, quoted in H. Dyer's *Japan in World Politics*. London, 1909. P. 82.

years and, if either ally wished to terminate it, renunciation was to be made twelve months before the time of expiration. Last July was the time for renunciation but neither Government showed inclination to do so. Thus the treaty automatically continued for another year and the 13th of July of this year is to be the date of renewal. The renewal is not certain but highly probable. The question has been actively discussed in the press during the past year and it will undoubtedly be one of the weighty problems for the Imperial Conference which is to meet in very near future.

CURRENT DISCUSSION

1. *British Opinion*

Last year when the time for declaring renewal or renunciation was drawing near, an active discussion took place in the press of countries directly or indirectly concerned. A survey of the opinions thus expressed in different quarters gives a good view of the various bearings of the question.

English opinion is largely in favor of renewal and this for obvious material advantages. Professor Langford has made a good statement of the case. The positive advantages being considered, by the renewal of the Alliance, Great Britain can continue to be satisfied with skeleton fleet that now displays her flag in the Eastern Seas, and with the attenuated garrisons that are sufficient for the policing of her great and wealthy colonies at Hong Kong and Singapore, secure in the thought that the preservation of every direct material interest that she has in the Far East—military, political, and commercial—will be amply guaranteed. The peace and security of her Australian dominions and the tranquility of India will be equally free from a threatening cloud that otherwise will ever be shadowing them." Negatively, "if the renewal fails, Japan can still pursue her policy of annexation in China, unhampered by the obligation of previous reference to Great Britain, and what can be done

to prevent her? What power on earth will undertake a war with her for the mere sake of securing commercial potentialities? Certainly not Great Britain, war-worn, financially exhausted, with her army already scrapped and her navy in process of scrapping. Can she ever send out to the Eastern Seas and Colonies the fleet and army which would be required for the effective protection of the interests which have so long been safeguarded by her treaty with Japan?" Furthermore, "if not an ally, she need not be the friend of Great Britain" and not a friend she can be a very dangerous enemy.

Other Englishmen, if they agree with Prof. Langford's diagnosis of the situation, would not concur in his reply to the question of renewal with "yes and again yes—twelve times over if necessary." "Radically revised, yes; in the present form, no," would be their answer. Such view is held largely by Englishmen resident in the Orient, who are familiar enough with the aggressive policy of Japan to perceive the inevitable encroachment on British interest. The expression of North China Herald is a specimen: "If the Alliance is allowed to run on unrevised, undoubtedly it will perpetuate many difficulties under which British commerce in the Far East suffers and will serious prejudice Great Britain in the eyes of the Chinese. In recent years militarist influence in Japanese government counsels has resulted in many grave breaches of the spirit of the Alliance." And for instance it mentioned "the mockery of the open door in Manchuria, the unblushing abuse of trade marks, the innumerable petty loans to the Peking Government which drained the resources of China and kept China in perpetual unrest, and finally the uncertainty of the future of Tsing-tao. On all these points Japan must give the clearest and the most unequivocal understanding."

⁶ *Living Age*, Vol. 806. July 24, 1920, quoted from *Eng. Review of Reviews*, June-July, 1920. P. 205.

⁷ *Living Age*, July 24, 1920. P. 202.

⁸ *North China Herald* quoted in *London Times*. May 20, 1920. 13 d.

British colonies, on the whole, looked to the renewal with little favor. Australia, owing to its propinquity to Japan and its Australia for white policy, is the most interested and pronounced its attitude with explicitness. In official pronouncement, the Australian government refrain from expressing approval or opposition, asking only to be fully consulted by the Imperial Government. In private expression the attitude is distinctly hostile. The fear of aggression of Japan and the dislike of the inroad of yellow labor have made the Australians desirous of being freed from the shackling 'friendship' of a dangerous friend. So says the Premier of Queensland: "That a real menace to Australia from Japan does exist is no figment of imagination, and the Land of the Southern Cross should accordingly be left unhampered by treaty obligations, be they ever so alluring, particularly after her experience of Japan in the war."⁸

2. Japanese Opinion.

Turning to the other ally, we find Japanese opinion was in the main favorable to the continuance of a partnership so very advantageous. But refraining from exalting too much on the advantage to Japan herself, as such public valenting would spoil the bargain, the press chooses to dilate upon the value of the Alliance to peace and international cooperation. Thus one paper exalted its value to Great Britain before and during the War and then, admitting the disappearance of the original objects, maintained that the renewal was nevertheless the mainstay of peace.⁹ Count Okuma, too, considered the renewal essential to the peace in India, China, and Siberia. Then with characteristic shrewdness, the 'Sage of Waseda' added that America will be welcomed if she should choose to join the Alliance.¹⁰

Consideration of America is indeed a disturbing element. It was this that led Osaka Asahi to perceive the futility

of the Alliance so long as Great Britain is pro-American at heart."¹¹ Official statement, however, believes in its efficacy as the 'only barrier' against the possible debacle of Russia and Germany and the rise of the Bolshevik power; and looks to renewal in the present form with only change of phraseology to assuage the impatience of the Chinese for the position of vassal assigned in the Treaty.¹²

3. American Opinion.

The expression of two countries indirectly concerned shows the international significance of the Alliance. Americans, who see in Japan the chief menace to commercial equality in the Far East and the chief difficulty in the problem of racial exclusion, are naturally loath to see their kindred British befriending their hated opponent. Aside the sensational clamor of the Hearst papers, we find the press almost in unanimity express the conviction that the continuance of the Alliance will be an obstacle to the good relation of the two Anglo-Saxon nations.¹³ Americans in the Orient hold similar view but with emphasis on the significance of the Alliance as an Eastern policy of Great Britain. "In 1902," says an American journalist, "the world was called upon to choose between a liberal policy in the Far East and a Russian policy... England chose for that part of the world that speaks the English language by her alliance with Japan. Her choice earned for her and for her ally's policy the support of America. In 1920 the world seems to be called upon to choose between a liberal policy in the Far East and a Japanese policy. Again it is England that must make the choice. The U. S. has confidence that England will make the right choice today as she did in

⁸ *Living Age*, July 24, 1920. P. 206.

⁹ *Literary Digest*, Vol. 66. July 17, 1920. P. 28.

¹⁰ Quoted in *Literary Digest*, July 17, 1920. P. 22.

¹¹ Quoted in *Literary Digest*, July 17, 1920. P. 22.

¹² Hayaashi Statement. *London Times*, June 11, 1920.

16 b.

¹³ *Springfield Republic*, June 10, 1920. Quoted in *New Europe* July 8, 1920. P. 298.

1902....If England continues the Alliance without drastic modifications and a fresh understanding with Japan, then England will be called upon to come before the people of the United States with good reasons for so doing, not because the people of the United States have any right to ask it but because England and the self-governing dominions of the British Empire value the good opinion and the support of America."¹⁴

4. Chinese Opinion

China, ever apprehensive of the aggressive Japan, is naturally averse to see the enemy again strengthened with the support of Great Britain. The Alliance China has no right to interfere, but she does have the right to protest against the treatment of her as a mere political appendage. So declared the Foreign Minister to Great Britain that China had suffered enough from the operation of the Alliance in the War and that in the renewed treaty, treatment of China as a mere territorial entity would be viewed as an unfriendly act. "As China has become a member of the League of Nations... she is advised that a contract in regard to her affairs between other members of the League cannot be entered into without her prior consent, Article X of the League Covenant being sufficient to guarantee that her territorial integrity will be respected."¹⁵ The same sentiment was voiced by the Chinese people in the memorandum to the British Government with the frank addition that the renewal would inevitably prejudice Great Britain in the eyes of the Chinese.¹⁶

CONCLUSION

The diverse views voiced by parties of different interests show the conflicting effects of the Alliance. If the consideration is one of mere Anglo-Japanese relation and only for the present time, England certainly has good reason to desire the renewal. It is always best to have one more friend

than to create an new enemy. With Japan as a friend, British possessions and British interest in the Far East will enjoy a double security—secure against the design of other powers and secure against the design of Japan herself. This security facilitates British diplomacy and lightens her burden of protection.

But if a wider view of the international and the imperial relations is taken then there appear serious drawbacks to counter-balance the advantages. By the renewal, England will lose the good will of the Chinese, which, if meant little in international politics, is vastly important in trade relations. More important to England is the friendship of the United States and this she can not well keep when she deliberately enters alliance with one whom the Americans fear and hate. Finally even if the danger of the Alliance to the Colonies can be proved illusory, their dislike of Japan can not be removed. Then the fact that the mother country enters partnership with one, whom the Dominions distrust, certainly will not make for imperial harmony and cohesion.

Again if the view is projected beyond the immediate present to distant future, serious danger seems to lurk behind the alluring advantages. Under the palmy protection of her British ally, Japan is sure to grow stronger and more active. Increasing strength and activity, prompted by selfish motives, will in all probability end in clash with others. As Great Britain and her kindred America are the two, among the Western Powers who have the largest interest in the Far East, they are above all else the more liable to be in the clash. Then the erstwhile friend will be a terrible enemy, and England may have to sigh that this enemy was of her own fostering. By that time, England

¹⁴ C. F. Remer, 'American Opinion and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance' in *Millard's Review*, May 29, 1920. P. 634.

¹⁵ Statement of Chinese Foreign Minister. *London Times*, June 7, 1920. 11 d.

¹⁶ Memorandum presented to British Minister by prominent Chinese Organisation in Shanghai. See *Millard's Review*, July 10, 1920. P. 324-6.

will recognize what price she will have to pay for the present peace and what burden she will then have to bear for the present relief.

Yet the solution does not lie in simple renunciation. Japan, forsaken by Great Britain, can fly into other's arms. The essence of the situation is this: The Alliance inevitably helps to make for a strong Japan and a strong Japan in her present mood will also be

aggressive. A strong and aggressive Japan is certainly no good omen for the security of the British Empire and the peace of the world. But cannot Japan be retained as a friend and at the same time restrained from aggression? It is upon how far England can keep her ally without letting her become menacingly aggressive that the justification of the renewed Alliance must depend.

"The Harding Administration and a China Policy"

STEPHEN A. BARKER

THE entry of the United States into a consortium for the aid of China and the solution of the Far Eastern Question calls for a redefinition and reassertion of American foreign policy as regards China.

The withdrawal of the United States from the six powers consortium in 1913 and the quiescent period of American policy during the Great War put American diplomacy at a disadvantage in the Orient.

With the exit of the United States, the only country which was favorable to China and who aided her against her aggressors, went the liberal attitude of the loan group and in its place came depreciatory moves towards the integrity of China.

Now, with the entrance of the United States into the new consortium, and the gradual return to pre-war conditions, America finds her interest once more directed toward China and her attention called to the complex political situation which has developed there during her absence. The first consideration of the new administration in outlining a China policy is to maintain its policy of respect for the national integrity and political entity of China and a just treatment of all nations there concerned.

But—shall the United States countenance the domination of a backward majority by an aggressive minority; or shall she give her support to the weaker and encourage their growth toward political and economic independence?

In the formulation of a China policy the present administration should take into consideration the phenomenal rise of Japan and her relations with China. Previous to 1885 Korea had been nom-

inally a vassal state of China, the Korean king refusing to treat with foreigners, as he was a vassal of China, and the Emperor of China refusing to assume responsibility for any action of his pseudo-vassal. On account of the destruction of Japanese legation buildings during Korean uprisings in 1884, the Chino-Japanese treaty of 1885 came into effect, whereby China and Japan agreed to withdraw from Korea and to previously agree on concerted action in Korea thereafter. Between the years of 1885-1894 Korean history was filled with intrigues between factions, which were aided from sources outside of the country. In 1894 China sent troops into Korea to restore order, having given Japan notice of her actions, and Japan countered by sending an equal number of troops without an invitation to help preserve order in an independent country.

China remonstrated against such action and sent in more troops, which Japan construed as opposition to her actions and attacked China. The Chinese were wholly defeated in the short war which was concluded by the treaty of Shimonoseki. By this treaty Japan recognized the total independence of Korea, acquired the island of Formosa and the Pescadores, the southern extremity of the Liaotung peninsula and a large indemnity.

Japan thus acquired a big and potentially valuable colony and had eliminated China from Korea, leaving that country a free field for Japanese expansion, either by making it a barrier against Russia or by necessitating the assumption of control by Japan.

* First Essay in the School of Journalism University of Missouri.

Japan, by her attempt to seize the Liaotung peninsula, gave cause for the "concession grabbing" period which began two years later.

It is well to consider here the demoralization of the Chinese Empire caused by the attempted seizure of the Liaotung peninsula by Japan, which was marked from the first by complete disregard on the part of European nations of the principle of China's integrity, a period characterized by a general scramble for concessions and the establishment of "Spheres of Influence."

Shortly after the signing of the treaty of Shimonoseki, France asked for and got exclusive commercial privileges in China. Naturally Great Britain could not be thus passed by, so to offset concessions made to France, China granted permission to England to open some new trade routes and ports in South China. As a reward for her services in forcing the Japanese to restore the Liaotung peninsula to China, Russia felt obliged to make herself at home in the very region from which she had helped eject Japan. Thus far the powers had been busy clinching their concessions of commercial and industrial preponderance, but the murder of two German missionaries in Shantung in 1897 gave Germany an excuse to demand a naval station and a base for military actions in the Far East. The German fleet took possession of Kia-chow bay and succeeded in getting from China a lease on the bay and its environs for a period of 99 years, together with railway and mining rights.

In rapid succession Russia and France secured similar leases in the Liaotung peninsula and in the region of Kwangchoo bay, respectively.

Great Britain arranged for a lease of Wei-hai Wei, a port, situated midway between the leases of Germany and Russia. "Non-alienation" agreements were also secured from China by the powers, whereby each extracted from China a promise that she would not leased certain districts to any other power.

Japan had thus gotten a foothold in

China equal to that of the European powers. The next step in her rise was the formulation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1902 in which both powers agreed to maintain the territorial integrity of China and Korea, the status quo, the peace in the Far East and the "Open Door." This alliance, entered by England under duress at the time of the Boer War, stamped the approval of a western power upon Japan and made possible her venture into Manchuria, with her subsequent forward policies.

As a result of the Anglo-Japanese alliance came the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-1905, brought on by the clash of interests of the two powers in Manchuria, the territory of a third power. Russia, defeated on land and sea, concluded the war by the Treaty of Portsmouth in September, 1905. By the terms of the treaty Russia transferred her special rights and possessions,—including the lease of the Liaotung peninsula, the railway lines and the coal mines—in South Manchuria to Japan.

During the closing months of the Russo-Japanese War the Japanese renewed the Anglo-Japanese alliance, omitting, though, the clause referring to the maintenance of the integrity of Korea. Henceforward it would be only a matter of time until Japan had swallowed up Korea.

In 1906 Marquis Ito was made Japanese Resident-General in Korea and in 1907 the Korean representatives at the Hague were denied a hearing at the instigations of the Resident-General. In 1908 Prince Ito publicly stated that it was no part of Japan's purpose to annex Korea and in the next year he declared that Korea must be "amalgamated" with Japan. The following year (1910) saw the passing of Korea into the hands of Japan when the helpless Emperor of Korea signed the treaty ceding the whole of his country to Japan, who five years before had solemnly guaranteed the integrity of his domains and the security of his throne.

When the Great War broke out in 1914, Japan felt that she should attack the German garrison at Tsingtao in

compliance with her agreement with England, which called for mutual effort to preserve peace in the Orient. Therefore, desirous of maintaining the status quo and the peace of the Far East, Japan demanded the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Germany from the Far East and the transfer of German interests in that region to Japan with the view of their eventual restoration to China. In the face of the struggle China remained neutral, through the efforts of the Japanese, and lost the opportunity to recover her irredentia without Japanese aid. Japan declared that she had no ulterior motives in her seizure of Tsingtao; but after the resort to force to eject Germany from Tsingtao, she declared "that for the duration of the War, she would administer in Tsingtao and at the conclusion of the War open negotiations with China."

Soon after the seizure of Tsingtao the true policy of the Japanese in China manifested itself. It was in fact, a repetition of the policy which Japan had employed in Korea prior to the annexation of that country to Japan in 1910. On January 18, 1915, the Japanese stated their policy by handing Yuan Shih-Kai, president of China, a text of twenty-one demands. These demands were presented in the form of a secret negotiation but were inadvertently brought to light. They were of such a nature as to render China a political and economic vassal of Japan, which would be in line with the enforcement of Japanese "rights" in China, as urged by Japanese statesman. Shantung was alluded to with about as much deference in the twenty-one demands as is the horse in a horse trade.

Japan demanded that China assent to any decision arrived at between Japan and Germany. The demand went far beyond Shantung and Manchuria.

Japan demanded special privileges in Eastern Inner Mongolia, the Fukien province, and in the Yangtze valley. Furthermore it was demanded that China get the assent of Japan before

granting concessions along the Chinese coast to any foreign power. Section V of the demands caused such a reaction in China that it was later interpreted by the Japanese minister as "wishes" of Japan and action of the articles temporarily postponed. The most outstanding of this section of demands are that; "China employ Japanese advisers and Japanese police in the larger cities; that Japan must be given first refusal of loans for constructive works within China, such as shipyards, railroads, etc., and secure Japan's assent to any such program; that China adapt her military standards to that of Japan and buy at least fifty per cent of her equipment from Japan or establish a jointly-worked Sino-Japanese arsenal in China." Such is the policy of Japan in China today.

It would be well to consider the "Open Door" policy which the United States applied in its relations with the Orient.

The acquisition of the Philippines in 1898 brought the United States into the Far East and gave her a need for a Far Eastern policy.

The period of concession grabbing in China was just over and the United States was desirous of formulating a policy with China which would apply advantageously for all powers concerned in that country and at the same time respect and preserve the political entity and territorial integrity of China. The "spheres of influence," having been recognized as a permanent institution, must be taken into consideration in the formulation of a policy. In 1899 Secretary Hay sent to the diplomatic representatives at London, Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Tokio and Rome instructions to advise the governments to which they were accredited of the hope that they would make "formal declaration of an 'Open Door' policy in the territories held by them in China". An outline of the program drafted by Secretary Hay was: Non-interference with any treaty port or vested interest within any so-called "sphere of influence" held

by that country in China; the Chinese treaty tariff should apply merchandise landed or shipped to any port (except free ports) within any sphere of influence and that Chinese officials shall collect leviable duties; no discrimination between nationalities as regards railroad rates or harbor dues within any sphere of influence or at any ports within the same.

In due time all of the overnments addressed returned favorable replies, which implies that they had entered into mutual agreement with the United States to preserve the commercial status quo and to refrain from measures calculated to destroy equality of opportunity in their so-called "sphere of influence." Japan affirmed this policy at the time of its formulation and reaffirmed it in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1901, in the Portsmouth Treaty of 1905, in a special convention between France and Japan in 1907, in a special convention between Russia and Japan in 1907, in the Root-Takahara Agreement with the United States in 1908 and at the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1911.

But—What is the policy of Japan in China today?

The "Twenty-one demands" were thrust upon China in 1915 while the rest of the world was engaged in a titanic struggle in Europe and, with few modifications, China was forced to comply with Japan's wishes.

By these demands Japan has renewed the exclusive "sphere of influence" policy in China which tend to oppose the Open Door, as examples have shown that trade, other than that of the Japanese, decreases in regions of Japanese, political control. Japan is using her military supremacy in the Far East to secure for herself the foreign trade of China and the sole benefit of the development of the natural resources of that country.

What will be the American policy in China in the future? Any policy of the United States in that country must assume the principles of fair play, of equal opportunity, and respect for the

rights of weaker nations and backward peoples.

What is the matter with the Open Door policy? It embodies these principles. It was ratified by six powers at the time of formulation, including Japan, and many times since then. Then what is the trouble with it? It lacks enforcement. Enforcement of the Open Door policy means the co-operation of the powers which ratified it.

The policy of America must be that of the *Open Door* and its *Enforcement*. The Doctrine must hold preponderance over the policy of "imperative necessity." Any attempt to abandon the Open Door would be a sign of weakness prompted by timidity and cowardice. The powers must agree on some practical method of co-operation in finance and development to stop and prevent the evasion of the Open Door. No real problem is ever solved by avoidance. The United States must pay her share of the cost and take her part of the responsibility. The time has come for a showdown.

America must go into China, with all that it means, or stay out, with all that this means.

The policy of the United States must be one in co-operation with other powers for the aid of China along the lines of political, commercial and industrial development. The Chinese are not able to work out the solution of their problem. Indeed, it will only be by individual sacrifice of the powers having interests within China that China will be started along the lines of national development.

A joint agreement of the nations that the peace of the Far East could not be "separately and secretly disturbed" by any power would enable China to turn to its internal problems of development. It would result in the reduction of the Chinese military forces and allow China to devote the upkeep cost of the army to industrial development and improvement.

Abolition of "extra-territoriality" and the restoration of local adminis-

trative autonomy throughout China. with the supervision of an international tribunal, would encourage the Chinese along the lines of political development.

The nationalization and international neutralization of all railways within China would do much to insure the success of the Open Door.

The restoration of the "cinq pour cents effectif" and tariff autonomy to China, under reciprocal conditions whereby China's fiscal administration will be gradually restored is also necessary to avoid commercial discriminations in different 'spheres' of China. According to Article VI of the Protocol of 1901, the tariff rate, an effective five per cent, was set on all imports of China.

In 1911 the tariff was 4.02% and continued to sink until it stood at 2.89% in 1917, a drop of 47% of the original 5%. This process was an evasion of the Open Door. On account of the depression of the five per cent tariff income, China is forced to tax domestic trade more heavily than foreign commerce and to retain those harassing levies which are an obstacle alike to her foreign and domestic commercial expansion. Tariff autonomy must be restored to China so that she may formulate and put into force an economic policy which is in harmony with the interests of her people.

The United States must stand for the placing of the "concessions" of the "concessions" of the powers in China under an international tribunal and allow the Open Door to apply to all.

It must oppose the development of the natural resources of China by individual powers having concessions there and promote the development of China resources by the Chinese in regions free from foreign spheres of influence.

The development of China's natural resource by the Chinese will be equally advantageous to China and the rest of the world. Development of industry will bring trade. China has the natural resources necessary for a great industrial development. She has immense deposits of coal and iron, whose proximity will make development easy and profitable. Development of natural resources by China will make the observance of the Open Door compulsory, but the development of the resources of China by an individual power, other than China, will endanger the policy of equal opportunity and the Open Door.

Upon the American policy in the Orient depends the destiny of China and the future peace of the Far East. Co-operation of the treaty powers with China will result in a peaceful existence of all parties in that country. Competition of these powers in China will result in the institution of a policy of balance of power in the Far East and the dangers attached to such an institution.

The contracting parties will have to treat one another with equal respect and consideration. The injustices, inequalities and inconsistencies of the past must be abolished and rational bases of mutual intercourse substituted—Such is the Open Door.

China and the Disarmament Conference

LIVINGSTON S. Y. HU

IT is as certain as the physical law of gravitation that great ideas are the mother of great actions. So the writer of this article thinks of this coming Washington Conference as a tangible result, though in the elementary stage, of the serious and long contemplation on the part of all the great men of the world concerning the feasibility of using armed force as an ultimate solution to world's intricate political problems and other problems. The results of war as narrated in the world's history—ancient, medieval, and modern—have sufficiently proven the fact that all wars are earmarks of the ignorance, barbarity, and backwardness of human nature which has been abundantly punished by "hard knocks of experience" in war and ought to have learned thoroughly its lesson by the twentieth century, an age of intellect and enlightenment. It is the most tragic part of the modern civilization that there are still men who cannot yet see the folly of warfare and its untenability as an ultimate solution of the world problems. A real fork-road situation is thus presented to the thinkers of the world, causing them to think hard and serious on this world problem. Professor John Dewey of Columbia University, a world figure in education and philosophy, once said in his book called "How We Think" that the thinking processes of the mind start with the fork-road situation. Realizing the fact that "there are no free scholarships in the school of experience" and the inadvisability of letting the world go further into bitterness and the expensiveness of war, America has again so timely initiated a new epoch by the so-called the Disarmament Conference" at Washington to be held next month with the express purpose and deter-

mination of accomplishing two things; and international disarmament and the solution of the Far Eastern Problems. These are the two most impending problems confronting the world today. They go hand in hand and the solution of the one will include the solution of the other. Far Eastern Problems, if not properly handled, will be the bone of contention for another world war, which in all probability would be many times more destructive and heart-rending than the one just finished. This Washington Conference manifests America's ingenuity, far-sighted statesmanship impregnable stand for international comity, her persistence in holding to the principles of the so-called "open door" policy, and her constant and unchanging loyalty to the ideals of international democracy and world peace. It also indicates wisdom in the manipulation of world-affairs and her belief in the saying that "where there's a will there's a way". For America as an initiator of this great idea of international peace has tried several times in the past to achieve it through various agencies such as the last attempt at the "League of Nations", the "Carnegie's International Disputes signed at the Hague, October 18, 1907". This Washington Conference is simply an outgrowth of these past attempts to accomplish this great idea of carrying out the humanitarian principles of human brotherhood and international friendliness. It will mark another forward step towards the realization of the long-cherished hope of the world. The idea of international peace is not a question of practicability but a question of time since "Rome was not built in a day" but time alone tells and its success is bound to come sooner or later.

Before writing upon what China as a whole thinks of this Washington Conference it would be fitting for the writer to review briefly on what the other Powers think upon the matter as reported by the different periodicals published in this country. These divergent views serve to throw some high lights upon the possibilities of this conference as well as to help American statesmen formulate the agenda of the conference. What Frederick Moore, the foreign counsellor to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, says represents clearly the attitude of both England and Japan towards the conference. He says: "When a conference for the limitation of armament was first suggested, a sensation of relief was felt in Japan as in Great Britain; but when the American Government attached to its original informal invitation what appeared to be a condition that the limitation should be subject to agreements on Pacific and Far Eastern Problems, an excited fear developed in Japan that the longed for relief might not, after all, be forthcoming". This excited fear of Japan is well evidenced by her incessant demand upon China to negotiate the "Shantung Question with her directly. She has been offered inducements to China for this direct negotiation which the Chinese Government did not oppose it very strongly; but the intelligent Chinese citizens as a whole would not even consider the proposition; perhaps on account of the emptiness of Japanese promises in the past. Emerson once said: "Your action speaks so loud that I cannot hear what you say". The most attractive inducement offered to China by Japan for this direct negotiation was what Mr. Yoshida, the Japanese Chargé d'affaires, communicated to the Chinese Government on the 8th of August when he suggested the withdrawal of the Japanese special police along the Tsinan-Kiaochow Railway, which if fully developed would be the Union Pacific Line of China. From this America can conceive graphically the strategic position of Shantung—politi-

cally and commercially—and its relation to China as an independent nation. Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, former American Minister to China, in his article on the Far Eastern Question says: "if the central railway of Shantung Province is to be held by a foreign government, all other general promises to regard China's integrity, sovereignty and independence means nothing". Again, Shantung is the province richest in natural resources. For these reasons and these reasons alone China and America did not ratify the treaty at Versailles. Hence China will not agree to the Japanese proposition of direct negotiation on the Shantung Question. France judging from the present status of the League of Nations, thinks of this Washington Conference rather as an illusion than a reality; but she heartily endorsed America's plan of disarmament believing that secondary powers might follow suit. These diversified viewpoints of different nations on this coming Disarmament Conference may to some extent retard the progess but they can never thwart for good the great and invincible ideal behind it. Right must eventually triumph.

A brief explanation of the present conditions in China would help people understand the inner workings of national and international politics in China. Territorially China is a trifle bigger than America; but she has one fourth of the world's population, which as a race is both virile and pure. Barring United States China is the richest nation on earth in natural resources. These are entirely undeveloped and need foreign capital for their immediate and proper development. That is the view held by the educated Chinese alone while the conservatives still believe in iron-door policy. The latter is certainly a very reasonable stand in view of the fact that foreign aggressions have completely exhausted Chinese confidence in foreigner's sense of sincerity or spirit of helpfulness. But China forgets that the instinct to own things is an element of human nature and it is up to China herself

to make good and to equip herself manfully thus enabling her to assume the burden of her own self-defense. "God helps those that help themselves." By using foreign capital China does not want to lose her right of ownership and the right of supervision. Politically, the Chinese have been fighting among themselves since the establishment of the Republican Form of Government. The civil war in China is nothing more or less than a conflict between the old ideas of government and the new, or in other words, it is a party struggle for existence. Such a conflict forms an indispensable part of any kind of political evolution; it is partly due to not realizing the fact that political unity is the key to securing political independence. To a superficial observer, China seems hopeless. Such a man needs to study into China and also into world history more thoroughly and with a scholastic attitude of mind. He may himself feel that he has expounded a gospel truth about China and its future; but to students of history his view is merely an expression of ignorance and making himself a laughing stock. What China needs now is political unity and a popular education that will gradually clear away the monster mass of ignorance. She needs a new conception of naturalism—not local but national, not egoistic but altruistic and not autocratic but democratic. It will take time to change China; for she has been existing as a nation for nearly five thousand years under traditional influences and environments. It may be the hard knocks of experience alone that can make her wise to her deficiencies, awake to her needs. Only this will so adapt her that she may be included in the family of nations and avoid the imminent danger of being politically annihilated. For the last few decades, China has been suffering so harshly and mercilessly from foreign aggressions. The writer sincerely believes that better things are in the making in China, that she is on the path to truth and enlightenment and that her future is assured.

The civil war raging in China now

did not divert a whit of China's attention from giving hearty and substantial support to the great cause of international disarmament initiated through American leadership; but it may have acted as one of the contributing factors which have stimulated China to make all sorts of preparations for a desperate and joint stand with America for international disarmament and will help make the conference a real success. For two reasons she has made elaborate preparations for attending this Washington Conference—First, as the Chinese have the inborn characteristic of being peace-loving so they are absolutely unprepared in both military and naval armaments. Secondly, it has been the national philosophy of China that eventually right triumphs over might and democracy over autocracy for China as a nation has securely founded on that basis for a period of five thousand years.

In conclusion the writer wishes to maintain that China realizes to the full that this conference now held in Washington is a tremendously heavy task awaiting President Harding's administration and presents a supreme test of the diplomacy of Washington. Whether Washington succeeds or fails, China gives America her fullest assurance that she will do her utmost to bring public opinion to the support of the Disarmament Conference provided America will stick to her present proposal of bringing about an agreement among the nations for the limitation of armaments. It is an epoch-making conference because of the fate of humanity hangs upon it and because the destinies of unborn millions hang upon its decisions and because the future of civilization may be decided before the next Christmastide. If China does have a heart and a conscience of the God-given kind she has every reason under the sun to make a desperate stand with America for the cause of humanity. The writer believes in the future of America and in the future of China and in the future of the Washington Conference.

MARCH OF EVENTS AT HOME

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK

THERE has been no radical changes in the political situation at home during the past month. Premier Chin Yun-peng who had time and again tendered his resignation ever since his assumption of office as the Prime Minister last year, has again resumed his work as a result of President Hsü Shih Chang's strong persuasion, and also on the condition that henceforth no interference on the part of provincial officials especially the military class will be tolerated by him. But the fact remains that the present Government is at the call and beck of the Chihli and Fengtien factions. Marshal Chang Tso-lin, Inspector-General of the Three Eastern Provinces and leader of the Fengtien faction seems to be busy in consolidating his powers in both Manchuria and Mongolia. And he has at last succeeded in securing the appointment of General Chien Chin-hsun, one of his followers, as Tutung or Tartar-General of Jehol to replace General Chiang Kwei-ti, a 80 year old veteran. General Wu Pei-fu, Inspector-General of Hunan and Hupeh, and the actual leader of the Chihli faction, appears to be in high spirits after driving the Szechuan force out of Hupeh. During the last five months, the influence of the Chihli faction has been increased by leaps and bounds. With General Hsiao Yao-nan as Tuchun of Hupeh and General Feng Yu-hsiang as Tuchun of Shensi, the Chihli faction is now ruling from one end to the other end of the Great Wall. Therefore it is now Marshal Chang Tso-lin and General Wu Pei-fu who are practically running the Peking Government leaving President Hsü Shih Chang and Premier Chin Yun-peng plenty of time to perform their various social functions.

But situations in the Southwest are about the same if not worse. General

Chen Cheung-wing, Military Governor of Kwangtung, and actual "boss" of the Canton Government, has been to and fro between Kwangtung and Kwangsi for the last three months to play the role of Inspector-General although he does not like to assume its name, since the latter came under the control of the former. The three other independent provinces namely Yunnan, Kweichow and Szechuan, which are nominally under the same "law-upholding" flag like Kwangtung are as independent to the Canton Government as they are to that in Peking. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, so-called leader of the Southwest, seems to be enjoying as much leisure as his "friend" President Hsü Shih Chang is now enjoying in the Northern Capital. In other words, General Chen Cheung-wing is occupying exactly the same position as Marshal Chang Tso-lin and General Wu Pei-fu are now occupying in the North and Central.

However, the people are now actually awakening. Whatever signboards this handful of greedy politicians and militarists may choose to advertise themselves they can no longer fool the masses. To be sure, the true citizens of the country have nothing to do with these factional quarrels; they have been tired of such high-sounding phrases as "law-upholding", "provincial autonomy" and what not. In short, they like to be left alone, and given every man a chance to live an honest living. Signs are not wanting that they will have it.

THE FLOOD OF HWAI RIVER

God seems to be unkind with the innocent people of the Oriental Republic of late. Following closely upon the heels of that terrible drought of last year there have been two floods this year. One is the flood of the Huangho or Yellow River and the other is that

of the Hwai River. The flood of the Hwai River is a more recent one. It has affected several thousands of square miles in the northern part of Kiangsu. Though it is not a very thickly-populated place the damage done to crops is considerable. And thousands and thousands of innocent farmers with their women and children are now homeless, and have become public charges.

THE BANKER'S ASSOCIATION

Recently a meeting under the auspices of the Bankers' Association was held in Peking. It was attended by such prominent financiers as Messrs Chow Tze-chi, Tsao Yu-lin, Yeh Kung-cho, Wu Ting-chang and others. As the result of a lengthy discussion it was resolved that a foundation fund should be established by the Chinese bankers in Peking in order to help the Central Government to meet the obligations of all its foreign loans. In doing so they are reported to have two things in mind. On the one hand, the rumored foreign control of China by an international financial board can be avoided, and a better credit can be established abroad on the other. Any way it is a right step in the right direction.

CHINA AND THE CONFERENCE

Ever since America's invitation to China asking her to attend the Conference the public attention of the country has been focussed on Washington. The people as a whole have complete confidence in the fact that justice will be done to China this time. There have been various associations and leagues to discuss China's case to be presented at the Conference. And quite a few newspapers and periodicals have also sprung up for the same purpose.

However, it is regrettable that our able Foreign Minister, Dr. W. W. Yen is unable to attend the Conference in person owing to the pressure of business which detains him at home. But the fact that we have such talented men

as Dr. Alfred S. K. Sze, Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo and Dr. Wang Chung-hui as our principal delegates, has served to comfort the feelings of the four hundred millions to a great extent.

According to the latest information from home a mass meeting to be participated by the Peoples' Diplomatic Associations of all provinces will meet at Shanghai about the 20th of November. Their announced intention is to discuss the measures as to how to give the fullest support to the Chinese Delegation now in Washington. And the Chambers of Commerce and the Educational Associations of different provinces have already sent Dr. Monlin Chiang and Mr. David Yui, two of our ablest modern educated men, as their authorized representatives to watch and advise the Chinese Delegation on their behalf.

THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK

In spite of the disturbed condition of the country the outlook of education has never been so bright as it is today. The newly reorganized Communications University which has branch colleges in Shanghai, Tangshan and Peking, is now in its full swing. And the Southeastern University formerly known as the High Normal College of Nanking, is getting on splendidly under the able direction of Dr. P. W. Kuo a graduate of Columbia University. It was recently reported that General Chi Hsien-yuen, Tuchun of Kiangsu, has very generously contributed one hundred thousand dollars out of his own pocket for the establishment of a library for the Southeastern University. And the University of Amoy which owed its existence entirely to Mr. Chen Chia-ken, a rich merchant of that city, has recently become a strong rival of its senior brother institutions in both efficiency and the number of students. Mr. W. H. Pai, a graduate of Stanford is now a new member of the faculty of the Amoy institution.

JEMYN C. H. LYNN

CLUB NEWS

BALDWIN-WALLACE

The departure of Henry Fung, Richard Shan and David Yu, after graduation from Baldwin Wallace College, made a great loss to the Berea Club. However, the three newcomers H. C. Chang and Miss C. T. Hwang and her brother, John Hwang have made up the balance totalling seven in number again, this year; and surely the members of Berea Club extended their heartiest welcome to these new members.

The regular meeting of our club is held every Monday evening, in its club room, with the purpose of acquiring knowledge, getting better acquainted with each other, and promoting the interests of the Chinese students at B-W College. Although the club is small in its membership, but always large in the percentage of attendance. On the evening of Nov. 21 the club will have an open meeting with a program on Thanksgiving. Professor Roehim will be our critic.

On the evening of Oct. 10, the members of Berea Club celebrated the joyous "Double Ten" with a banquet at Prof. Frederick Roehim's home. They were honored by the presence of several faculty members. Speeches appropriate to the occasion were splendidly given. The evening was very happily spent. Besides, our Club and Oberlin Club with the citizens of Cleveland, published a little pamphlet entitled, "Souvenir Commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of the Republic of China" which contains some facts concerning our young Republic in her days of strenuous struggle for growth and safety.

The officers of our Club for the academic year 1921-1922 are as follows: President, Miss Tsu Chin Hwang; Secretary, Lucian H. Chen; Treasurer,

Hubert Liang; Manager, Donald C. Tsien.

Lucian H. Chen.

BALTIMORE

The distinction of being the seat of publication of *The Chinese Students' Monthly* has fallen this year to Baltimore for the second time. This singular honor is, however, not without its attendant disadvantages. Successful management of the Monthly requires from some of our members the devotion of their entire spare time, which otherwise could be directed toward the activities of our Club.

Nevertheless, the Baltimore C. S. C. is not a bit inactive. We had our Club Supper at the Port Arthur Restaurant on November 6th. The post-prandial eloquence of some of our speakers on behalf of the Chinese students' activities for China's cause at the Washington Conference gave promise that we have quite a bunch of future orators.

After supper the members proceeded to the Y. M. C. A., where under the auspices of our *medicos*, Dr. C. E. Lim, a graduate from the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, England, gave an interesting paper on "A Comparative Study of the Facilities Open to Chinese Students for Medical Training in Great Britain and France".

Following the instructive talk by Dr. Lim, our medical members organized themselves into a group with Dr. K. C. Sun as "leader", the object being to keep in better touch with Chinese medical organizations both in the States and in China.

S. H. Lin.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY AND TUFTS COLLEGE

The B. U. & Tufts College C. S. C. wish to send the greetings of the season

to the other clubs.

So far we have had two club meetings at the Chinese Y. M. C. A. Our membership roll now numbers thirty with an increase of about 33 1/3 per cent. over the first year.

The B. U. members are scattered over the various departments, namely: the Graduate School, the College of Business Administration, the College of Liberal Arts, the School of Medicine, and the School of Religious Education.

We are fortunate in having three girls in the University. The Misses Sioh, Ging Sarah Huong and Ruth Sing-Ging Ho are studying at the Medical Department while Miss Jeanette Ho is registered at the Religious Education Department.

The officers of the club for this year are: T. L. Hsi, President; Theodore Chen Fong, Vice-President; T. H. Liang, Treasurer; and Miss Mabel Chen Fong, Secretary.

M. Chen.

CHICAGO

On Friday evening, September 30, 1921, the Chinese Students Club of the City of Chicago held its sixth annual banquet at the Morrison Hotel. About seventy people took part in the dinner and in the dancing that followed. Music for the occasion was furnished by a Hawaiian orchestra. As usual with the reports of clubs, the affair was a success. Our new social chairman, Mr. H. C. Lam, deserves honorable mention. After the members were through sipping their coffee the toastmaster, Mr. M. H. Chow, introduced to us the speakers for the evening in the following order: Mr. C. P. Cheng, Mr. T. L. Wang, and Mr. Y. S. Huang. The outgoing officers were: Walter Chinn, president; Miss Josephine Moy, secretary; and Miss Ellen Leong, treasurer. Those selected to serve during the ensuing term were: Paul Y. Sieux, president; Miss Margaret Kan, vice-president; Miss Ellen Leong, recording secretary; Albert H. Wong, corresponding

secretary; and Miss Josephine Moy, treasurer.

The club will give a Hallowe'en Party on Friday evening, October 28, at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Kan on 5538 Blackstone Avenue. A short business meeting will be held before the social part of the program is taken up. Notices have already been sent out to ninety-six people inviting them to be present at the occasion. The club expects to enlist more members in its cause before the evening's program is over.

Albert H. Wong.

CLEVELAND

Here we are again with the same old spirit! This year we have only eight members, but each and every one is doing his or her best to make our club a "Progressive One."

Among our new and old members are: C. Y. Liew, N. C. Nu, B. Y. Yeel, Dr. K. C. Chock, James K. F. Shen, Dr. T. C. Shen, J. Y. Jung and Miss Jessie K. Wong.

The club officers of this year are: Dr. T. C. Shen, President; James K. F. Shen, Vice-President; Miss Jessie K. Wong, Corresponding Secretary; C. Y. Liew, Recording Secretary and B. Y. Yeel, Treasurer.

In the evening of October tenth our club joined with the On Laing Tong and Kau Min Tang to celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of our Republic. An interesting program had been prepared for the occasion by B. Y. Yeel. Everything carried off with great success.

The second regular meeting of our club was held on Nov. 4th. At this meeting we are very fortunate to have with us Miss K. M. Chan and C. K. Tse from Oberlin and K. S. Lee, Secretary of the Chinese Nationalist League of Cleveland. To them we extend our heartiest welcome.

J. K. Wong.

COLUMBIA

"Keep your life strong, true, purpose-

ful and Godward!" Is this not an inspiration to everyone of our fellow-students to serve, cooperate, and achieve? Let us all strive to do our best for our beloved fatherland, China!

The Columbia Club welcomed the Chinese people's delegates to the Washington Conference in a special meeting held at Teachers College on Nov. 7th. They were Dr. Chiang Molin, a graduate of Teachers College, Columbia University; Dr. David Z. T. Yui, a graduate of Harvard, and one of the foremost educators in China; and Mr. P. C. Chang, former Principal of Nankai College at Tientsin. Mr. Chang is now lecturing in the Mid-West, consequently he was unable to be with us that evening.

Miss Chindon Yui, our Club president, introduced the two speakers, Dr. Chiang and Dr. Yui in a capable way, saying that they bear "the torchlight of China's democracy," and we students are glad to give them our hearty support and cooperation. Dr. Chiang addressed us in a frank and sincere manner. The genuine facts concerning the political and economical conditions in China were clearly revealed before us. He said that our people have already realized their greatest responsibilities toward the salvation of our Republic. Ultimately, they will support wholeheartedly the government, which aims towards real progress and democracy! Dr. Yui spoke with a cheerful spirit of the great hopes for China. The Renaissance Movement, the increase of schools and universities, the emphasis on education for the mass, the people's willingness to support worthwhile projects, and the bright prospects of industry and commerce—in all these lie the hopes of China. However, our country is in urgent need of "men and women of sterling character," who can unite together, and stand always for justice and goodwill!

On Nov. 1st, about 50 club members stood at the Pier with flags, to greet Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, and Dr. Chun-Hui Wang, China's Delegates to

the Conference on Limitation of Armaments, and who were on their way to Washington, D. C. We are sure that they will do their best, to voice our genuine aspirations, and defend the just rights of China.

The Club's "Get Together" Meeting to welcome the new members took place on Saturday, October 22 in Earl Hall. A committee of five was created to work out a plan for the most effective service for the Washington Conference, by the Columbia Club members. The 170 members believe in Unity and the necessity of drawing up a program for intensive work. Interesting games and delicious refreshments concluded the evening's program.

The "Triple Tenth" Anniversary was not forgotten! To celebrate heartily the Founding of the Republic of China, the Chinese Students Clubs of Columbia University, New York University, and Brooklyn Polytechnique held a Joint Meeting on Oct. 10th in Earl Hall. We were honored with hundreds of American guests, and student representatives from other lands. Mr. P. C. Chang ably presided the meeting, and welcomed our dear friends in the name of "Universal Republican Fellowship." Professor John Dewey favored us with an inspiring address. Dr. Dewey has great hope in China's moral and intellectual force, and a real Republic in China is evident. He emphasized America's moral obligation in the Washington Conference on Disarmament. Mr. C. H. Chen spoke effectively, and his thoughts penetrated the hearts of many. He stated, "that the Chinese rejoice in their independence, but they should not neglect the fact that she is still not independent in her foreign relationships; that she is bound and gagged by treaties, special rights etc.; that unless China is completely untrammelled, there can be no true peace for the world." The entertainment which portrayed the progress of China, was quite interesting and enlightening. Refreshments were served, and everyone enjoyed this inspiring

gathering, held in commemoration of our National Day. It was indeed worthy of remembrance!

The present Club officers for the year are as follows: Miss Chindon Yui, President; C. L. Yu, Vice-President; L. C. Cha, Chinese Secretary; Miss Susan Yipsang, English Secretary; T. S. Tong, Treasurer; C. J. Pao, Auditor; Dr. Mabel Lee, Chairman of the Welfare Committee; Y. H. Ou, Chairman of Program Committee; Dr. Mabel Lee, Chairman, and Philip Chen, Secretary, of our Club's Committee of five for the Washington Conference. It is hoped that thru the earnest cooperation and true service of every member, the activities of our club will be successful.

"It's serving, striving thru strain and stress, it's doing your noblest—that is success."

In conclusion, we sincerely wish one and all a very merry Christmas!

Susan Yipsang, *English Secretary.*

CORNELL

C. C. S. C. is proud of its ever increasing members. This year its enrollment of membership has reached a mark of 65, which is hitherto unprecedented in the history of the club. In the eve of "Triple Ten" we celebrated our national birthday with unusual spirit in Rho Psi house. Upon singing our national song we had the opportunity to hear from two speakers their invaluable speeches in which the former with his optimistic view predicted China's future position in the world affairs and the latter with no less enthusiasm and inspiration encouraged each of us to be prepared for the call of our country. Games and riddles were then taken up, and musical specialties were given by several members to entertain the rest of the evening. With the singing of "Evening Song" the meeting was brought to close.

T. H. Shen.

CORNELL COLLEGE, IOWA

As a result of the arrival of several

new members the Chinese Students' Club of Cornell College was reorganized shortly after the opening of the college year. On the nineteenth of September we held our first formal meeting at which some problems relative to the welfare of the club were generally discussed. Following this, the request was sent to the college authorities for the official recognition of our club as one of the regular social organizations of this institution. This, without further consideration, was granted to us.

The administration staff of the club for the academic year 1921-1922 is composed of three officers: Carol Chen, president; H. U. Ling, secretary; and L. H. Ding, treasurer.

The club at the present time has a total membership of seven. Besides those three named in the preceding paragraph, the following four are the rest: P. Y. Chung, C. H. Sun, C. C. Ku, and M. C. Lin. It may be well to mention here that William Tan, who was one of the most active members of the club at the time of its reorganization, left on the fifteenth of October for China en route to Singapore. Mr. Tan's college education in America has not yet been finished. He is at any rate expected to come back some time next year.

The tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China was celebrated here by the members of the club in the evening of October 10. Only a limited number of invitations were sent to the student body, members of the faculty, and some of the townspeople.

After the audience had been introduced to order the Chinese National Anthem was sung. P. Y. Chung then gave a short talk on the present political situation in China, especially on the past, present and future of Shantung.

One of the most striking features of the program was perhaps a comedy presented to the audience by C. C. Ku and M. C. Liu, which carried a message as well as laughs. Following this, Professor C. E. Wildman, head of the

department of religious education, responded in behalf of the Americans. H. U. Ling then closed the program with a hearty welcome to those present. In general it may be concluded that the celebration of China's birthday was very well carried out that evening.

H. U. Ling.

DETROIT

The beginning of the college year naturally brings us again closer and in more intimate touch with our books. But knowledge derived from books is not all that we seek. In the various phases of life in college personal acquaintance and the spirit of fellowship should also be cultivated and considered as a big factor while we are in this country. The members of the Chinese Students' Club of Detroit send through the Local Club Columns their sincere greetings to other members of the Local Clubs wishing them the best of their college career this year.

With the changing of the college year the officers of the Chinese Students' Club of Detroit have also followed suit. They are as follows: Miss Jennie W. Moy, president; W. K. Chu, vice-president; Miss Katie G. Moy, English secretary; Bour Moy, Chinese secretary; and Chester Toy, treasurer.

The election of Miss Jennie Moy to the chairmanship of the Club signifies the vote of confidence that the members have in her and her ability to steer the ship of state clear of the rock and the tempestuous waters.

In the last special meeting of the Club questions relating to the Washington Conference on November 11th were discussed. In addition to this the lady delegate, Miss Katie Moy, of the Club to the conference at Purdue U. was asked to give a report of the conference and her activities in the literary and athletic sections of the program.

Katie Moy

IOWA STATE

We have told you our activities at the beginning of this semester by last report. We have plenty more to tell of those activities having done since then.

First: The Double Ten Celebration We are proud of its success. More than fifty guests attended the meeting. Hon. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, President Walter A. Jessup, Professor C. M. Case, Rev. Dr. F. C. Doan were the speakers. An elaborate and interesting program was presented. Local papers said that our program was one of the best on campus this year.

Second: The Homecoming Program. Iowa beat Illinois on the homecoming day. We, the members of Chinese Club, took part in the program celebrating this great day. Our program was called "East Meet West." We received warm applauses as it was an unusual one.

Third: The organization of a publicity bureau. Mr Leonard S. Hsu was elected its chairman. He put out his policies as follows:

- (1) To report the activities of this club to various magazines and papers.
- (2) To promote closer understanding and deeper friendship through publicity by contributing articles, publishing pamphlets, especially with reference to China's cause in the coming conference in Washington, and
- (3) To invite Oriental authorities and scholars to give monthly lectures on China.

Fourth: The support of Washington Conference—A vast program has been prepared for this purpose, for instance, financial campaign, lecturing work, publicity etc. The work is underway.

Fifth: Social Meetings—We are very active in social activities. We were in various times, invited by the Student Volunteer Club, Cosmopolitan Club, Methodist Church etc.

Leonard S. Hsu.

LOUISIANA STATE

The Chinese Students' Club of the Louisiana State University altho small in number is well known in the University as the "The Big Four". While the members are only four in number they are rich in good spirit and all stick together which enables them to accomplish big things in the University activities.

Suffice to say that they have shown to the Community as well as to the Students body of this Institution that China is the place where broad field in the future, for Sugar Industry.

Any Chinese Student as well as Business man who are interested in the Sugar Industry, the following four Chinese Students are more than glad to furnish them information on the matter: B. L. Chen; H. S. Chow; P. N. So; W. Y. Lin; Louisiana State University, Box 56, Baton Rouge, La.

B. L. Chen.

MICHIGAN

The membership of the Michigan Chinese Students' Club has reached its highest water-mark. Seventy-four have enrolled in this University and they stand like this:

	Boys	Girls
Old Timers... 28	8	
New Comers... 33	5	
—		
Total..... 61	13	

Per cent Increase 118 per cent 62.5%

The above table shows well that the increase is almost a mystery. However, our wise man on Problematical Psychology gives the reason that our fair ladies should be dedicated to the full credit of such a sudden increase.

The celebration of our Double Ten was a hit of the season. The program was well prepared and the speakers were carefully chosen. Harry B. Hutchins, President Emeritus of this University, opened the program by emphasizing that October 10 should not only be observed by the Chinese Students' Club, but it should also be celebrated by the University as a whole. In his speech he referred to the late

Professor Henry C. Adams who served as an adviser to the Chinese Board of Communication and was also the one who worked out the system of Chinese railroad financing. He also named a number of Civil Engineers of this University who are still working on the remodeling of the Grand Canal. An unusual collection of Chinese musical instruments was also displayed. Among them the Chinese seven stringed lyre of the S'ung Dynasty played by Mr. C. S. Chen, former Congressman, needed special mentioning. The program was concluded with a Pageant which presented well of the contrast of the China of the past and the China of today. Faculty members and down town people were our guests that evening.

The Hallowe'en Party was held in Miss Owen's home, a very friendly family to the Chinese in Ann Arbor, at the week end of October. The custom might permit me to say that we really saw ghosts and they dance like real Devils.

We were invited to join the Armistice Parade by the local organizations. We should feel proud of the fact that our float was credited to a second prize, an honorable mention, of about two dozen floats.

C. Y. Liu.

MILWAUKEE

During the summer vacation, there were a great number of Chinese friends visiting us. They were Messrs. Eugene Lee, M. L. Tsao, Y. S. Niu, Y. C. Lee, K. Y. Chang, Y. C. Sun, and Chen, who were entirely welcome by the Local Club. In honor of our friends, a banquet was held on August 14 th. Both guests and members had a heart to heart talk. At the end of the summer a group of our Purdue friends also visited the manufacturing companies in this city (the industrial center of United States of America.)

We are certainly sorry that our former secretary T. Tsao has left us. Yet we are glad for he is now teaching

Mechanical Engineering in the University of Communication at Shanghai.

For the purpose of celebrating "Double Ten," a banquet was given by the club on October 9th. Our honorable member F. F. Snow, who did the best for the Chinese Famine Bazaar, was also invited. After the dinner, a new election was held. Joseph Chie was re-elected as the president of the club, and Kai Yen Ma as the secretary and treasurer.

A new member was received this year. Bin Jarn of Tri-state College will take up mechanical engineering in Marquette University. L. Y. Lee and K. Y. Ma were also transferred to Marquette University.

K. Y. Ma.

MINNESOTA

"What is the matter with the Chinese Students in Minnesota—are they dead?" This has been asked by a number of our friends. We were dead in the sense that we were not heard much, but we are living and active as ever.

The opening of the fall quarter sees the registration of seventeen students in the University of Minnesota and two in Hamline University, St. Paul. Among the seventeen persons in the University of Minnesota, seven are taking mining engineering, five medicine, one mechanical engineering, one finance, and four in graduate school.

The first monthly meeting of the academic year was held on the 30th of Sept. Nineteen members were present. In the meeting, the welcome to the new members and the election of new officers took place. The officers elected are as follows: President, Henry F. Woo; Vice president, Miss Selma James; Secretary, S. C. Lin; Treasurer, S. K. Kwang. The new students are: P. Y. Chang, T. Y. Chang, W. S. Law, Y. Loo, G. Moy, D. Poe, K. S. Young and S. Chung.

At 6 o'clock in the morning of Oct. 10th., fourteen of us went out to have a 'weinner roast party' on the Mississippi River bank. In spite of raining

in that morning, we all enjoyed the delicatessen which were prepared by three fair members of the club. We perfected the celebration of the National Day by giving a banquet in the Golden Pheasant Inn in the evening. About fifty Chinese merchants of the city participated in the celebration. Among a number of honorable guests, Professor Jenks of the University, and Judge Elliot of the city were present.

Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, the former minister to China, visited Minneapolis on Oct. 19th. The club gave a reception to him in Miss Selma James residence. Dr. Reinsch gave us a talk in which he encouraged us to work unselfishly for our country while we are here. The next day he made clear the whole situation of Shantung problem before a body of four thousand university students.

S. C. Lin

OBERLIN

The Oberlin Chinese Students' Club this year has 35 members, 15 of whom are women. We are very glad to welcome 18 new members. This enrollment of Chinese students is the largest in the history of Oberlin.

The officers for the year 1921-22 are as follows: President, Miss D. Y. Koo; Vice-president, Y. C. Wang; English Secretary, Miss Minnie C. Chan; Chinese Secretary, M. S. Chang; Auditor, K. K. Wong.

On the evening of October 8, our club celebrated the "Triple Tenth" Anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China by giving an entertainment to which all the faculty, students, and townspeople were invited. The program was as follows: Remarks by Miss D. Y. Koo, president of the Club; address by President King in which he spoke of the Chinese people and their many opportunities for advancement; Melodrama given by ten members of the Club; Chinese music by Miss Catherine Lau; and a skit parodying the Peace Conference. The celebration ended with the Chinese

National Anthem and Yell. Booklets containing information and interesting facts about China were distributed.

We are very proud of one of our members, Miss K. M. Chen, who received a prize for having been the most active girl at the Mid-West Conference which was held at Purdue. She indeed deserves it, and she has our hearty congratulations.

The forthcoming Conference which concerns China vitally, has been a significant subject of discussion in our Club. Several committees have been organized to do work for China's cause.

Our Club has made plans for an informal social gathering on the day preceding the beginning of the Washington Conference. To this occasion, the officers of the various organizations of the college are invited. Our aim is to promote friendship and understanding, and to present China's situation at this Washington Conference.

Minnie C. Chan.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE

The Chinese Students' Club of Pennsylvania State College held its meeting on October 26, 1921. On account of the absence of the chairman, the secretary acted as temporary chairman. A general review of the past activities was held and it was clearly pointed out that there was greater success in all respects.

Officers for this year were elected and the results were: Wm. T. Ho, chairman; O. S. Mark, secretary; E. Lee, Chinese secretary; and Y. S. Hwa, treasurer. Mr. U. Tong left us this year but Mr. Oliver S. Mark came to us with a spirit of co-operation. Mr. Oliver S. Mark graduated from the West Chester State Normal School in June 1921, and now taking a course in Industrial Chemistry.

Oliver S. Mark.

PHILADELPHIA

Nov. 6 found the Quakers in an eager

discussion as to the part the C. S. C. of Philadelphia would play during the Washington Disarmament Conference. For the first time in our history we had three charming and brilliant ladies participating in our business meeting. They were Miss N. Z. Dong of Bryn Mawr, and Drs. Ting and Ging of West Philadelphia Women's Hospital. As a result of the meeting, a committee of seven was elected to be charged with administration, public speaking, research, English editorial, Chinese editorial, finance, and friendly relations. With fire of patriotism burning in their bosom, the committeemen are working at full blast. Under the able and inspiring leadership of Dr. M. I. Ting a number of speakers are being sent out to speak on behalf of China in different churches and organizations in and around Philadelphia. An elaborate financial campaign is now under preparation to secure some fund from the Chinese colony in Philadelphia in order to facilitate our work.

In the midst of our patriotic activities, we, as Quakers always do, still remember our own spiritual need. With the help of Mr. F. W. Price of Yale, a Christian Students Committee was definitely organized with S. T. Chow as chairman. So far, two meetings have been held. A bible discussion class and some substantial work with the downtown Chinese are our goals.

H. S. Chow.

PITTSBURGH

Out in the "Steel Town" where engineering brains flourish, the Chinese Students have been noted for their aggressiveness, resourcefulness and patriotic spirit. In the past years, the "Double Ten" celebration has always been a fitting climax in their annual run of activities. Only by force of circumstance and with a great deal of reluctance, indeed, the members of the Pittsburgh Club decided this year to reduce this annual entertainment to a banquet. That decline in numbers and not in spirit was the cause was amply vin-

dedicated by the enthusiasm shown in the night before the "Tenth", when they held the banquet in commemoration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Founding of the Chinese Republic. At 7.30 p. m. they all gathered in the New Orient Restaurant, each in eager anticipation of a sumptuous feast. As soon as they sat down, the sight of a program book *à l'ingénieur*—attracted some attention, even eclipsing the interest in the food *à la Chinoise*. With C. S. Yu as toastmaster, the program ran under full steam with ease and snap, although some of us nearly ate to dullness. D. C. Chang, or "Direct Current" as aptly named by the engineers, made a few remarks *à propos* of the occasion. Elbert Cheng then gave an earnest talk on "The Meaning of the Tenth". Then we feasted our ears with music, thanks to Miss Pallos who was kind enough to play a piano solo for us. The C. I. T. stunt was a 'hit' or 'miss' whichever way you take it. The prize-winners thought it was a hit but others scented "somebody was missing" in the game. Then Miss Nellie Yee Quil sang for us songs which stirred our hearts. Other interesting items might be mentioned, but we will stop here. Everybody enjoyed himself, yet the nature of the occasion was not forgotten amidst the joy. The display of national colors and the singing of our anthem gave the added stimulus to our spirit. We all felt that these are times when we really can do something to help our country. Let's keep our high spirit high during the coming eventful days.

Much time has been spent lately in the discussion of the Disarmament Conference in Washington, D. C.

Nellie Yee Quil.

PURDUE UNIVERSITY

The fame of Purdue University no doubt has been widely spread by those who attended the Mid-west Conference and saw its beautiful campus; the energy and persistent efforts of the students here, it also must be said, was impressively shown by the tremendous

success of the Conference, in which they play so great a part.

During the Conference receptions, many witty remarks were made, including the following: "After Gen. Pershing, we may say, 'La Fayette, we are here!'" (Purdue being situated in La Fayette, Ind.) Another centers around the fact that some streets were without lights. "The lack of street-lights, I am sure, has been taken full advantage of by the handsome young gentleman, escorting his lady on a nice evening stroll."

Besides the pleasure enjoyed, the Conference did much to cement the unity of the Chinese students, as well as to promote better understanding with the Americans.

Under the able leadership of President Sun Lum, the Club is progressing by leaps and bounds. On October Tenth, the Club had a Chinese dinner, and a patriotic meeting, in which feelings of love for China and anxiety to serve her were echoed and re-echoed. The Club is enthusiastically and energetically supporting the cause of our country in the Washington Conference; and for that reason, a publicity committee has been appointed to disseminate information among Americans.

Hien-Chun Philip Tsang.

SEATTLE

We are glad to announce that the Capital of the Chinese Student's Alliance Western Section has been removed from Berkeley, Cal. to Seattle, Wash. for this year. This is the first time Seattle has provided a home for the Alliance since its formation. Local addresses of the officers are: Rose Law Yow, Chairman, 320 15th Ave; Joseph Tuck, Treasurer, 4330 11th Ave. N. E. Those who desire connection in the West are required to communicate with the Section Chairman.

Besides the three new students arrived from China and settled in their study at the U. of Washington already mentioned, we wish to add two more. They are Elsie N. T. Wong from Hono-

lulu and Lincoln H. Jone from Hong-kong.

First Regular Meeting was called by our acting president Mr. C. Chiu, for election of officers. Result was President, N. S. Choy; Vice-president, Rose Law Yow; Secretary, Joseph Tuck; Treasurer, C. Zee; Y. M. C. A. Representative, Frank S. T. Wang.

We held our quite "Double Ten" National Day by having a banquet at the Rogers Resturant. Our new president spoke about how we can be patriotic during our stay here. First of all comes the friendship and unity among ourselves, and then stand ourselves to represent China before our American friends. Mr. Fu-lin gave a short speech about the general situation at home and our viewpoint toward it.

Special Meeting was called at Commerce Hall on the University Campus for the special purpose of discussing the local students' committee on the Washington Pacific Conference. After a long deliberation, we resolved that we should support to fight for China's justice and rights. Joseph Tuck was appointed Chairman on the General Publicity Committee under which a series of sub-committees were appointed. The Chairman of the respective Committees are: N. S. Choy, Speakers' Committee; C. Chiu, Research Work Committee; Joseph Tuck, Newspaper Committee. C. Zee was appointed by the president as Chairman of the Financial Drive Committee, which the Committee on Friendly Relations was under. A discussion about the plan to co-operate with the Chinese merchants downtown followed. We believe that the attention we pay to this patriotic movement should not be diverted irrespective of the South or North at home and of one Committee or another here. We labor with one united heart for China and one sole cause for justice.

The banquet for foreign students will be held at the University Commons and several of our Chinese merchants downtown have been invited to

attend. They are Messrs. Goon Dih, Lew Kay, W. L. Dong, Lew Wing and Rev. Lung Ming Tah.

The Chinese Basket-ball Team turned out on Wed. Nov. 2 at the University Women's Gym. The workout was successful.

The members of the University Club were entertained by many of the young ladies from Washington State Chinese Students Club at the Univesity Methodist Church. Many of our American co-ed friends were present too. Games, speeches, music and social mixing occupied most of the program and certainly each one of us had a dandy good time.
Joseph Tuck.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

After a long summer vacation the Chinese Students' Club of the University of Southern California resumed its activities and looks forward for a successful year. Two members, Dr Peter K. Hsu, graduate of the Dentistry College and Mr. David M. Lee of Pharmacy have left us. The former will return to China after completing his tour through the East.

The club this year has increased its membership from 13 to 24, which indicates a large growth of new students from all parts of China. At its first meeting plans were discussed to organize a campaign for the purpose of lecturing to the American public and the people in Chinatown in order to back up our delegates at the Washington Conference.

We joined the Chinese merchants in celebrating our National Holiday October 10, with great pomp and enthusiasm. During this patriotic meeting talks on important subjects were delivered by prominent speakers, and especially great emphasis was laid on the Shantung Issue.

Recently our club was favored by the coming of Dr. Tsai Yuan-Pei, the Chancellor of National Univesity, Peking, who, after touring Europe and America, made his last stopping place at Los Angeles. During his short visit one of our members, Mr. P. W. W.

Wong, an Alumnus of National University brought the noted educator to see the wonderful moving picture studios at Hollywood.

Lillie Leung.

WASHBURN COLLEGE

Washburn College of Topeka, Kan. which was founded more than fifty years, has had only one Chinese girl, Miss Ai-lau Giang, of Nanking, who studied here in 1917. Miss Lois Todd and I, both of Canton, who came in the summer of 1920, are the next two Chinese to be enrolled in the institution.

On account of our small number we have not been able to do much of the so-called "Chinese students activity", except that we have been taking every opportunity to show China either through our own personality, through social interview, or through speech-making. One thing we remember is the "China Night" which we gave to the people last year with the help of some other students, for raising money toward the famine relief. The result of that movement was not only the getting of more than a thousand dollars for the famine people, but it also showed to more than five thousand Americans the heart of China and caused them to have more sympathetic feeling, more friendship for our country.

This year Miss Lois Todd went to Mount Holyoke College, Mass., and there is another student here, Mr. David New of Fanchow, Shansi, who came direct from China this summer to attend this college. Though the condition is not better than before, but we are not discouraged to do things for China. On the "Double Tenth", the anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic, we invited the students, W. K. Lau, C. S. Lo, and P. Y. Lim to Topeka from Kansas State Agricultural College, Manhattan, and held an anniversary celebration at Central Congregational Church. The program contained the special music, Chinese lantern slides, plays, speeches and Chinese exhibits. Our national flag

demonstration explained thoroughly its idea and history, in a way that the people had never heard before. The membership of the church invited us for dinner, in which we had the chance to explain and answer questions concerning to China. There were more than two hundred people who attended the celebration. It was said, that, this was the first time the "Double Tenth" had been known to the public in Topeka, the capital of Kansas State.

Paul C. Fung

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The first regular meeting of our Club was held at 8 P. M. on October 5. In spite of the fact that we have a long roll of members there were only five to attend the meeting including Mr. W. H. Tso, who occupied the chair. The special feature of our Club is that we have neither a President or a Vice-President. And a chairman is chosen to preside at any meeting by lot at every preceding meeting. The two permanent officers are the secretary and treasurer, the present incumbents of which are Mr. Jermyn C. H. Lynn and Mr. V. U. Wang. Owing to the small size of attendance, no business was transacted although no quorum was required according to our constitution. However we had Messrs. J. C. Tsao and W. H. Chiao as our guests who are here for the Disarmament Conference.

There are in this city about forty Chinese students, six of them are girls. Mr. E. T. Yen of George Washington University is now teaching Chinese literature at Georgetown University, and Mr. S. N. Wang of G. W. U. has also been engaged as an instructor of Chinese at Research University. Mr. Jermyn C. H. Lynn, formerly of Stanford University, and now secretary of the Ministry of Interior, Peking, is at present working for the degree of juris doctor at the American University. Mr. Y. C. Yang formerly of G. W. U. is now in this city as a secretary to the Chinese Delegation to the Disarmament Conference.

J. C. H. Lynn.

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PERSONAL NOTES

Y. Liu, M. S. Illinois, after two years in the C. & E. I. R. R., and half a year in Illinois State Highway Commission as a Junior Highway Engineer and one year in the State Highway Dept. of Michigan, is now an Assistant Resident Engineer of the latter State.

I-Hsiang Ling, Johns Hopkins, has sailed for China per S. S. *Empress of Russia* on November 11. He will be connected with The Bank of China. We wish him a bon voyage and success in his work.

Chijen P. Soo graduated from the Civil Engineering Department of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in 1920. He worked for the Detroit Iron and Steel Company in 1921. He has recently come back to New York and is now serving as advising engineer in highway construction. He is employed by the Gifford Construction Company undertaking to construct a concrete road between Tomkins Cove, N. Y., and West Haverstraw, N. Y. It is said that he is getting some wonderful experiences from his work.

T. Chu having received his Master's degree from the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute went back to Honan Province. He is now teaching in a Mining College in Chiu Tso District, Honan.

R. C. Chen, T. L. Wang, C. S. Kwei, Lewis Mason, and M. J. Bau have volunteered to work in the Alliance office at Washington (Address: 542 Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.) while Molin Ho, C. P. Cheng, Y. L. Mei, T. B. Tu, K. Shen, etc. remain in the Chicago Office (Address: 5800 Maryland Ave. Chicago, Ill.). The Alliance work for the Washington Conference has been carried on with full speed.

S. T. Hua, H. H. Chao, H. C. Lu, Y. W. Liu, and a few others all of Wisconsin, have volunteered to work for China in Washington Conference in cooperation with the Chinese Students Alli-

ance.

Upon the resignation of Y. S. Huang, C. P. Cheng is assuming the responsibility to act as the Chairman of the Midwest section. He finds it very strenuous to mend the shattered condition of the section that was left over to him.

Miss Mabel Lee, Ph. D., will probably join the editorial force of "The China Advocate."

M. H. Chou, Chairman of the Alliance Finance Committee, is now in Washington, D. C. for certain important business, but will return to Chicago very soon. By the way, he was recently happily engaged to Miss Anna Chung of Chicago. They expect to return to China sometime in December.

T. B. Tu, K. Shen, and P. Y. Chung have been asked by the Alliance to edit a Chinese paper for the Washington Conference which will make its first appearance by 16th of November, and will appear regularly by week. Molin Ho will supervise the managing work of the paper.

Mr. and Mrs. T. T. Pau of Szechuan have left Iowa City and are on their way to China. Mr. Pau was once Civil Governor of Szechuan for a time. He came to this country in 1919 to investigate the economic and industrial conditions.

Chiang Liu has received his M. A. in Sociology last July from the State University of Iowa. The topic of his thesis is "The Woman Position in China."

Leonard S. Hsu is now preparing a book in Chinese, "South America of Today", and also a book in English, "Speculation of the Pacific" with Professor Clyde J. Crobaugh of Indiana University. He is a graduate of Stanford University and is now an assistant of the State Historical Society of Iowa and also doing some research work in Government and Politics at the University of Iowa.

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BOOK REVIEW

The Trade and Administration of China by H. B. Morse, Third Revised Edition, Longmans, Green & Co., 1921.

Mr Morse, like Rip van Winkle, must be having a profound and prolonged sleep. We don't know when he is going to be with us again. It would not be before long we hope, for his services are of infinite value. His *Trade and Administration in China* has been regarded deservedly as one of the best treatises on the subject in any language. For a long time a customs commissioner, Mr. Morse had the unusual opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with the many peculiarities of Chinese business methods which he described as complex and obscure. And when he came to write the book, the result was that he had a splendid treatise, full of information which, as Mr. Morse himself confidently stated, was "not accessible in other works." This is perfectly true. But Mr. Morse, since then, or at least since 1913, has somehow fallen into a trance which he is still enjoying. Or else he has become so dissatisfied with the world that he no longer cares whether it is going. For the third edition, published in the year of Our Lord 1921, is no more than a reproduction of the two previous editions, with an additional chapter on railways which was taken over from the larger work. If the book were a discussion of absolutely past things, Mr. Morse would be free from criticism, unless it be that he failed to give credit to new results of sinological scholarship. But trade is a living thing; and to include statistics, tables, maps, etc. etc. which are decades old is to confess that the author is under the influence of a benevolent opiate. The author does state: "this book deals with the past alone" (p. 127). But all we can say in reply is that such a book would have no value except for the archaeolo-

gist. And a book that "deals with the past alone" it certainly is not. For Mr. Morse has tried in some places to give data for recent years. But what we complain is that the data are not recent enough. The list of China's foreign debts is good only as far as 1911. Mr. Morse knows perfectly well that the amount of foreign obligations since the Republic has more than doubled. A little over half a page is devoted to the Salt Administration for the last eight years. And the figures for the Maritime Customs were those of 1905! It would be ungrateful for us to belittle the value of the book. It is *still* one of the most important treatises on the subject, but a little extra energy from Mr. Morse, to be spent in revising the material so as to make it include up-to-date data, would infinitely improve it. As it is, he is spending that energy with old Rip. Or rather he is conserving it, and we hope that some day we shall again make full use of it.

H. H. C.

Peking: A Social Survey by Sidney D. Gamble, M. A., assisted by John Stewart Burgess M. A., George H. Doran., New York, \$5.

Mr. Gamble's book makes a very important contribution to the understanding of Chinese social life. It has the special distinction of embodying the results of a very extensive survey of a kind which has not been undertaken in any other city of China, and compares favourably, we think, with similar works in other parts of the world. Scientific investigation, such as we are familiar with nowadays, has been utilised recently, to some extent, for the study of many sides of Chinese life; but that of Mr. Gamble is probably the most ambitious and the largest in scope.

And it is also a kind of work which, we confess, is most difficult of achievement. The great mass of the people realize so little the importance of such investigations that they are positively indifferent to them. To have conquered their prejudice and extracted from them the necessary information—we trust Mr. Gamble induced them to impart with willingness and with no feeling of regret is already a remarkable achievement.

The survey covers so many phases of the life of Peking that it certainly deserves to be a *vade mecum* for all those who are interested in knowing the Chinese capital with any degree of thoroughness. The striking quality about it is, that it is so replete with information. There are facts everywhere, from the first to the very last page, and they are facts which betray an extraordinary amount of labor and painstaking research. Besides they are arranged in a way that provokes reading. There is the danger always with books of that character to be mere catalogues. But Mr. Gamble has avoided it. The body of the work is confined to description with which are mingled the author's own observations and remarks. The appendices are numerous and very frequently make repetitions of what is discussed previously. But they are useful repetitions, for they make their logical appearance in what should be properly devoted to them. The descriptive part could, it seems to us, be more descriptive: in other words, it could have been less occupied with the author's criticisms and explanations. Observations in a work like this do not count for very much anyhow unless they are very carefully thought over and elaborated. They could form a separate chapter as a conclusion to the book, but Mr. Gamble has taken the very unusual step in making both the introduction and the conclusion appear in the first chapter. We do not blame him for this novel feature especially as we are all still in an age when every one desires to be original. We do want to say however that the conclusion is

no conclusion. It is more of a summary, and, as such, it still has to be relegated to the end of the book.

However this may be, it is better to dispense with observations altogether, and the effect which the author desires to produce with his observations, could be produced more tellingly by a suspended judgement, by such tact in the marshalling of the facts that the reader is inevitably drawn to the conclusion himself. One example and we have done. In the chapter on the social evil (p. 242) it is said, "the low estimate of women is in our opinion the most fundamental of all conditions that foster prostitution." This is a bold but dangerous statement. Even if the estimation of women were low, it would be only a minor condition. The author here shows, of course, the religious bias. The book received missionary support and is intended largely, we infer, for more effective propagation of Christian ideas than they have at present. But it does harm to the book to link the problem of prostitution so naively with religious differences. Granted that Christianity gives a very high estimate to the young woman, are we warranted in saying that the social evil is any less widely spread in Christendom? The other causes which Mr. Gamble enumerates—the lack of wholesome recreation, the absence of any normal social relationships between young men and women, unattractive home conditions etc.—probably deserve more consideration, because they have a more immediate bearing upon the subject.

But aside from this defect which happily does not obtrude upon the attention of the reader too frequently, the book is entitled to the encomiums usually accorded to such publications. It may very well serve as an example of what a Chinese social survey should be. Many samples of the questionnaires used in the investigation are very appropriately included. Whether they are satisfactory or not seems in this particular case to be only of secondary importance. The point is, they will be very useful guides for similar under-

takings in the future. The book has all the merits and defects of a pioneer book, and it should be judged in that light. But still, every reader will be thankful to Mr. Gamble for the tremendous mass of information. It has all the greater value because it has never before been brought together and systematised.

H. H. C.

Modern Constitutional Development in China. By Harold Monk Vinacke. Princeton University Press, 1920.

For the last ten years, the Republic of China has experienced a checkered career. Twice it was attempted to overthrow the Republican government and to re-establish a monarchy. Three times it was attempted to draw up a permanent constitution for this country, but as often it resulted in failure. Within the short span of ten years, the Republic has had five presidents, four revolutions, and innumerable changes of cabinet. The so-called National Assembly of the Republic was twice dissolved, and twice illegally; the term of presidential office was revised again and again, each time giving a longer tenure of office for the president; political parties have risen and disappeared and today they have degenerated into petty factions which, though comparatively unimportant at present, sway great influence in Chinese politics; loans have been contracted and treaties have been entered into without meeting the constitutional requirement of legislative approval; in other words,

the Government of the Republic of China has not been following the constitutional path that was at the beginning of its establishment marked out for it.

With these chaotic and anomalous political conditions in mind, one will naturally ask: where is China's constitutional progress? As an answer to this question, Mr. Vinacke's contribution proves its usefulness. Admittedly, China, as a Republic, is progressing slowly but steadily, in spite of the internal political difficulties which are after all but transient symptoms and not permanent ailments. The book is useful for it supplies a convenient account of the laborious task of constitution-building in which the younger statesmen have been engaged. Much of the information found in the book is, of course, taken from China Year Books, which, in the absence of better sources have served as a useful store house of political information about the young Republic. The treatment is sympathetic, but not critical. It can be best used as a supplementary work to the short but informing treaties on the same subject by Dr. Hawking Yen. Of course, the final word cannot be said about the constitutional development of China until she has drafted a permanent constitution or until the country can be governed according to the fundamental law of the land and not in accordance with the whims of politicians who happen to be holding the reins of government.

G. ZAY WOOD

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SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

Full Text of China's Further Reply to Japan's Proposals on Shantung

ON October 19 the Japanese Government again presented to the Chinese Government a memorandum relative to the Shantung question. After careful consideration the Chinese Government feels that the Japanese Government not only differs fundamentally from the views of the Chinese Government as expressed in its memorandum of October 5, but also shows apparently much misunderstanding in her interpretation of the text thereof. The Chinese Government, therefore, deems it highly necessary to make a further declaration concerning the past facts and its uniform point of view from first to last.

The Shantung question concerns the vital interest of China. The Chinese Government is very earnest in its sincere endeavors to find an early solution of the question even much more so than Japan. It is only due to the fact that the bases of settlement proposed by the Japanese Government are altogether too far apart from the hopes and expectations of the Chinese Government and people; that they cannot but calmly and patiently wait for an opportunity to come when Japan may reconsider her position.

As to the statement embodied in the Japanese memorandum under consideration to the effect that, on the eve of Minister Obata's departure for Japan in May last of this year, Foreign Minister Yen formally declared to him his desire to see a concrete project presented by the Japanese Government couched in just and satisfactory terms such as would simultaneously be deemed

fair by all nations, it has to be observed that when leaving for Japan Minister Obata inquired of Dr. Yen as to his personal views on the Shantung question. It is evident, therefore, that Dr. Yen's answer to his inquiry is purely personal and is not, as it is alleged, a formal statement by the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Again it is alleged in the Japanese memorandum under consideration that the Chinese Government authorities have confidentially presented to the Japanese Government a certain project of the settlement of the question and that they also unofficially expressed their readiness to open negotiations with the Japanese Government. As to these allegations it is highly probable that they must have risen out of misunderstandings caused by the roundabout repetition of personal conversations between General Bansai and Councillor Yu. It would seem to be wanting in discretion if these private conversations between individuals were to be referred to as grounds for the presentation of the Japanese proposals in their present form.

As to the memorandum handed by China to the Japanese Minister on October 5 it enumerates and points out the differences of view between China and Japan both regarding the principles underlying the proposals of Japan and regarding the contents of the term thereof. If Japan had a true understanding of them she should certainly propose a project more substantial and just as would be generally recognized as fair by all sides. It is, however,

highly regrettable that Japan has not given any sign of concession, but, on the contrary, maintains that China has openly indicated her willingness to proceed with the negotiations in question.

It is to be observed that the reason why the representatives of China were not able to sign the Versailles Treaty was simply because of the few articles therein relative to the Shantung question. Since China has not signed the Versailles Treaty it is impossible to oblige China to accord recognition to the effects arising from the said treaty regarding the Shantung question. Therefore while Japan considers that the leasehold of Kiachow has been transferred to her through the operation of the Versailles Treaty, China on the other hand deems that it has expired through the declaration of war against Germany. This difference of viewpoint, if insisted upon by both countries, will forever deprive this question of a solution. Since Japan is willing to restore Kiachow completely to China, there is no more necessity for her to insist on the aforesaid point of dispute.

As to the criticism directed against the declaration made by the German representatives to China, it is to be observed that at the time when they came to negotiate the Commercial Agreement with China, China still insisted on her demand for the restoration of Kiachow, but, owing to the circumstances of the European War and to treaty restraint Germany lost by *force majeure* her power of returning Kiachow to China for which she expressed her regret to the Chinese Government. To this it must be also noted the Chinese Government has only declared its acknowledgment of Germany's explanation as such and no more. Indeed it is a serious misunderstanding on the part of Japan to construe this incident to mean China's recognition of the Versailles Treaty.

Again it is to be observed that the Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway, built within Chinese Territory, was primarily an

undertaking of a corporation and Chinese capital was also invested in it. It was not the public property of Germany, nor was it private property exclusively belonging to Germans, although it was temporarily operated by the Germans. China had long been looking forward to an opportune moment for its reclamation.

Furthermore the right of policing the railway belonged exclusively to China; there was absolutely no military necessity justifying the occupation of the railway by Japan and there was really no justification for the occupation of the railway for the Japanese Army. Furthermore there were then no German troops stationed along the line of the railway except that part lying within the leased territory. At the time of the occupation of the railway, Japan encountered no resistance whatever and she can have no ground claim to any sacrifice of life and treasure suffered on account of the railway. Later when China joined the belligerent nations on the side of the Allies it was only proper that all railways within the territorial bounds of China should be returned to her own control. However the Japanese troops remained, refusing to withdraw and caused innumerable and endless losses and damages to the Chinese people along the line of the railway; that the Chinese delegates had not hesitated to declare repeatedly in the Peace Conference at Paris. The Chinese memorandum of October 5 proposes to reclaim the right of control over the railway—not to divide its entire capital and property into two halves—and that, as to the half obtained by Japan, it is to be redeemed by China in successive periods. This arrangement in the opinion of the Chinese Government is very fair and just, and it is to its great regret that Japan has referred to it as a proposal devoid of meaning.

It is to be inferred that in the opinion of the Japanese Government the capital and property of the railway have been adjudged by the Reparations Commis-

sion to offset German indemnities. However it must not be overlooked that China has not signed the Versailles Treaty, consequently how can the Reparations Commission, which is created to make disposition of property within Chinese territory to satisfy the indemnity obligations of Germany? Furthermore owing to China's participation in the War on the Allies side Germany has also a certain amount of indemnity to pay to China. If the Kiao-chow-Tsinan Railway is to be used as an article to satisfy indemnity obligations, China, it is more than evident, should be reimbursed first.

Again with reference to the disposition of public properties belonging to Germany, as long as the Japanese Government has no intention of holding the various kinds of properties it is only right that they should be handed over to China for proper administration, indeed in the interests of the nationals of foreign countries.

The Chinese Government is most desirous of deciding upon a just and fair plan of settlement, but so far the Japanese Government has not presented to China its avowed contract and fair project. It is therefore impossible for the Chinese Government to define its attitude either one way or the other. In a word, the views of the Chinese Government have already in general appeared

in its memorandum of October 5. Owing to the fact that in her second memorandum, Japan has not yet understood China's views and further that, with reference to the railway, her proposals are more difficult to accept than as stated in the first memorandum leading perhaps in a direction contrary to that of an early solution of the question, the Chinese Government does not hesitate therefore in taking pains again to make a further declaration and deeply hopes that, for the sake of the everlasting peace of the Far East and in the interest of true Sino-Japanese friendship, the Japanese Government will again give its fullest consideration to the question.

In conclusion, with reference to the Japanese troops in Shantung Province the Japanese Government has long been promised to withdraw them in advance and their actual evacuation at an early date. It is to be recalled it was also urged by China in her last memorandum. However until the present the actual evacuation has not yet begun. As promised and requested, the Japanese troops in question should be recalled at an early date while the responsibility of policing the railway will as a matter of course, be assumed by China's own police force.

WAICHIAO PU.

Text of China's Proposal in Washington Conference

General Principles and their Application Proposed by the Chinese Delegates to the Pacific Conference for its Determination of the Questions relating to China.

IN view of the fact that China must necessarily play an important part in the deliberations of this Conference with reference to the political situation in the Far East, the Chinese Delegation has thought it proper that they should take the first possible opportunity to state certain General Principles which, in their opinion, should guide the Conference in the determinations which it is to make. Certain of the specific applications of the Principles which it is expected that the Conference will make, it is our intention later to bring forward, but at the present time it is deemed sufficient simply to propose the Principles which I shall presently read. In formulating these Principles, the purpose has been kept steadily in view of obtaining rules in accordance with which existing and possible future political and economic problems in the Far East and the Pacific may be most justly settled and with due regard to the rights and legitimate interests of all the Powers concerned. Thus it has been sought to harmonize the particular interests of China with the general interests of the world. China is anxious to play her part, not only in maintaining peace, but in promoting the material advancement and the cultural development of all the nations. She wishes to make her vast natural resources available to all people who need them, and in return to receive the benefits of free and equal intercourse with them. In order that she may do this, it is necessary that she should have every possible opportunity to develop her political institutions in accordance with the genius and needs of her own

people. China is now contending with certain difficult problems which necessarily arise when any country makes a radical change in its form of government. These problems she will be able to solve if given the opportunity to do so. This means not only that she should be freed from the danger or threat of foreign aggression, but that so far as circumstances will possibly permit, she be relieved from limitations which now deprive her of autonomous administrative action and prevent her from securing adequate public revenues.

In conformity with the agenda of the Conference, the Chinese Government proposes for the consideration of and adoption by the Conference the following General Principles to be applied in the determination of the questions relating to China:—

1. (a) The Powers engage to respect and observe the territorial integrity and political and administrative independence of the Chinese Republic.

(b) China upon her part is prepared to give an undertaking not to alienate or lease any portion of her territory or litteral to any Power.

2. China, being in full accord with the principle of the so-called open door or equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations having treaty relations with China, is prepared to accept and apply it in all parts of the Chinese Republic without exception.

3. With a view to strengthening mutual confidence and maintaining peace in the Pacific and the Far East, the Powers agree not to conclude between themselves any treaty or agreement

directly affecting China or the general peace in these regions without previously notifying China and giving to her an opportunity to participate.

4. All special rights, privileges, immunities or commitments, whatever their character or contractual basis, claimed by any of the Powers in or relating to China are to be declared, and all such or future claims not so made known are to be deemed null and void. The rights, privileges, immunities and commitments, now known or to be declared are to be examined with a view to determining their scope and validity and, if valid, to harmonizing them with one another and with the principles declared by this conference.

5. Immediately or as soon as circumstances will permit, existing limitations upon China's political jurisdictional and administrative freedom of action are to be removed.

6. Reasonable, definite terms of duration are to be attached to China's present commitments which are without time limits.

7. In the interpretation of instruments granting special rights or privileges, the well established principle of construction that such grants shall be strictly construed in favor of the grantors, is to be observed.

8. China's rights as a neutral are to be fully respected in future wars to which she is not a party.

9. Provision is to be made for the peaceful settlement of international disputes in the Pacific and the Far East.

10. Provision is to be made for future Conferences to be held from time to time for the discussion of international questions relative to the Pacific and the Far East, as a basis for the determination of common policies of the Signatory Powers in relation thereto.

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Armament, Machinery and Civilization

AS the first glow of the Conference fades away and as the dazzling lights of the jeweled arch are being replaced by the ordinary, dim lamps, we begin to wonder whether it is Bernhardt and Ludendorff or Hughes and Lodge that are in the right. It has become the fashion of up-to-date artists to represent the Pan American Building as a radiant palace, but those who meet there are uncertain just how long the light will last. To the innocent outsiders, the Conference is an ever shining instrument of peace, but who can tell whether it will not turn out to be shooting meteor? Standing by the entrance and exit of the stately mansion there is always a multitude of smiling faces waiting to cheer those who go in and to salute them as they come out. But those who sit in the car with their grim faces are "far from the maddening crowd." The spectators

take the Conference as a court for the future; they cherish a hope. The delegates have to link the Conference with the past; they confront facts. The speech of Mr. Hughes proposing a naval reduction, which has been popularly hailed as a bombshell that is going to pave a new way in this chaotic world is followed by that of Mr. Balfour explaining the necessity of the British Empire to maintain a big fleet. Next we listen to the flowing oratory of M. Briand convincing us the impossibility of France to disarm. The naval ratio is accepted by Japan reluctantly and after a long period of hesitation. While the delegates of the United States and Great Britain are shaking the hands of the Japanese upon hearing the assenting voice of Tokio, news come from Paris that France is demanding ten more battleships. The Four Power Treaty which is characterized

by Senator Lodge as an attempt to remove the causes of war, is, as some of his keen critics pointed out, only designed to confirm "for the signatory Powers their title to spoils which at one time or another they acquired by force or trickery." What other difficulties are still besetting the Conference, it remains to be seen.

The disappointment of many of us is proportional to our expectation. We are more conscious of the justice and fairness of others than the weakness of our own. We have ourselves to blame. Why did we lose our territories, railways, and mines? And having lost them, why did not we recover them ourselves? Salvation is a personal and self-imposing privilege; to appeal to any court is not a dignified business at any rate. Some of us not irrationally hope that the Conference will be the first and last of its kind. To obtain by negotiation what we lost through military weakness is, after all, an impossibility. To use the words of one of our own members: "We are beggars at the Conference." Nothing is more typical, nothing portrays more accurately the Chinese situation than the word "beggars". We are. And beggars are usually in the neighborhood of starvation.

On the other hand, the Powers are really tired of China, of our endless grievances. Imagine how those illustrious men who scarcely have time to sleep, attend the conference with all the freshness and vigor of the sunny morn, imagine how they sit down to hear the complaints of China embodied in a memorandum that usually runs from three to five mimeographed pages, and one need not wonder why Prince Tokugowa is always so eager to run away. There are friends of China who would like to see some of the questions settled in China's favor, but who are obliged to remain quiet lest the Conference might break up. There are friends of China who, out of genuine sympathy, would like to add a word of justice, but they have to hold their

peace. Their own interests in China are at stake. There are friends of China who would like to see that China gets her due, but their action elsewhere make them wise on a second thought. There are friends of China who would like to do China justice, but they do not consider their position significant enough to warrant their pleading for a cause that, after all, does not concern them and hence "why take the trouble?" Thus one by one, the philanthropists passed by the wayward victim, adding perhaps: "Why let yourself be robbed?"

Imagine our delegates though intent on satisfying our people have to disguise their feeling in order not to give to the other delegates an unfavorable impression that they are asking too much. One readily notices the expression of hesitation so characteristic of our spokesmen when a reasonable compromise is offered. To vindicate the modesty and reasonableness of the Chinese, they are disposed to meet the wishes of others, but they have to remember our students who wait for them at their headquarters and the numerous cablegrams that come every day. In other words, they lack that ease and freedom of action which others have. It is only fair to admit, of course, that behind this apparent hindrance, there is a candid desire of cooperation.

Mr. Bland laments that China, instead of building on her own civilization, is imitating the West in its arts and sciences, machinery and innovations, while Mr. Russell observes with great regret that Chinese art and learning are gradually being substituted by, cleanliness and "pep". True lovers of China admire her past. The fact is we have no choice. Did not the powers prescribe that we must have telegraphs, telephones, and railways? Did not the powers say that we must do this and that? Burke said that people could not be argued into slavery; but we have been forced into civilization. And what can we hope to obtain if our delegates should lecture on Chinese classics

and philosophy? We have not gone far enough on the way of armament and machinery.

The Japanese come as a first class power because she has a strong navy, because she has won two wars. It is not her civilization or culture that gives her delegates the dignity and pomp which our delegates do not have. Our cynicists say: hate as we do the Japanese, they are nevertheless yellow people *par excellence*. Suppose Asia is unrepresented by the Japanese! Indulge for a moment in a sweet supposition. Suppose we joined the Allies in 1914, or suppose we defeated Japan in 1915, our delegates would have either stayed aloof or attended the Conference as representatives of a first class power. They would have enjoyed their cigarettes instead of engaging in those endless bargainings about Shantung and Twenty-one demands.

Japan has machine guns which China does not possess; Japan has huge fleets which China does not own. That alone makes a world of difference between

China and Japan. Say whatever sweet words you may about this Conference, one can not escape the conclusion that now, as then the guns talk.

Look around before censuring our frankness. If the Conference teaches China a lesson, it would have bestowed upon her a more lasting legacy than the restoration of Shantung or any other concrete results. In the words of Mr. Strachey: "We have to face the real facts in an unreal world of sentiment and emotion—we have got to face the world, not as we should like it to be, but as it is—the world of blood and iron controlled by men who are not humanitarians and philanthropists,—who do not take what they would call a Sunday-school view of the world, but rather that the race is to the strong and not to the well-intentioned." The spirit of time seems to convince us that we can not help exchanging our indigenous civilization for a new one based on armament and machinery. "There is no way but war, and may God defend the right!"

Mr. Russell Comments

WE are afraid that not sufficient credit has been given to the efforts of the Lecture Association at Peking. As far as we are able to judge from what it has achieved already, it can be said with confidence that the Association is likely to bring the West and China into far closer relationship with one another than anything that has ever been attempted. And the reason is that the men whom it has invited to China to speak on the numerous questions of the day are the very pick of the aristocracy of the spirit in the West. The average man with the average mind—and it is he who for generations has represented the West in China—is apt to be too squeamish to find enduring satisfaction in the society around him, too self-conscious of his "superiority" to pay much attention to

a people of strange manners and customs. He has been brought up to regard black as the color for mourning, and he finds instead white; he is accustomed to seeing men in trousers and women in skirts, and he finds just the reverse in China. Where else can he find more glaring contradictions? Farther than these differences he is not willing to go, "and of course the natural thing for him to do would be to hum to himself with a snug satisfaction the little verses of Kipling. But with the philosophers, all is different. They view things, as they say, *sub specie aeternitatis*. Mr. Russell has come out as a splendid example of what should be done. He did not remain for very long among the people upon whom he is commenting, but his comments are not any the less valuable on that account. He

has the eyes to see as few others have, and it is no wonder that he boldly ventures forth to champion the traditional conceptions of the Chinaman.

Nothing is more prejudicial to the development of a genuine understanding and appreciation of the basic human qualities between the peoples of Eastern Asia and Western Europe than a persistent and irrational faith in the popular epithets of the day. All that is necessary to convince the Westerner of the utter irreconcilability between these two parts of the world is to say that the East is mythical, by which is meant that it is strange and extrahuman. We are not especially anxious that the East and the West should meet: conceit and self-exaltation, in spite of our being queer and bizarre, are as much a part of our nature as they are of the West: but at least an opportunity should be provided for whereby a mutual understanding could be made possible. Understanding is on the way to reconciliation, although it is not reconciliation itself. And whoever develops it and makes it grow is one to whom not only the East, nor only the West, but the whole world would do well to give due meed of honour. For such is the man who helps to realize the ideal of the universal community of brotherhood and love which we, especially of this war-weary world are hankering after. Mr Russell, we must all thankfully admit, is rendering an extraordinarily valuable service along this line. There is in him an unflinching insight into the *vrai vérité*, as the French say, of the bewildering mass of what to him, as to others from the West, are uncertainly unusual phenomena. But like most men of mature judgment, he refuses to be overwhelmed by this booming buss of confusion: after Parmenides of old, he ferrets the deep underlying spirit, the essential being of the Chinese people which after all is far worthier of consideration than the mere succession of unrelated facts. And so Mr. Russell tries the patience of the West by asserting that not only is China

highly civilized, but that she is really more civilized than the civilized West. Mr. Russell quietly and gently reprimands the West for having forgotten what constitutes civilization. As for him—who among the genuinely cultivated people will disagree with him?—he finds real civilization in a people who retains “the capacity for civilized enjoyment, for leisure and laughter, for pleasure in sunshine and philosophical discourse”. In other words, Mr. Russell once more champions the idea—such action needs no apology in this dull and leaden world of ours—that civilization is not measured in dollars and cents, but in refinement and in the cultivation of the soul.

Mr. Dewey, who was Mr. Russell's predecessor, is quite of the opinion that the only hope for China is modernization after the fashion of the West and more particularly of America. We cannot agree with him. It sounds altogether too simple. And perhaps we might just as well assure him that we cherish no desire to transfer the West to the East even if the transference be done with scrupulous perfection and completeness. They may be those who find satisfaction and even indications of progress for Chinese society in the adoption of the latest fox-trot or in the chanting of the latest jazz; and we regret that the number of such people is increasing. The majority are of course of the student class, and student opinions now constitute so potent a factor in the making of modern China that it is very important that we give them a proper appraisal. It is here that we cannot entirely agree with Mr. Russell either. We are afraid that he has given us too rosy a picture of the students and especially of the returned students. He finds, for instance, that there “is a really beautiful intellectual disinterestedness” among the young men which we, on our part, have as yet failed to discover. Mr Russell may regard his as a superb example of romantic irony; but although ourselves constituting an important part of the re-

turned student class, we find little cause for rejoicing in our efforts to modernise China. The word "intellectual" has been used too much without discrimination; and even with no flattering remarks, we have already in China too many "intellectual leaders". We find them present everywhere. We find them attending lectures, sitting side by side with the average American college student. It is, we think, somewhat too early to credit them with the exclusive epithet especially as there is, above all, so much cheapness à l'américaine. Mr. Russell, we hope would subscribe to our view if he could say that the modern Chinese found nothing to admire in their ancient paintings, but everywhere to condemn with their lack of perspective. The truth is that the returned student is now intoxicated with the beauty of the photograph; and there is always a secret thought lurking in his mind that the whole world must be a fool in gigantic dimensions if it makes so much fuss of paintings when everything could be done more efficiently and with more scientific accuracy by the camera!

However that may be, a student class that finds no aesthetic enjoyment in the art productions of the Tang and Sung periods, we can be sure, finds also little to please, and still less to satisfy them in the other realms of Chinese culture and civilization. And we are sure of the conviction that whatever the Chinese student may do and

contribute to the making of modern China, if he gives no recognition to the best traditions of his country, he is not a constructive but a destructive force.

Mr. Russell finds "unusual keenness, candour and fearlessness" in his Chinese students. These are healthy mental qualities, but it is important that they should be exercised and manifest themselves in proper spheres of action. That is why we have always maintained that it is far better for any Western philosopher, who assumes the role of a mentor to the Chinese students, to impart as much knowledge as possible of the West as a whole than to offer them any rounded philosophical theory of his own. Afford them an opportunity to know what is best in the Western civilization, and the "keenness, candour and fearlessness" of their mind will be turned to good use because they will have acquired a solid basis for the examination of their own civilization. Any consciousness of the strength and beauty of that civilization, if there is any, is now confined only to a small group of men who are still unspoilt, and it is growing weaker in proportion as the influence of the returned student is becoming more potent. This does not augur well for a genuine modernization of China. Such a process is evocative of the best results only when that consciousness is rationalized and allowed to amplify and pervade every action of the modernizers.

The Four-Power Treaty and the Nine-Power Agreement

THE Four-Power Treaty which was signed on December 13th and which has been generally regarded not alone as an unprecedented achievement of the Washington Conference but also as a landmark in the history of diplomacy was, in reality, an aftermath of the Great War. It was as

much a readjustment of the insular possessions in the Pacific necessitated by the retirement of Germany as a prevention of possible conflicts over the mandatory islands among the powers concerned. The Yap question, for instance, could not be taken as a detach-

ed agreement if we view the Treaty as a whole.

The pact was neither a military alliance nor a defensive contract. Article II which stipulated that should the rights of the contracting Powers in the Pacific be threatened by a fifth nation, they should communicate fully and frankly with a view to meeting the exigencies of the particular situation did not provide for the use of force. It had therefore no resemblance to the tenth Article of the League Covenant. It satisfied the British Dominions without offending Great Britain to whom it must be remembered, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance had long lost its original meaning. It removed a heavy screen that had for many years made a good understanding between the United States and England difficult. Although the idea of guaranteeing the territorial integrity of Japan for the next ten years might sound like a joke to an insanely patriotic people, it was nevertheless true that her prestige was being raised by admitting her to a larger circle of world's leading powers. It was a tutorial encouragement not without an implied moral restraint. Her position in the Pacific was more definitely defined; her next move, either for pure imperialism or economic expansion or emigration, had to be more guarded. In short, the new Treaty deprived of Japan the ease of movement in the Far East, which she enjoyed during the last two decades.

French interests in the Pacific were comparably insignificant. The reason why she was included was, we are inclined to think, a manifestation of Mr. Hughes' artistic temper. It would give France the impression that she was not isolated even in the Pacific; it would relieve her of the necessity for a larger fleet for the protection of her Far Eastern possessions. And most probably the principal cause of this move was to mitigate the embarrassment of the United States in enlarging the scope of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

On the part of the United States,

however different the Treaty might be from that of Varseilles, it was a departure from her traditional policy. It was a departure for good, a departure which many thinking Americans had long hoped to take place. In presenting the text, the arch enemy of the Paris Conference and the most persistent exponent of American isolation was compelled, in spite of all literary finishes and humanitarian rhetoric, by a grim necessity. It was not so much the security of her territories in the Pacific as the growing need for a freer and greater trading opportunity in the Orient that was foremost in the minds of American diplomats. Truly the Treaty was not to be viewed from the same angle as we used to regard international documents of the past, but the fact that America, for the first time, stepped into a pact regarding the Far East placed on her a grave responsibility as well as prestige. What Mr. Wells called the "American diplomatic inexperience" really constituted her moral strength. She was to set an example in Far Eastern diplomacy; she was to show the other powers how economic expansion might safely be realized without naval preparation, how one's commercial privilege was not necessarily to be obtained at the expense of another, and how the good-will of others was a factor not to be overlooked.

Inasmuch as the world is not going to be an entirely new one after the Conference we might reasonably expect that troubles would arise among the signatory powers with regard to the Pacific Islands. If such a case should actually happen and if it should involve the United States, it would be a test of, and at the same time a chance for, the execution of what the people of this country are proud to call typical American doctrine. In other words, the Treaty afforded the United States an ampler room for the application of the principles which she had repeatedly declared since the last twenty years. If this departure from the American

diplomatic tradition did not imply a departure of principle, and we firmly believe it did not, then America would not only have removed the causes of conflict in the Pacific but she would also have directed diplomacy in general from its ancient channel. By adhering not so much to the text of the Treaty as to the spirit and motive which prompted it, the other powers, Japan included, had, let us hope, signalled their willingness to follow a new path. Seven years ago, the complicated situation of the Balkan States led to a widespread catastrophe. This historical incident alone ought to furnish sufficient incentive to avoid a similar outbreak in the Pacific. The peace of the Pacific, the success of naval reduction, all hinge on the faithful observation of the new instrument.

China has nothing to do with the Treaty because it concerns insular possessions. Nevertheless she rejoices in the project not alone because of the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, but also because she has an instinctive love of peace. The significance of the Four-Power Treaty sinks into

the background when we consider the question of China. What does that Treaty mean if the bigger and infinitely more vital Pacific question is left unsettled. Mr. Wilson has certainly learned his lesson. He now exhorts the Democrats in the Senate to hold back till further developments of the Conference warrant a ratification. This is wise advice proceeding from a wise man. What does the Treaty amount to if other questions greater than Yap are not satisfactorily disposed of? The Treaty, although having only a limited scope, depends on the final success of the Conference. It should crown the work of the assembly. It forms a good precedent for the Nine-Power Agreement relating to China, which has been hinted by Mr. Hughes and which, we believe, will eventually be put into shape. The Conference must be viewed as a whole. The Four-Power Treaty is a part. If Mr. Hughes is an improved Wilson, then it would be well for him to heed the words of Mr. Wilson who has actually improved.

China: Quo Vadis?

BY J. O. P. BLAND.

WHILE willingly acceding to the Editor's request that I should contribute a statement of my views on the Chinese question to the "Students' Monthly", I do not conceal from myself the fact that these views are likely to be as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, at least for the great majority of Chinese students in America. The path of "progress", which most of these students are now pleased to follow, is not, as I see it, the path of wisdom. At the same time, I believe that the day is not far distant when China will know the truth and refuse any longer to sell her moral and cultural birthright for any mess of foreign pottage. And for myself, while crying in the wilderness, there is comfort in remembering the tale of the four hundred priests of Baal.

Let us cease awhile from wandering in the desert of delusion and, facing realities, ask ourselves a few vital questions. First of all, what is the ultimate aim and end of the road down which the westernised Chinese student is hurrying so fast? Is it to replace the world's oldest and wisest civilisation by the fitful fevers of an artificially Europeanised Orient? If so, upon what grounds of faith or experience can it be asserted that either China or the world at large is likely to be better or happier for the change? What is there so enviable, admirable, or permanent in the past history or present institutions of Europe and America, that can justify the desire or the attempt to uproot and destroy the Chinese system of ethics, morals and culture, a system which had stood its tests, and proved its enduring worth, long before the light of letters dawned upon Greece and Rome? And what shall it profit the China of today to be tossed hither and

thither upon the turmoil of the West's conflicting creeds and lose her own tranquillity of soul? What shall it profit her to forsake the wisdom which, in the words of a modern French writer, "has given to the life of her people a stability and harmony which have never been excelled, or even equalled, by any other civilisation; which has been for countless generations of men, a school of moral beauty and virtue, of gentleness and wisdom". Will the noise and stench of a hundred Chicagos, invading her ancestral fields, compensate her for the loss of that wisdom and that serenity of mind?

Next: what are the forces which have made and preserved China's venerable civilisation, like a safe rock of refuge on a wreck-strewn shore? What are the forces which have enabled her people, time without number, to lead captivity captive and secure in their deep-rooted strength, to hear the legions thunder by and heed them not at all? Surely, the answer must be, that the longevity of China's civilization is due to its instinctive reliance upon moral as distinct from material, forces and to its wisdom in harmonizing the nation's social and political institutions with the essential realities of existence and human nature? The essence of China's culture and polity proceeds from universal acceptance of the family system and all that it entails, codified by Confucianism, tempered by the gentle teachings of Gautama. Destroy this system, and with it you destroy the very soul of the Chinese people.

As, by the dim light of history, I scan the future destinies of mankind on this precarious and perturbed planet, it seems to me that the world should strive at all costs to preserve inviolate this soul of the East, the tranquil philo-

sophy which is the birthright, not of its intellectual elite, but of its "stupid people"; and that we should be eternally grateful for it, even as wayfarers are grateful for the shadow of a spreading tree in a dry land. Unless I misread all the signs and portents of our vexed modernity, the time must come when our machine-driven, time-killing and morally dyspeptic civilization, will weary of its congested, pipe-lined cities and be led once more to seek the ancient paths of peace, of the hills and the sea, and thus come to learn again from the East something of the secret of its dignity and wisdom. In the meanwhile, therefore, I cannot but regard as deplorable the activities of those whom either vocation or proselytising zeal leads to proclaim the belief that China can be made happier and better by the adoption of those social and political institutions which, by their very nature, are utterly irreconcilable

with the fundamental beliefs and habits of the Chinese people. I regard it as a pitiful thing, and a grave danger to China's "great inheritance", that the minds of so many of her intellectual leaders and future rulers should be led away from the thoughts and ways of their own people by the false lures of "western learning". And I hope and trust that, before irreparable harm is done, they too may perceive this danger, and cease from following after strange gods. In the matter of education, which is, of course, the highroad to public office, by all means let such new structures be provided as China may need, to enable her to hold her own in science, art and economics. But let these new structures be built, as Kang Yu-wei and Chang Chih-tung advised, upon the solid rock of China's own civilization and culture, and not upon the shifting sands of alien shibboleths.

China From Without*

By CHUNG-HUI WANG, D.C.L.

I wish to thank you for giving me this opportunity of addressing you a few words. This opportunity I appreciate all the more because I am speaking here, not in the capacity of an official delegate from China, but as a private citizen of a sister Republic talking freely and frankly to a gathering of distinguished citizens of this great nation. The subject I have chosen for my theme is "China viewed from an International Standpoint" or more briefly "China from Without." I am not going to initiate you into the mysterious international complications in the Far East; for to attempt to do so would be impossible within the time allotted to me. I shall therefore content myself with giving you a few outstanding facts which may serve as a background, so as to speak, for a proper understanding of the Far Eastern Question.

The situation in China, viewed from an international standpoint, is complicated in the extreme. It has been well sized up by Professor Willoughby in the following words: "Probably nowhere else in the world is there such a mixture of territorial rights with foreign privileges and understandings, of purely political engagements with economic and financial concessions, of foreign interests conflicting with one another and with those of the nominally sovereign state." By way of illustration let me enumerate some of the difficult problems with which China is at present confronted.

First, as regards her territory, there are the treaty ports, foreign concessions, foreign settlements, leased territories and what is known as the war zones and railway zones.

*A speech given at the Princeton Alumni Meeting in New York.

Secondly, we find within our own borders foreign troops, foreign police forces, foreign post offices, foreign wires and wireless installations.

Thirdly, China exercises no control over foreigners residing within her territory and she is tied down to a rigid uniform 5 per cent. import and export duty without even the freedom of differentiating between necessaries of life and articles of luxury.

Lastly there are all sorts of claims made by the Powers or their nationals in or relating to China, such as spheres of interest or of influence, special interests, preferential rights, privileges, monopolies, commercial and industrial rights, railway rights, mining rights, secret agreements or understandings between the Powers as to their rights and interests in China.

Many of these are technical terms which are unintelligible to the public and I regret that time does not permit me to explain to you their technicalities and their significance to the future of China.

You will naturally ask me how this complicated and intolerable state of affairs has been brought about. The answer is not a simple one. Some of these things were conceded by China as a result of war, such as treaty ports, foreign concessions and the imposition of a rigid tariff; others were granted, not as a result of war, but in time of peace; while there are still others which exist in spite of repeated protests by the Chinese Government. Indeed, I am not far from the truth in saying that China has lost more in time of peace than as a result of war. Another way in which China has lost her sovereign rights is this: when one Power obtains a right or concession by whatever method, the other Powers are

likewise entitled to the same right or concession through an extended interpretation of the "most favored nation" clause.

Then again, when one Power obtains a concession, another Power comes along and demands a similar concession with a view to counter-balancing its influence; and this being granted, a third Power comes along and does likewise; and so on.

The significant fact about these foreign claims and interests is that they are not altogether reconcilable with one another, and there have been instances of one nation or another who is unable or unwilling to supply the necessary capital for a particular enterprise and yet refuses to allow the enterprise to be financed or undertaken by nationals of other countries. A recent instance occurred in 1916. An American company obtained a contract from the Chinese Government to build railways up to an aggregate of 1500 miles. Several lines were projected. One line was protested by one Power as in violation of a prior concession in the form of a note by one of the Vice-Ministers of the Chinese Government. Another line was objected to by another Power on the ground that China had promised not to build any railway within that region without first obtaining its consent. A third line was objected to by a third Power as in violation of a preferential right enjoyed by this third Power under a letter from one of the Viceroyes. Nothing has thus far been done, although none of these objections have been admitted by the Chinese Government.

Such is the way in which China finds herself today bound hand and foot by various limitations on her freedom of action and by innumerable foreign claims and interests which vitally affect and serious hamper her free political and economic development. The fact that she is in such financial straits is because of these limitations. The fact that she is at present politically hampered in every way is because so many foreign interests are involved. When

the Revolution broke out in the fall of 1911 at Wuchang, foreign troops were rushed to Hankow to protect foreign nationals. That was ten years ago, and we find troops of one foreign nation still there in spite of the fact that in all movements whether national or local, there is not the least anti-foreign intent. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you as American citizens what kind of feeling you would have if foreign troops were to be stationed in this city because of possible demonstration against alien immigrants, not to say for the protection of foreign citizens in the event of possible strikes among your own working classes. We know such conditions have been brought about by our military weakness. We admit that we are militarily weak, but at the same time we realize that we are morally strong, and on our moral strength have we pinned our faith in the success of our cause, we confidently hope that the day will come when international justice shall be the standard by which a nation's acts are to be judged. China has vast territories with unlimited natural resources, a homogeneous, peaceful and industrious people, all of which will make for good or evil the future history of the world.

We ask of you no special interests, no special privileges, no special rights, no concessions, no territories—in fact nothing but your sympathy and moral support in our honest attempt to loosen the fetters which have bound China for the last eighty years so that she may develop into a world market for friendly commerce and intercourse instead of becoming a field for international rivalry and world struggles.

The Chinese people, one and all, have unshaken confidence in and the most genuine hope for the future of their country. She has been able to take care of herself for thousands of years, and if given the opportunity, I am sure she will be able to work out her own destiny and to take her proper place in the family of nations.

Before concluding, permit me to quote you the words of your great

statesman, William H. Seward, uttered half a century ago. He said "The Pacific Ocean, its shores and its islands, and the vast regions beyond will become the chief theatre of events in the World's great Hereafter." But whether that theatre will be one of prosperity or of catastrophe, one of

ships exchanging bales of cotton and bags of flour, or men-of-war exchanging shot and shell, depends upon whether or not there will be a better understanding among the peoples who are now interested in the Far East and who are seeking a just solution of this great question.

Judicial Reform in China

By F. F. CHENG, LL.D. (London)

WHEN the history of New China comes to be written the reform of her law and judiciary will form a bright chapter. Within hardly a decade she has revolutionized her law as well as her courts. That her rapid progress in this direction has astonished some of her observers is evident in the following passage from the pen of an English jurist. "It is not the object of this brief article to analyze the New Chinese law, whether it be adjective or substantive law. The object is to draw attention to an almost unprecedented development in the brief space of seven years. The development of Japan, politically, economically and judicially has long been a subject for comment and grateful surprise, and the development of China may prove not less swift and dramatic. But that development springs from a different and it may be a more deep-rooted method. In the midst of what must seem to most observers a condition of political chaos we see the deep foundation of the future being laid by a system of law which is not a mere code passed by a political authority intent on showing a fair face to the world, but a system based on the experience during seven years of thousands of appellate decisions from all parts of an empire comprising 400,000,000 people" (Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law 1920.) The decisions referred to are the decisions of the Supreme Court in Peking. They form what may be called the case law of China and are one of the best proofs that she has not only reformed her law and her courts but has also put men on the Bench whose juridical minds are as keen as those of their Western brothers.

The progress China made in this direction, rapid as it is, has not been

made overnight, as it were. It has now been nearly twenty years since she entered the path of her law reform. The circumstances that rendered the reform of her law a necessity were partly internal and partly external. In her prereform days China was governed by the Ching Code (*Ta Ching Lu Li—Laws and Statutes of the Great Ching Dynasty*) which was promulgated in 1641 and based substantially on a code two centuries older. This code, though "remarkable for its great reasonableness, clearness and consistency and — savouring throughout of practical judgement and European good sense" (Sir George Stauton, translator of the Code) had become obsolete. It purported to be the *corpus juris* of China, but was in substance a criminal code. Its civil provisions were scanty, while its adjective law was practically nil. The scantiness of the former rendered the code incompatible with the needs of a modern society, while the want of adjective law must have been severely felt when torture was abolished as a means of obtaining evidence. To this must be added the fact that the evils of extra-territorial rights enjoyed by foreigners in China had become more and more apparent to the people as well as to the authorities and in the various treaties made with the Powers (Great Britain in 1902, United States and Japan in 1903 and Sweden in 1908) for the relinquishment of their extra-territorial rights, China promised to bring her judicial system into accord with that of western nations. Thus legal reform became a domestic necessity as well as a treaty obligation. How far she has met this necessity or obligation is best to be judged by her achievements which may conveniently be considered under three heads:

- (1) Law
- (2) Law Courts
- (3) Prisons

The first step taken in the reform of the law was the institution of a law codification commission for the compilation and revision of laws. This took place in 1904 and since then this Commission has functioned regularly in one form or another. By this Commission five codes have been prepared, viz., Civil and Criminal Codes, Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure and Commercial Code. The Civil Code is still under revision. China being a vast country and her people being in their civic life largely governed by precepts of good morals and customs, it is not possible and perhaps even not advisable to change the entire law all of a sudden. The matter is different with the law relating to crimes, reform of which, even though it may be fundamental, does not, as would any radical reform of the civil law, bring about great changes in the family or society, changes that should be introduced with great care in a country with such a vast population as China. Hence in the first year of the Republic the draft criminal code was adopted provisionally as a mark of the new regime. It has worked so satisfactorily that a revised draft has been prepared which will eventually take its place. The codes of procedure have however not been adopted in their entirety, but like the criminal code they are destined to be supplanted by revised and improved drafts, which have already been put into operation recently in Harbin. The Commercial Code like the codes of procedure is in force only in parts, such as those relating to commercial associations, traders and arbitration. There are of course many other independent legislative measures which are entitled to the dignity of legal reform, notably, the law relating to nationality, the law requiring persons aspiring to be lawyers or judges to pass certain examinations for their qualifications, the law allowing lawyers of non-extra territorial Powers to appeal before

Chinese courts on behalf of subjects of such Powers, the rules relating to the application of laws i.e. private international law, the rules governing various courts. etc.

The reform of the law courts is very simple. By the law of the Organization of the Judiciary dated 1907, which may be called the Judicature Act of China, the Chinese Courts were for the first time put on a systematic basis. They were originally divided into four grades now reduced to three, viz.—

- (1) The District Court which is the court of the first instance.
- (2) The High Court which is the court of first appeal.
- (3) The Supreme Court which is the court of final appeal.

Each of these courts is attached with a Procuratorate of corresponding rank. The Supreme Court and the Procuratorate General are situated in Peking. Throughout the provinces there are up to the present 22 High Courts, 19 Branch High Courts, and 56 District Courts with an equal number of Procuratorates attached.

The reform of law would be incomplete without the reform of the prison, for good prisons are necessary supplements to good codes. This necessity was realized by China in an early stage of her legal reform. In 1906, two years after the institution of the Law Codification Commission, a Prison Department was introduced into the Ministry of Justice. The object of this reform was to centralize prison administration; its effects were twofold: it established a uniform system throughout the country and raised the status of of prison officers. In 1910 China sent a Mission to attend the Prison Congress held in Washington and this Mission took the opportunity to study the latest systems in Europe and America. The result was the construction in China of what are known as "model prisons", which up to the present, number 54. It is rather difficult to describe these "model prisons" in detail. The brush or the camera would perhaps do them better justice,

but some idea of them may be gathered from the fact that the underlying principle governing their administration is "Hope is more potent than fear."

These are the main legal reforms accomplished by New China. In order to bring this article to a conclusion let me just quote the words of a commentator of her late prize decisions: "It is not proposed here to consider in detail these decisions, but they are a definite contribution to that great field of prize law opened up by Lord Stowell—the main point about all these documents is the indication they give of a new

social life in China, a life based on law and justice." (*Contemporary Review* 1920) How far China has advanced in her judicial reform the International Commission of jurists which will visit China next year will no doubt gather for itself with an impartial mind uninfluenced and unprejudiced, but China may certainly claim to have travelled a long way on that path since 1902 when the first treaty concerning the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights was made and still further from 1843 when such rights were first conceded to foreigners.

Educational Needs in China

By DAVID Z. T. YUI, LL.D.

THAT China has no aristocracy except that of education is a conclusive proof of her genuine interest in, recognition of, and respect for education, and this for many centuries. Paradoxical though it may seem, China's very urgent need is education for her people. In China we always believe in this: the government is nothing; the people are everything. Her former government, though absolute and imperialistic, was built on this basis,—perhaps unconsciously yet effectively. How close is this to modern democracy! In democracy, we insist that the people are the foundation of the nation, and because of this they must receive an education, each to be fitted for some vocation or profession. In this article, we do not propose to deal with China's need of education; we shall rather dwell on some phases of the needs in education in China.

First, we wish to point out China's great need of men and women who have studied education either in China or abroad, have had some experience in educational work, and will continue in that work as a life-long service. Truly, we have a goodly number of men and women thus trained and exhibiting such interest. Unfortunately, they do not stay in educational work long enough. Many upon return to China take up educational work as a stepping-stone for something else, and educational work suffers from this more than from anything else. Then, too, in the rank and file of teachers and professors in China we find not a few who really have definite responsibilities in other lines, and take up a few hours' teaching only to secure extra pay, and the quality of their work must of necessity be shallow and unsatisfactory. We are not unmindful of numerous diffi-

culties which help create this anomalous situation. Nevertheless, this does not detract our attention from the need of men and women who will devote their life and soul to educational work, cost what it may.

Second, the need of trained and experienced teachers in China even at present is something that should receive our earliest attention and deserves the quickest action. At first we thought that slow progress in education was probably due to a lack of interest on the part of our well-to-do people to support it. Now, we find that the difficulty lies really in the lack of teachers who can, after a very careful examination be certified to teach. It is not too much to say that more than one half of our troubles in schools in China to-day is due altogether to poor administration, lack of discipline, and lack of interest on the part of both administrators and teachers. The solution is, as far as we have studied, for us to build up a number of good strong normal schools in and through which many men and women teachers can be trained. We have some normal and higher normal schools, but they are far from being adequate or strong enough to meet the overwhelming need.

Third, we must, in some vigorous and effective way, banish from the mind of our teachers the idea that they are *officials* of the government, which greatly influences their mind and attitude toward their work. This is one of the tenacious things which keep the principal and the teachers away from their students. They must be made to understand that their work is educational, and their duty is not only to impart information but also to pour their own personality into that of the students. What a sacred and grand

work! How can we tolerate parasites in it? Then, likewise, our educators should have the spirit of scientific research and experimentation. They should retain whatever is best in the old Chinese educational system, incorporate that in the western, and strike out a new line or lines most suitable for Chinese mind, temperament, and conditions of life. In short, we must have a New Spirit in our education to-day, and we have merely mentioned one or two vital aspects of this spirit.

Fourth, when you have children of school age, what will begin to puzzle and baffle you? It is: Where can I find the right kind of school for them? A school that will not over-emphasize the teaching of English, that will use modern methods in teaching Chinese, that will have strict discipline, that will not be too far from our home or city and that will really bring out and develop the very best in the children, and that will, at the same time, lead and guide the children for a perfectly happy, normal, and efficient life? We are almost tempted to say, "There ain't no such animal." How pathetic, especially as you think of the young beautiful lives not receiving the very best which is absolutely within our power to provide! How exasperating, as you think of the tremendous loss our country sustains through this gross neglect. We would suggest that we, particularly those who have been studying education, resolve to render this special and all-important service to China, by establishing, not altogether universities, a good number of model elementary schools in important centres in our country. This service will perhaps not be spectacular or sensational, but it will produce large results. This does not require considerable financial outlay, and it is therefore within our easy reach. Furthermore, a good number of well-to-do public-spirited merchants are opening such schools, and all we have to do on our part is to offer our services. How does this appeal?

Fifth, education in China has long been kept away from actual life and

even to-day we are still suffering from the consequences. People have the idea that an education of whatever kind and of whatever grade will fit the person for any work in life, and this idea has been in practice too long, and oftentimes in very disagreeable form. Another evil effect is that school life is practically secluded; the outside world has scarcely anything to do with it. The result is that even graduates of technical schools do not know how to do those technical things for which they are supposed to have been trained. Then, these schools do not receive the moral and financial support which they need and fully deserve. Hence, their development have been hampered, and their service to the country, limited. This state of affairs exist in European and American countries, but it does particularly in China. It is exceedingly important that we try to make the life of the school as nearly real and normal as possible and to bring the school and the community as closely together as possible. If education will serve its intended purpose in China, this step must be taken, and it can be more easily done now than later when our educational work will have been more fully developed.

Sixth, the slow progress of education in China is at least partially due to the poor and inadequate equipment. We do not think that we must have foreign buildings and furniture, which may help increase efficiency. What we wish to emphasize are libraries and laboratories and play-grounds. We can practically count these in China on the fingers of two hands, and these are not first class either. We can readily realize how much the absence of these things hampers the fullest intellectual and physical development not only of the students but also of the teachers. We must in this connection mention another important matter; the old Chinese books need to be re-edited on a scientific basis, and the best books of the West, to be translated as soon as they come out, so that both will be made accessible and helpful to the read-

ing people. This will greatly aid in developing the mental capacities of our people.

Last, and by no means the least, we must begin to introduce and enforce strict discipline in our schools. The patriotic movements of the students are highly commendable, and have produced great results. We do not believe that this should be done at the expense of the discipline of the school, nor can we see that these two things are mutually exclusive. In other words, we are convinced that on the one hand the students can continue in various patriotic movements, and on the other hand the schools should enforce the strictest discipline. This is important as lax discipline will not make a man. In the education of a man, the development of his moral character is most important of all. It is true that discipline alone will not produce the desired

result, but it will greatly help. More especially we mean that such discipline should be for the teachers with perhaps the same force. Exemplary living on the part of the principals and teachers, we recognize, yields the strongest influence in character-building. Knowledge and good physique, when divorced from moral character, are dangerous for a young man or woman both to themselves and to the country. When knowledge, good physique and moral character are coupled together they will make the sanest, most efficient and productive citizenship, which China needs so much.

It is true that the need of leadership in other lines of service in China is at once large and urgent. We feel that education should claim our first attention, for through it more than anything else, a new and strong Republic of China will surely evolve.

The Future of Democracy in China

By PAO-TIEN HSIEH

THE storming of the Bastille on July 14, 1789 marked the end of the old era in Europe. From that day onward the new-born doctrines of liberty, equality and fraternity marched triumphantly through Europe. The steady march of these new doctrines was not to cease until people everywhere should be free. Even the quiet, mystic East could not escape their influence; for nearly a century and a quarter after the fall of Bastille, an explosion of a similar kind occurred in far-off China.

On the evening of October 10, 1911 the world heard the first shot of the Chinese Revolution in Wuchang, a provincial capital situated in the heart of what was then the Chinese Empire. In less than six months, an alien dynasty was overthrown, a Republic was created and a Provisional Constitution was drawn up and proclaimed. Forty centuries of despotism were brought to an end by one single stroke. Democracy had become the orthodox political creed of the oldest and most conservative people on earth!

When we consider the fact that fully 400,000,000 people were thus set free, that this was yet the first and greatest democratic experiment attempted by an Oriental people, and that its success or failure will determine the future of democracy in Asia, we may realize the importance and magnitude of the task. It is not too much to say that the Chinese Revolution of 1911 was nothing less than an epoch-making event in modern history.

Over and above the novelty of the situation or the mere size of the task, there is another thing which is still more significant. This is the change of attitude, mental attitude, a change of the outlook on life. The Chinese people

have at last awakened! They have turned their back on the past. In their effort to absorb Western civilization they have deliberately chosen democracy instead of militarism. The whole East watches with eagerness this gigantic experiment. Its success or failure will determine the future course of Oriental history. If it succeeds, democracy will spread over the whole Continent of Asia which is many times the size of Europe. But if it fails, autocracy, heretofore the only form of government known to the East, will have a new lease of life, and half of the entire human race will have to endure centuries more of oppression, of misgovernment and of political tyranny. In other words, the future of democracy in China will determine, to a large extent, the future of world democracy, inasmuch as half the human race will be affected.

I need hardly point out to you that the maintenance of world peace will depend on the development of world democracy, and that a lasting "peace must be planted on the tested foundations of political liberty." A strong, democratic, progressive and peace-loving China, followed by the rest of Asia, will form a stout bulwark of peace on which the world can rely. It is only in this light that we can see the full significance and meaning of the Chinese Revolution which occurred in 1911.

In a discussion of this kind certain practical questions naturally arise. You may ask: What is the record of the Republic? Will it work? Are the Chinese people ready for democratic self-government? Do they possess the necessary historical background and traditions? Can they overcome obstacles on the way? Let me answer these questions one by one.

What is the record of the Republic? To answer this question in a satisfactory manner, I can do no better than give you a brief survey of recent Chinese history. You will recall that there were three definite things the Revolution of 1911 set out to do. These were: first, the overthrow of that alien Manchu dynasty; second, the creation of a Republic to take the place of the discarded monarchy; and third, the establishment and maintenance of a constitutional form of government. Thanks to the tremendous popular support behind the Revolution as well as to the intrinsic soundness of the Revolutionary Programme, all these three objects were accomplished with varying degrees of success; and to-day China is a Republic governed, nominally at least, by a written constitution with a fairly liberal franchise.

This infant republic in China has been at work since 1911. It has discharged, after a fashion, the ordinary functions of government that under the circumstances can be expected. It has weathered no less than four major political storms in a period of ten years, each time the Republic emerging from the struggle stronger than ever. Two attempts to destroy the Republic had been defeated. An imperial restoration in 1917 lasted only ten days. The "Summer Revolution" of 1920 has left the reins of government in the hands of a leader with most pronounced republican sentiments and strong democratic convictions. In every case the people came out squarely for democracy. It has been conclusively proved that the Republic has come to stay. The people want it, and they are determined to have it. No public man now dare to tamper with the Republic. Even reactionary stupid militarists are compelled to render it at least lip homage.

But the people in China are not satisfied merely with a Republic on paper. On the contrary, they want a Republic in fact as well as in name. They realize that the struggle for a nominal Republic is now over and won. Their task

now is to make the constitutional government, which was provided for in the Nanking Provisional Constitution, a substantial reality. They wish to see all the political and civil rights guaranteed by the constitution respected and enforced. They will not be satisfied with less. In case of their violation the people are not afraid to measure strength with the government, whoever may be in control. Much of the unrest reported in the press, and in a larger sense, the whole dispute between North and South can be explained, at least in part, by this new and independent attitude, the only attitude a democratic people can take towards oppressive measures of a supposedly free government. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." That has been true in the West. We expect it to be equally true in the East. We are ready to pay the price for it.

Will the Republic work? This is our second question. My answer is: The Republic has worked well so far, and there is no reason why it should not continue to work satisfactorily in the future. It has held the country together against our aggressive neighbor. It has met, with only a few minor exceptions, all its financial obligations. It has done the work under adverse conditions much better than the Manchus under circumstances that were far more favorable. Above all, it has created a genuine nationalism, something heretofore only vaguely existent in China. It is this nationalism in action that refused to sign away Shan-tung! It is this nationalism in action that prosecuted the relentless economic boycott which created an unfavorable balance of trade for Japan during 1919 and 1920, thus hastening the financial panic in Yokohama and in Tokio! Again, it is this nationalism in action that inspires the Chinese people to a determined fight against their national enemies, external as well as internal! Any government that can show such a record certainly works, and works well.

It has been maintained by some, particularly by those who profess to

"know" China, that the establishment of the Republic in 1911 has been a political mistake. They argue that the transition from an absolute monarchy to a democratic republic has been too violent. Critics of the same school even assert that the whole conception of democracy is foreign to Chinese thought and tradition. "East is East. West is West." Has Kipling not warned us never to "hustle the East"? Such a string of arguments, if proved, will leave indeed little ground for hope. But let us see whether they bear examination.

It is true that the government of China has been an absolute monarchy for the last forty centuries, but that does not preclude the existence of a democratic spirit and tradition. The fact is: In spite of its monarchial system, Chinese political philosophy is fundamentally democratic. One can not open a volume of Confucian Classics without seeing tens of political axioms based on the democratic idea. Permit me to quote you a few of them:

"Heaven hears as the people hear. Heaven sees as the people see." "In a political state the people are the most important, institutions come next, the monarch is the least important of all." "The monarchy is instituted for the good of the people, but the people are not created for the benefit of the monarch." "He who protects us is our King. He who abuses us is our enemy."

Sayings such as these may be multiplied almost without number, but these few will serve to indicate the general tone of Chinese political thinking. In them you will at once detect an implied recognition of the contractual theory of government, the theory upon which Anglo-Saxon constitutionalism is founded and maintained. That theory, moreover, exists not only in writing, but also in the right of rebellion which has always been recognized. When a monarch habitually abuses his power he is considered to have forfeited the mandate of Heaven and a revolu-

tion is justified. Before the judgment-bar of Chinese history such revolutionaries are called liberators of the people, not rebels against the government, and this, irrespective of the success or failure of their venture. Any people with such a system of political philosophy, so strikingly similar to that of John Locke, is certainly not without a democratic tradition!

When we part with tradition which, at its best, has to do only with the past, and look into the Chinese social system as it exists to-day, we find everywhere the spirit of democracy. A hereditary class of nobility is unknown. There is no caste system such as in India. There are no survivals of a feudal and militaristic class such as in Japan. In the days of the Empire, the Prime Ministers almost invariably came from among the people. Under the Republic, four out of the five Presidents originally belong to humble families. Where in all the world do you find a greater equality of opportunity for public service, which is one of the cardinal principles of democratic government, except, perhaps in the United States?

Then in the actual exercise of political power, the central government which is more or less removed from direct popular control does not go beyond a few elemental functions such as the conduct of foreign affairs, the collection of taxes and the maintenance of peace and order. The great residue of political authority is reserved to the local communities. In the cities, the chambers of commerce and industrial guilds exercise many political and administrative functions that, in the West, are exclusively performed by the municipality. In the smaller towns and rural districts, village government is carried on by elected "elders" or "headmen." Matters of vital interest and grave importance to the whole community are discussed and acted upon by all able-bodied men therein. Now, if this is not democratic self-government, what is it?

We see very plainly, therefore, that

a Republic in China has been maintained and that it has worked more or less satisfactorily under extremely unfavorable circumstances; and we see also that the Chinese people have democratic traditions and that they have had experience in local democratic self-government. Let us now turn to the other side of the question and review the hostile forces that militate against a democratic development.

The first obstacle is that of illiteracy. Fully nine-tenths of the people can neither read nor write, and that means only ten per cent. of the entire population can take any intelligent part in their own government. This is very serious indeed. But it does not mean that democracy is impossible. It only means that democracy will have to be restricted at first, and that the right of suffrage can be extended only as education develops. We should also bear in mind the fact that it is not democracy, but rather the lack of it, that is responsible for this state of affairs. This is clearly shown by the progress of education in recent years. Under the regime of the Republic, the number of public schools has doubled in ten years. In the last year of the Manchu dynasty there were only a little over 2,000,000 children in the public schools. To-day the enrollment in public schools alone exceeds 5,000,000. This figure does not include private and missionary schools which exist side by side with government schools. And of course you are aware of the fact that thousands of our young men and young women have come to this country for higher education. A similar number has gone to Europe while Japan claims several thousand Chinese students within the walls of her colleges and universities. Higher education is being promoted not only by sending students abroad, but also by founding colleges and universities at home. Institutions above the high school grade now number in the hundreds while social education is taking definite form by means of lecturing, the lantern slide and the "movie." With regard to

lecturing, I need only mention Dewey and Russell and you will at once recall that these two men have just completed their schedules in China. Or do I need dwell on the so-called "Phonetic Script" and the "Literary Revolution," in order to show you that tremendous efforts are being made towards the promotion and extension of popular education in China? So, you see that illiteracy is being rapidly reduced. It is no insurmountable barrier to a democratic development.

A second objection pointed out is that in a period of transition such as that through which China is now passing, a strong and highly centralized government is needed, and that a republic, much less a democratic republic, can not and does not supply this need. Now we all agree that what China needs is a strong and centralized government, but we do not agree that a democratic republic is necessarily weak and decentralized? To say that weakness and decentralization are inherent to a democratic republic is to ignore entirely and completely the existence of the government of France which is both democratic and republican, yet centralized and strong.

The argument that an autocracy can best organize the country against foreign aggression, with which China is constantly threatened by her eastern neighbor, is fallacious in very much the same way. It ignores the defensive strength of an enlightened, active patriotism. It overlooks entirely the fundamental source of political authority in a modern state, for it utterly disregards the consent of the governed. The falsehood of this and other similar arguments need hardly be exposed before an audience like this.

Perhaps after all what I have said, some critics may say: "You have had your Republic since 1911. Yet what have you done? You have been fighting among yourselves practically all the time. The country is drifting from bad to worse. You have already too much democracy. What you need is a strong man." To such a critic, I can

only reply: "This is unfair." Now the Chinese will be the first to admit that not "all is well" since the Revolution of 1911, and they will freely confess that in some branches of the government, especially in matters of finance and in military affairs, no visible progress has been made; indeed the financial and military affairs of the country are much worse now than they were ten years ago. Such a state of affairs nobody deplores more deeply and sincerely than the Chinese who are the first to suffer for it. But is it to be wondered at? Is it our fault entirely? We all know that the path of progress is not always a straight and smooth highway. There are turns and trails and obstacles that must be considered. In the experience of nations, history yet records no instance of complete and instantaneous tranquility after a major political storm. It took France several decades to settle down after the Great Revolution of 1789. It took the American States over ten years to organize the Federal Government in its present form. And if I may be pardoned in dipping a little more into your history for illustration, did it not take you four years of terrible war to settle that nice little constitutional question, whether the States could lawfully secede from the Union? Now in the light of all these historical facts and analogies, is it quite fair to condemn us for "political incompetence" just because after the Revolution there follows a period of inevitable unrest and turmoil?

Now apart from the question of political faith, of historic tradition or of racial temperament, there is another view of the situation. That is the matter of expediency. It may be fairly asked: What are the alternatives for a democratic Republic? There seem to be only two, either domestic autocracy or foreign domination. I think nationalism has advanced too far to permit the second alternative. We have just overthrown one alien government. We are not going to tolerate another. Foreign domination, then is out of the

question. Domestic autocracy may through sheer brute force, succeed for a while; but it can not last, our people are too democratic to endure for long any form of one-man power.

Besides, autocracy always tends to become militaristic; and a militarized China, with all her natural resources and man-power, when combined with another Asiatic militaristic state, will be a danger not only to the political liberty of the Chinese people, but also to the peace of the world. The fact is: *China is territorially too big, materially too rich and potentially too powerful to be dominated by any aggressive and militaristic power, whether that power be Chinese or non-Chinese, Asiatic or European. From whatever point of view we look at it, the only safe solution lies in a strong, democratic, progressive and peace-loving China.* The working out of such a solution will require time, patience and effort. Democracy can be introduced only in a moderate and graduated scale. Experiments will have to be made. Failures will have to be encountered. Difficulties will have to be overcome. It may take half a century or more to work out successfully these experiments. And yet the work must be done. Young China is ready to do it. She began it ten years ago. She is hard at it now. With a clear recognition of the vital issues involved—issues that affect the political liberty of the Chinese people, the cause of democracy in Asia and the future peace of the world—Young China plunges herself into the struggle against autocracy and reaction at home, and against militarism and aggression abroad. She believes in the future greatness of democracy in China. She realizes the difficulties and dangers ahead. She is fully prepared to make all sacrifices for the attainment of her noble, democratic ideal. To the Western world, and especially to America, the Land of the Free, she is appealing only for sympathetic understanding, moral support and a fair chance to work out her own salvation. Shall Young China plead in vain?

A System of Romanization of the National Language

By YUEN REN CHAO, PH.D.

THE purpose of this article is not to make a scientific study of Chinese phonology, nor to introduce a new system of writing to replace the new Chinese alphabet of forty letters and the old system of characters. It is merely a humble attempt to devise a practical system of romanization for the National Language, as standardized by the Standing Committee on Unification of the National Language of the Minister of Education, much in the same way that the Wade system is used for writing the Pekingese dialect with roman letters. The difference between Pekingese and the National Language, though important, is not very great, and consequently, one could, if one chose, make only a few changes in the Wade system to make it fit the National Language. But as the Wade system is recognized by all its users as a necessary evil in the absence of any better system, I have thought it proper to neglect it all together in my work and construct the alphabet on entirely new lines, especially as I am curious to know whether a native Chinese born and brought up to the ins and outs of the language might not do a more decent job of it than the dozens of foreign romanizers.

The principle by which I go about my work being a practical one, the result arrived at has naturally no special regard for the usual desiderata for a system of symbols designed for the scientific purpose of the accurate representation and fine discrimination of sounds. The reader is therefore requested not to hold me to the standards of "one sign one sound", "one sound, one sign" "compound signs for compound sounds", etc, which it is not my

intention to follow. Some attempt is made to give a maximum of internationality in the approximate phonetic value of the letters, but this is only a subsidiary principle, used only "other things being equal." A word of warning should also be said at the outset that this is a Chinese alphabet and each letter is used for a sound in the *Chinese* National Language. It is therefore perfectly foolish to pronounce Chinese written in roman letters as in English or any other language that the reader happens to be in the habit of using roman letter for, and to drawl out the syllables like the sermon of a first year missionary in China. To do this is no more sensible than to pronounce the French word "pain" as "pane" in English, or the German word "Mutter" as English "mutter."

I proceed now to give the system as it is and then make remarks on its special features. The alphabet, which I shall call Guoy Roma Zmu, is as follows:

1, 6, 10. b, d, g, etc. are strictly voiced consonants in the Occidental languages, and do not correspond to the unaspirated voiceless consonants 1, 6, 10, etc. of the Chinese language. But, for the reasons that the North China pronunciation of these consonants are slightly voiced (as a result of the light pressure between the parts of articulation), and that the German pronunciation of these letters, even occurring before vowels, are not as fully voiced as in English or French, this way of making the correspondence is much better than the clumsy and often misleading system of using p, t, k, etc. for these sounds, and p', t', k', etc. for the consonants 2, 7, 11, etc. This policy is

also followed by some foreigners who recently use the International Phonetic Transcription for teaching Chinese-

2, 3, 4. p, m, f, need no comment.
5. The fifth letter, according to the last edition of Guo'in Zidian. (The

In Dictionary Order

楷書	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
草書	a	b	c	d	ia, 2e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
讀音	ㄚ	ㄅ	ㄘ, ㄑ	ㄉ	ㄓ, ㄓ	ㄈ	ㄍ	ㄏ	ㄧ	ㄐ, ㄑ	ㄎ	ㄌ	ㄇ
名稱	ㄚ	ㄅ	ㄘ	ㄉ	ㄓ	ㄈ	ㄍ	ㄏ	ㄧ	ㄐ	ㄎ	ㄌ	ㄇ
代表字	阿	伯	痴	德	呢	(佛)	格	黑	衣	知	客	勒	默

楷書	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	x	y	z
草書	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	x	y	z
讀音	ㄋ, ㄋ	ㄛ	ㄨ	ㄑ, ㄑ	ㄖ, ㄖ	ㄙ	ㄊ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄒ, ㄒ	ㄩ	ㄗ
名稱	ㄋ	ㄛ	ㄨ	ㄑ	ㄖ	ㄙ	ㄊ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄒ	ㄩ	ㄗ
代表字	哪	哦	魄	額	日	絲	忒	烏	(物)	詩	迂	茲

In Phonetic Order

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
ㄅ	ㄆ	ㄇ	ㄏ	ㄏ	ㄉ	ㄊ	ㄋ	ㄌ	ㄍ	ㄍ	ㄍ	ㄍ	ㄎ	ㄎ	ㄎ	ㄎ	ㄐ	ㄐ	ㄐ	ㄐ	ㄑ	ㄑ	ㄑ
p	m	f	v	v	d	t	n	l	g	k	ŋ	k	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	c	ɕ	ɕ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ

25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
ㄧ	ㄨ	ㄩ	ㄚ	ㄛ	ㄜ	ㄝ	ㄝ	ㄞ	ㄟ	ㄟ	ㄟ	ㄟ	ㄟ	ㄟ	ㄟ
i	u	y	a	o	ə	e	ai	ei	au	əu	an	ən	an	ən	ən

41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
ㄧ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ
ia	io	ie	iai	iau	ieu	iam	im	iam	im

51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62
ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ	ㄨ
ua	uo	uai	uei	uan	won	uan	un	ye	yan	yn	iu

National Phonetic Dictionary. Commercial Press), is practically obsolete, as all characters with this initial are replaced by the modern alternative, the 26th letter u. It is retained chiefly for translating foreign sounds, like Vienna, Victoria.

6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. d. and g have been discust. t, n, l, k, need no comment.

12. q is used for the sound which in the International system is written as n with a long tail, because of the similarity in form and of the usual uselessness of this queer letter q. It also reminds one of the script g in the English and German ng.

13. The letter 13, as pronounced by dialects of the mandarin regions (from which the National Language obtained its standard pronunciation of this letter), is really much nearer the Russian x or the German ch (in ach) sound than the English h. But as h is much better known, and as x will be used for some other sound (see below), I shall use h for the sound in question.

14, 15, 17. The use of ji, ci, xi, for 14, 15, 17 followed by i and of jy, cy, xy for 14, 15, 17 followed by y will probably arouse the criticism of using the same letter for different sounds. This is quite unavoidable because of the premise that we don't propose to make new letters outside the regular alphabet. Note that in no case will this give rise to any confusion or ambiguity of pronunciation or spelling. For the "hard" sound of j, c, x *always* precede a, o, u, etc., while the "soft" sound always precede i or y. This is very similar to the usage in the Russian language.

16. The use of ni and ny for the sixteenth letter followed by i and y is open to the criticism of indicating the sound farther advanced than the correct place of articulation. The answer to this is twofold: First, such a spelling results in no confusion except in two cases (the characters for "you" and for "mud"). Secondly, it is the intention of the Sub-committee on revision of the Guo'in Zidian, with whose members

I have been in rather close contact, to add simple n as an alternative pronunciation wherever the French gn sound, or "n mouillé", occurs, in which case the spelling here adopted will be "literally correct".

18, 19. Remembering that voiced consonants are used for voiceless but un-aspirated initials, the use of j and c for the 18th and 19th letters may be compared with the English pronunciation of j and ch. An objection to this is that these are compound sounds, which can be represented by combination of signs already used. Thus, j should the combination of 6 and 21, and c the combination of 7 and 20. The answer to this is again twofold: First, it is a disputed point among phoneticians whether these sounds are really compound sounds or not, and altho for reasons which it is not the place to develop here I believe them to be compound sounds, it is at least evident that the very fact of a real difference of opinion among specialists shows that the average person to whom these sounds are part of his native language will never recognize their complexity. The second reason is that these sounds are extremely frequent in the language (notice the long list of ch's in a directory of Chinese names) and it would be a sufficient reason for using single letters for them even if the compoundness of the sounds were more obvious than they are.

20. The use of x for this 20th letter is admittedly arbitrary. The advantage lies in that it is a sound that is frequent enough to deserve the use of a single letter, and that x being an unnecessary letter in the well-known European languages, such a use will not lead to any persistent misunderstanding.

21. This letter, as pronounced in the northern provinces, and in Nanking, is much nearer the English pronunciation of r than the French pronunciation of j, on which the use of j in the Wade system is based. Another advantage of using r is that by slightly widening

the obstruction, the resulting sound is that of the last vowel, letter 40, thus saving the use of an additional letter for this rare vowel.

22. For the same reason that single letters *j* and *c* are used for 18 and 19, I use *z* for 22, which is strictly a compound sound. In German, *z* is used for this kind of sound with very little aspiration. Its script form may be compared with the Chinese character for "son".

23. The use of two letters *t* and *s* for letter 23 is based on a statistical study of the frequency of *j*, *c*, *z*, *ts* in the language, and finding that *ts* was the least frequent initial, the use of two letters leads to the least loss of time and effort of writing and printing. As to why not a single letter is also used for this sound, the reader may answer for himself by trying to find a suitable letter for it that is not already better suited for some other sound.

24. The use of *s* alone as a syllable, like that of *j*, *c*, *x*, *j*, may need some comment from the point of view foreign romanizers, but as the article is primarily address to Chinese readers, it can be taken for a perfectly obvious step.

25, 26. The use of *i* and *u* need no comment.

27. The letter *y* is the International Phonetic symbol for the sound in question, also frequently so pronounced in German words of foreign origin.

28, 29. *a* and *o* need no comment.

30, 31. The use of the same letter *e* for two different sounds 30 and 31 seems to be a great defect. But as a matter of fact, this will not lead to any confusion. It is pronounced as 31 when used (1) as an exclamation, "E! jieu nei jieu nei!" (Hello, I have n't seen you for a long time!), and (2) in the combinations *ye*, *ie*, and *ei*; in all other cases, it is always pronounced as 30. This regularity of rule is at least as good as any that exists in the spelling and pronunciation of the French language, which, however unphonetic it seems, is never complained against as being irregular in spelling

and pronunciation. The reader will notice that I have given two different forms of script for this letter *e*, the ordinary *e* for 31 and the inverted *e* for 30. This distinction need not be compulsory, and may be merely optional.

32, 33, 34 *ai*, *ei*, and *au* need little comment.

35. The form *eu* is used for 35 because it is nearer to the standard sound and because of the philological kinship with *eu* in the European languages, as one can see from examining the slight variations of this sound in the different dialects of China.

36, 37. *an* and *en* need no comment.

38, 39. *aq* is used for 38 because *q* is used for the so-called *ng* sound. For the same reason, *eq* is used for 39.

40. The use of *er* for 40 is already discuss under 21 above.

41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46. The use of *ia*, *io*, *ie*, *iai*, *iau*, and *ieu* for these sounds may be passed over.

47. The standard sound for this combination, as determined by the Committee on Unification of the National Language, is *iæn*, where the second element is a vowel between *e* and *a*. But as words of the rhyme "sian" (first, early) naturally rhyme with "an" (peace) and not with "en" (beneficence), *ian* is a better spelling than *ien*, which is used in the Wade system.

48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53. No discussion is needed for writing these sounds as *in*, *iaq*, *iq*, *ua*, *uo*, and *uai*.

54. In regard to *uei*, the natural pronunciation for this final is *ui* in the first two tones and *uei* in the other tones. But as it is systematically simpler to use *uei* thruout, the form *ui* is not used. Incidentally, this has the advantage that while *ui* may be ambiguously either one syllable, or parts of two syllables, the combination *uei* cannot but be one syllable, as neither can *ue* end a syllable nor can *ei* begin one. This also avoids the irregular feature of the Wade system in using *wei* for 54 standing alone and *ui* for the same final used in the combination.

55. *uan* needs no comment.

56. uen is used for uen and un of the Wade system for similar reasons that uei is used for wei and ui.

57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62. uaq, uq, ye, yan, yn, and iuq call for no comment.

So much for the alphabet. In addition to this, I propose a sign for the separation of syllables where there is possibility of ambiguous reading in one polysyllabic word. Where no new sign is available, use a slant bar for fractions, like this "/". In script form, or when one can make a newtype, make a short slant bar to occupy the diagonal of a small letter like n or u, or even shorter, like this " ". This leaves the hyphen free for marking the elements in idiomatic phrases, of which our language is so plentiful. Thus: lian—join, combine; li an—salutation to a married couple; man ieu—roam adventure; ma nieu—horses and cattle. But I propose this symbol only for optional use to be omitted whenever there is no possible ambiguity as to the separation of syllables, or when the separation in one way is a well-known idea, and in another way makes no sense. Thus, instead of writing "unification of the National Language" as "Guo y tuq i", one can simply write "guoy tuqi", as the combinations oy and qi do not exist in the national language. Again, instead of writing "to give one's regards" as "tsiq an" one can simply write "tsiqan", as the combination "tsi qan" makes no sense. For the examples of the hyphen, the reader is referred to the end of the article.

Tones:—To indicate tones in a practical way, it must not be done with diacritical marks. Most writers and typists much prefer the use of an extra space for it. I propose to use for the

five tones of Guoy, merely the usual signs of punctuation, placed *immediately before* the syllable to which it belongs, so that there is no question of its being a tone mark or a punctuation mark. The signs used are as follows .in ,iaq ;xaq :cy 'ru The first four are identical with the four tones of Pekingese and the last is the short or "entering" tone. The use of tone marks is also to be optional, being needed only where its absence leads to ambiguity or insufficient degree of auditory intelligibility. It can also be used in the place of the syllabic separator "/". Thus, "Guo y tuq i", "tsiq an".

A word concerning the capitals. The most rational system is merely to write or print the lower case in a larger size. At least, one should advocate this practice for writing and allow the traditional but irrational system of capitals as florid variations. The absurdity of the capitals in the roman alphabet is readily appreciated when one considers what a tremendous row one would cause by proposing to the Committee on Unification of the National Language, a system of "capitals" for the alphabet of forty letters with as great variations from the original as there is from q to Q or r to R.

As this system is devised by one individual and has not been tried out, it is expected to have all the imperfections and defects that such work is liable to have. I am serving it now to you "pudding eaters" in the hope of having it "proved." The extent to which I am open to conviction can be seen by comparing this article with my article in the 1921 Convention Number of *Science*, and I am anxious to receive all kinds of criticisms, even tho they are purely of a destructive kind.*

國語羅馬字(漢字)

從前有一個瘋子。他有一天忽然發了瘋，就做了一篇瘋文章，居然在留英學生月報上瘋瘋傻傻的大登而特登起來。他的主張是要用外國字母來寫中國字。但是我們把他連四不像的文字看來看去，越看越不懂，越看越糊塗。你們想想看：咱們大家費了十年，二十年的苦工夫，才學會了這個神聖不可侵犯的中國語言文字，誰還有丟掉了這個寶貝的國粹，倒有閒空的時候來理會他這班門弄斧，牛吃螃蟹的糊塗嗎？

美國麻撒印色次肯勃列基

中華民國十年十一月三日 趙元任

Guoy Roman Zi

*Tsunghsian isu i go funz. Ta iou i tian kuran falso funz,
zimu zolo ipian funz wonjan, jipian gai Liou-Mei Xionson
Yebau xan fuyfuyxaxadi da-don or-to-don cilai. Tadi
jujan x iou iuy Uaiguo gmu lai sie Junguo z. Dans yo-
mon ba ta jo s-bu-xian di wonz kan-lai-kan-cy, ye kan
ye budun, ye kan ye hute. Nimon xiansian kan: zamon
dajia feilo x-nian, or-x-nian di ku qunfu, tsai
xishueilo jigo "xonxoy buko toinfan di" Junguo
yian wonz, xuai huan kong disudiehlo jigo baubeidi
"guotsuei", dau iou xiankungdi xhm lai shihuei
ta jo ban-mon-lun-fu, nimon e payxiai di kurnau ma?*

Meiguo Masaciuseta Keimbriji

*Junhua Minguo x-nian xi-ye san-i
Jau Yawron*

Kuo Yü Lo Ma Tzu (The Wade System)

Ts'ung ch'ien yu i kè fèng tzu. T'a yu i t'ien hu jan fa liao fèng, chiu tso liao i p'ien fèng wèn chang, chü jan tsai Liu-Mei Hsüeh Shêng Yueh Pao shang fèng fèng sha sha ti ta têng èrh t'e têng ch'i lai. T'a Ti chu chang shih yao yung wai kuo tzu mu lai hsieh Chung Kuo tzu. Tan Shih wo men pa

t'a ché szü pu hsiang ti wèn tzu k'an lai k'an ch'ü yüeh k'an yüeh pu tung yüeh k'an yueh hu t'u. Ni mên hsiang hsiang k'an: tsan mên ta chia fei liao shih nien, èrh shih nien ti k'u kung fu, ts'ai hsieh hui liao ché kè shên shèng pu k'è ts'in fan ti Chung Kuo yü yen wèn tzu, shui huan k'eng tiu tiao liao ché kè pao pei ti "kuo ts'ui", tao yu

China's Outlook at the Conference

By CHUNG SHU KWEI

If China fails at the Washington conference on Far Eastern problems, she herself is to blame!

Free from dishonorable conduct in her dealings with other powers, guarded in innocence, dominated by sole desire for world peace, supported by universal sympathy, and represented by ardent and able delegates, China has the strongest case in her favor at the conference. Her cause is indeed so fair and just that its success should have been a foregone conclusion—but that is yet to be.

Take for instance, the few problems which the Chinese delegation has brought up at the conference. The world recognizes that the existence of foreign postoffices on Chinese soil has deprived China of part of her legitimate revenue and that her national postal system is efficient to handle foreign as well as native mails. The presence of foreign troops is also admitted as an infringement upon China's sovereignty although the Chinese are able to protect the life and property of all foreigners. The maintenance of foreign courts is in violation of China's jurisdictional powers, and it is commonplace to say that China, by dint of her judicial reforms, should be given back such powers. The tariff restrictions are recognized as the main factor of China's financial straits, and the public is certain that she should be given complete tariff autonomy. The leased territories are institutions created for the maintenance of the balance of power in the Far East, and no one denies that they have outgrown their usefulness. The award of Shantung to Japan is, above all, indisputably the greatest injustice to China, and the public is only too outspoken against the retention by Japan of the province and the properties therein.

All this public sentiment in favor of

China evaporates in the presence of diplomatic actuality. The powers have promised to withdraw their postoffices in China but not until 1923. They have promised to investigate by an international commission the advisability of relinquishing their extra-territorial rights in China. They have promised to withdraw their troops from China as soon as conditions warrant. They have assured China that Japan is going to leave Shantung although she will retain a 50-50 control of the Shantung railway, the aorta of the province.

If the other powers will follow suit, France offered to let China take back China Kwanchouwan, a small port of still smaller value, provided it would help solve the Shantung question, Great Britain agreed to give up Wei Hai Wei, a naval station whose maintenance has cost more than it is worth. If Japan's interests in other parts of China are recognized, she will gracefully retire from Shantung. All these promises and pledges cost the powers nothing but will fool the public hundred-fold more.

Thus it is evident that in spite of public sympathy for her, China has not recovered much of her lost rights at the conference. In exchange for the future withdrawal of foreign postoffices, the eventual relinquishment of extra-territorial rights, the conditional promise of a higher tariff rate, the conditional return of two insignificant leased territories, and the return of the shell of Shantung, China is being induced to give assent to many other injustices that exist by virtue of force majeure.

Why all these fine pledges without action? This is an explanation given by a student of the Far Eastern affairs.

China is weak. What can she do? Is there a government at all? Its chaotic inner conditions will make it easy

for the foreign powers to put their claims through, and there will be no Chinese resistance possible.

This attitude is probably general among the diplomats at the conference. The chaotic inner conditions referred to above undoubtedly means the present difference between the Peking and the Canton governments. Their differences arise from constitutional niceties, and are nothing more than party struggles. Instead of fighting out their differences in sessions as the American Democrat and Republican parties do in the halls of Congress, those in the Peking and Canton governments have unwisely resorted to arms. Their strife has little effect upon the trade conditions in the country. The uncles in a family may fight in a duel, but their children go on merrily among themselves. The Chinese people are united.

Will the Chinese resist if the powers try to impose conditions upon them against their will? The answer can only be on the affirmative although I may not mean immediate war. The famous Japanese boycott against Japanese goods is but one manner of resis-

tance, and the Boxer's uprising is another crude way of resenting foreign super-government. The student demonstration is a third way of resistance.

All this is passive resistance, and it is only active resistance that will right the wrongs without reserve. The injustices were wrought by *force majeure*, and it takes *force majeure* to undo them. China should not expect any friendly nation to help her unless she can help herself. China should not expect any friendly nation to fight for her, unless she is ready to fight for herself. She must be militarily prepared, and the beauty of military preparedness for China is this: the powers will release their hold on China gracefully the moment she is ready for war. Then will not only her voice be heard in public, but her voice will carry weight with these that claim to steer the destiny of the world.

Jesus came to the world with a sword so that no impediment to peace and justice might survive. China came to the conference with a great cause but with empty hands. Where is her sword? Who is to blame?

The Fate of the Chinese Republic

3000 Years of Strife and Re-union

By HERBERT A. GILES

Professor of Chinese at Cambridge University.

IF we "look into antiquity as into a mirror which reflects the past," we shall find that in the 12th century B. C. a corrupt monarchy was displaced in China by a feudal system of vassal barons ruling over independent States, while owing allegiance to the suzerain ruler of a central State. This system actually lasted for 800 years; but as time went on the feudal barons threw off all show of allegiance to the suzerain and began a long series of wars among themselves, "not one of which," says Mencius, "was a righteous war."

After some centuries of internecine bloodshed, one State gradually prevailed against the others, and a united China was once more (B.C. 22) ruled by an Emperor, the famous "First Emperor," who wished to make Chinese history and literature begin with his reign, as though from an imaginary year 1. His reign was Cromwellian: vigorous and brief; and as a further analogy, he passed on the throne to a son, not the rightful heir, who was put to death within two years.

A Long Dynasty.

A long struggle, punctuated by sanguinary battles, ushered in the Han dynasty, B.C. 206, which covered one of the most splendid epochs in Chinese history, and but for the intrusion of a Usurper, A.D. 923, lasted for 400 years.

When the Han dynasty broke up, China was divided into what is known as the period of the Three Kingdoms. These kingdoms were each of them ruled by a rival aspirant to the throne, so that for some 50 years China was in a state of civil war.

In A.D. 265 the country was once

more united under the first Emperor of China dynasty. Still there was no peace. The Imperial bond slackened, the war with the Eight Princes followed, 16 States declared themselves independent, and the capital was moved eastward from Lo-yang in Honan to Nanking. One hundred and fifty years of rule and the Chin dynasty mandate was exhausted.

Between this date and the rise of the T'ang dynasty in A.D. 618, no fewer than 10 different dynasties harassed the Chinese people; some ruling simultaneously in various parts of the Empire, with all the usual accompaniments of war and slaughter. Under the T'angs the Empire enjoyed 300 years of comparative peace and prosperity; but when this dynasty collapsed for about 60 years the country was the prey of five small dynasties, not to mention the Kitan Tartars, who proclaimed themselves Emperors of the northern parts of China.

In A.D. 960 the great House of Sung brought unity and something like peace to the rebellion-cursed people of the southern half of the Empire. It is of the first Emperor of this dynasty that the following story, not without application at the present day, has been faithfully recorded. The ruler of a semi-independent State became restive and showed signs of desiring self-determination and sovereign powers. A force was promptly dispatched against him, and his capital was captured without a blow being struck. Meanwhile, a trusty Minister had been sent to plead the cause of the erring vassal. "He really regards your Majesty as a father," urged the Minister; "your Ma-

jesty may well leave him in peace." "Sons" retorted the Emperor, "do not separate from their fathers; and do you think that I shall allow another man to snore alongside of my bed?"

A Brilliant Period.

The House of Sung, which lasted for 300 years, and was perhaps the most brilliant literary period of China's long history, shared the Empire, divided into North and South, with powerful Tartar nations, and was even compelled by these enemies in 1138 to transfer the capital to Hangchow; but in the 13th century Sung and Tartars alike were overwhelmed by the Mongols, and by 1260 Kublai Khan was firmly seated upon the throne. Within 100 years "the tiles of their roof had clattered down" on their alien heads, and the Ming dynasty arose, A.D. 1368. For nearly 300 years the Mings prevailed; then came eunuch ascendancy, corruption, and rebellion, to quell which the Manchus were invited to assist with troops. They did more; they seized occasion by the forelock, and by 1644 a Manchu Emperor was on the throne.

After 150 years of wise and efficient government the Manchu Emperors began to fall away from grace and paved the way for the frightful horrors of the Tai-ping rebellion of 1850-1864, and the less bloody but more successful revolution of 1911-12.

The Republic was established early in 1912. In 1915-16 there was an attempt to re-establish monarchical government in the person of Yuan Shih-k'ai, and in 1917 another similar attempt, this time in the person of the boy-Emperor who had abdicated in 1912.

Thus, with the embittered conflict between North and South, the young Republic has had its full share of trials during its first decade. In the light of history the present is no time for despair. The lofty ideals which have helped to mend breaches and to hold China together for so many centuries are still the glorious heritage of the combatants of to-day. Is it not possible to hope that a day may come, within a reasonable limit of time when North and South will once again pull together?

The Problem of Our National Debt

By LONE LIANG, LL.B., B. A., (Cantab)

I. THE GROWTH OF OUR NATIONAL DEBT.

CREDIT economy is essentially a modern institution in all countries. In a country like China where the traditional commercial policy has always been the discouragement of commerce and the encouragement of agriculture, it is natural that public credit has not been developed very much as a part of the financial system of the government until the last two decades. For, in such a community which is more of a mediaeval kind, large floating capital cannot be accumulated, money markets cannot be developed, and the commercial class cannot gain much influence in the Government. But, China is in the midst of many capitalistic modern countries and, consequently, although the Chinese Government could not finance itself, until very recently, with an international credit system, nevertheless, large external credit has been used for expenditures in war, political reconstruction and recently even for administration maintenance of the administrative staff.

The history of China's national debt is very short, the first loan being that of £1,431,664, advanced in 1865 from an English bank to pay a war compensation to Russia after the Treaty of Ili. It is true that there was an embryonic public loan in 1860 when the Central Government borrowed from the Shansi provincial government with the land tax revenue of that province as security. But it was more like an advanced payment of the taxes than a real credit. On the other hand, the English loan of 1865 and several other foreign loans after that date were not controlled by the government but by the circuit governor of Shanghai on behalf of the Peking authority. The Peking government have, however, not been slow to taste the benefit of government credit and within 22 years, from

1865 to 1887 they have borrowed 57,189,137 Chinese dollars from foreigners. This may be called the first period of the history of China's indebtedness. These loans, seven in number, were all spent on military and naval expenditure: 4,500,000 Chinese dollars for navy 27,964,137 Chinese dollars for military or post-bellum expenditure and 24,225,000 dollars for reorganization. The initial stage of the credit system is shown by the rate of interest which reached in 1877 as high as 15 per cent. But since then, the rate began to go down from 5½ per cent. in 1878, 7 per cent. in 1879 and 5 per cent in 1887. The term of redemption too showed the sign of improvement, the duration of the loan being 2 years in 1865, 10 years in 1874, 16 years in 1887.

For seven years from 1887 to 1894, there was no borrowing by the China government. The Japanese war, 1894-5 again necessitated foreign borrowing and it may be said with truth that the Japan War was the turning point in the financial as well as political history of China. The war loans alone, three in number amounted to 62,880,000 dollars (China) with the war indemnity loans (5 in number) 498,200,000 dollars (China) or nearly eight times as much as the war loans. The total foreign loan incurred as a result of War with Japan was therefore \$561,080,000, besides the National war loan of about \$16,530,000 dollars. The method of raising those loans also differs from that employed in the previous years. Instead of contracting with local foreign bankers on commercial basis and personal credit, more or less, as practiced previously, the Chinese government has now used the usual method of borrowing of the modern states. There were altogether eleven foreign loans contracted since 1894 till 1900, the end

of the Boxer war when a new break in China's financial history was made. The period between 1894 and 1900 may be called the period of Japanese war loans, although there were three loans totalling 70,100,000 dollars (China) raised for railway and telegraphic construction purposes between 1898 and 1900. These together with the Japan war loans totalled 631,180,000 dollars (China). The rates of interest paid for these loans were on the whole more satisfactory than those of the previous period. They averaged between 5 and 6 per cent. While the terms of redemption have been extended from 6 years to 97 years.

The third period in the history of our public debt dates from 1901 the year after the Boxer war, to 1911, the year of the Revolution war. This period is the period of Reform Movements and the foreign loans raised in this period were all for productive or economic purposes, except two; one for exchange readjustment and the other for plague suppression. The total amount of public debt as a result of borrowing, was 385,334,000 China dollars, of which railway loans figured 330,854,000 dollars or nearly 88 per cent of the total, which cable and telegraphic loans figured 50,480,000 dollars. But, apart from these loan debts we have incurred the greatest national debt in history which is not the result of borrowing nor the result of war but merely the penalty we paid for the folly of the Manchu court—the Boxer Indemnity. This tremendous indemnity debt £67,500,000 or 450,000,000 taels) was the crashing blow to China financially and will for the next twenty years be the millstone round her already half broken neck. The annual charge of this debt alone during the ten years between 1902 and 1911 was 270,000,000 dollars approximately.

The fourth period in the history of our National debt starts from 1912, the first year of the Republic till the present day. In this period we see the greatest increase of public indebtedness chiefly as the result of borrowing

from abroad for military and reorganization expenditures and recently even for administration expenditure owing to the financial disorganization after the Revolution and the prolonged Civil war. As this period is very eventful and as the total amount of Japanese loans made by China during this period is not yet fully ascertained, it may be more convenient to divide this period into four sub-periods:—

1. The Revolution Settlement Period:—
January, 1912—August, 1914.
2. The European War Period:—Aug. 1914—July, 1916.
3. The Japanese Loans Operation Period:—July, 1916—Dec., 1918.
4. The New Consortium Period:—Jan. 1919—present day.

In the Revolution Settlement Period, the biggest foreign loan raised by the Republican government, was the Reorganization Loan of 1913 amounting to \$250,000,000 from the four Nations Banking groups; while several other smaller loans were made during this period; six Arnhold Karberg loans totalling \$47,500,000; British and Chinese Corporation Loan, \$3,750,000; Crisp Loan \$50,000,000; Sino-Belge Bank Loan \$4,000,000; the Franco-Chinese Bank Loan \$52,846,200. They are altogether \$408,106,200 apart from the economic loans of about \$11,276,920 and the international loans of about \$31,169,260 made in the same period.

The National debt was estimated at the end of 1913 as follows:—

1. Foreign Debt (including the Boxer Indemnity)	\$1,377,511,073
2. Railway Loans	432,209,900
3. Short term foreign debts.	35,682,435
4. Long term Nanking 8 per cent. public loans	35,649,715
5. Short term Nanking Military Loan	18,302,010
6. Patriotic Loan	11,602,040
Total	\$1,910,957,173

The European War Period beginning from August, 1914 and ending in July, 1916 was the period under Yuan Shi-Kai's administration when foreign capital was not forthcoming, and when

unprecedented development of internal credit took place. There were the "3d. year Public Loan" of \$24,935,390 the "4th Year Public Loan" of \$26,937,470, the "Fifth Year Public Loan" of \$20,000,000 and the saving certificates amounting to \$10,000,000 making the total internal loan \$81,872,860 Unfortunately all these internal loans, most of which were greatly over subscribed, have not been made good use of but have largely been used for political and military adventures of the late president Yuan. The economic loans contracted from foreign sources in this period amounted to \$45,673,000 together with a Japanese loan of 5 million yen.

The *Peking Leader* gave in July 1918, the figure of the total long term foreign loan from January, 1912 to July, 1916, as \$467,100,000 of the total short term loans in the same period, as \$29,710,201; and the total industrial loans in the same period as \$465,798,060, excluding provincial government loans.

The Japanese Loan operation Period commences in August, 1916 after Yuan's death till the end of 1918 when the European war came to an end and the Powers compelled Japan to stop the loan "operation." This period is distinguished by a long series of Japanese loans of which the exact amount is still not ascertained. Then

loans were ostensibly contracted for expenses in connection with the organization of the expedition to Europe and the frontier defense against Bolsheviks invasion, but these loan funds have been used chiefly for expenditures in the Civil War. A list of these loans was issued by the Japanese government, covering a period from October, 1916 to June, 1918, according to which the total Japanese loans to China were about 48,500,000 yen. This would make the total 102,500,000. But the *Far Eastern Review*, of Shanghai recorded in July, 1918 another 54 million yen which were not in the list of the Japanese government. The *Peking Leader* gave a rather different account and put the figure at 112,000,000 yen. To the above must be added the Japanese railway loans of \$20,000,000 for the construction of the Tsinan-Shunteh Line and to Kaomi-Shuchow Line; the Kirin-Chang-Chun Railway Loan of 6 1/2 million yen, 1917 its supplement of 630,000 yen, 1918 and the "Suping-kai-Chengchiatun Railway Loan of 2,600,000 yen, 1918.

With going into the details of these Japanese loans which have been made since the late Count Terauchi launched his financial policy towards China, it may be convenient to make a brief analysis of the nature of those loans:—

CLASSIFICATION	According to <i>Peking Leader's List</i>	According to the Japanese Government and the <i>Far Eastern Re- view.</i>
Central Government loan for non-economic purposes.....	27,000,000 yen	19,000,000 yen
Provincial Government Loans for non-economic purposes...	11,000,000 yen	16,500,000 yen
Economic Loans	69,000,000 yen	61,000,000 yen
Relief (Flood) Loan	5,000,000 yen	5,000,000 yen
Total	112,000,000 yen	101,500,000 yen

Mr. Hollington Tong, on the other hand, in an article to *Millard's Review*, gave the figure of the total Japanese loan to China from 1916 to 1918, as \$250,000,000 while the Financial Bureau of the Japanese Minister of Finance gave the sum total from October, 1916 to July 1918 as 303,600,000 yen. According to this Bureau the second Reorganization Loan advances (3 in number) made by Japan were 60 million yen, the second "Bank of Commercial Loan" 20 million yen, South Manchuria Railway Loan 50 million yen and the Gold Standard Currency Loan 80 million yen. The Bureau lists also includes the Grand Canal Conservancy Loan of 5,000,000 yen which was Japan's share of the International Loan of \$12,000,000. Besides this withdrawal loan or, more exactly, American-Japanese Loan, there was another small foreign loan viz: the Plague Suppression Loan of one million dollars. The amount of domestic loan during the sub-period was small. The "7th Year Public Loan" was issued April, 1918 for \$93,000,000 in two kinds of loans; the "5 year 6 per cent. bonds" and the "6 per cent Public Loan" of 48 and 45 million dollars respectively. They were raised to pay off the advances made by the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications.

The New Consortium Period beginning from 1919 till present day may be termed the period of enforced abstinence from foreign borrowing, because, since the solemn pledge given—December, 1918 by all leading countries including Japan, not to advance further sums to China pending a settlement between North and South and the subsequent formation of the New Banking Consortium, foreign borrowing has been impossible. It is true that by the end of 1919 the pledge was broken by the tobacco and wine Loan of 30 million dollars gold of which \$10,500,000 were received by the government. But it is now the Chinese banks and banking groups that have been advancing money to the Chinese government in this period, after the failure of the "8th

Year Public Loan" of 200 million dollars. It is estimated that some 50,000,000 have been advanced in the last two years by the Bank of China and some \$20,000,000 by the Bank of Communications in the form of short term loans converted from the "7th Year" Loan bonds. According to Mr. Hollington Tong (in his article in the *Millard's Review*, March 27, 1920) some \$50,000,000 were due for repayment in March, 1920 to the various Chinese banks. Another borrowing device was also March, 1919 by issuing interest bearing treasury notes to the amount of about \$10,000,000. These notes carried an interest of 6 per cent. per — per month, convertible to cash after six month from the date of issue.

The total public loan made in 1919 is as follows:—

1. Domestic Loan	\$ 6,000,000
2. Short term domestic loan.....	\$3,000,000
3. Advances by the Bank of China and Bank of Communications..	20,000,000
4. Proceeds from the Tobacco and Wine Loan	10,000,000
5. Treasury Notes	10,000,000
Total	\$79,000,000

Of the 79 1/2 million dollars borrowed. 1919, 60 million dollars or 87 per cent. of the total have been subscribed by the Chinese themselves. As the *London Times Correspondent* pointed out - Jan 16, 1921, the Chinese Banking Consortium by 27 leading bankers in this year is a great event and may herald a new era in the financial history of China.

The year 1920 was the year of fierce struggle on the part of China against the formidable combination of four great leading powers. For a time it seemed as though she were to be successful. Japan had in January, 19, 1920 advanced 9 million yen against the wishes of her leading partners and the old Banking Consortium was invoked to acquiesce the lending of £5,000,000 as an "emergency loan," wherein the Japanese advance of 9,000,000 yen and the American advance of \$105,000,000 were made a part. On the other hand, up to the end of February, 1920, the Central Government owed \$40,000,-

000 of army pay areas to its provinces which was only met by the issued Treasury Bonds to the tuchuns. The downfall of the Anfuite government in July, 1920 was made an occasion by the new Cabinet to issue the "9th Year" Public Loan of \$60,000,000. Chiefly for the purpose of repayment of short term advances made by the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications in order to enable them to resume cash payment. Public subscription was to begin on October 1st and close on Jan. 31st, 1921, but without success the sale of Special Treasury bills to the amount of \$4,800,000 was also planned by the Ministry of Finance to begin in January, 1921 redeemable within 18 months.

The year of 1921 was opened with a foreign borrowing of 4 million Shanghai dollars from British, American, France and Japanese Banks, in Jan. 19, 1921 for the Famine Relief. The exaction of an exorbitant interest 8 per cent by the foreign banks in view of the appalling condition of famine has been much criticised. The loan was secured on the additional revenue from the extra levy of 1/2 per cent. ad valorem on customs duties specially imposed for 12 months from March 1st, 1921. At the same time China's Banking Group has been most active in financing the Government this year. In June, 1921 the Chinese Bankers Association, composed of 27 leading banks, has underwritten government bonds to the value of \$6,000,000 for the purchase of rolling stock and in February, they took up the treasury bills of \$3,500,000. Another loan agreement was signed in March for \$2,500,000 secured on treasury bills for the purpose of establishing a mint in Shanghai to mint standard dollars. As the *London Times Correspondent* reported in January 16th, 1921. "The Chinese banks have now combined with the object of assisting the government to direct expenditures to production purposes and are urging financial reform on the government and declare their ability to supply all requirements, thus

obviating the necessity of foreign borrowing, if the government will adopt a sound financial policy and give effect to it. It is the first time that China's commercial elements have collectively attempted to assist the government and to press for financial reform. Combined action on the part of the moneyed business class is the one thing likely to shake off the military governors and lead to a restoration of normal conditions. In the formation of the Bankers Association can be perceived the beginning of a more general movement from which important results are bound to follow"

To sum up the total increase of national debt during the last ten years under the Republican Regime, the following table may be obtained:

(1) Loans contracted between 1912 and 1918:—	
(a) Administration loans	\$541,250,000
(b) Railway loans	145,549,200
(c) Other loans	17,050,000
Total	\$703,849,200
(2) Japanese loan during 1916-18 (according to Hollington Tong's figure)	\$250,000,000
(3) Loan contracted in 1919	79,500,000
(4) Loan contracted in 1920	154,800,000
(5) Loan contracted in 1921	160,000,000
Total	\$1,348,149,200

II. THE PRESENT POSITION OF OUR NATIONAL DEBT.

The outstanding national debt at the end of 1919 was according to an official statement made by the Chinese delegation to the International Financial Conference held in Brussels in September, 1920 was about \$1,900,000,000 in round figures of which \$1,600,000,000 was foreign debt including the Boxer Indemnity. Mr. Hollington Tong's estimate of the total National debt at the end of 1919 was however \$1,475,000,000 (*Millard's Review*, March 27, 1920). It may be that Mr. Tong did not include the Japanese loans made to China between October, 1916 and July, 1918 which have been differently reported to be about \$300,000,000.

The total National debt at the end of 1918 was as we know, \$1,449,577,609, consisting of \$1,145,550,000 long term foreign debt, \$67,920,000 short term foreign debts, \$221,523,095 long term domestic loans, and \$14,584,514 short term domestic loans. Of the long term foreign debts, about \$303,070,000, were due to war loans, \$603,552,180 due to the Boxer Indemnity and about 400 million due to railway loans. Mr. Chu Chi-Chien, formerly Minister of Interior however estimates the total foreign debt up to December, 1918 as \$1,158,210,543. The total outstanding debt at the close of 1917 was about \$1,447,000,000 and at the close of 1916 about £171,906,000 (or approximately \$1,719,060,000).

A general survey of the relation between the public expenditure and revenue and the growth of the National debt (including the Boxer Indemnity) from 1865, the year when China first borrowed till 1918 the year when Japanese Loan operations came to an end may be of interest.—

From the above table of comparisons,

it will be observed that China's public debt has been growing faster than her public revenue can keep pace with. "It is true," says the Chinese delegate to the Brussels International Conference, that our debt does not appear excessive when compared with debts of other countries. But, none the less, it constitutes a heavy burden for a country which, from the point of view of economic development, is a young country whose national wealth is still inconsiderable. Again, the debt is all to be redeemed by installments, China having no consolidated debt, and, in consequence her public debt presses with all its weight, principal and interest, on her finance at a time when she has the most need of support. This was the reason why in 1918-19 the service of debt required \$128,000,000 representing thus more than 25 per cent. of the total public expenditure, a percentage which is one of the highest in the world. The percentage would be even higher if the annual charge for the Boxer Indemnity were all included in the debt service for 1919 (the allies agreed in 1917 to

Date	Total tax revenue	Total expenditure	Total outstanding foreign debt at the end of the year.	Total annual charge for foreign debts for the following year.	% of Annual foreign debt charged to expenditure
1865 Dec.....	\$ 91,200,000	\$ 70,000,000	\$ 14,816,641	\$ 7,158,320	10
1902 Dec.....	131,600,000	106,000,000	1,777,792,866	62,089,350	58
1911 Dec.....	350,777,402	358,361,607	1,489,978,610	70,095,900	19
1912 Dec.....	415,500,000	864,780,000	1,945,318,120	84,568,370	9.7
1913 Dec.....	333,661,236	642,236,876	1,916,174,320	83,515,200	13
1915 Dec.....	357,418,790	357,024,030	1,701,970,822	98,061,888	27
1918	452,124,695	471,519,436	1,626,875,920	105,955,370	22

Note:—The years were merely selected for comparisons when there was a special cause for the increase of indebtedness. For instance 1902 was selected because that was the year when the Boxer indemnity was imposed and when the debts incurred by the Japanese war began to be fully felt while the older debts before 1894 were not yet paid off. The figures of expenditures and review of 1902 were not exactly available and the figures in the Annual Report of the Ministry of Finance to the Throne in 1899 have been applied for this purpose in the above table. Again, 1911 was the eve of the Revolution while 1912 and 1913 were the early years of the Republican regime when many foreign borrowings were made and 1915 was the eve of the Civil War when a long series of Japanese loans were about to be made.

postpone for five years the payment of this share of the indemnity) with regard the relations between the national wealth or more correctly national dividend and national debt, it is obvious that the customary way of estimating the burden of national debt per capita is not so satisfactory as the calculation based upon the amount of annual tax revenue in normal times—normal times because in abnormal times the amount of tax revenue does not always represent the true percentage of a country's national dividend. How far the amount of the annual revenue obtained by the Chinese government represents the actual payment of taxes by the Chinese people is a question. But that, the present tax revenue does not represent the limit of the taxability is obvious because China is at present in the abnormal conditions. This does not mean that the Chinese people have been lightly taxed. The truth is that owing to the antiquated system of taxation, the distribution of the burden has not been equitable and many sources of revenue has been killed by bad taxes.

Again, in considering the economic effect of the extension of national debt, distinction must be made between foreign and domestic debt. Until 1911, whole of China's National Debt was owed to foreigners and even at present, 87 per cent of the total national is still foreign.

Comparative table showing the pro-

portion of foreign debt since 1865:—

Date	Total national debt	Total outstanding foreign debt	% of foreign debt in the total debt
1865 Dec.	\$ 14,316,641	\$ 14,316,641	100
1902 Dec.	1,777,792,366	1,777,792,366	100
1911 Dec.	1,501,785,400	1,489,978,610	99
1912 Dec.	1,976,787,380	1,945,318,120	98
1913 Dec.	1,947,643,580	1,916,174,320	98
1913 Dec.	1,947,643,580	1,916,174,320	98
1915 Dec.	1,792,912,942	1,701,970,822	94
1918 Dec.	1,862,983,529	1,626,875,920	87

It is hoped, as the events of the last two years encourage one to hope, that in the future, the percentage of foreign debt will decrease as the internal credit improves as the result of the development of modern banking systems and the stock and share market which would enable the Chinese people to subscribe more readily the government stocks.

The development of internal credit for government is as I have said one of the most remarkable features in the recent financial history of China. The history of our internal debt begins in 1894 when the first internal loan was raised during the Japanese War. But it was not until 1912 that the real modern loan method was employed. The development of the national debt may be illustrated by the following table:—

Date	Name of the Loan.	Amount of the Loan	Principal Outstanding in Dec. 1920 (in round figures).
1894	National War Loan	\$ 16,530,000	.....
1898	Japan Indemnity Loan	100,000,000	Only partly subscribed
1911	Patriotic Loan	22,160,000	.....
1912	8% Military Loan	7,371,150	.....
1912	1st Year Loan	4,000,000	.....
1914	3rd Year Loan	25,434,480	\$ 24,900,000
1914	4th Year Loan	26,159,790	25,000,000
1915	5th Year Loan	7,770,515	7,700,000
1918	7th Year Loan	79,000,000	79,000,000
1919	8th Year Loan	19,000,000	19,000,000
1919	8th Year Military Loan	75,700,000	75,700,000
1920	9th Year Reorganization Loan.	290,300,000	290,300,000

Another distinction should also be made between debts incurred for economic or commonly called production purposes and that for non-economic or non-productive purposes. Loans, whether foreign or domestic, contracted for construction of railways or other public utilities which bring an income to the government are quite different from those contracted for purposes of war, internal or external, or current administration expenditure which do not bring in any revenue to the government. It has been stated that the first two periods in the history of our national debt, the bulk of the public loans have been raised for war and indemnity purposes, whereas in the third period (1902-1911) most of the public railway construction except the Boxer loans have chiefly been employed for Indemnity. Unfortunately, during the last ten years under the Republic Government we have not been spending too wisely owing to the protracted Civil wars. The tendencies of the last twenty years, however, are that the proportion of economic production loan has on the whole been increasing relatively and absolutely, as the following table will show:—

Year ending 31 Dec.	Debts incurred for non-productive purposes	Debt incurred for productive purposes	% of debt incurred for productive purposes
1865	\$ 16,464,137	Nil	0
1898	529,977,800	45,000,000	8
1899	677,395,870	68,000,000	10
1902	1,691,368,366	86,424,000	5
1903	1,666,657,436	89,832,000	5
1904	1,641,945,506	114,009,000	6.9
1905	1,627,233,576	131,348,000	8
1907	1,602,021,646	157,487,000	9.8
1911	1,164,520,610	325,458,000	27
1912	1,608,138,690	342,179,430	21
1913	1,508,153,250	380,539,432	22
1915	1,321,431,390	353,021,070	28
1918	1,306,072,710	320,803,210	24

Note:—The decrease in the percentage of the production loan, in 1902, 1912 and 1918 is explained by the facts that the first payment of the Boxer

Indemnity was due in 1902 and that 1912 and 1918 are the years after the Revolution and after a Civil war respectively

Another feature in our National debt is that the Chinese government cannot use its credit as a government but must use collateral security in order to obtain a loan. Even in international loans, the government had never been able to obtain a credit without a collateral security, except on short terms. The failure of the Peking Government to meet the matured loan of \$5,500,000 due to the Central Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago on November, 1, 1921 was a blow to the credit of the Chinese government.

The problem of repayment of our National debt is therefore one of the crucial questions the solution of which will go a long way in establishing the country's finance on a sound basis, China has let the opportunity go by when the price of silver was so favorable for her debt redemption.

As all of China's debts are redeemable and at a fixed period, although early redemption is permissible upon a six months' notice in certain cases, the method of free redemption is out of question. The only way open will therefore be the sinking fund system. It was officially estimated in 1912 that the provision of a sum of \$100,000,000 within twenty years was necessary in order to repay all debts in 42 years. In 1913 the Minister of Finance made the statement that it would require to put aside \$10,000,000 annually for 22 years to repay all outstanding debts which were then about \$1,743,889,640. It is true that the sinking fund system is no longer regarded as the best method of reducing national debt. The rigidity of fixing the amount of fund to be provided for every year without regard to the financial condition of the country may cause constant financial disturbance while the accumulation of a large fund in the Treasury may be constant temptation to extravagance. But for a country whose public credit is yet to be es-

established this somewhat antiquated system may prove expedient. It must be borne in mind however that the only true sinking fund is the surplus revenues of the year, and that the only true sinking fund for the repayment of foreign debt is the real surplus wealth which can be exported to the creditor countries. So long as our export, including invisible export, cannot discharge our total national obligations, if the payment for the imported goods and service plus the payment for the annual charge of principal and interest due to foreigners, our national debt must accumulate. The continuous adverse balance of trade is most alarming although much of it is due to the operation of loans. The ultimate and fundamental solution seems to lie in the following famous motto—"work harder and consume less." i. e. the continuation of our national efforts to industrial development until we can export not only raw material but manufactured goods and depend less on foreign importation for our national comfort.

The Chinese Penal Law

By PROFESSOR E. GARCON

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MANY thinkers of the eighteenth century have extolled the profoundness of Chinese philosophy and wisdom of Chinese laws. But this favorable opinion has not generally been accepted. It is very often considered that China is a backward nation and is incapable of progress. It has for a long time been believed that the Chinese allow their children to be devoured by the most brutal of beasts, that their repulsive laws are of extreme barbarity and that they inflict upon their criminals the most terrible of punishments.

However, in proportion as China is becoming better understood one realizes that these judgments are a little too summary and that the actual facts are really different. In all those cases which we find prevailing in China great efforts are being shown to introduce into the country the progressive reforms that have been realized in Europe as much in material things as in the field of social institutions. It is this fact which justifies the study of the ancient and new penal codes of China.

The history of ancient Chinese penal laws is a subject of study which is very little recognized by the Chinese themselves. But we possess at least one translation of the *Ta Tsing Lu Li*, the code of the previous dynasty which remained in force from the 17th. century to the time of proclamation of the Republic. It has undoubtedly in the course of time been directed and modified but it still forms the fundamental basis of the repulsive laws in the first years of the twentieth century. The reading of this collection of laws leaves upon the mind the impression that they are a body of legal

material made by a people which has a genuine civilization, very different undoubtedly from our own, but already very far advanced. The provisions which it contains for the organization of government and of administration, the sanctions which it establishes to guarantee the rights of the family, the splendid customs and manners, the propriety and respect for contract show that a large amount of attention is devoted to the public weal and social discipline.

When one examines the general features of this legislation which is no longer enforced one is very much astonished to find that after all it does not differ very much more from the old French laws than one is likely to believe. China even possesses a code containing a list of incriminations and fixing the punishments in a way which is not to be found with us up to the time of the Revolution. The officials could of course transcend the written laws upon the strength of custom which by its very nature is often obscure and indefinite; they have certainly a large power when they begin to determine what punishment to inflict upon the criminal but taking all into consideration we must admit that such powers are perhaps less extensive than what we have recognized in our judges who punish the criminals more or less in an arbitrary fashion and without any resort to any established code.

Is it then the system of punishment that would induce us to condemn the Chinese criminal law as one execrable monument of cruelty and barbarity? The punishments are fundamentally: fine, banishment out of province, can-gue, bamboo and finally death. But these bear a striking resemblance to

our own penitentiary system. In our ancient law, imprisonment was not classed under legal punishments, and it appears the same was true in China. In the fifteenth century we cut the noses and ears of our criminals, and in the eighteenth we inflicted on them whips. In China people used bamboo. The law specified that the stick should be one without branches, of a determined length and diameter; it also specified that in certain cases the small end should be used and in others the big end and, in summer, the small end alone was authorized, for humanity's sake undoubtedly. Our people know through pictures that the cangue is a torture, but we must not forget that we put our criminals in a pillory, that the iron collar lasted till 1832 and public exposition till 1848. The difference between the cangue and the iron collar is that in China the neck of the culprit is put in the hole of a plank while with us it is closed in an iron ring. The difference, it must be admitted, is very slight.

The old Chinese frequently pronounced the sentence of death. The execution might take the form of strangulation, decapitation, and for more execrable crime, a slow process of death, which consisted, as people say, in being cut into six thousand pieces. But it is an Oriental exaggeration. In reality the executioner drew from the basket, one after another, knives with each of which he cut parts from the body of the criminal. Evidently this torture does not impress any one as sensibly humanitarian. But it is only fair to remember that our old Parliaments condemned criminals to be strangled or decapitated according to their rank, that we burnt alive certain other criminals and that finally we divided of the body of the criminal by wheels. Nails were rooted up, breasts were tortured with pincers, hot lead was sprinkled, and the body was then divided, burnt, and the ashes were cast to the winds. As one of the old authors testified, the suffering lasted two hours,

"lui vivant." Through indulgence, our judges sometimes ordered the criminals to be strangled prior to their quartering by wheels. In China the Emperor permitted by clemency the criminal to commit suicide.

The list of crimes and delinquencies provided by the old Chinese code is not far different from what we would presume in our own laws. It consisted of homicides, violences, stealing, cheating, misdemeanors, acts against the security of the state and plots. We even find in our old texts incriminations which seemed quite modern, for example, "the disposition against the monopoly and the merchants who carried on commerce dishonestly." Those who sold merchandises with a view to getting greater benefit than one could make ordinarily and exceeded the just profit that a trader could expect, would receive forty blows for their illicit speculations. Well, these formulae are not very far from these of our own which we read in the decree of our more recent jurisprudence.

However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the influence of western civilization began to produce effects in China, even in the field of criminal law. Already certain reforms were beginning to operate in the last years of the monarchy, and in 1902, a commission was nominated to draw up a code of European inspiration. It composed of Chinese and Japanese. The first draft resembled the Japanese penal code of 1907 which was in turn, an imitation of the German code then quite in vogue. The great work nearly ended when the Revolution upset the dynasty and proclaimed the Republic. According to Article 6 of the new Chinese Constitution, it was expressly decided that none could be imprisoned, judged and punished without going through the due process of law. This principle evidently called forth the immediate proclamation of a penal code, and the President of the Republic ordered in effect through the Chinese tribunals to make provisional

application of the draft of which certain dispositions alone, relative to monarchical institutions, were effective.

The work went on. But the project, becoming law, did not appeal to the new governors of Chinese as responding to the liberal ideas which they hope, would penetrate the institutions of their country. They are dissatisfied with it for its lack of a sufficient scientific character, for giving definitions that are susceptible of infractions, and for leaving in the hands of the judges a too extensive arbitrary power. The same day the provisory code was put into effect, people were already busy with reforms, and a new commission was charged with its revision. These works were put together as a draft that was printed in 1919 and were almost immediately translated into English and French. At present the texts are not any more definite than they were; it was subject to modification in the interval that separated the two translations. The Commission was to revise the text before-submitting it to the Parliament for examination and vote. We hope for China that the deputies in Peking would have enough wisdom not to introduce carelessly amendments that will destroy and alter economy, and that they would go far along the road of democracy as the Swiss Legislative Assembly that voted the codes *en bloc* and without discussion.

If it fails to characterize in one word all the Chinese Legislative movements, we wish to say that while the authors of the provisory code are sent to the school of Japan, those who draw up the new draft are willing to take directly from European sources and to profit by their recent progress. Much of it is borrowed from the code of Hungary, the Bas countries, Italy and even those of Egypt and Siam, and from Austria, Swiss, and German projects. The editors of the draft have also drawn their inspiration from the French legislation on the basis of which they have made numerous laws which are modifications of our penal code,

but, it must be admitted,—and that ought to be an advertisement for us—that code itself which dated now more than a century old is not all antique to the eyes of the strangers.

The authors of the draft seem then like very intrepid innovators. They have, however, the wisdom of not breaking completely from the past and of respecting, in certain dispositions of the code, the Chinese manners and customs. Ancestor worship is one of the most firm bases of their civilization: the violation of sepulchre is punished as a very grave crime. The liberty of Buddhistic cult has been secured by these energetic sanctions; the firm constitution of the Chinese family is not weakened; the parents exercised a considerable influence on the increase or decrease of punishments; the sexual relations between relatives of a degree remote are punished as an incest; adultery of woman is punishable, but that of husband is not, and he could keep concubines along side of his legitimate wife without committing misdemeanor. Let us point out once more the dispositions that punish the brigands who put their victims at ransom, a form of criminality that is still quite frequent in China.

But these are but feeble survivals of the old laws. In general, all the institutions of the new code resemble those of European codes, even confound them. It seems, in fact, that, almost without retouches, it could be accepted by Occidental people and that they could find indications of useful reforms to be introduced into their own laws.

Corporal punishments are being abolished in China since the introduction of the provisory penal code. The great reforms of our Revolution, after the elapse of more than a century, are extended even in China. The punishment of death is still there, but it could not be pronounced simply for a number of small crimes, and it is to be executed by strangulations in the prisons. Secret punishments of liberty forms, as with all civilized peoples, the

essential basis of all the new repressive system. At the same time, the administration is bent on the reform of prisons which is perhaps more important than the modifications of the texts of the code, for, what will be the use of the texts if the necessary organs for the execution of reforms are at fault? At Peking a model prison has been established, and an album is published by the Ministry of Justice. They seem to prove that in China today there exists at least some well organized prisons. A set of regulations based on the best of old Europe for these penitentiary establishments has been published.

For all that touches the general rule of incrimination, the new Chinese code has accepted these principles which until today dominated European laws. It consecrates first and foremost the rule "No punishment without Law" that forms the basis of the most sure of civil liberties in the constitution of the enfranchised people. It admits the legality of punishments, the extenuating circumstances, the imputation of preventive detention, the conditional liberation, and the delay of executing the punishment. The Chinese primary delinquents could obtain the benefit of the law of Berenger. The punishments are reduced when the criminal is recognized as having only a limited responsibility, but that extenuated punishment may be followed by a degree of security, that is to say, by putting into the mind of the feeble the im-

possibility of hurt. A great number of the dispositions of the project indicate even a profound knowledge, not alone of the texts of recent codes, but also of the sciences of penal law such as form the criminality of the Occident. It suffices to say that the project resolves the question of impossible crime, of real and ideal accumulation of infractions. Our French penal code leaves the unfortunate without response.

Such is the new code. It is not without example in the history of law, that a foreign legislation has been introduced *en toto* into another country. The Roman Law had been received in all occidental Europe in the middle ages. Even now European law has been accepted in Japan and Siam, and with success. May not the same experience succeed in the great and old country of China? Without doubt certain remote provinces submitted to the sovereignty are comparable to colonies or protectorates, and it ought not to shock or surprise us if the new Code can not be strictly applied, but is it not applicable in the old, civilized China? Does not that application extend further than certain villas of littoral where the Europeans are numerous and the path which they treaded? Somewhere in the villas where our civilization penetrates, do not the cangues and bambooes subsist in spite of laws? There is the true question which we do not pretend to answer. But it could not escape any one that this is the principle.

China's Problem

BY HERBERT H. GOWEN

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THERE are two kinds of order. One is that produced by the authority imposed from outside. This is essentially what is meant by autocratic government, a form of rule which may easily produce a type of efficiency which seems to make for prosperity and peace. The other is the order produced by authority developed from within. This is essentially democracy, a system which may very frequently be productive of disorder but which in the long run secures the permanent welfare of mankind. Democracy is self-educative and self-punitive. What it does it does to itself. For this reason the disorder of democracy may be preferable to the order of autocracy.

China has never had any difficulty in accepting the principle of democracy. It may be said to be instinctive, and is illustrated alike in the government of the village communities and of the commonwealth as a whole. The early Emperors recognized the mandate of Heaven as depending on the will of the people; access to the Emperor was the people's right from the days of Yao and Shun; the principle of heredity was held to be mischievous and the Emperor not infrequently chosen from the poorest of subjects. No other country can boast so many illustrious rulers raised to high estate from the ranks of laborers, sandal makers, sellers of bean-curd, and the like. No other has had political economists so daring in their recommendation of revolution as a remedy for tyranny. No administration elsewhere ever proceeded to such lengths of radical reform as were put into operation by Wang An-shih in the 11th. century.

With all this, it may be asked why for a century past has the government

of China fared so badly in its relations with the outside world. The answer is largely to be found in the difficulties China has been called upon to encounter for the adjustment of international matters in establishing relations between her own central government and those of foreign nations of a mutually self respecting kind.

In the old days relations between the Chinese government and the outer world were simple enough. It was just a matter of the Imperial Court receiving presents from the various 'tribute-bearing countries'. For the rest, the Provinces were but slightly interested. But, when the extension of European and American trade to Chinese ports made Conventions and Treaties necessary, the Peking Government had to assume responsibility for the action of the provinces, as these related to foreign nationals, while the provinces, in their turn, had to recognize the Peking government as representing them in a manner hitherto unprecedented. Conflicts followed in which the prestige of the Central Government suffered because of happenings in the provinces and in which the provinces suffered through negotiations made by Peking with outside states.

The result has been a long series of international engagements in which much was conceded by Peking which affected adversely every part of the Empire, and which led to cessions of territory, leases, concessions, and the right of exploitation of the most various description. In all this Japan was, not unnaturally, an apt pupil of lands which had welcomed her emergence from seclusion. Happily, there are many present signs that the era of territorial aggression in the Far East is about to end. Many of the nations,

including Japan, adopted the policy less out of enmity to China than from fear of one another, and this policy of fear begat contempt for the rights of the Middle Kingdom. Now it is being discovered that the policy is not only morally indefensible but also politically unprofitable, at any rate in comparison with that of international co-operation and good-will.

Undoubtedly the Powers now represented at Washington will go some lengths in the direction of restitution. The giving up of the rights of extra-territoriality awaits in all probability only the putting into operation throughout China of the newly constituted Code. Removal of international jealousies and causes for jealousy will inevitably do much to hinder further spoliation of the East.

It remains, however, to be said that the chief problem is still that which China alone can solve. It may be said, I am sure, without offence, that a considerable share of the responsibility for the present plight of China is her own. Chinese weakness, and I mean not only her military but also her moral weakness has given immunity to plunderers which they would not otherwise have presumed to expect. To-day, above every thing else, there is needed the great moral and spiritual revival in China, without which every material advantage must fail. Unfortunately, of late years, the emphasis has been placed too exclusively on material things. It is good to see interest in the progress of parliamentary government, extension of education according to the western method, and the like. But a parliamentary constitution will only work well when legislators as well as voters are incorruptible. An educational system must not neglect the moral sanctions which in other ages have had such eminent recognition in China. The extension of communications by rail and canal must not be allowed to be the happy hunting ground of foreign bond-

holders. The resources of China, in short, must be developed for the benefit of the whole nation, and in the interests of a higher standard of living for all.

In a word, let China learn the two needed lessons of Unity and Official Honesty, by slow and painful degrees, and she will not fear the results of her intercourse with the outside world or of her latest experiment in democratic government. The revenues of China will amply suffice for her needs just as soon as these are properly collected and honestly administered.

I say this with the utmost confidence in the essential honesty of the Chinese people and in their capacity for self-government. I might have used this opportunity for the purpose of denouncing other nations; I prefer to believe that China's sincerest friends will assist her more by encouraging her to self-consciousness and self-reform. I believe that an increasing number of Chinese students in this country are striving to achieve the redemption of their native land along these lines. May God strengthen their hands and hearts. I may conclude in words I have used before:

Beyond all conflicting views we feel in the hearts of millions of awakened Chinese and of those who sympathise with China's dream of a yet ampler destiny a hope which is inspired not merely by belief in the genius of this or that statesman, not merely by faith in this or that theory of political government, not merely by dependence upon this or that group of foreign powers, but by earnest seeking after the way of truth and righteousness which enables nations as well as individuals to live long in the land. The words of the old Ode are still true:

"Good men are bulwarks; while the multitudes

Are walls that ring the land;

Great states are screens;

Each family a buttress; the pursuit
Of righteousness secures repose."

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MARCH OF EVENTS AT HOME

POLITICAL CHANGES EXPECTED

THE fall of the present Chin Cabinet has often been predicted and predictions have often been unrealized. There have been no important changes in the personnel except that of Finance Department. Minister of Finance Li had resigned and Kao Lin-kwei has taken over the portfolio. Mr. Kao was believed to be Tsao Kun's man and was only tolerated by Chang Tso-lin on the condition that one of the latter's underlings would be appointed Vice Minister of Finance. Kao will not remain long, as his ability to make loans is not especially good and loan-getting seems to be almost the sole requisite for a Finance Minister. Probably there will be another change in the Minister of Finance before the New Year.

Perhaps this change will not be confined to the one Ministry merely. It may even take the form of a general collapse. Despatches from Peking reported the resignation *en bloc* of at least two departments owing to the long non-payment of salary. The resignation of the President was hinted at, and some credited him with a proclamation of "self-admonition," besides offering to retire. The popular opposition to the Shantung "conversations" and other causes of unrest, such as financial stringency, serve to make the already precarious position of the Chin Cabinet still more precarious; and it is quite possible that the long-predicted fall of the Chin Cabinet will be a reality in a very short time.

OPPOSITION TO SHANTUNG "CONVERSATIONS"

Since the beginning of the Shantung "Conversations" by the delegates of China and Japan to the Conference, popular sentiment at home has been solidly against the move. Mass meetings are reported to have been held in

all cities and in every part of the country. The one held in Shanghai early in December was said to have been attended by about 80,000 people, a record number for mass meeting attendance in China. The people seem to have no confidence in any negotiation with Japan. They can see no difference between "direct negotiation" and "conversation" with two British and two American "observers" watching on and perhaps assisting. They insist on bringing the question before the full Conference where they hope to effect the "unconditional restoration" of Shantung. The Chinese Delegation in Washington is understood to have been flooded with cables, protesting against the "conversation" and demanding presentation of the Shantung Question as well as the Twenty-One Demands before the full Conference. Judging from these press dispatches it would seem that the Chinese students and merchants who staged demonstrations against "direct negotiation" were correctly interpreting popular sentiment at home.

LOANS DEFAULTED AND POSTPONED

Payment for a loan of \$5,500,000 U.S. currency made by the Continental and Commercial Trust and Savings Company of Chicago in 1916, was not effected when due on November 1, 1921. This default on the part of China was due to her inability to agree on terms proposed by American members of the "New Consortium", who were ready to provide funds for paying the "Chicago Loan" and the "Pacific Corporation Loan" soon to mature. The Chicago bank was understood to have appealed to the State Department in Washington and as a consequence the American Minister in Peking was instructed to lodge an emphatic protest with the Chinese Government, pointing out the serious effect default would have on the

credit of China and even hinting at possible withdrawal of recognition, should the default be long-continued. Nothing was achieved by this curt notice; even the personal visit to Peking of Mr. John J. Abbot, Vice President of the Chicago bank, turned out to be a failure, for late in November he was reported to have left Peking without making satisfactory settlement.

So low was Chinese Government credit that, on December 1 when another American loan of \$5,500,000 U.S. currency became due, default was expected and freely predicted. But instead, the public was treated to a surprise by the announcement that interest on the loan was to be paid while the principal repayment would be postponed for a period of three months. In that announcement the Pacific Development Corporation, the creditor concern, also expressed the belief that during the period of extension the two parties would be able to arrive at some arrangement satisfactory to both.

It may be well to point out that American members of the "New Consortium" stood ready to extend a loan of about \$16,000,000 U.S. currency to repay both the "Chicago Loan" and the "Pacific Development Corporation Loan" on the condition that China was to pay the overdue interest for "German-issued" Hukwang Bonds. This the Chinese Government refused to do, hence the suspension of further loan negotiations with American members of the "New Consortium." While the reason for China's refusal seemed to be, apparently at least, one of business, some shrewd observers professed to see a political aim in the move. They pointed out that up to the present China had not recognized the "New Consortium" in any official way and that realizing the implication of recognition attendant to making loans, China might have thought it wise to break off negotiation at the last moment in order to reserve for herself the right to withhold recognition until the "New Consortium" should have so modified it-

self as to be acceptable to her. Meanwhile the question of foreign financing in China had been injected into the United States Senate where Senator Borah introduced, on Dec. 12, a resolution calling for an investigation by the Foreign Relations Committee, or any sub-committee to be appointed, into the "New Consortium" and the dispute about "German-issued" Hukwang Bonds. Much or little may come from such an investigation, if it should be undertaken. It is of course possible that the "New Consortium" may come before the Conference, but up to the moment these lines go to press (Dec. 15, 1921) there is no indication pointing thereto. Meanwhile the "Chicago Loan" remains defaulted and the "Pacific Development Corporation Loan" postponed.

RUN ON CHINESE BANKS

Towards the end of November a run was started on the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications, the two largest "modern" banks owned and managed by Chinese. The run first occurred in Peking and was extended to Tientsin and then to Shanghai. First confined to the two banks above mentioned, it gradually took in other banks until practically all the "modern" Chinese banks were in the whirlpool. The banks were well prepared to meet the demand for cash in the first two days of the run, but as it spread and extended more and more cash was needed from day to day; and there was a time when it would seem that the banks were about to collapse. Fortunately the Chinese bankers were able to pull together, therefore pull through. This was due to the efficient organization of the Chinese Bankers' Association which was a private organization serving, in emergency cases, as a sort of reserve and clearing center. Pending the arrival of reports more detailed than what the cable despatches contain, it is difficult to look into the causes and effects of the run. There is no doubt that the Chinese banks were in a much

stronger position after the crisis, although they might have suffered financial losses. This is more than certain when it is recalled that no external help of any consequence was rendered and that the Inspector General of Customs, Sir Francis Aglen, refused to release the "customs surplus" in spite of official and semi-official pressure on him. As to the causes of the run, there have been at least three hypotheses: some think it is a mere economic phenomenon, due chiefly to over-speculation and consequent loss of confidence by the public; others ascribe it to foreign intrigue aiming at the destruction of Chinese credit, Chinese commercial credit, while the Conference is on so as to create a situation in which the question of foreign financial control or supervision in China would be squarely put before the Conference; and still others think the run was staged by political factions not in control of the banks, with the idea of either ruining the banks or getting control of them. The last hypothesis seems to have been amply borne out by private cables reaching responsible Chinese and Americans in New York City and Washington, D. C. Some of these cables report the strange phenomenon that the banks were able to cash all checks and notes presented and made no secret of their ability in so doing, but the "runners" were kept away from their doors or were so obstructed in their efforts to get in by the military and the police that only a very small number of "runners" could be satisfied, and that finally the banks had to resort to a round-about method of breaking the run by entrusting the redemption to small "exchange shops" or "money changers" and other business houses whom the military and the police made no effort to "protect." It will be interesting to see what causes the Chinese Bankers' Association will assign to the run in the reports which are expected to be out soon.

A SINO-SCANDINAVIAN BANK

To the long list of Sino-Foreign Banks established during the last two or three years there was added, on November last, the Sino-Scandinavian Banking Corporation with headquarters in Peking and branches in Shanghai, Hongkong and Canton. The bank was promoted by Chinese and Norwegian capitalists with an equal share of capital from each side. Chiang Tien-to, a lawyer and a former Vice Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, was elected President while Harold Skappel, a Norwegian, was elected First Vice-President with a Second Vice-President named Chow Hsiang-cheng. The Bank was capitalized at \$2,000,000 silver and is authorized to do general banking business, besides the issuance of banknotes under Chinese Government supervision and control.

PEKING-SUIYUEN RAILWAY COMPLETED

The Peking-Suiyuen Railway, an extension of the Peking-Kalgan Line which was financed, built and managed entirely by Chinese without foreign assistance in any form, was completed and opened to traffic early in November, 1921. The whole line from Peking to Suiyuen is 336 miles. Extension work to carry the line to Pao-tao-chen, a border-line town between Chihli Province and Eastern Inner Mongolia, was at once begun. It is hoped to complete the Pao-tao-chen Extension in a few years, and when finances permit, to connect Urga in Outer Mongolia by rail with Peking. The Peking-Suiyuen Line has the distinction of using the heaviest locomotives in the world, which fact is due to the extraordinary character of the country over which the Line traverses. Readers familiar with railroads in China will recall the fact that the Peking-Suiyuen Line is connected with the other main Lines of North China by its junction in Fengtai, thus making it possible to ship goods by rail from Pukow (opposite

Nanking) to the edges of Mongolia without unloading.

THE MACAO BOUNDARY DISPUTE

The dispute between China and Portugal over boundary lines in Macao, a Portuguese possession off the British island of Hongkong, on the mouth of the Canton River, is not yet settled. The disagreement centers around a few tracts of land on the Heungshan Peninsular and a few small islets, besides the question as to the extent of territorial waters under Portuguese and Chinese jurisdiction. It will be remembered that an attempt was made in 1909 to settle the dispute by a Boundary Commission whose members were appointed by each country in equal numbers. No agreement was effected and the dispute remained unsettled. Recently a fracas between Portuguese and Chinese patrol troops occurred and much hot feeling was engendered. The Canton Government took the matter up with the Portuguese Governor in Macao, but no result was accomplished. Then the Portuguese Minister in Peking went down to Macao for investigation on the spot and it was reported that he intended to discuss the matter with the Peking Government. So far no step had been taken by either side to settle the dispute. There was a time when it was seriously put forth that Portugal would ask the Conference now in session in Washington to consider the whole question and decide it once for all. But up to the date of writing (Dec. 15, 1921) there has been no indication of Macao being injected into the Conference room. It is quite probable that the Macao boundary dispute would have to be settled by Portugal and China themselves, if it is going to be settled at all.

CHENGCHOW, HONAN AS AN OPEN PORT

It has been proposed to open Chengchow, in Honan Province, as a port "voluntarily opened" for foreign trade. The project is said to have the approval

of General Wu Pei-fu, actual leader of the Chihli faction. Chengchow is on the junction line of the Peking-Hankow Railway and the completed section of the Tsing-Lung-U-Hai Railway. From Hsuechow in northern Kiangsu, the present eastern terminus of the Tsing-Lung-U-Hai Railway, Chengchow is connected with the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, thus affording easy communication with the sea. Although not a treaty port, Chengchow has factories and electric plants under Chinese control and is not backward industrially. It is understood that a modified form of municipal self-government will be introduced with municipal suffrage to both foreigners and Chinese on equal terms, should the proposal of opening Chengchow be successful.

BOYCOTT OF BRITISH IN AMOY

An Associated Press despatch dated December 7 reports that a boycott of things British was declared by the Chinese in Amoy. The boycott was started, according to the report, because of what the Chinese regarded as the unreasonable attitude of the British in a local dispute. The exact nature of the dispute was not disclosed, probably it was one about concession boundaries or water-front lots. The boycott was first directed against the firm of Butterfield and Swire and then extended to all firms and things British. It was said to have been effectively maintained so far and Amoy business was said to have been seriously handicapped.

PHILIPPINE BOOK-KEEPING LAW POSTPONED

It will be recalled that one of the last official acts performed by former Governor-General Harrison was his approval of the so-called Book-keeping Law passed by the Philippine Legislature requiring all business houses to keep their books in English, Spanish or any one of the native languages in use in the islands. This law was to have been operative on and after January 1,

1922. The law was aimed at Chinese and Japanese business houses, particularly the former, as the Chinese control over 60 per cent. of the retail business and more than 50 per cent. of the whole-sale business, in addition to mining, lumbering, export and import. Chinese interests in the Philippines at once started to fight the law. Representatives were despatched to China and the United States with the purpose of arousing the sentiments of the trading communities that would be most directly affected, besides urging the Chinese Government to file a protest with the United States as the Philippine Law infringed on the treaty rights of Chinese citizens in the islands. The help of American business men interested or engaged in foreign trade was also enlisted. Representations were said to have been made to President Harling,

the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War and other officials in charge of insular affairs. The Administration was known to be opposed to the Law, although it was thought unwise to resort to the expedient of "disallowing" it, a power of veto which the Administration has over legislation in the Philippines under the Jones Law. The whole matter was presented to the Philippine Legislature for reconsideration. After hearing the complaints of the different parties the Philippine Legislature has postponed the operation of the Law for a year, that is until January 1, 1923. It is expected that the Law will be either repealed for good or made inoperative by annual postponements as each period of grace expires.

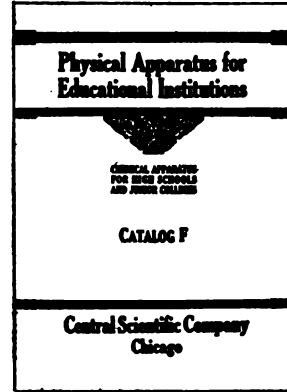
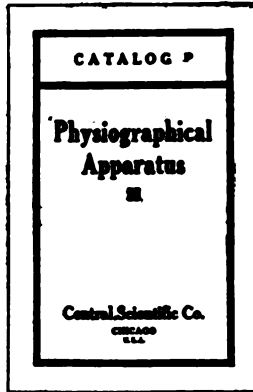
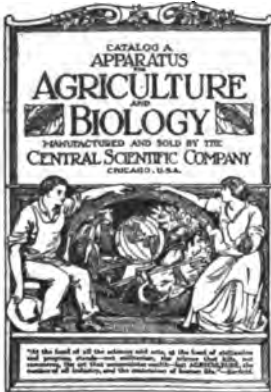
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CLUB NEWS

BALTIMORE

Through the energy and enthusiasm of Miss Katherine T. Chen, the Club held an informal meeting on the occasion of a visit from Dr. Y. Y. Tsu, former Professor of Sociology at St. John's University, Shanghai. Dr. Tsu gave the Club a very interesting talk on his personal glimpses and sidelights of the Chinese Delegation at the Washington Conference.

For the discussion of various Club activities, a soirée was given by the officers of the Club on December 4th in the apartment of our "Biddle Street Trio" formed by Misses Chen, Wang, and Yen. A business meeting colored thus with this social feature was greatly appreciated by all. Our thanks are due to Miss H. C. Yen for her successful arrangement of the meeting.

Admiral Tsai Ting-Kan, adviser to the Chinese Delegation on the Washington Conference, delivered the third of a series of lectures by prominent foreign visitors on "Problems of International Adjustment" at the Johns Hopkins University on December 15th. The Chinese Students' Club here arranged a dinner at the Southern Hotel to be given in his honor after the lecture, but Admiral Tsai was unable to attend on account of a previous engagement with President Goodnow of the University.

S. H. Lin

CORNELL

By a resolution that our Club should give its full support to C.S.A. to fight for China's justice at Washington conference three committees were created—financial, publicity, and social—the respective duties of which are self-explanatory. Up to the present the financial committee has so far made a very extensive drive. The publicity committee has devoted most of its time to

delivering speeches in local and vicinal churches and public places and writing articles for the college and local journals, which are very effective means of carrying before the American public a better understanding of the importance of the Far Eastern question to the world peace. To help the work of above said committee the social committee chose Nov. 26 for an entertainment known as "Chinese Night". Four hundred professors, students, and prominent men and women of the town were invited to the social in that evening.

The Ex-president of Cornell, A. W. Smith in an address before the gathering spoke about cosmopolitanism in general and more specifically the solution of the Far Eastern problem in Washington conference as the key to the peace of the world. We were exceedingly glad to have Mr. P. C. King, an old Cornellian, president of Tsing Hua College and, now, adviser to the Chinese delegation at Washington conference, to speak on the subject of educational movement in China. For the social part of the program, stunts, Chinese music and minstrel, and a ridiculous farce, "Julius Caesar" entertained an appreciative audience. It was a wonderful success so everybody said.

T. H. Shen

DETROIT

Club news columns have always something new. This is due to the fact they keep us informed of the activities of other local clubs outside of our own.

Last June the pageant float, as planned and prepared by the members of the C.S.C.D. and made possible by the financial help of the different Chinese organizations of the city, won the first prize in the parade of the Disabled Veterans of the World's War. The

prize, a large silver loving cup, was presented to the Club on the ground that the float was the most unique and original.

In spite of the seriousness of the many perplexing questions confronting our country at the present time at the Washington Armament Conference concerning China, our social committee, headed by W. K. Chu, did not forget that "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy". Our Halloween party and our Thanksgiving banquet were very successful indeed. At the banquet, Dr. W. K. Lim, at the request of the toastmaster, Mr. Chester Toy, gave a short talk expressing the sentiment of the occasion. "A gathering of this nature", he said, "is of great good to us as the students in a foreign land in that it makes us realize that we are after all all members of one great family." He further emphasized the fact that even as students we should not connive the works of the Washington Conference concerning China, but instead we should actively do something and not simply think and theorize. "In matters of this nature, action is the thing that we want; not theorization and procrastination", he concluded.

We are very glad indeed to welcome Mr. James Moy, Mr. K. D. Moy, and Mr. Donald Wong as members of the Club.

The Club was recently honored by Miss A. Lee Chils, a missionary to China, who gave us many interesting facts about our native country. Through the Monthly we wish to thank Miss Chils for the interest she has taken in our people and for the services she has rendered to us.

We also wish to thank Mr. Toy Dean for the silver cup he has contributed to the club for the best orator of two consecutive oratory meetings.

Miss Jennie Moy, chairman of the club, has certainly made the club most active this year. She has so divided the work that every member feels some responsibility for the success of the club.

May we wish the Alliance a Happy New Year?

Katie Moy.

ILLINOIS

A Committee of Seven has been organized with the sole purpose of working for China's cause during the Washington Conference, and we have since had two meetings a week. On Oct. 28, Mr. K. W. Hsu was sent to Chicago to meet the delegates from the Wisconsin, Chicago, and Michigan Clubs, and Students' Committee in New York to discuss our general preparations, and, as a result, we formally joined the new organization of the Mid-West clubs to cooperate with the Committees in New York, Boston, and San Francisco.

When the Chinese Problem was taken up in the Conference, we sent a number of telegrams and letters to Secretary Hughes and the Chinese Delegation to voice our people's desires and to protest against the injustices done to us by the powers.

As to our publicity work, we have issued a Conference Number of "Young China" to present to the American public our sentiments as to China's claims and hopes in the Conference and our approval of world disarmament. This publication has reached nearly all the big libraries in the States. We are now planning to have another pamphlet published and public speeches made before the parley is over.

On Nov. 5, we gave a banquet in the Inman Hotel, Champaign, to entertain our American friends among whom were many famous professors and newspaper editors. "The Chinese student is brilliant, and the future of China depends not upon arms or physical force but upon the intelligence of the young men of that country who are educating themselves to the problem which the country faces. China's young men will build a great future for her," declared Prof. Watkins. Many others also made speeches.

On Nov. 12, Dr. Y. Y. Tsu visited the University, and we extended to him our

hearty welcome. He gave us a very inspiring speech in which he urged us to emphasize physical training, to learn to help others, to promote international friendship, and to work for national salvation. On Nov. 26, we had a special meeting at which we spent three hours to discuss the matters concerning China in the Conference and the actions we students should take. When contribution was asked in order to make our work more effective, two hundred and fifty dollars was immediately pledged by the fifty members present.

With the view of promoting good will and creating close understanding among the nations, we gave an International Social on Dec. 10 to entertain our friends in the University from all parts of the world. The international spirit, which is so indispensable in the present world of selfishness, has been well shown by us.

Lien Lai.

MICHIGAN

The Chinese Students' Club at the University of Michigan held its regular business meeting on the third inst. and elected the following members for the offices of the present administration: Dr. D. S. Chen, President; Miss A. L. Giang, Vice-president; Miss M. T. Dong, Recording Secretary; Mr. L. Y. Hu, Corresponding Secretary; Mr. C. Henry Chen, Treasurer.

In his inauguration speech, Dr. Chen clearly indicated that during the tenure of his administration he will see to it that public opinion will always prevail and the Chinese Students' Club of the University of Michigan will ever be "Safe for Democracy". Dr. Chen graduated from the Law School here with the degree of J. D. last June. Being a profound scholar in Chinese literature, he has been an editor, translator, and author of many books all of which have obtained a wide circulation among the Chinese reading public. Michigan Club must for the present congratulate itself for "Getting the right man in the right place". To the former administration under Mr. S. H.

Lu, the Michigan Club owed much of its success. It was only proper and fitting that all the officers therein were given a great ovation at the end of our social, which was also a great success in that evening under the able and charming leadership of Miss Tsao. Please address to Mr. L. Y. Hu, 1001 South State Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan, if any communication with this club is desired.

L. Y. Hu.

MICHIGAN COLLEGE OF MINES

At 9 A.M. Sunday morning, November 6, a meeting was called by our new president Mr. P. H. Lee, at 234 Hubbell Avenue, to solve the problem of doing our bit for fighting the cause of China in the coming Washington Conference. At the end of discussion, a resolution was introduced and a publicity committee, consisting of Messrs C. W. Pan, M. L. Chien, as our financial editors; Messrs P. H. Wang, W. A. Tang, Secretaries; Messrs N. C. Chung, W. A. Kwik, assistant editors; and Mr. Y. Liu, our financier, was appointed by the presiding officer, to co-operate with the Chinese Students' Alliance.

During the last four weeks, our publicity committee has been vigorously conducted. Articles, declaring the underhand policy of Japan toward China, and voicing the just expectation of the Chinese people in the Conference, were contributed to the leading papers in Houghton and Hancock: *The Daily Mining Gazette*, the *Evening Copper Journal* and the *Lode*, the College paper of M. C. M.

On Nov. 28, a telegram was sent to the Chinese Delegations to Washington Conference in the following wording: "Get Japs out of Manchuria and Shantung, or quit Conference." The next day a return telegram was received from Washington, answering: "The Delegates appreciate the meaning of your telegram wish to assure you that they will do their utmost in order to be worthy of the trust placed on them by the people of China."

Charles W. Pan.

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

The first meeting of the Chinese Club of Mount Holyoke College was held at the beginning of October. Miss S. Y. Ting was elected as president, Miss B. K. Yang as secretary and Miss S. W. Kwan as treasurer. It was decided that the regular meeting should be held once a month.

A foreign bazaar was held in the Student Alumae Hall under the auspices of the Y. W. C. A. on November 19 at 3.30 o'clock. The profit was for the Christmas boxes to be sent to the alumae of this institution who are now missionaries in the Orient. The Chinese students, with the help of other foreign students, entertained those who attended the bazaar by stunts and music.

B. K. Yang.

NORTHWESTERN

It was decided at the last meeting held that, on account of the urgency and the momentousness of this Washington Conference and its close relation to China's national status, the club meets at any time when it seems necessary and worthwhile. Messrs. T. S. Chu, Lincoln Dsang and Livingston Hu have been elected to constitute the Publicity Committee on the Washington Conference at one of the recent club meetings. Since then the Committee has been writing some articles on 'China and the Disarmament Conference' for the local newspapers here and has been speaking and participating in the discussions of different clubs around Evanston and Chicago relative to the "Reasonableness and the Necessity of Disarmaments" and the publicity work has been improving right along and the club hopes to do more substantial work during the coming Christmas vacation.

All the members of the Club were invited to a Thanksgiving Dinner by the College Y. M. C. A. which besides had also invited all foreign students on the University Campus. Students of twenty-nine nationalities were repre-

sented at the dinner and the program for the evening was most entertaining and enjoyable. In addition to that most of the club members were invited to their American friends' homes to spend their Thanksgiving Sunday there and we had a most lovely time on that day. The Club has been contemplating seriously some plans for celebrating the coming Christmas for the future of the so-called modern civilization may be decided before Christmas.

Livingston S. Y. Hu.

OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

Never before in the history of Ohio Wesleyan University has had so large an enrollment of Chinese students as this year the total number being twelve. While it is a wonder to see the sudden increase to about twice the number of last year, it is indeed a surprise to find that the increase is nothing but a "male aggregation." Whether this is a temporary phenomenon or otherwise still remains to be discovered.

On October tenth, the National Holiday of our Chinese Republic, we elected the following gentlemen as our new officers: Charles C. Kwei, President; Livingston T. L. Lee, Secretary; S. Y. Lee, Treasurer. Through the sincere and earnest co-operation of its members, and the genuine leadership of its president, our club has become the warmest center wherein all of us are found enjoying one another tremendously.

Besides being members of our own club, we are all belonging to the cosmopolitan club of this university, which is an organization composed of the best young men and women coming from different corners of the world. The international atmosphere of the club never fails to help further our vision and broaden our views.

In conclusion, let me say that the Professors of this university are ever ready to help oriental students. Such Professors like R. H. Walker and E. L. Konantz are particularly interested in Chinese students; the latter has twice invited the whole Chinese student body

to take tea in her house, and showed them the Chinese paintings, designs, vases, Buddha statues, snff bottles, and what not, which she brought from China during her two years stay in Peking University, Peking.

T. L. Lee.

PURDUE UNIVERSITY

A permanent constitution has been drafted, presented to the members for discussion and formally ratified as the supreme law in the club. The growth and increased activities of the club has necessitated a new constitution.

The desirability of securing experience in public speaking and in conducting meetings was deeply felt among the students and now it will become a policy of the club to let different members preside the meetings and to have short speeches from members at every meeting. At last meeting, C. H. Sun spoke on the Einstein Theory and the Eclipse Expedition, and T. Y. Owng spoke on the shallows and depths of Eastern and Western civilizations and how a wholesome and harmanious combination could be applied to China.

The students are also interested in the activities of the University. Sun Lum and H. P. Tsang tried out for the debating team. The former made a creditable showing and the latter succeeded in making the team.

RENSSELAER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

Things are running in the usual ways with our club since the time when we made our last report. Nevertheless, there is considerable progress made by our organization recently, namely, the growth of our club along different lines of activities.

Athletic Activities.

We have made great progress in athletics. Each week since the end of November we challenged some foreign students' team either in basket ball or

in soccer games. We played against the South Americans, the Brazilians, and the Central Americans. Though the scores of the games fluctuate a great deal, all of them are played fairly and in the most sporting way. On this account the interest of the town people has been aroused to a considerable extent in our activities.

Social Activities.

There was a time in this city when the Chinese students were considered more scholarly than sociable. The case is not so now. Besides making wonderful records in the Institute many of us are creating considerable gossip and admiration among our fellows in College together with the town people for their social activities. There are among us people who go out often to deliver speeches and deliver them well. Many dancers have been recently developed also. For instance, Messrs K. C. Yu, and F. P. Su, are so much experts in dancing that they have been considered "sharks" on the dancing floors.

Religious Activities.

We have many new church-goers. On every Sunday morning at 10.30 sharp were you to go to the Second Presbyterian Church at the Fifth Ave. of this city, you would certainly see Messrs. Johnson T. C. Kuo and Harry F. P. Su. You would see them sitting there very interestedly and devoutly. Another interesting thing, Messrs C. Y. Wu and C. Y. Lin are becoming quite "churchly". They go to churches quite regularly. But they go to those churches only where there are many young people. Whether it is because they "got the religion" or for some other reason the writer is not ready to tell you.

The above shows a few things about our club at the present. We are now expecting to arrange some programme with the International Club of the Institute to be given in honor of the people of the town. We hope that we

will have a very much better report for the next time.

David S. Hung.

SCHEENECTADY

Since we send in our news for October issue, Mr. C. Fung left the General Electric Company for Cornell. Thus our membership is reduced from five to four. For the small membership we have abandoned our monthly meeting plan in favour of dinner parties. "We eat anyway. Why don't we eat together?" During our dinner parties we discussed the Disarmament Conference.

Mr Kenneth C. Chao of Union College has been chosen by the faculty to represent China in a mass meeting which is under the auspices of the college, to be held on November, the ninth. With this as a beginning, we shall seek for more opportunity to bring about a better understanding of China and to voice our China's cause in our locality.

K. T. Chao.

SPRINGFIELD

The Chinese Students' Club of Springfield is such a small organization that it has nothing to boast of regarding its size, for it has only seven members. But we are very active. Four of us are in the physical department of Springfield College, and three of International College.

The club has its business meeting monthly, and its social once in every two months. The last business meeting was held on Saturday evening, Oct. 8th. and the election of new officers was a success. The result of the election is as follows: President, Mr. S. F. Chang; Secretary, Miss Elizabeth Lum; Treasurer, Mr. C. F. Song; General Manager, Mr. Thomas Suvoong.

In addition to our last regular business meeting, the club celebrated the "Triple Tenth" the Tenth Birthday of our new Republic at the Eagle Restaurant. A real Chinese dinner was served and the following guests were invited, Dr. and Mrs. E. M. Lake, Mr. W. A. Grant, Mrs. G. L. Russell. They are great friends of the Club.

Elizabeth Lum.

YALE

On November 13 the Club held within its members various votes of a personal nature. The vote for the most handsome member fell out a tie between C. C. Hsiang and S. K. Y. Chang; but the vote for the most talkative was given to S. Tsai almost unanimously. This last choice was most remarkable in a club all of whose members possess the facile tongue as is demonstrated at any half-attended meeting.

Due to the fact that our president was about to depart for Greater Gotham to take up duties in connection with the Committee on the Washington Conference, it was necessary to have an acting chairman, and S. F. Liu was the one elected. At dinner time the Club voted with haste to support the Committee on the Washington Conference in matters concerned with the Conference in Washington. The Club is always able to put much more business across when a meal looms on the horizon.

On November 27 the Club was given a highly interesting and instructive talk by Professor Latourette of Yale University on China's rights at the Washington Conference. After the talk Professor Latourette answered various queries concerning Chinese history, politics, etc.

A. Y. Kwai.



WASHINGTON CHINESE STUDENTS' CLUB

A. C. WANG D. W. SUN W. H. TSO S. L. TSAI HARRY CHAN E. Y. CHUNG I. H. CHAN
JERMYN LYNNE MISS W. L. SZE ROBERT V. U. WANG

PERSONAL NOTES

Mr. Stewart E. S. Yui, former editor-in-chief of the Monthly is now teaching political science and economics in Tsing Hua College.

Mr Irving T. Hu, a graduate of Columbia, has been recently appointed the acting dean of the School of Commerce of the University of Nanking besides his professorship in educational administration there.

Mr. Herbert Euyang, a business student in New York University, has been elected manager of the Henry Importing Company of New York City.

Messrs. Theodore B. Tu and Kao Shen have dropped their regular study temporarily to work for the Chinese Students' Alliance. They are now editing a Chinese paper especially for the Chinese people in the country.

Mr. Y. C. Mei of Physics Department of Tsing Hua College, who is now studying in the University of Chicago, will leave for the East to undertake further research work.

Mr. L. S. Loh of the University of Chicago is working on his doctorate thesis on "The present Status of Public Education in China", while Mr. Chi P. Cheng of the same institution, on "The Administration of Public Education in China."

Mr. M. H. Chou, who just returned to Chicago from a trip to Washington, D. C. is leaving for China on 24th. of December 1921 with his future bride, Miss Anna Chung. Probably they will be married before leaving.

Mr. Molin Ho is now doing prosperous business in the Great China Corporation with Mr. S. G. Way, the President of the Corporation.

Miss Helen Wong of Michigan is elected as the Vice-chairman of the Midwest section of the Alliance and also

the Chairman of the Board of Representatives of the same section.

Mr. William Wang of the University of Chicago is doing splendid work in the Alliance for the Washington Conference. His devoted service and untired spirit gives much inspiration to his co-workers.

Miss Francis Wang, a Northwestern graduate some years ago, according to latest reports from China, has been doing fine in her Christian Temperance Society work in Shanghai and has been making an extended trip throughout China investigating into the practicability of the plan in establishing branch associations in some of leading commercial cities of China, namely, Canton, Foochow, Nanking, Hankow and so forth.

Mr. K. T. May, a graduate of Northwestern, since his return to China in 1919, was one year the head of the English Department of the Nankai College at Tientsin and is now the dean of the English Department of the new Southeastern University in Nanking, operated under the leadership of Dr. P. W. Kuo.

Mr. Wallace Kiang of Nanking University in China, a graduate student of the Iowa State University, has come to Northwestern recently as a candidate for his doctor's degree in Philosophy and Education and the subject of his dissertation is the "Minimum Essentials in the High School Curriculum." Mr. Kiang expects to finish his work here by next June.

Mr. Louis Hong, a senior student in the School of Commerce of Northwestern, one of the directors of the Chicago Chinese Y. M. C. A., has been lately engaged to Miss Josephine Moy. We extend them our congratulations.

CORRESPONDENCE

TRAVEL IN CANADA

Dear Sir:

I have received from Mr. Foster, our General Agent at Vancouver, your letter to him of August 26th. in which you inquire regarding the arrangements for Chinese Citizens in transit through Canada.

I am pleased to advise you that I have secured an arrangement with the Canadian Government whereby a form of certificate will be issued for Chinese Students which will simplify the transit arrangements through Canada and allow the individual the fullest freedom while travelling in Canada from the port of entry to the port of exit. This certificate will be issued by our Representatives at New York, Buffalo, Washington and Chicago when the steamship ticket is issued to the passenger and all that will be necessary will be the signing of the certificate when crossing the International boundary into Canada and the surrender of the certificate when embarking on our ship at Vancouver. These certificates are now being printed by the Department of Immigration at Ottawa and I hope to have same in use shortly.

W. G. Annable

Canadian Pacific Railway Company

WHAT THE MONTHLY STANDS FOR

To the Editor of the Monthly:

Sir: China is politically corrupt. She is incapable of governing herself. Therefore, the Powers must intervene. Such are the impressions which the Western World has upon the conditions of our country. This is partly due to Japanese propaganda on the one hand, and partly due to those journalists who are fond of exaggerating Far Eastern news to interest and fascinate their

readers on the other. But, who knows, that the Chinese Students' Monthly is also contributing its part toward amplifying China's political abuses to the same extent?

In the December issue, the Monthly condemns the Canton Government being worse than, or at least as bad as, the Peking Government, and says that "Dr. Sun Yat-sen, so-called leader of the Southwest, seems to be enjoying as much leisure as his 'friend' President Hsu Shih Chang is now enjoying in the Northern Capital". The facts upon which these arguments are based, if not totally exaggerated, are at least questionable. While not attempting to prove that these facts are unfounded which would need much time and space, I shall try to point out what concrete results the Canton Government has achieved during the limited period of one year's administration. They are municipal reforms in Canton, Swatow, Pak-Hoi, and Wuchow, local autonomy throughout Kwangtung Province, which is going to be introduced in Kwangsi presently, popular election of district prefects, the extension of the facilities of education, the suppression of gambling, the burning of confiscated opium up to the value of \$300,000, and the like. These things show the capability of China to govern herself, if conducted by proper officials. They ought to be praised and lauded. Yet, none of them have ever been mentioned or told by the Monthly.

Of course, it is always a safe policy to be neutral; but neutrality does not mean cynicism or pessimism; it means impartiality of judgment. To expose what is bad, does not carry with it the concealment of what is good.

K. H. Tsang.

Columbia University,

December 15, 1921.

(What is printed under "March of Events at Home" contains only such news as has been reported in the press for the month previous to the date of publication for each number of *The Monthly*. Owing to the scantiness and brevity of most telegraphic and cable "China news" carried in American papers and also to the slowness with which mails from home arrive, sometimes important events of two or three months standing are recorded; but in no case do we print news that is more than three months old. This accounts for our failure to include, in the November and December (1921) issues of *The Monthly*, what our correspondent termed the "concrete results the Canton Government has achieved during the limited period of one year's administration," since these "reforms" occurred long before November and had lost their "news value." As to the statement, quoted by our correspondent, about the leisurely life of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, we think it sufficient simply to observe that that statement was not, and can not be regarded as a condemnation; it was just a statement of what the Home News Editor regarded as facts of the situation, and nothing else. The accusation that "*The Chinese Students' Monthly* is also contributing its part amplifying China's political abuses," we emphatically and unreservedly deny, although we must declare that however much we may wish to do in the matter of interpreting and explaining our problems and difficulties, we do not propose to blind ourselves to the actual facts of the situation. And seeing those facts we propose to record them in the most candid manner, however painful that duty may be. We think truth and accuracy are essential both to good reporting and to a genuine knowledge of home conditions, without which discussions are never to the point.

The Monthly stands for absolute freedom of speech and opinion. It will print all good papers irrespective of

the political, literary, philosophical, or scientific views of the authors. Exponents of Lenin as well as admirers of Ku Hung-ming are equally welcome.—*The Editor.*)

AN APOLOGY FOR BEING SLOW

Dear Editor:

China has been characterized by the Occidental world as being "backward", "stable" or "non-progressive". While it is admittedly true that China's progress in the past has been somewhat slow it is doubtful whether it is desirable at present for her to "speed up" her national progress. Doubtlessly progress in certain lines such as communication, transportation, public hygiene and so on should be accelerated. But as far as economical, social and political systems are concerned we are inclined to think that sudden and immature transformation would do more harm than good to China.

There are several reasons why China's progress should be slow and gradual. First, China has so vast a population and territory that reform can not take place so rapidly as in the case of Japan whose population and territory are by far smaller than China's. Secondly, the old traditions and customs have governed the habits of the Chinese people for so many centuries that to break up such habits suddenly is not only difficult but unwholesome. In the third place, China's salvation does not lie in the copying of the Occidental civilization. She does not want to imitate the Western methods verbatim. She wants to build up a new civilization of her own. This cannot be accomplished in a short period of time. And finally, and this is the most fundamental reason, China's aim of reconstruction is to democratize the nation socially, economically as well as politically. Such a scheme should be worked out gradually from the bottom up rather than from top down. It is a

very simple and easy process for an autocratic and bureaucratic government to train a few leaders to be the "boss" of the nation. But in a democratic society the case is different. Unless the population are educated and enlightened democracy is bound to failure. If Chinese democracy is to be a success she must then be given time to train her people.

Such a line of reasoning may appear to a great many people as commonplace. But at present there is some indication that many Western people seem to have lost sight of the fact that what China needs is time and a free op-

portunity to reconstruct her own nation. Too many foreigners have lost their patience when they saw that since the revolution China has not been able to establish a stable government. Some of them even go so far as to advocate international control of China. While there is no space to refute their arguments in this regard I only wish to remind these pessimists of the fact that time is the key to the solution of the Chinese problems.

Z. Y. Kuo.

University of California,
Berkeley, California.

BOOK REVIEW

China, the United States and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. By G. Zay Wood, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1921.

Mr. Wood has given us a very useful book; and were it not for the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance by the Four-Power Pact, it could be of much help to those who are interested in this important subject. To many, it should of course be still very interesting, but the interest will be confined to those who are more or less historically minded, because the book deals with a thing which in all likelihood will be soon dead and gone. So far as we know, it is the first book on this subject; and in all probability also the last. Within the limit of some one hundred and seventy pages, it includes most of what need be said about the origin and genesis of the Alliance. The appendices include the full texts of the Alliance as it was first made and as it

was revised on two successive occasions. They take up more than thirty pages and may on that account be considered as being out of proportion with the rest of the book; but they are, at any rate very important and make the little book a really handy volume.

The first half of the book deals with the history of the Alliance in a way that is quite attractive and pleasing. Mr. Wood writes with a very facile hand and readers will enjoy his easy flowing style as well as the clear and logical presentation of the material. The book offers nothing that is new, but not all books are valuable merely because they are original of course. We are quite satisfied with Mr. Wood's ability in marshalling together the main facts and the most important opinions that have been uttered on the subject; and only for this, we could have recommended it to the general reader.

H. H. C.

Announcement

The Prizes of \$100 and \$50 offered by Minister Sao-Ke Alfred Sze for the best essay on "The Cancellation of the Boxer Indemnity Fund" has been postponed till the end of March.



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SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

The Washington Conference From Day to Day*

November 12th to December 14th.

A DIGEST

I. PLENARY SESSIONS.

- November 12th. First Plenary Session.
Speeches by President Harding and Mr. Hughes on the proposed naval reduction.
- November 15th. Second Plenary Session.
Speech by Mr. Arthur James Balfour on Naval Reduction.
- November 21st. Third Plenary Session.
Speech by M. Briand on French Land Armament.
- December 10th. Fourth Plenary Session.
Report by Mr. Hughes on the solutions which have thus far been reached by the nine Powers regarding the problems of China.
Assents of Powers present give.
Presentation of the Text of the Four-Power Treaty (Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States) relating to insular possessions of the said Powers in the Pacific by Senator Lodge.
The Treaty was signed on the 13th.

II. SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE ON PACIFIC AND FAR EASTERN QUESTIONS.

- November 14th. Program and Procedure discussed.
November 16th. China presented ten general principles.

*Believing that the records of the Washington Conference have more than a historical value, the Editor has undertaken to publish them in a classified form. In a later issue, after the close of the Conference he may print all the speeches that have been given at the plenary sessions.

Communiqués relating to armament are not included because they have no bearing on China.

The statements on Shantung, such as have been issued to the press, are very unsatisfactory for those who seek information. It has occurred to the Editor to reprint a portion of the press comments which are quite accurate on certain points. He abandoned this idea on a second thought partly because he was not in a position to confirm all of them and partly because he had the hope that someday a complete and first hand account might be given.

- November 17th. Procedure of Pacific and Far Eastern Question discussed.
 November 19th. Statements relating to China made by the Powers.
 November 21st. Root's four Resolutions relating to China presented and adopted.
 November 22nd. Administrative Autonomy of China was discussed.
 November 23rd. Mr. Koo proposed the revision of China's tariff.
 November 25th. Dr. Ching-hui Wang proposed the abolition or revision of Extraterritoriality.
 Dr. Sze proposed the abolition of foreign post offices.
 November 26th. A sub-committee to study the problem of Foreign Post Offices in China was appointed.
 November 28th. Resolution regarding the withdrawal of Foreign Post Offices was presented and adopted.
 November 29th. Resolution for the appointment of a commission to study the Administration of Justice in China was presented and adopted.
 Dr. Sze proposed the withdrawal of foreign troops, police boxes, railway guards and electrical installations, in China.
 November 30th. The Japanese Delegation explained their attitude in regard to the foreign garrisons in China.
 December 2nd. Matter of foreign troops was again discussed and referred to a sub-committee.
 December 3rd. Dr. Koo discussed Leased Territories in China.
 December 7th. Sub-Committee reports resolution regarding ratio stations in China. The report was adopted.
 Dr. Koo continued discussion on Leased Territories. Chinese proposal of the Powers respecting the neutrality in war time was adopted.
 December 8th. Dr. Koo proposed that no alliance affecting China shall be concluded without her participation.
 A Resolution to that effect was adopted.
 December 12th. Withdrawal of foreign post offices in China was again discussed.
 Dr. Sze led the discussion of the Spheres of Interest.
 December 14th. A short session. The Committee took up the question of the Spheres of Interest.

III. CONVERSATIONS ON SHANTUNG BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN WITH TWO BRITISH AND TWO AMERICAN OBSERVERS.

- December 1st. Procedure was discussed.
 Statements by both Delegations.
 December 2nd. Discussed customs service in Tsingtao.
 December 6th. Discussed the disposal of public properties in Tsingtao.
 December 7th. Discussion on the disposal of public properties in Tsingtao was continued.
 December 8th. Discussion on the disposal of public properties in Tsingtao was continued.
 December 9th. Morning and afternoon, discussion on the disposal of public properties in Tsingtao was completed.
 December 10th. Salt field and the Kiao Chow-Tsinan Railway were discussed.

- December 12th. The discussion of the Kiao Chow-Tsinan Railway was continued.
- December 13th. Continued discussion of the Kiao Chow-Tsinan Railway.
- December 14th. Continued discussion of the Kiao Chow-Tsinan Railway.

IV. TEXT OF THE FOUR-POWER TREATY SIGNED ON THE 13th OF DECEMBER.

Proceedings of the General Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions.

November 14, 1921.

The Committee on Program and Procedure with respect to Pacific and Far Eastern questions, appointed by the Conference in its session on November 12, met at 3 p. m., Monday, November 14, at the Pan American Union, there being present the following delegates: Messrs. Hughes (chairman), de Cartier de Marchienne, Balfour, Sze, Briand, Schanzer, Shidehara, VanKarnbeek and D'Alte, with their respective Secretaries. It was decided to recommend to the Conference the appointment of a Committee composed of all the plenipotentiary delegates of the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, Netherlands and Portugal, to examine and report to the full Conference with respect to Pacific and Far Eastern questions, and with power to set up such sub-committees as it might from time to time deem desirable. Mr. Hughes as Chairman of the Committee and of the Conference undertook to submit this proposal to the conference.

Mr. J. Butler Wright was nominated as secretary to the Committee on Program and Procedure with respect to Pacific and Far Eastern questions.

November 16, 1921.

The following announcement was made by the Chief Delegate for China at the meeting of the Committee with respect to Pacific and Far Eastern questions, November 16th.

"In view of the fact that China must necessarily play an important part in the deliberations of this Conference with reference to the political situation in the Far East, the Chinese Delegation has thought it proper that they should take the first possible opportunity to state certain General Principles which, in their opinion, should guide the Conference in the determinations which it is to make. Certain of the specific applications of the Principles which it is expected the Conference will make, it is our

intention later to bring forward, but at the present time it is deemed sufficiently simple to propose the principles which I shall presently read. In formulating these principles, the purpose has been kept steadily in view of obtaining rules in accordance with which existing and possible future political and economic problems in the Far East and the Pacific may be most justly settled and with due regard to the rights and legitimate interests of all the Powers concerned. Thus it has been sought to harmonize the particular interests of China with the general interests of all the world. China is anxious to play her part not only in maintaining peace, but in promoting the material advancement and cultural development of all nations. She wishes to make her vast natural resources available to all peoples who need them, and in return to receive the benefits of free and equal intercourse with them. In order that she may do this, it is necessary that she should have every possible opportunity to develop her political institutions in accordance with the genius and needs of her own people. China is now contending with certain difficult problems which necessarily arise, when any country makes a radical change in her form of Government.

These problems she will be able to solve if given the opportunity to do so. This means not only that she should be freed from the danger or threat of foreign aggression, but that, so far as circumstances will possibly permit, she be relieved from limitations which now deprive her of autonomous administrative action and prevent her from securing adequate public revenues.

In conformity with the agenda of the Conference, the Chinese Government proposes for the consideration of and adoption by the Conference the following General Principles to be applied in the determination of the questions relating to China:—

1. (a) The Powers engage to respect and observe the territorial integrity and

political and administrative independence of the Chinese Republic.

(b). China upon her part is prepared to give an undertaking not to alienate or lease any portion of her territory or litteral to any Power.

2. China, being in full accord with the principle of the so-called Open Door or equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations having treaty relations with China, is prepared to accept and apply it in all parts of the Chinese Republic without exception.

3. With a view to strengthening mutual confidence and maintaining peace in the Pacific and the Far East, the Powers agree not to conclude between themselves any treaty or agreement directly affecting China or the general peace in these regions without previously notifying China and giving to her an opportunity to participate.

4. All special rights, privileges, immunities or commitments, whatever their character or contractual basis, claimed by any of the Powers in or relating to China are to be declared, and all such or future claims not so made known are to be deemed null and void. The rights, privileges, immunities and commitments, now known or to be declared are to be examined with a view to determining their scope and validity and, if valid, to harmonize them with one another and with the principles declared by this Conference.

5. Immediately or as soon as circumstances will permit, existing limitations upon China's political jurisdictional and administrative freedom of action are to be removed.

6. Reasonable, definite terms of duration are to be attached to China's present commitments which are without time limits.

7. In the interpretation of instruments granting special rights or privileges, the well established principle of construction that such grants shall be strictly construed in favor of the grantors, is to be observed.

8. China's rights as a neutral are to be fully respected in future wars to which she is not a party.

9. Provision is to be made for the peaceful settlement of international disputes in the Pacific and the Far East.

10. Provision is to be made for future Conferences to be held from time to time for the discussin of international questions relative to the Pacific and the Far East, as a basis for the determination of common policies of the Signatory Powers in relation thereto.

November 17, 1921.

A meeting was held this morning at the Pan-American Building of the sub-committee appointed to outline a course of procedure for the discussion of the Pacific and Far

Eastern questions on the part of the full committee of the Delegates appointed by the Conference to deal with these subjects. The sub-committee consisting of the heads of the Delegations of the Powers participating in the discussion of the Pacific and Far Eastern questions decided to recommend that at a meeting of the full committee of the Delegates there should be first an opportunity for a general discussion of the questions relating to China and then there should be a discussion of the various particular topics in the order listed in the tentative agenda which had been suggested by the American Government, with a consideration of the proposals submitted on behalf of the Chinese delegation in connection with the appropriate heads to which the several proposals relate. The sub-committee then adjourned. The full committee is to be convened at a time found to be convenient for the members of the Delegations.

November 19, 1921.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions held its second meeting in the Columbus room of the Pan-American building this morning, at 11 o'clock. All plenipotentiary delegates were present excepting Baron Shidehara for Japan, Ambassador Jusserand for France, and Mr. Meda for Italy.

Admiral Baron Kato, on behalf of Japan, made the following statement:

"1. It seems to the Japanese delegation that existing difficulties in China lie no less in her domestic situation than in her external relations. We are anxious to see peace and unity reestablished at the earliest possible moment, but we want to avoid all action that may be construed as an intervention in the internal affairs of China. All that this conference can achieve is, it seems to us, to adjust China's foreign relations, leaving her domestic situation to be worked out by the Chinese themselves.

"2. The Japanese Delegation wishes to assure the Chinese Delegation and the whole Conference that Japan has every desire to cultivate the happiest relations with China. We are solicitous of making whatever contributions we are capable of toward China's realization of her just and legitimate aspirations. We are entirely uninfluenced by any policy of territorial aggrandizement in any part of China. We adhere without condition or reservation to the principle of 'the open door and equal opportunity' in China. We look to China in particular for the supply of raw materials essential to our industrial life and for food-stuffs as well. In the purchase of such materials from China, as in all our trade relations with that country, we do not claim any special rights or privileges, and we welcome fair and honest competition with all nations.

"With regard to the question of the abolition of extra-territoriality, which is perhaps one of the most important questions proposed by the Chinese Delegation, it is our intention to join with other Delegations in the endeavor to come to an arrangement in a manner fair and satisfactory to all parties.

"We have come to this Conference not to advance our own selfish interests; we have come to cooperate with all nations interested for the purpose of assuring peace in the Far East and friendship among nations.

"3. The Japanese Delegation understands that the principal object of the Conference is to establish in common accord policies and principles which are to guide the future actions of the nations here represented. Although we are ready to explain or discuss any problems which in the wisdom of the Conference is taken up, we should regret undue protraction of the discussions by detailed examination of innumerable minor matters."

Baron de Cartier, speaking for Belgium, Mr. Balfour for the British Empire, and Senator Schanzer for Italy, then made statements in regard to the same subject, as follows:

Baron de Cartier:

"I believe it advisable to briefly point out the spirit in which Belgium takes up the examination of the questions relating to the Far East.

"She is happy to subscribe to the noble sentiments that inspired the words of the Secretary of State at the opening session of the work of our Committee.

"In so far as China is concerned, my country has for many years maintained important relations with her and has been among the first to contribute to the development of the natural resources of China through the large part she has taken in the construction of its railroad system; it has also established there industrial and financial enterprises of importance.

"The personal experience that I have been able to acquire through sojourns in China during the past twenty-five years, the evidence of the progress that she has made during that period, the manner in which she has been able to overcome her internal crises, inspire me with great confidence for her future.

"Belgium will take part willingly in all the measures that this Conference may adopt to insure the territorial integrity of China and to furnish her with the means to overcome her present difficulties. She is convinced that the support of the action of the government is the necessary condition of all progress and of the fruitful application of such rules as this Conference might lay down in accord with the Government of the Chinese Republic.

"Belgium will unreservedly favor the policy of the Open Door. She desires to see assured to the industry and commerce of all nations the possibility of sharing on a footing of complete and genuine equality the development of the resources of China to the greatest benefit of the Chinese people and of all humanity.

"She has heard with satisfaction the statement of the representatives of the Chinese Republic that that country is ready to apply the policy of commercial liberty in all parts of its territory without exception. This commercial liberty will not produce its full effect unless the nationals of the Powers obtain the rights and privileges which are a necessary condition of the full development of economic interests.

"Belgium, in accord with the Powers concerned, is ready to consent to a fair increase in the customs duties.

"She will align herself willingly on the side of the countries which are disposed to accept the gradual abandonment of their rights of jurisdiction as soon as the Chinese Government shall have completed the work that it has undertaken and shall be in position to give assurance of the many guarantees that the proper administration of justice demand."

Mr. Balfour's Statement:

"Mr. Balfour said that he thought it unnecessary to add one word to what had been said by his colleagues in regard to the question of a general order which had been raised. His reason for saying this was that he had nothing to add to the frequent declarations of the Government he had the honor to represent on all these questions; for example, the 'open door' in China, the integrity of China and the desirability of leaving China to work out its own salvation and to maintain control over its own affairs and of substituting, when circumstances warranted, the normal processes of law for extra-territoriality. All these principles had been formulated over and over again in explicit terms by the Government which he represented."

Senator Schanzer's statement:

"I have the honor to state in the name of the Italian delegation that we fully subscribe to the noble sentiments that have been expressed by the orators who have preceded me. The Italian delegation is ready to examine, together with the other delegations, with the greatest care and in a spirit of sincere sympathy the questions relating to China. It will give its support to the solutions that shall appear to be best suited to assure the free development of China and to guarantee an equality in footing of the different nations in their efforts to promote the progress of China and of commerce with that country."

Mr. Briand expressed the warm sympathy that France feels for China with which she

has a common frontier about 1500 kilometres long. The French delegation is disposed to consider in the most favorable light the Chinese claims in their entirety. But, in order to reach a practical result, it will be necessary to make a thorough examination of each claim.

Jonkheer van Karnbeek remarked that, in the present phase of the discussion, there is not much for him to say of a general character and at the same time of material importance. He wished, however, to seize this occasion to say as the representative of one of China's neighbors that The Netherlands Delegation will be happy to consider the principles which China has laid down and the problems themselves from the standpoint of the world's general welfare and to examine them in a spirit of sympathy and friendship towards China. Holland, Jonkheer van Karnbeek said, has old friends along the shores of the Pacific; China knows that it is one of them. If China avails herself of the opportunity now afforded by this Conference to assert her rights to declare her position and to define her wishes, she may count on Holland's good-will and its willingness to aid her in the realization of legitimate aspirations and in her endeavors towards a consolidation and a stabilization of her domestic affairs which are connected with the problem affecting the Pacific.

Viscount d'Alte said that the Portuguese Delegation saw with pleasure that the delegates of the other nations represented at the Conference had expressed nearly identical views as to the desirability, in the interests of all, of a prosperous and united China. He gladly associated himself with his colleagues in the expression of this desire.

Mr. Sze expressed on behalf of the Chinese Delegation his sincere appreciation for the united sympathy and friendship of the Delegations here for China and her proposals. Of course, many proposals will be considered in connection with their applications. He would desire to reserve to the Chinese Delegation the right of discussing them in detail then. But he was sure that the friendly sentiments as expressed and the general spirit of accord thereby presented would be greatly conducive to the success of this Conference.

After a general discussion, the meeting adjourned until Monday, November 21st, at 4. p. m.

November 21, 1921.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern questions met at the Pan-American Building November 21 at 4 o'clock p. m. All the members were present except Baron Shidehara and Signor Meda.

The Committee discussed a series of reso-

lutions prepared for their consideration by Senator Root setting forth the general principles to guide the Committee in its further investigation in regard to China which after full discussion and amendment were adopted in the following form:

It is the firm intention of the Powers attending this Conference hereinafter mentioned, to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal.

(1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

(2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to develop and maintain herself an effective and stable government.

(3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectively establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.

(4) To refrain from taking advantage of the present conditions in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of the subjects or citizens of friendly States and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

The Committee adjourned to meet at 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

November 22, 1921.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern questions met at the Pan-American building, November 22, at 11 o'clock a. m. All the members were present except Baron Shidehara and Signor Meda. The Committee discussed the matter of limitations upon the administrative autonomy of China with particular reference to those connected with revenue, and on Senator Underwood's proposal, decided to appoint a sub-committee consisting of a representative of each of the nine Powers for the purpose of examining facts and stating their conclusions to the full committee, the sub-committee to have power to call in such expert opinion as it might desire.

The Committee adjourned until 3 p. m. Wednesday, November 23rd, 1921.

November 23, 1921.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern questions met at 3.30 p. m. in the Columbus Room of the Pan-American Building. All the members were present except Signor Meda and Baron Shidehara. Mr. Hanihara was present for the first time as one of the Japanese delegates. The topic of discussion was the customs revenues of China. Mr. Koo on behalf of the Chinese Delegation made a statement as follows: First of all he emphasized that the Chinese

Government had no desire to interfere with the present administration of maritime customs or with devotion of the proceeds of the customs revenue to the liquidation of various foreign loans secured thereon. A brief account was given by him about the origin and the history of the Chinese Treaty Tariffs. Prior to 1842, he said, China enjoyed the full right of levying customs duties in 1842, however, and in the subsequent years after having made treaties with Great Britain, France and the United States, a limitation upon this right was for the first time imposed. The rule of five per cent ad valorem was thereby established, and the rates were based upon the current prices then prevailing. In 1858, as prices of commodities began to drop and the five per cent actually collected appeared to be somewhat in excess of the five per cent prescribed, a revision was asked for by the Treaty Powers. A revision was accordingly made. Later, however, as prices mounted, no request for a revision was forthcoming, and the Chinese Government on her part did not press for a revision seeing that the revenue then collected from other sources was not inadequate to meet its requirements. But the fact was that the customs rate then prevailing was much less than the five per cent stipulated for. It was only in 1902 that a revision was made in order to afford sufficient funds to meet the Chinese obligations arising out of the Boxer protocol. In that tariff the rate was calculated on the basis of the average prices of 1897 to 1899. In 1912, an attempt was made by the Chinese Government to have another revision, but it failed, owing to the difficulty of securing the unanimous consent of sixteen or seventeen powers. It was only after six years of long negotiations that in 1918 another revision was effected. The tariff of 1918 is in force and yields only 3 1/2 per cent.

Mr. Koo proposed to restore to China the right to fix and to differentiate the import tariff rates, but as it appeared hardly possible to establish a new regime all at once, he said the full autonomy should be restored to China after a certain period to be agreed upon. In the meanwhile, China would impose a maximum rate and would like to enjoy and have full freedom within that maximum, such as the right of differentiation among the different classes of commodities. But as the present financial condition of the Chinese Government was such as to require some immediate relief, it was proposed that on and after January 1, 1922, the Chinese import tariff be raised to twelve and one-half per cent., as it was stipulated for in the treaty with the United States, Great Britain and Japan.

Among the reasons he alleged in support of the proposals of the Chinese Delegation, the following is the gist:

1. The existing customs regime in China constitutes an infringement of China's sovereign right to fix the tariff rates at her own discretion.

2. It deprives China of the power to make reciprocity arrangements with the foreign powers. While all foreign goods imported into China pay only five per cent., Chinese goods exported to foreign countries have to pay duties of a maximum rate. Examples were given to show this lack of reciprocity.

3. It constitutes a serious impediment upon the economic development of China.

4. As the system now stands there is only one uniform rate and no differentiation of rates. The disadvantage is obvious, because it does not take into account the economic and social needs of the Chinese people. China is in need of machinery and metals for which China would like to impose a tariff even lower than the five per cent. For luxuries such as cigars and cigarettes they ought to pay heavy taxes perhaps in order to prevent their injurious effects upon the morals and social habits of the people.

5. The present tariff has occasioned a serious loss of revenue upon the Chinese exchequer. The item of customs duties is an important one in the budget of nearly all countries; for instance, Great Britain raises 12 per cent of its revenue from customs duties; France 15 per cent., and the United States 35 per cent. before the world war but the customs revenue in the Chinese budget as it now stands becomes a comparatively insignificant factor.

6. The Present regime makes it exceedingly difficult for the Chinese Government to ask for a revision as it was shown in the past experiences in 1912 and in 1918.

7. Even if the effective five per cent. should be levied, the revenue resulting therefrom will still be hardly adequate to meet the requirements of the Chinese Government, as the Government has many functions to perform in matters of modern education, sanitation and public utilities, etc.

After a general discussion of the customs tariff question, this subject was transferred to the sub-committee agreed upon at this meeting held November 22nd, the members of which were announced to be as follows:

Chairman: Senator Underwood, U. S. of A.

Belgium: Baron de Cartier; M. Cattier, alternate.

British Empire: Sir Robert Borden; Mr. Lampson, alternate.

China: Dr. Wellington Koo.

France: M. Sarraut.

Italy: Senator Albertini; Signor Vincenzo Fileti, alternate.

Japan: Mr. Hanthara.

Netherlands: Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland.

Portugal: Captain Ernesto Vasconcellos.

The meeting of the full committee on Pacific and Far Eastern questions adjourned until Friday morning at 11 o'clock, November 25, 1921. The subcommittee will meet upon the call of Senator Underwood as chairman.

November 25, 1921.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern questions met at the Pan-American Building Friday, November 25, at 11 a. m. All the delegates were present except Signor Meda, Baron Shidehara, M. Sarraut, and Lord Lee.

At the opening of the session Mr. Hughes expressed his great regret at the appearance of a report in a Washington paper this morning of alleged happenings in the last meeting of the Committee. The report of antagonism with Mr. Balfour was not only untrue but grotesque and did him the greatest injustice; Mr. Hughes could not imagine how such a rumor had got into circulation. Mr. Balfour expressed his great appreciation of Mr. Hughes' statement. He had never doubted that Mr. Hughes would take the view he had just stated, but the manner and words in which that view had been put before the Committee had deeply moved him and he wished to express his thanks.

After a discussion it was decided to appoint a sub-committee to investigate and report in regard to the question of extra-territoriality in China. In regard to this subject Mr. Wang Chung-hui, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of China, made a statement which will appear later.

The Committee then discussed the question of foreign post offices in China, the Chinese Minister, Mr. Sze, making a statement which will subsequently be made public.

The Committee then adjourned to meet at 10.30 o'clock Saturday morning, November 26.

November 25, 1921.

Statement of Dr. Chung-hui Wang of the Supreme Court of China given at the fifth session of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern questions:

Extra-territoriality in China dates back almost to the beginning of the treaty of 1844 between the United States and China and a similar provision has since been inserted in the treaties with other powers. Extra-territorial rights were granted at a time when there were only five treaty ports, that is, places where foreigners could trade and reside. Now, there are

fifty such places and an equal number of places open to foreign trade on China's own initiative. This means an ever increasing number of persons within her territory over whom she is almost powerless. This anomalous condition has become a serious problem with which the local administration is confronted and if the impairment of the territorial administrative integrity of China is not to be continued the matter demands immediate solution. I should like to point out a few of the serious objections to the extra-territorial system. In the first place, it is in derogation of China's sovereign rights and is regarded by the Chinese people as a national humiliation.

2. There is a multiplicity of courts in one and the same locality and the interrelation of such courts has given rise to a legal situation which is perplexing both to the trained lawyer and to the layman.

3. The disadvantage arising from the uncertainty of the law. The general rule is that the law to be applied in a given case is the law of the defendant's nationality, and so in a commercial transaction between, say X and Y of different nationalities, the rights and liabilities of the parties very according as X sues Y first or Y sues X first.

4. When causes of action, civil or criminal, arise in which foreigners are defendants, it is necessary for adjudication that they shall be carried to the nearest consular court which may be many miles away, and so it often happens that it is practically impossible to obtain the attendance of the necessary witnesses or to produce other necessary evidence.

5. Finally, it is a further disadvantage to the Chinese that foreigners in China under cover of extra-territoriality claim immunity from local taxes and excises which the Chinese are required to pay. Sir Robert Hart, who worked and lived in China for many years, has this to say in his work "These from the Land of Sinim:" "The extra-territoriality stipulation may have relieved the native official of some troublesome duties, but it has always been felt to be offensive and humiliating and has ever a disintegrating effect, leading the people on one hand to despise their own government and officials, and on the other to envy and dislike the foreigner withdrawn from native control."

Until the system is abolished or substantially modified, it is inexpedient for China to open her entire territory to foreign trade and commerce. The evils of the existing system have been so obvious that Great Britain in 1902, Japan and the United States in 1903, and Sweden in 1908, agreed subject to certain conditions to relinquish their extra-territorial rights. Twenty years have elapsed since

the conclusion of these treaties and while it is a matter of opinion as to whether or not the state of China's laws has attained the standard to which she is expected to conform, it is impossible to deny that China has made great progress on the path of legal reform. A few facts will suffice for the present. A law codification commission for the compilation and revision of the laws has been sitting since 1904. Five codes have been prepared, some of which have already been put into force. First, the civil code (still in course of revision). Second, criminal code (in force since 1912). Third, code of civil procedure. Fourth, code of criminal procedure, both of which have just been promulgated. Fifth, commercial code, part of which has been put into force. These codes have been prepared with the assistance of foreign experts and based mainly on the principles of modern jurisprudence. Among the numerous supplementary laws may be especially mentioned a law of 1918, called "Rules for the Application of Foreign Law," which deals with matters relating to private international law. Under these rules foreign law is given ample application. Then there is a new system of law courts, established in 1910. The judges are all modern trained lawyers and no one can be appointed a judge unless he has attained the requisite legal training. These are some of the reforms which have been carried out on our part. I venture to say that the China of today is not what she was twenty years ago when Great Britain encouraged her to reform her judicial system, and *a fortiori* she is not what she was eighty years ago when she first granted extra-territorial rights to the treaty powers. I have made these observations, not for the purpose of asking for an immediate and complete abolition of extra-territoriality, but for the purpose of inviting the powers to cooperate with China in taking initial steps toward improving and eventually abolishing the existing system which is admitted on all hands to be unsatisfactory both to foreigners and Chinese. It is gratifying to learn of the sympathetic attitude of the powers toward this question as expressed by the various delegations at a previous meeting of this committee.

The Chinese delegation therefore, asks that the powers now represented in this Conference agree to relinquish their extra-territorial rights in China at the end of a definite period. Meanwhile, the Chinese delegation proposes that the powers represented at this Conference will, at a date to be agreed upon, designate representatives to enter into negotiations with China for the adoption of a plan for a progressive modification and ultimate abolition of the system of extra-territoriality in China,

the carrying out of which plan is to be distributed over the above-mentioned period.

November 25, 1921.

The following is the statement of Mr. Sze, The Chinese Minister, referred to in the communique issued this morning in connection with the meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern questions:

"As was referred to by Mr. Koo the other day in his remarks before the Committee China has suffered and is now suffering not only from limitations upon her territorial and administrative integrity, to which she has been led to consent, but also from open violations of her rights as the territorial sovereign for which not even a color of contractual right can be claimed.

Among these violations are the stationing of foreign troops and railway guards at various points, the installations of wire and wireless electrical communications, the maintenance of foreign post offices, and so-called police boxes. I shall first speak of the foreign postal services maintained upon Chinese soil.

ABOLITION OF FOREIGN POSTAL SERVICES IN CHINA.

China requests that the Powers assembled in the Conference agree at once to abolish all postal services now maintained by them in China. She bases her request upon the following proposition:

1. That China has organized and is now conducting a postal system covering the entire country, and maintaining relations with all foreign countries adequate to meet all requirements. The transmission of postal matter is a government monopoly, the first paragraph of the Postal Statutes of October 12, 1921 reading: "The Postal Business is exclusively conducted by the Government."

2. That the existence of these foreign post offices interferes with and make more difficult the development of this system, and deprives the system of a revenue which legally and equitably should belong to it.

3. That the maintenance by Foreign Governments of post offices in China is in direct violation of the latter's territorial and administrative integrity, and rests upon no treaty or other legal rights.

Early in the sixties of the last century foreign post offices began to open branches and agencies in the particular treaty ports of China. The opening of these offices was not based on any treaty provision or concession. Their existence and gradual increase was merely tolerated by the Chinese Government.

About the same time a regular service

for the carriage of mails was established on foreign lines in connection with the customs, operating chiefly between the numerous ports on the coast of China and those far up the Yangtze River. This service continued to work and improve its machinery year by year. By Imperial decree of March 20, 1896, this system was erected into a distinct Chinese postal system and placed under the general direction of the Inspector General of Customs. Finally, by Imperial decree of May 28, 1911, the system was taken from under the administration of the Inspector General of Customs and erected into an independent system operating directly under the Minister of Posts and Communications. Since that date the system has operated wholly as one of the administrative service of the Chinese Government.

On March 1, 1914, China gave her adherence to the Universal Postal Convention, and since September 1, of that year,

in new offices and extension of the service to the smaller villages inland. Its income in 1920 was \$12,679,121.98, and its expenditures, \$10,467,053.07, thus leaving a surplus for the year's operation of \$2,212,068.91.

Senders of registered articles, parcels, insured letters, and express articles are entitled to claim indemnity in case of loss by the Post Office. Although in 1920 over 37,000,000 of such articles were posted less than 400 claims for indemnity were made, the percentage being about one in ninety thousand.

There has been a decrease of 30 per cent in the number of insured letters posted in the past four years, though other mail matter has increased by 50 per cent in the same time. This is considered as indicating a growing public confidence in the other non-insured service.

The Chinese Post Office has over three

Letters (local) Chinese	\$.01	or U. S.	\$.00 ½
Letters (domestic) Chinese .....	.03	"	.01 ½
Post Card (local) Chinese .....	.01	"	.00 ½
Post Card (domestic) Chinese .....	.01 ½	"	.00 ¾
Newspapers (local) per 100 grammes....	.00 ½	"	.00 ½
Newspapers (domestic) per 50 grammes..	.00 ½	"	.00 ½
Printed Matter 100 grammes rate graduated to .....	.01	"	.00 ½
Printed Matter 1500 grammes for .....	.15	"	.07 ½
Unaddressed Circulars .....	.001	"	.0005
Registration Fee Chinese .....	.05	"	.02 ½
Express Fee (Special Delivery) Chinese..	.10	"	.05

China has continued as a member in good standing of the Universal Postal Union.

As the Universal Postal Union does not recognize the right of any country to maintain post offices in another country which is a member of the Postal Union, the Chinese Delegation brought up the question of alien establishments in China at the Universal Postal Congress opened at Madrid, on October 1st, 1920. The question of their withdrawal was however regarded as within the purview of their respective Foreign Offices and no definite decision was reached. A measure was passed, however, to the effect that only those foreign postal agencies could be considered as within the Universal Postal Union, of which China has been a member since September 1st, 1914.

The Chinese Post Office maintains the cheapest general service in the world, and the following rates are in force:—

In spite of these very cheap rates and very high transportation costs of maintaining long courier lines where no modern facilities are available, the surplus of receipts over expenditures has been steadily increasing. All profits are being put into improvements in the service, particularly

thousand linguists, employees and every office serving places of foreign residence in China is amply supplied from this large number of linguists to cope with all foreign correspondence.

The efficiency of the Chinese Postal service is further guaranteed by strictly civil service methods in appointments of staff. Employees enter only after a fair examination, both mental and physical. Postmasters, even in the larger cities, are selected from the most efficient of the employees; never from outside the service. The penalty for invoking political aid is dismissal, and in practice is never done.

The Post Office functions under the same leadership over the entire country. In time of local disturbance and revolution, the revolutionists have recognized the Post Office as a necessity to the welfare of the community and have always permitted it to continue its functions without change of staff or control.

Notwithstanding the disturbed conditions of affairs in China during recent years, this system has been steadily developed since it was placed wholly under the direction and control of Chinese authorities. Mail matter posted has in-

creased approximately 300 per cent. since 1911 (from 126,539,228 to 400,886,935 in 1920). Parcels posted have increased from 954,740 in 1911 to 4,216,200 in 1920, the increase being over 300 per cent.

There is now scarcely a Chinese village which is not served either by a post office, Agency or minor postal establishment. Major establishments (offices and agencies) have increased from 9,103 in 1917 to 10,469 in 1920. Minor establishments (town boxes offices and rural stations) have increased from 4,890 in 1917 to 20,806 in 1920. This makes a total of 31,275 places now provided with postal facilities, more than double the number of places served four years ago.

During and immediately following the war the Chinese Post Office transmitted through its money order service over ten millions of dollars for the British and French Governments, which were making payments to the families of over one hundred thousand Chinese laborers employed for work in connection with the war in France and Belgium. The Chinese Post Office was also availed of by the Government bureaus concerned in tracing and locating relatives of deceased laborers, and in determining the identity and other particulars of claimants. In this work the Chinese Post Office used its large force of very efficient inspectors, and made no charge for investigations and reports.

An international Money Order department is now functioning, conventions for the exchange of Money Orders being in successful operation between China and Great Britain, Dutch East Indies, and Hongkong. It is hoped that it may soon be extended to other countries.

That this system is one giving efficient and satisfactory service has been abundantly attested to by foreign observers. To quote from the Commercial Hand Book of China, published by the United States Department of Commerce in 1920, (Vol. 2, p. 106):

"The Chinese Postal Service has extended its facilities to every district in the country, including in many of the outlying districts extensive courier lines. In spite of unsafe conditions that have prevailed in certain sections of the country during the past few years, and notwithstanding the great difficulty of transportation in other sections, the Chinese Postal Service has been remarkably efficient, and one hears but little criticism in connection with its organization and general work. It reports that very few complaints concerning loss of mail or stolen mail are made, and on the whole, it is rendering a very satisfactory postal service."

Mr. Willoughby, in his careful study "Foreign Rights and Interests in China,"

in speaking of this system, says:

"At the present time (1920) the postal service in China is one for which the Government deserves great credit. Generally speaking, the service is efficiently operated and with reasonable financial success notwithstanding the fact that China has been obliged to acquiesce in the operation within her borders of some sixty or more foreign post offices."

Notwithstanding the fact that China now has an efficient postal system certain foreign governments continue to maintain post offices of this order in China. At the present time Great Britain, France, America and Japan are maintaining and operating offices of this kind at a large number of places. The Alien postal establishments in China as they stand at present are as follows:

Great Britain.. 12	Japan	124
France	13	United States . 1

The Japanese establishments are classed as follows:—First Class Offices 7, Second Class Offices 23, Third Class Offices 4, Unclassed Offices 10, sub-Offices 3, Post Offices 1, Agencies 33, Letter Boxes 33, Field Post Offices 10.

The Post Offices have their own Postage stamps, and operate in every respect in direct competition with the Chinese system. It is to be noted, moreover, that these foreign offices are located at the chief centers of population, industry and commerce. They are thus in a position where they can, so to speak, skim the cream of the postal business, since they are under no obligations to, and, in fact, do not maintain offices at unimportant points.

Parcels and mail matter entering China from abroad should pass a customs examination. With the exception of parcels from Shanghai and one or two other ports, however, it is a notorious fact that but few parcels or other articles transmitted by foreign post offices are ever examined. Co-operation between foreign postal establishments and the Chinese Customs is extremely difficult and in practice has proven almost impossible.

Thus the customs revenues are very materially affected, and foreign post offices become an efficient aid to smugglers of contraband, particularly of morphia, cocaine and opium. On the other hand, parcels handled by the Chinese Post Office are subject to a rigid customs examination, duties being collected, in most cases, by the Post Office on behalf of the Customs Administration. The Chinese Post Office is thus working under a handicap in competition with those of other nations within its territories.

It is submitted that if the necessity ever existed for the maintenance of foreign

post offices in China, this necessity has now passed away. As early as April 20, 1902, the American Minister at Peking reported to his Government, (U. S. Foreign Rel., 1902, p. 225).

"I have given such investigation as I have been able, and report that in my judgment, foreign post offices in China, except in Shanghai, are not a necessity, because the Chinese Postal Service, under the Imperial Maritime Customs is everywhere giving satisfactory service, and is rapidly and effectively increasing and extending into the interior."

More recently the Commercial Handbook of China, from which we have already quoted, says:—

"The developments of the Chinese Postal Service during the past decade have been so extensive and so favorable, that there is in reality no longer any need for a continuance of the foreign post offices operated in that country."

It is to be noted, moreover, that the maintenance of these foreign offices rests upon no treaty or other legal right. Regarding this point, the American minister, in his communications to his country, of April 20, 1902, to which reference has already been made, said:

"The foreign post offices are being established principally for political reasons, either in view of their future designs upon the Empire, to strengthen their own footing, or because jealous of that of others. They are not established with the consent of China, but in spite of her. They will not be profitable. Their establishment materially interferes with and embarrasses the development of the Chinese Postal Service, is an interference with China's sovereignty, is inconsistent with our well known policy toward the Empire, and I cannot find any good reason for their establishment by the United States."

That China has never recognized any such right is evidenced by a communication that her Postmaster General addressed to the Postal Union on March 18, 1915. After referring to pertinent provisions of the Universal Postal Convention and of the Reglement d'Execution, the communication continued:

"Relying upon the principles inscribed in the Universal Postal Convention and in agreement on this point with the jurists in international law of all countries, China considers that by virtue of its entry into the Union; the offices maintained upon its territory by other countries of the Union have ceased to have a legal existence. Although in consequences of the difficulties mentioned above and those that have their origin in the present events of the war, China has found herself obligated, in order not to impede the transmission of its mails, to continue temporarily for

the purpose of its relations with other countries to have recourse to the intermediation of certain of the foreign post offices established upon its territory, or to accept this intermediation, it must declare that this course of action implies no recognition on its part of the legality of those offices, and, furthermore, that no status, in that respect, can be created by the written communications that have been or that may hereafter be exchanged in regard to them, either with those offices or with the administration to which they belong. China protests against the maintenance, by the majority of the foreign post office operating upon its territory, of tariffs lower than those fixed by Article 5, of the Rome Convention, for the payment of postage upon mails exchanged by those offices, either between themselves or with the countries to which they respectively belong.

China having adhered as from September 1 last to the Rome Convention concerning the exchange of parcels post, must declare that what has been said above, in regard to the temporary continuation, necessitated by circumstances, of the intermediation of foreign post offices established upon its territory, applies likewise to the parcels post service."

Addendum.

The following letter of the American representative at the Madrid Conference of the Universal Postal Union, to the Director General of the Chinese Post Office, speaks for itself.

Madrid, le 27 Novembre, 1920.

Monsieur Liou Fou Tcheng,
Directeur Général des Postes de Chine,
Madrid.

Cher Monsieur,

Au sujet de la conversation que nous avons eue dernièrement concernant le service des Postes de la Chine, permettez-moi de vous assurer de nouveau de la haute appréciation de l'Administration des Postes Américaines de l'efficacité et de l'excellence du service postal du Gouvernement Chinois.

Je suis autorisé par mon Gouvernement de vous exprimer la sympathie des Etats-Unis avec le désir du Gouvernement Chinois que tous les bureaux de poste étrangers soient retirés de son territoire et les Etats-Unis seraient contents de participer dans un mouvement unanime de tous les pays étrangers pour la cessation des opérations postales effectuées par les autres nations dans le territoire de la Chine.

L'Administration des Postes de votre pays a droit à l'approbation et le respect du monde entier en ce qui concerne l'efficacité de vos opérations postales.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, Passurance de ma haute considération.

(Signed) Otto Prager,
Sub-Assistant Postmaster General

(Translation)

Madrid, 27 November, 1920.

Mr. Liou Fou Tcheng,
Director General of the Chinese Posts,
Madrid.

Dear Sir:

With regard to the conversation which we last had concerning the postal service of China, permit me again to assure you of the high appreciation of the American Postal Administration of the efficiency and excellence of the postal service of the Chinese Government.

I am authorized by my Government to express to you the sympathy of the United States with the desire of the Chinese Government that all of the foreign post offices should be withdrawn from its territory and the United States will be willing to participate in a unanimous movement of all the foreign Powers for the cessation of postal operations carried on by the other Nations in the territory of China.

The Postal Administration of your country has the right to the approbation and respect of the entire world with regard to the efficiency of your postal operations.

Please accept, Sir, the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) Otto Prager,
Sub-Assistant Postmaster General.

As to China's membership in the Universal Postal Union, see MacMurray pp. 585 *et seq.*

In conclusion, China wishes to point out that, wholly apart from the financial loss suffered by her as a result of the existence of foreign post offices on her soil, and the obstacles thereby placed in the way of the development of her own postal system, the maintenance of such offices represents a most direct violation of her territorial and administrative integrity. It is one, moreover, that is peculiarly objectionable, since it is a constant, visible reminder to the Chinese people that they are not accorded the consideration given to other peoples. This necessarily has a tendency to lower the prestige of the Chinese Government in the eyes of her people, and to make more difficult the already difficult problem of maintaining a government that will command the respect and obedience of her population. From whatever standpoint viewed, the continuance of these foreign post offices upon Chinese soil should therefore, be disapproved.

November 26, 1921.

The sub-committee on Chinese Post Offices met in the Pan-American Building at 3 p. m., Saturday, November 26, 1921, to prepare a report looking to the abandonment of foreign postal agencies in China.

November 26, 1921.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern questions met in the Pan-American Building at 10.30 a. m., Saturday, November 26, 1921. The Committee discussed the matter of foreign post offices in China, and it was the sense of the committee that there should be a withdrawal of the foreign post offices in China as soon as it appeared that conditions warranted. A sub-committee composed of Senator Lodge, Sir Auckland Geddes, Mr. Viviani, Mr. Hanihara, and Mr. Sze, was constituted to draw up a resolution to this effect for submission to the full committee at its next session. This sub-committee will meet at 3 o'clock this afternoon.

The committee on extra-territoriality proposed at yesterday's meeting will be composed of the following delegates: United States of America, Senator Lodge; British Empire, Senator Pearce; France, Mr. Sarraut; Italy, Senator Ricci, Japan, Mr. Hanihara; Belgium, Chevalier de Wouters; China, Dr. Chung-Hui Wang; The Netherlands, Jonkheer van Karnebeek; and Portugal, Captain Vasconcellos.

The committee then adjourned to meet on Monday next, the 28th, at 11 o'clock. a. m.

November 28, 1921.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern questions met at 11 o'clock a. m., Monday, November 28, 1921, in the Pan-American Building.

The Committee received the report of the sub-committee on foreign post offices in China and adopted it unanimously, the date on which it shall come into force and effect being deferred for public announcement in the near future. The report as adopted is as follows:

A. Recognizing the justice of the desire expressed by the Chinese Government to secure the abolition of foreign postal agencies in China save or except in leased territories or as otherwise specifically provided by treaty, it is resolved:

- (1) The four Powers having such postal agencies agree to their abandonment subject to the following conditions:
 - (a) That an efficient Chinese postal service is maintained.
 - (b) That an assurance is given by the Chinese Government that they contemplate no change in

the present postal administration so far as the status of the foreign Co-Director General is concerned.

- (2) To enable China and the Powers concerned to make the necessary dispositions, this arrangement shall come into force and effect not later than

B. Pending the complete withdrawal of foreign postal agencies the four Powers concerned severally undertake to afford full facilities to the Chinese customs authorities to examine in those agencies all postal matter (excepting ordinary letters, whether registered or not, which upon external examination appear plainly to contain only written matter) passing through them, with a view to ascertaining whether they contain articles which are dutiable or contraband or which otherwise contravene the customs regulations or laws of China.

The Committee received the statement of the Sub-Committee on Extra-territoriality, reporting progress, and a statement from the Chinese delegation asking for the removal of the various establishments placed in China by foreign Powers without treaty sanction, such as foreign troops, police boxes, and telegraph and wireless stations. The Committee decided to begin the discussion of these questions at its next meeting.

The Committee also decided that there should be constituted a standing Sub-Committee on Drafting, to be composed of a delegate appointed by each Power.

The Committee then adjourned to meet tomorrow, November 29, 1921, at 11 o'clock a. m.

November 29, 1921.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern questions met in the Pan-American Building, Washington, D. C., Tuesday morning, November 29, 1921, at 11 o'clock.

All the delegates were present except Sir Robert Borden, Ambassador Ricci, Signor Meda, and Ambassador Shidehara.

Senator Lodge whose report on behalf of the Sub-Committee on Foreign Post Offices in China was accepted yesterday, today presented resolutions of the Sub-Committee on Extra-territorial Rights in China, which were unanimously adopted by the Committee as follows:

RESOLUTION FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE AND REPORT UPON EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN CHINA.

The representatives of the Powers hereinafter named, participating in the discus-

sion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions in the Conference on the Limitation of Armament,—to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal,—

Having taken note of the fact that in the Treaty between Great Britain and China dated September 5, 1902, in the Treaty between the United States of America and China dated October 8, 1903, and in the Treaty between Japan and China dated October 8, 1903, these several Powers have agreed to give every assistance towards the attainment by the Chinese Government of its expressed desire to reform its judicial system and to bring it into accord with that of Western nations, and have declared that they are also "prepared to relinquish extra-territorial rights when satisfied that the state of the Chinese laws, the arrangements for their administration, and other considerations warrant" them in so doing;

Being sympathetically disposed towards furthering in this regard the aspiration to which the Chinese Delegation gave expression on November 16, 1921, to the effect that "immediately, or as soon as circumstances will permit, existing limitations upon China's political jurisdictional and administrative freedom of action are to be removed;"

Considering that any determination in regard to such action as might be appropriate to this end must depend upon the ascertainment and appreciation of complicated states of fact in regard to the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China, which this Conference is not in a position to determine;

Have resolved

That the Governments of the Powers above named shall established a Commission (to which each of such Governments shall appoint one member) to inquire into the present practice of extra-territorial jurisdiction in China, and into the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China, with a view to reporting to the Governments of the several Powers above named their findings of fact in regard to these matters, and their recommendations as to such means as they may find suitable to improve the existing conditions of the administration of justice in China, and to assist and further the efforts of the Chinese Government to effect such legislation and judicial reforms as would warrant the several powers in relinquishing, either progressively or otherwise, their respective rights of extra-territoriality;

That the Commission herein contemplated shall be constituted within three

months after the adjournment of the Conference with detailed arrangements to be hereafter agreed upon by the Governments of the Powers above named, and shall be instructed to submit its report and recommendations within one year after the first meeting of the Commission;

That each of the Powers above named shall be deemed free to accept or to reject all or any portion of the recommendations of the Commission herein contemplated, but that in no case shall any of the said Powers make its acceptance of all or any portion of such recommendations either directly or indirectly dependent on the granting by China of any special concession, favor, benefit or immunity, whether political or economic.

ADDITIONAL RESOLUTION

That the non-signatory powers, having by treaty extra-territorial rights in China, may accede to the resolution affecting extraterritoriality and the administration of justice in China by depositing within three months after adjournment of the Conference a written notice of accession with the Government of the United States for communication by it to each of the signatory Powers.

ADDITIONAL RESOLUTION

That China, having taken note of the Resolutions affecting the establishment of a Commission to investigate and report upon extra-territoriality and the administration of justice in China, expresses its satisfaction with the sympathetic disposition of the powers hereinbefore named in regard to the aspirations of the Chinese Government to secure the abolition of extra-territoriality from China, and declares its intention to appoint a representative who shall have the right to sit as a member of the said Commission, it being understood that China shall be deemed free to accept or reject any or all of the recommendations of the Commission. Furthermore, China is prepared to cooperate in the work of this Commission and to afford to it every possible facility for the successful accomplishment of its tasks.

Mr. Sze spoke as follows:

Gentlemen: At the session held on November 21, the Conference declared that it was the firm intention of the Powers represented to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China; and to provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government.

It will have already appeared that, in application of these two principles, China is asking not merely that existing treaty

or conventional limitations upon the autonomous and unembarrassed exercise by her of her territorial and administrative powers, should be removed as rapidly and as completely as circumstances will justify, but that conditions shall be corrected which now constitutes a continuing violation of her rights as an independent state. The proposition that these limitations upon the exercise of her sovereign powers should be progressively removed was stated in principle No. 5 which the Chinese delegation presented to the Conference on November 16, and applications of it are seen in the propositions that have been made to the Conference with reference to Extra-territorial Rights and to tariff autonomy.

A specific illustration of a violation of China's sovereignty and territorial and administrative integrity, as distinguished from limitations based upon agreements to which China has been a party, was presented to the Conference for correction last week and had to do with the maintenance of foreign postal services upon Chinese soil.

This morning it is the desire of the Chinese Delegation to bring before you, for correction in accordance with the controlling Principles which you have already affirmed, several other instances of subsisting violations of China's sovereignty, and territorial and administrative integrity.

These relate to the maintenance upon the Chinese territory without China's consent and against her protests, of foreign troops, railway guards, police boxes and electrical wire and wireless communication installations.

I shall not exhaust your patience by enumerating all of the specific instances of these violations, for I shall not ask merely that each of these violations be specifically discountenanced, for this would not give complete reply to China since it would not prevent other similar violations in the future. In behalf of the Chinese Government I therefore ask that this Conference declare, as a comprehensive proposition that no one of the powers here represented—China of course not included—shall maintain electrical communication installations, or troops, or railway guards, or police boxes upon Chinese soil, except in those specific cases in which the Powers desiring to do so may be able to show by affirmative and preponderant evidence and argument that it has a right so to do such as can be defended upon the basis of accepted principles of international law and practice and with the consent of the Chinese Government.

No argument by me is needed to show that this Conference stands committed to the declaration which I now ask, by the

Principles which were adapted on November 21st. Should any one of you consider the possibilities of foreign troops or railway guards, or police boxes, or electrical communication installations being maintained upon the soil of your own country without the consent of the government which you represent, your feelings of justice and your sense of the dignity due to your own State, would make evident to you the propriety of the joint declaration which China now asks you to make in her behalf. The proposition surely stands self-evident that, if a nation asserts a right to maintain troops or guards, or police, or to erect and operate systems of communication upon the soil of another State, whose sovereignty and independence and territorial and administrative integrity it has just solemnly affirmed and obligated itself to respect, upon that State should lie a heavy burden of proof to justify so grievous an infringement of the rights of exclusive territorial jurisdiction which international law as well as a general sense of international comity and justice, recognize as attaching to the status of sovereignty and independence.

In behalf of my Government and the people whom I represent, I therefore ask that the Conference give its approval to the following proposition:

"Each of the Powers attending this Conference hereinafter mentioned, to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, severally declare that, without the consent of the Government of China, expressly and specifically given in each case, it will not station troops, or railway guards or establish and maintain police boxes, or erect or operate electrical communication installations, upon the soil of China; and that if there now exists upon the soil of China such troops or railway guards or police boxes or electrical installations without China's express consent, they will be at once withdrawn."

DATA REGARDING FOREIGN TROOPS, POLICE BOXES, RAILWAY GUARDS AND ELECTRICAL INSTALLATIONS IN CHINA WITHOUT HER CONSENT.

The Chinese Delegation herewith submits such data at it has with reference to the presence upon Chinese soil, without China's consent, of foreign troops, police boxes, railway guards, and electrical installations.

This data is furnished simply in order to show the extent to which China's territorial and administrative integrity is now being violated, and not as implying that the Chinese Government will be contented

with the abatement of these specific violations of her sovereign rights; for China, as declared in the Resolution which it has proposed, desires that there should be a general or comprehensive declaration upon the part of the Powers represented in this Conference that, without China's consent, expressly and specifically given in each case, they will not maintain troops or police boxes, or railway guards or electrical installations upon China's soil, with the result that upon the Powers will lie the burden of establishing their rights to do so in each case in which they may assert a right or claim to maintain upon China's soil such troops, police boxes, railway guards or electrical installations.

TENTATIVE LIST OF FOREIGN TROOPS, POLICE BOXES AND RAILWAY GUARDS IN CHINA.

JAPANESE GARRISON

In Shantung four battalions, of an average numerical strength of 525 men, are stationed along the Tsingtao-Tsinan Railway, headquarters being at Tsingtao, Kamomi, Fangtze and Tsinanfu. There is also a force of gendarmerie.

In Hankow one battalion is usually maintained together with detachments of special troops.

One full division is usually maintained in Manchuria, headquarters being established as follows (April 1, 1921)—

Division Headquarters..	Liaoyang
Brigade Headquarters..	Tiehling
Infantry Headquarters..	Liaoyang
Infantry Headquarters..	Tiehling
Brigade Headquarters..	Harbin
Infantry Headquarters..	Port Arthur
Infantry Headquarters..	Harbin
Cavalry Headquarters..	Kungchuling
Artillery Headquarters..	Haicheng

The Japanese troops which are withdrawn from Baikal are stationed along the Chinese Eastern Railway. (This statement is taken from Lin Yen's "The Diplomatic History between China and Japan.") Japan has also stationed 16 independent battalions of guards along the line, each composed of 21 officers and 617 rank and file. (1) Japan is said to maintain these railway guards in conformity with Article III of the Portsmouth Treaty of Peace which says that the "High Contracting parties reserve to themselves the right to maintain guards to protect their respective railway lines in Manchuria. The number of such guards shall not exceed fifteen per kilometre and within that maximum number, the Commanders of the Japanese and Russian Armies shall, by common accord fix the number of such guards to be employed, as small as possible having in view the actual requirements." But

these provisions were not assented to by China in 1905. (2).

(1) (From *Japan Year Book 1920-21*).

(2) In March, 1921, there were still several thousand Japanese soldiers in Hunchun. (See Lin Yen's "*The Diplomatic History between China and Japan*."

JAPANESE POLICE IN CHINA.

In 1917, the number of police agencies in Manchuria, as reported by the local authorities of Fengtien and Kirin Provinces, has reached 27. As a result of the Chengchiatun fracas and Hunchun Affair, Japan established police stations in these places. According to the October 1st issue of the *Millard's Review* for 1921, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is in receipt of a telegram from the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs at Swatow to the effect that the Japanese Consul there is very active in increasing the Japanese police.

At Amoy a police station was established by Japan in December, 1916. The Chinese Government lodged a strong protest against this illegal action on the part of Japan, but Japan has never withdrawn the police station.

TENTATIVE LIST OF FOREIGN WIRELESS INSTALLATIONS IN CHINA WITHOUT HER CONSENT.

JAPAN

1. Peking (Japanese Legation)..Chihli
2. ChinwangtaoChihli
3. TientsinChihli
4. Harbin (Russian ordered).Manchuria
5. ManchouliManchuria
6. KungchulingManchuria
7. LungtsintsungManchuria
8. Dalny (Kwangtung leased Territory)Manchuria
9. TsinanShantung
10. Tsingtao (Chinese and German)Shantung
11. HankowHupeh

FRENCH

1. Shanghai (French Settlement)Kiangsu
2. Kwangchow-wan (Leased Territory)Kwangtung
3. YunnanfuYunnan
4. TientsinChihli

BRITISH

1. Hongkong (Leased Kowloon Territory)
2. KashgarSinkiang

UNITED STATES

1. Peking (American Legation).Chihli
2. TientsinChihli
3. TangshanChihli

Note.—Great Britain also had a station at Hongkong proper. There are also radio stations filled for receiving only, see *China Year Book*, 1912-2, p. 507.

TENTATIVE LIST OF FOREIGN WIRE TELEGRAPHS IN CHINA, (Not sanctioned by the Chinese Government.)

JAPANESE

Peking.
Tientsin.
Fourteen stations along the Shantung Railway.
Thirty-four stations along the Southern Manchurian Railway.
Other telegraph and telephone lines in Changchun, Hunchun and Yenke.

RUSSIAN

Along the Chinese Eastern Railway and connected with the telegraph wires at the Russian frontier.

FACTS ABOUT THE JAPANESE POLICE IN MANCHURIA.

November 1921.

The Japanese police found in Manchuria are of the following kinds:

- (1) According to locality:
 - (a) those stationed within the leased territory of Liaotung peninsula.
 - (b) those stationed along the South Manchurian railway and within the railway zone.
 - (c) those established within the Japanese consulates.
 - (d) those stationed in non-open ports.
- (2) According to jurisdiction:
 - (a) those under the immediate jurisdiction of the Office of the Kwantung Leased Area.
 - (b) those under the jurisdiction of the Japanese Foreign Office.
 - (c) those under the Office of the Governor General of Korea.
 - (d) those under the command of the Commander-in-Chief of Kwantung Leased Areas.
 - (e) those under the control of the South Manchurian Railway.

Origin of Japanese Police in Manchuria:—

In May, 1904, during the hostilities between Russia and Japan in Manchuria, a Civil Administration department was established by the Japanese command for the "occupied" districts.

In the following month a similar department was established for the whole of Lia-

otung peninsula, and with it a police bureau. Branch offices of the civil administration department were established in Port Arthur and Kingchow; sentry boxes (p'ai ch'u so) of these branches were established in Liushutun, Pulantion, and Pitzewo.

Since 1905, police stations and branch stations have been established along the South Manchurian Railway in violation of both law and treaty. In 1915, in virtue of the new treaty between China and Japan, sentry boxes of police stations belonging to the South Manchurian railway were established in such unopened ports as K'ai-p'ling, T'aolu, Pamiench'eng, Ch'angt'u, and Chengchiatun, with Japanese police. In addition there are numerous gendarmerie under the command of the Commander-in-chief of the Kuantung Leased Area, also special police of the South Manchurian Railway Company, who exercise functions similar to those of the Japanese police.

As in the Japanese consulates in other parts of China, there are attached to the Japanese consulates in Manchuria secret police. Finally, there are also Korean police officers under the immediate jurisdiction of the Governor General of Korea.

Distribution of Japanese police in South Manchuria according to localities and personnel.

- (A) 1. Police stationed within the Kuantung Leased Area—
 - a. Police of Police Department of the Civil Administration office. 24
 - b. Police of the Police Training Bureau 13
 - c. Police of the Civil Office of Port Arthur 143
 - d. Police of the Civil Office of Dalny 349
 - e. Police of the Civil Office of Kingchow 83
 - f. Police of the branch civil office of Pulantion 100
 - g. Police of the branch civil office of Pitzewo 99

Total 811
- 2. Police of the Kuantung Leased Area within the zone of the South Manchurian and Antung-Fukden railways—

	Sentry boxes	Men
a. Police of the police department at Yingkow... 5		53
b. Police branch office at Tashihoisiao 10		17
c. Police branch office at Wafangtien 9		33
d. Police of police department at Liaoyang..... 6		39

- e. Police of branch office at Anshan 8
- f. Police of the police department at Mumden.. 18
- g. Police of branch office at Penchihi 12
- h. Police of branch office at Fushuh 18
- i. Police of police department at Tiehling..... 5
- j. Police of branch office at Kaiyuan 9
- k. Police of police department at Changchun... 13
- l. Police of branch office at Kungchunling 6
- m. Police of branch office at Ssupingkal 7
- n. Police of police department at Antung..... 16

Grand total of 1,499 officers and men. 688

Apart from the above, the South Manchurian Railway company maintains 56 police and the Japanese consulates 260 Consular police at Newchwang, Mukden Tiehling, Changchun and Antung, along the zones of the South Manchurian and Antung-Mukden railways.

Therefore, excluding 811 police stationed within the Leased Area there are 1,004 Japanese police along the two railways.

- (B) 1. Secret police of Japanese Consulates along South Manchurian and Antung-Mukden railways.

	Sentry boxes	Men
a. Police section of the consulate at Newchang... 0		16
b. Police section of the consulate at Liaoyang ... 1		18
c. Police section of the consulate at Mukden..... 11		64
d. Police section of the consulate at Tiehling..... 16		47
e. Police section of the consulate at Changchun... 13		34
f. Police section of the consulate at Antung 24		90

260

- 2. Secret police of the consulate and branch consulate within the Chientao District.
 - a. Chientao Consulate General... 24
 - b. Chutzechieh branch consulate... 9
 - c. Toutokou branch consulate..... 7
 - d. Paitsaokou sentry box..... 6

46

Total of secret police..... 308

Summary—

	Men
1. Within Kuantung leased area, total of	811
2. Within the two railway zones, total of	688
3. Attached to the consulates within the railway zones, total of....	260
4. Chientao district, total of.....	46
5. S. M. Railway "voluntary" pointsmen (?)	56

Therefore grand total of 1,861 men in 381 stations and sub-stations.

Therefore, outside of the leased area 1,050 men and 247 stations and sub-stations.

Latest news is that more police stations are being established in Mukden City and Wangtsing, Holung and Hunchun within the Chientao District, but no details are mentioned as to personnel, etc.

The Committee then discussed the question of foreign troops and foreign police in China and adjourned to meet at 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

November 30, 1921.

The Committee on Far Eastern and Pacific affairs met this morning, November 30, 1921, in the Pan-American Building, Washington, D. C., at 11 o'clock.

All the delegates were present except Ambassador Shidehara and Signor Meda.

Mr. Hanhara for the Japanese Delegation presented the following statements:

JAPAN'S ATTITUDE IN REGARD TO THE FOREIGN GARRISONS IN CHINA.

The Japanese Delegation wishes to explain, as succinctly as possible, why and how the Japanese garrisons in various parts of China have come to be stationed there. At the outset, however, I desire to disclaim most emphatically that Japan has ever entertained any aggressive purposes or any desire to encroach illegitimately upon Chinese sovereignty in sending or maintaining these garrisons in China.

1 Japanese railway guards are actually maintained along the South Manchuria Railway and the Shantung Railway.

With regard to the Shantung Railway guards, Japan believes that she has on more than one occasion made her position sufficiently clear. She has declared and now reaffirms her intention of withdrawing such guards as soon as China shall have notified her that Chinese police force has been duly organized and is ready to take over the charge of the railway protection.

The maintenance of troops along the South Manchuria Railway stands on a different footing. This is conceded and re-

cognized by China under the Treaty of Peking of 1905. (Additional Agreement, Art. II). It is a measure of absolute necessity under the existing state of affairs in Manchuria,—a region which has been made notorious by the activity of mounted bandits. Even in the presence of Japanese troops, those bandits have made repeated attempts to raid the railway zone. In a large number of cases they have cut telegraph lines and committed other acts of ravage. Their lawless activity on an extended scale has, however, been effectively checked by the Japanese railway guards, and general security has been maintained for civilian residents in and around the railway zone. The efficiency of such guards will be made all the more significant by a comparison of the conditions prevailing in the railway zone with those prevailing in the districts remote from the railway. The withdrawal of railway guards from the zone of the South Manchuria Railway will no doubt leave those districts at the mercy of bandits, and the same conditions of unrest will there prevail as in remote corners of Manchuria. In such a situation it is not possible for Japan to forego the right, or rather the duty, of maintaining railway guards in Manchuria, whose presence is duly recognized by treaty.

(2) Towards the end of 1911 the first Revolution broke out in China, and there was complete disorder in the Hupeh district which formed the base of the revolutionary operations. As the lives and property of foreigners, were exposed to danger, Japan together with Great Britain, Russia, Germany, and other principal Powers, dispatched troops to Hankow for protection of her people. This is how a small number of troops have come to be stationed at Hankow. The region has since been the scene of frequent disturbances; there were recently a clash between the North and South at Changsha, pillage by troops at Ichang, and a mutiny of soldiers at Hankow. Such conditions of unrest have naturally retarded the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Hankow.

It has never been intended that these troops should remain permanently at Hankow, and the Japanese Government have been looking forward to an early opportunity of effecting complete withdrawal of the Hankow garrison. They must be assured, however, that China will immediately take effective measures for the maintenance of peace and order and for the protection of foreigners, and that she will fully assume the responsibility for the damage that may be or may have been done to foreigners.

(3) The stationing of the garrisons of foreign countries in North China is re-

cognized by the Chinese Government under the protocol relating to the Boxer revolution of 1900. Provided there is no objection from the other countries concerned, Japan will be ready, acting in unison with them, to withdraw her garrison as soon as the actual conditions warrant it.

(4) The Japanese troops scattered along the lines of the Chinese Eastern Railway have been stationed in connection with an interallied agreement concluded at Vladivostok in 1919. Their duties are to establish communications between the Japanese contingents in Siberia and South Manchuria. It goes without saying, therefore, that these troops will be withdrawn as soon as the evacuation of Siberia by the Japanese troops is effected.

MEMORANDUM

At the present time Japan maintains in China Proper approximately 4,500 troops located as follows:

At Tientsin, two battalions—approximately	1200 men
At Hankow, one battalion—approximately	600 men
In Shantung—	
At Tsinan, two companies—approximately	300 men
Along the Tsinan-Tsingtao Railway and at Tsingtao, four battalions—approximately	2400 men
Total	4500 men

STATEMENT REGARDING THE MAINTENANCE OF JAPANESE POLICE IN MANCHURIA AND THE TREATY PORTS OF CHINA.

In considering the question of Japanese Consular police in China, two points must be taken into account.

1. Such police do not interfere with Chinese or other foreign nationals. Their functions are strictly confined to the protection and control of Japanese subjects.

2. The most important duties with which the Japanese police are charged are, first, to prevent the commission of crimes by Japanese, and second, to find and prosecute Japanese criminals when crimes are committed.

In view of the Geographical proximity of the two countries, it is natural that certain disorderly elements in Japan should move to China, and, taking advantage of the present conditions in that country, should there undertake unlawful activities. When these lawless persons are caught in the act of crime by the Chinese police it is not difficult for that police force to deal with the case. The culprits are handed over as early as possible to the Japanese authorities for

prosecution and trial. But when the criminals flee from the scene of their acts it is in many cases hard to discover who committed the crimes and what were the causes and circumstances that led up to their commission. This is more difficult for the Chinese authorities, as they have no power to make domiciliary visits to the homes of foreigners, who enjoy extra-territorial rights, or to obtain judicial testimony in due form from such foreigners.

Without the full cooperation of the Japanese police, therefore, the punishment of crime is, in a great many cases, an impossibility, and those who are responsible for law-breaking escape trial and punishment.

This tendency is especially evident in Manchuria, in which region hundreds of thousands of Japanese are resident. In places where the Japanese police are stationed there are far fewer criminal cases among Japanese than in places without Japanese police. Lawless elements constantly move to districts beyond the reach of Japanese police supervision.

Apart from the theoretical side of the question, it will thus be observed that the stationing of Japanese police in the interior of China has proved to be of much practical usefulness in the prevention of crimes among Japanese residents, without interfering with the daily life of Chinese or of other foreign nationals. The Japanese policing provides a protection for the Chinese communities which at present their own organization fails to provide.

The Japanese Delegation is in possession of knowledge and information as to the actual conditions prevailing in China and especially in Manchuria. However, it is unnecessary to go into details at the present stage.

Mr. Sze on behalf of the Chinese delegation stated that he would reserve the right to answer in detail the Japanese statements after he had had an opportunity of studying them.

The committee discussed the matter of wireless stations in China, and decided to refer it to the sub-committee on draft to report their recommendation as to the expression of the sense of the full committee with respect to these stations, with authority to include in their recommendation such suggestions for the constitution of special committees of experts in relation to any phase of the subject as may be deemed advisable.

The Committee on Draft is composed of the following members of the delegations: United States of America: Senator Root.

Belgium: Baron Cartier; M. Cattier, alternate.

British Empire: Sir Auckland Geddes; Sir John Jordan or Mr. Lamson as alternates, and Mr. Malkin as drafting adviser.

China: Mr. Koo.

France: M. Viviani.

Italy: Ambassador Ricci.

Japan: Mr. Hanihara.

Netherlands: Jonkheer van Karnebeek.

Portugal: Viscount d'Alte.

It was stated to the meeting by the Chairman that Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour had offered their good offices to the representatives of China and Japan in the suggestion that there should be conversations between these representatives looking to the settlement of the questions relating to Shantung and the leased territory of Kia-Chou; that these good offices were accepted by the representatives of both governments, and that the conversations were to proceed accordingly, the first meeting for that purpose to be held Thursday afternoon.

In order to provide opportunity for the special committees to continue their work, the meeting of the full committee was adjourned until Friday, December 2nd, at 11 a. m.

December 2, 1921.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions met this morning, December 2, 1921, in the Pan-American Building, at 11 o'clock.

The matter of foreign troops in China was again taken up and there was a general discussion of this subject. It was then referred to the permanent sub-committee on draft, with instructions to bring in their recommendations to the Committee. This sub-committee will meet at three o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

The Committee then adjourned to meet tomorrow, December 3, at 11 o'clock a. m.

December 3rd, 1921.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions met this morning, December 3rd, at 11 o'clock in the Pan-American Building. All the Delegates were present except Ambassador Shidehara and Baron Kato.

The Committee discussed the question of leased areas in China.

Mr. Koo stated that the existence of the leased territories in China was due in the original instance to the aggressions of Germany whose forcible occupation of part of Shantung province constrained the Chinese Government to grant a lease for ninety-nine years of the Bay of Kiaochow in the Shantung province on March 6, 1898. This was closely followed by a demand on the part of Russia for the lease of the Liaotung Peninsula, in which are found the ports of Port Arthur and Dalny, along with the demand for the right of building a railway to be guarded by Russian soldiers traversing the Manchurian Province from Port Arthur and Dalny to join the Trans-Siberian Railway and Vladivostok. This was later the cause of the Russo-Japanese war which resulted

in 1905 in the transfer of those territories to Japan with the consent of China. Following the lease of Kiaochow Bay to Germany and that of Port Arthur and Dalny to Russia, France obtained from China on April 22, 1898, the lease of Kwangchowwan on the coast of Kwangtung Province for 99 years and Great Britain the lease, also for 99 years, of an extension of Kowloon and the adjoining territory and waters close to Hong Kong on June 9, 1898, and the lease "for so long a period as Port Arthur should remain in the occupation of Russia" of the port of Weihaiwei on the coast of Shantung on July 1, 1898. Both Great Britain and France based their claims for the leases on the ground of the necessity of preserving the balance of power in the Far East.

If he might be permitted to go into the history of the question, he might add that while the measures and extent of control by the lessee powers over the leased territories vary in different cases, the leases themselves are all limited to a fixed period of years, expressly or impliedly; they are not transferable to a third power without the consent of China. Though the exercise of administrative rights over the territories leased is relinquished by China to the lessee power during the period of the lease, the sovereignty of China over them is reserved in all cases. As is stated in the beginning, these leaseholds were granted by China with the sole purpose of maintaining the balance of power in the Far East, not so much between China and the others powers, but between other powers themselves concerning China. These are all creatures of compact different from cessions both in fact and in law.

Twenty years had elapsed since then and conditions had entirely altered. With the elimination of German menace in particular, an important disturbing fact to the peace of the Far East had been removed. Russia had equally disappeared from the scene and it could be hoped with confidence that she would eventually return, not as the former aggressive power, but as a great democratic nation. The misrule of Manchu dynasty which had aggravated the situation had also disappeared. The very fact that this conference was being held at Washington for the purpose of arriving at a mutual understanding on the part of the powers, indicates an added reason for dispensing with the necessity of maintaining the balance of power in the Far East, which was the principal ground of the original claims of the different powers. In the absence of that necessity the Chinese Delegation believed that the time had come for the interested powers to relinquish their control, over the territories leased to them.

The existence of such leased territories had greatly prejudiced China's territorial and administrative integrity because they were all situated upon the strategical point along the Chinese territory. These foreign

leaseholds had besides hampered her work of national defense by constituting in China a virtual *imperium in imperio*, i. e., that is an empire within the same empire. There was another reason which the Chinese delegation desired to point out. The shifting conflict of interests of the different lessee powers had involved China more than once in complications of their own. It would be sufficient to refer here to the Russo-Japanese war, which was caused by the Russian occupation of Port Arthur and Dalny. The Kiaochow leasehold brought upon the Far East the hostilities of the European war. Furthermore, some of these territories were utilized with a view to economic domination over the vast adjoining regions as points d'appui for developing spheres of interest to the detriment of the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China. In the interest of not only China but that of all nations, especially for the peace of the Far East, the Chinese Delegation asked for the annulment and an early termination of these leases. But pending their termination this would be demilitarized, that is, their fortifications dismantled and the lessee nations to undertake that they will not make use of their several leased areas for military purposes either as naval bases or military operations of any kind whatsoever.

The Chinese delegation were, however, fully conscious of the obligations which would fall upon them after the termination of the leaseholds. The Chinese Government would be prepared to respect and safeguard the legitimately vested interests of the different powers within those territories.

Mr. Viviani spoke for France as follows: After having taken note of the request made by the Chinese delegation, December 1st, 1921, the French Delegation states that the Government of the Republic is ready to join in the collective restitution of territories leased to various powers in China, it being understood that, this principle being once admitted, and all private rights being safeguarded, the conditions and time limits of the restitution shall be determined by agreement between the Chinese Government and each of the governments concerned.

Mr. Hanihara stated the position of Japan as follows:

The leased territories held by Japan at present are Kiaochow and Kwantung Province, namely,—Port Arthur and Dalren. It is characteristic of Japan's leased territory that she obtained them, not directly from China, but as successor to other Powers at considerable sacrifice in men and treasure. She succeeded Russia in the leasehold of Kwantung Province with the express consent of China, and she succeeded Germany in the leasehold of Kiaochow under the Treaty of Versailles.

As to Kiaochow, the Japanese Government have already declared on several occasions

that they would restore that leased territory to China. We are prepared to come to an agreement with China on this basis. In fact, there are now going on conversations between representatives of Japan and China regarding this question initiated through the good offices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour, the result of which it is hoped will be a happy solution of the problem. Therefore, the question of the leased territory of Kiaochow is one which properly calls for separate treatment.

The only leased territory, therefore, which remains to be discussed at the Conference so far as Japan is concerned, is Kwantung Province, namely,—Port Arthur and Dalren. As to that territory, the Japanese Delegates desire to make it clear that Japan has no intention at present to relinquish the important rights she has lawfully acquired and at no small sacrifice. The territory in question forms a part of Manchuria—a region where, by reason of its close proximity to Japan's territory, more than anything else, she has vital interests in that which relates to her economic life and national safety.

This fact was recognized and assurance was given by the American, British and French Governments at the time of the formation of the International Consortium that these vital interests of Japan in the region in question shall be safeguarded.

In the leased territory of Kwantung Province there resides no less than 65,000 Japanese, and the commercial and industrial interests they have established there are of such importance and magnitude to Japan that they are regarded as an essential part of her economic life.

It is believed that this attitude of the Japanese Delegation towards the leased territory of Kwantung is not against the principle of the Resolution adopted on September 21.

Mr. Balfour pointed out that leased territories, though nominally all described under the same title, were held under very different and varying circumstances. The Japanese Delegation had already indicated that Shantung and Manchuria respectively were held on entirely different bases and must be considered from different points of view. Great Britain had two different kinds of leases, and these, as he thought the Chinese Delegation itself would admit, must be held to stand on a different footing one from the other. Mr. Balfour referred first to the leased territory of Kowloon Extension. Why, he asked, was it considered necessary that the leased territory of Kowloon should come under the same administration as Hong-Kong? The reason was that without the leased territory Hong-Kong was perfectly indefensible and would be at the mercy of any enemy possessing modern artillery. He hoped that he would carry the Conference with him when he asserted that the safe-

guarding of the position of Hong-Kong was not merely a British interest but one in which the whole world was concerned. He was informed that Hong-Kong was easily first among the ports of the world, exceeding its this respect Hamburg before the War, Antwerp, and New York. Mr. Balfour then read the following extract from "The United States Government Commercial Handbook of China":-

"The position of the British Colony of Hong-Kong in the world's trade is unique and without parallel. It is a free port except for a duty on wine and spirits; it has relatively few important industries; it is one of the greatest shipping centers in the world; it is the distributing point for all the enormous trade of South China, and about 30 per cent. of the entire foreign commerce of China. The conditions of Hong-Kong in its relations to commerce are in every way excellent, and the Government centers all its efforts on fostering trade, while the future is being anticipated by increased dock facilities, the dredging of the fairways, and other improvements. The merchants both native and foreign, give special attention to the assembling and transhipping of merchandise to and from all the ports of the world, and with the world-wide steamship connections at Hong-Kong, the necessity of retranshipment at other ports is reduced to a minimum. Hong-Kong is the financial center of the East."

Mr. Balfour said he could not add anything to this perfectly impartial testimony to the conditions of absolute equality of nations under which the affairs of Hong-Kong are administered, and the motives on which they are conducted. The lease of the Kowloon Extension had been obtained for no other reason except to give security to the port of Hong-Kong, and it would be a great misfortune if anything should occur which was calculated to shake the confidence of the nations, using this great open port, in its security. He hoped he need say no more to explain that Kowloon Extension was in a different category and must be dealt with in a different spirit from those leased territories which had been acquired for totally different motives.

Mr. Balfour then passed to the question of Wei-hai-wei. The acquisition by Great Britain of this lease has been part of the general movement for obtaining leased territories in 1898, in which Russia, Germany and France, as well as Great Britain, had been concerned. The motive which had animated the Germans in acquiring Kiaochau had been largely to secure economic domination. The motive of the British Government, on the other hand, in acquiring the lease of Wei-hai-wei had been connected with resistance to the economic domination of China by other Powers; in

fact, it had been based on a desire for the maintenance of the balance of power in the Far East, with a view to the maintenance of the policy of the open door, and had been intended as a check to the predatory action of Germany and Russia. Mr. Balfour laid emphasis on the fact that the Convention of July 1, 1898, confirming the lease, gave no economic rights or advantages to Great Britain. There had been no question of its being a privileged port of entry for British commerce, nor for the establishment of British commercial rights to the exclusion or diminution of the rights of any other Power. In fact on April 20, 1898, Great Britain had announced that "England will not construct any railroad communication from Wei-hai-wei and the district leased therewith into the interior of the Province of Shantung." As regards the attitude of the British Government to the request of the Chinese Delegation for an abrogation of these leases, Mr. Balfour stated that he had very little to add to, and he did not wish to qualify, the conditions contained in the statement just made by M. Viviani, which represented very much the spirit in which the British Government approached the question. The British Government would be perfectly ready to return Wei-hai-wei to China as part of a general arrangement intended to confirm the sovereignty of China and to give effect to the principle of the "open door". This surrender, however, could only be undertaken as part of some such general arrangement, and he spoke with his Government behind him when he said that on these conditions he was prepared to give up the rights which we had acquired. The British Government's policy was to make use of the surrender of Wei-hai-wei to assist in securing a settlement of the question of Shantung. If agreement could be reached on this question, the British Government would not hesitate to do their best to promote a general settlement by restoring Wei-hai-wei to the central Government of China.

After he had heard the sentiments expressed by Mr. Viviani, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Hanihara, Mr. Koo expressed on behalf of the Chinese delegation his sincere thanks to them for the spirit which had guided them and he hoped that this question would be discussed at another opportunity.

Further discussion of this matter was reserved. The Committee adjourned to meet on Wednesday next, the 7th of December, at 11 o'clock a. m.

CONFERENCE ON LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT.

December 7, 1921.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions met at eleven o'clock this morning, December 7, in the Pan American Building. All of the delegates were present except Ambassador Shidehara and Senator Underwood.

The following report of the sub-committee on Draft in regard to radio stations in China was submitted.

The Sub-Committee on Draft begs to report the following resolution regarding radio stations in China.

The Representatives of the powers herein-after named participating in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions in the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments to wit: The United States of America, Belgium, The British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands and Portugal.

Have resolved

1. That all radio stations in China whether maintained under the provisions of the international protocol of September 7, 1901, or in fact maintained in the grounds of any of the foreign legations in China, shall be limited in their use to sending and receiving government messages and shall not receive or send commercial or personal or unofficial messages, including press matter: Provided, however, that in case all other telegraphic communication is interrupted, then, upon official notification accompanied by proof of such interruption to the Chinese Ministry of Communications, such stations may afford temporary facilities for commercial, personal or unofficial messages, including press matter, until the Chinese Government has given notice of the termination of the interruption.

2. All radio stations operated within the territory of China by a foreign government or the citizens or subjects thereof under treaties or concessions of the Government of China, shall limit the messages sent and received by the terms of the treaties or concessions under which the respective stations are maintained.

3. In case there be any radio station maintained in the territory of China by a foreign government or citizens or subjects thereof without the authority of the Chinese Government, such station and all the plant, apparatus and material thereof shall be transferred to and taken over by the Government of China, to be operated under the direction of the Chinese Ministry of Communications upon fair and full compensation to the owners for the value of the installation, as soon as the Chinese Ministry of Communications is prepared to operate the same effectively for the general public benefit.

4. If any questions shall arise as to the radio stations in leased territories, in the South Manchuria Railway Zone or in the French Concession at Shanghai, they shall be regarded as matters for discussion between the Chinese Government and the Government concerned.

5. The owners or managers of all radio stations maintained in the territory of China by foreign powers or citizens or subjects thereof shall confer with the Chinese Ministry of Communications for the purpose of

seeking a common arrangement to avoid interference in the use of wave lengths by wireless stations in China, subject to such general arrangements as may be made by an international conference convened for the revision of the rules established by the International Radio Telegraph Convention signed at London July 5, 1912.

Mr. Viviani gave his unreserved support to the resolution proposed by the Committee on Draft which, he said, indicated real progress toward a solution of the matter before the Committee. Without suggesting that any resolution be taken by the Committee, however, he said he would like to express again an idea which had previously been formulated. The Conference had made a first step; but it was most desirable that further progress should be made. To this end a general agreement should be reached which would result in the regulation, for the greatest moral and material benefit of all concerned, of the competition now prevailing with regard to wireless telegraphy in China—a competition which if prolonged might easily result in a hopeless tangle. Competition must be replaced by co-operation. Mr. Viviani added that views similar to this had already been developed by the United States Government.

The Chairman then stated that the American Delegation was in full sympathy with Mr. Viviani's idea and wished once more to suggest that Mr. Viviani might care to bring in a resolution giving effect to it.

The above report of the sub-committee on Draft was then unanimously adopted.

The Committee further discussed the question of leased territories in China. Dr. Koo made the following statement.

At the meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern questions on December 3, Mr. Hanihara read a statement outlining the position of Japan with reference to the leased territories of Kiaochow and Kwantung Peninsula, namely Port Arthur and Dalny. The Chinese Delegation desire to offer a few observations on the statement in the hope that the position of China on this question may be, equally, well understood. The declaration that Japan succeeded Germany in the leasehold of Kiaochow under the Treaty of Versailles is obviously one unilateral in character to which China not being a party to that treat cannot be expected to subscribe.

It is however gratifying to note the reference to the fact referred in the statement that Japan obtained her leased territories in China not directly from her but from other Powers at considerable sacrifice in men and treasure, because this assurance appears to confirm the views of the Chinese Delegation that the maintenance of foreign leased territories in China jeopardizes the peace in the Far East. It will be recalled that Russia's possession of Port Arthur and Dalny and

Germany's possession of Kiaochow eventually brought two wars on Chinese territory and resulted in the installation of Japan herself in these leased areas.

As to the leased territory of Kwantung Province, namely Port Arthur and Dalny, its original term will expire in 1925, and while an extension to 99 years was obtained by Japan in 1915 it was obtained in such circumstances that the dispute about its validity remains one of the most grave outstanding questions between China and Japan.

Both Port Arthur and Dalny are situated in Manchuria which is an important part of Chinese territory. Not only does the national safety of China rely upon the safeguarding of Manchuria as an integral portion of the Chinese Republic because these three Eastern Provinces as the Chinese call Manchuria have been the historic road of invasion into China throughout the past centuries, but also the security of the economic life of the Chinese people depends in a very vital measure upon the conservation and development with the surplus capital of the world of the natural and agricultural resources in Manchuria, a region where today an abundance of raw material and food supplies are already accessible to all nations, on fair terms and through the normal operation of the economic law of supply and demand. Moreover, Manchuria is an important outlet for the surplus population from the congested provinces in other parts of China.

In view of the foregoing facts, it is clear that China has such truly vital interests in Manchuria that the interests of any foreign power therein, however important they may be in themselves, cannot compare with them. The fact of close propinquity of Manchuria to Korea, if it justifies any claim to consideration, can be equitably appealed to only on the condition of reciprocity.

As to the statement that assurance was given by the American, British and French Governments at the time of the formation of the International Consortium that the vital interests of Japan in Manchuria shall be safeguarded, the Chinese delegation do not feel in a position, since China was not consulted at the time, to express an opinion as to the question of its accuracy. Should such assurance have been given, they could not, however, conceal their feeling that it cannot be reconciled with the principle which was adopted by the Conference on November 21 of respect for the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

As to the leased territory of Kowloon, leased to Great Britain, much is to be said for the importance of Hong-Kong to the trade of nations, and for the way in which its facilities are made accessible to the traders of the world, and while there may be a necessity to provide for the protection of the Hong-Kong Harbor in the interests of

such trade the retention of Kowloon may not necessarily be, in the view of the Chinese delegation, the sole solution of this problem.

In making the foregoing statement however the Chinese delegation have desired only to make their position clear and unless the Committee wish to continue discussion at this meeting the Chinese delegation desire to reserve for the future further observations on the question of the leased territories.

The Chairman observed that in the course of the discussion reference had been made by the Japanese and Chinese representatives to the attitude of the United States in relation to the Consortium. He assumed that the representatives of Japan and China had no intention to refer to anything other than the correspondence already published, and as this had been made public, he did not consider it necessary to add anything thereto at this time.

The proposal of the Chinese delegation that "China's rights as a neutral are to be fully respected in future wars to which she is not a party" was unanimously adopted after a statement made by Dr. Wang as follows:

The proposition advanced by the Chinese Delegation is an obvious one; it is in substance a corollary of the first of the four resolutions adopted by this Committee on November 21. This subject would not be presented for discussion except for the fact that in the past China's rights in this respect have been grievously disregarded. I need only refer you to the Russo-Japanese war which, so far as land operations are concerned, was fought wholly upon Chinese soil. Again, at the time of the military expedition against Tsingtao in the late war, belligerent troops landed at a point one hundred and fifty miles from the leased territory of Kiaochow.

It is clear that should similar incidents occur there would be furnished just cause of complaint by the non-offending belligerent power not only against the offending belligerent Power but also against China herself. Furthermore, they would tend to weaken throughout the world the respect due, in time of war, to neutral Powers. With these preliminary remarks I leave this question to the pleasure of this Committee.

The Committee then adjourned to meet tomorrow, December 8, at eleven o'clock a. m.

December 8, 1921.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions met this morning, December 8, 1921, at the Pan-American Building at eleven o'clock. All the delegates were present with the exception of Mr. Underwood, Mr. Ricci, Mr. Shidehara and Dr. Moresco.

Discussing the Third Chinese Proposal.

Mr. Koo said that the essential principle laid down in Point 3 of the Chinese proposals, which reads as follows: "With a

view to strengthening mutual confidence and maintaining peace in the Pacific and the Far East, the Powers agree not to conclude between themselves any treaty or agreement directly affecting China or the general peace in these regions without previously notifying China and giving to her an opportunity to participate," is that the Chinese Government should have previous notification of the negotiation of any treaty or agreement which will affect Chinese interests.

Agreements have in the past frequently been made, relating to the Far East or to China particularly, without participation on the part of China or previous notice to the Chinese Government. In agreements of this kind the nations concerned were presumably disposing of rights and interests belonging to them or they were given mutual promises with regard to action which they would take or from which they would abstain. Taking any one of these agreements by itself it might be argued that its subject matter was composed entirely of rights, interests and actions of the parties to the agreement.

This kind of agreements falls roughly into two divisions, one being in the nature of mutual engagements to abstain from certain action in special parts of China; the other being engagements for mutual assistance in support of the general interests of all foreign Powers in China, or of the special interests claimed by the parties to the agreement.

As to these treaties and agreements Mr. Koo said he felt that they were all so well known to the members of the Committee that the complete enumeration or specific illustrations would be unnecessary.

The first kind of agreements usually were in the nature of an engagement on the part of one contracting party not to seek any railway concessions in one part of China in return for a similar promise on the part of the other contracting parties, not to seek railway concessions in another part of China.

At first sight it might seem as if a nation were within its rights in promising to another to forego certain opportunities within a specific region. But any deeper examination of this matter will immediately show that there are a great many objections to such a method of arranging the action of one nation upon the territory of another. In the first place, it involves an incipient national monopoly or preference within the region affected, because the nation which has secured a promise of abstention from one Power, will then proceed with efforts to secure it from others. By the making of only one agreement, two nations are already backing a system of artificial limitation of economic activities.

The rights of China are involved both because she must wish that all the parts of her territory shall be opened on equal terms, or on such terms as she herself shall determine,

to foreign capitalists, merchants and residents. As soon as such treaties as the above are made, without consultation with China, her territory is divided into distinct spheres for foreign enterprise. To this she can by no means be indifferent.

The other group of treaties deals with the safeguarding and defending of territorial rights or special interests in the Far East, including or specially mentioning China.

These all have one or more of the following three features:

(1) A declaration that the contracting parties have a special interest in having order and a pacific state of things guaranteed in the regions of China, adjacent to the territories where the contracting Powers have rights of sovereignty, protection or occupation, and engage to support each other for assuring the peace and security in these regions; or

(2) A declaration to support the independence and integrity of China and the maintenance of the open door for foreign commerce and to aid each other for the defense of the contracting parties' special interests in said regions; or

(3) The recognition by one contracting Power to the effect, that since propinquity creates special relations, the other contracting Power has special interests in China.

It was clear that any one of the foregoing three features must be of vital interest to China. The assurance of peace and order in any part of Chinese territory was a matter of great concern to China herself. The maintenance of the independence and territorial integrity of China touched the supreme rights of China. As to the recognition of propinquity as creating special interests in China, it was equally obvious that such recognition could not be valid, because special interests on Chinese territory could not be created without the consent of China, and China has always contested the soundness of the doctrine of propinquity.

The effect of all such treaties and agreements have been to maintain in China conditions which intimately affected the rights, prospects and liberty of action of China herself.

It appeared therefore that the Chinese Government has an equitable right to be consulted in all agreements which deal with or pretend to deal with, the general situation in the Far East, including China. Even if such treaties should be animated by an entirely friendly spirit towards China, yet their bearing is such that they may involve consequences which would import limitations on Chinese freedom of action; and even they should therefore not be made without consultation with China.

It may, of course, be said that China, not being a party to such treaties need in no way recognize them nor consider herself bound by any of their provisions. That is

legally true. But the political effect produced by a group of such treaties, just as in the case of spheres of influence, tends so to modify the political and economic situation in China that no efforts on the part of her government can succeed in preserving liberty of action. We must look at the total results of a group of such cases, if the practice should be recognized that China need not be consulted. In that case it is plain that vital interests of China would be affected and the nature of activities and interests within China determined, entirely by the action of outside powers. The Chinese Government would then find itself obliged to move along grooves laid down by others without having once had an opportunity of insisting upon her own life-needs as seen by herself.

We must therefore conclude that though an individual agreement may on the face of it concern only the action of outside powers, if that action relates to China, the Chinese Government cannot remain indifferent to it, because of the effect which continued action in making agreements of this kind would have upon the liberty of movement and development of the Chinese Government and nation itself.

Mr. Balfour said that if none of his colleagues desired to speak immediately he would give utterance informally to his first thoughts on Mr. Koo's remarks. With the broad aspirations expressed by Mr. Koo all must be in sympathy. The whole tenor of the discussion on China's affairs proved the desire to remove as far as possible the abnormal conditions existing in China and to bring relations with China into that normal course of policy which regulates the relations between civilized States. He was not sure, however, that Mr. Koo's method was the best means of achieving this. One of the most important passages in Mr. Koo's speech had referred to spheres of influence. So far as Great Britain was concerned, spheres of interest were a thing of the past. The British Government had not the slightest wish to prolong a situation which, so far as they were concerned, had been explicitly abandoned. A better way of dealing with the matter was to make clear what had already been implicitly, if not explicitly, indicated, namely, to declare that no one wished to perpetuate either the system of spheres of interest or the international understandings on which they depended. How did spheres of interest come into existence? Because at a certain period of Russian and German aggression in China other powers, in order to prevent China being cut up before their eyes, had to do for each other what China could not do for herself. In China's interest, as well as in their own, they had to guard against their exclusion from legitimate opportunities of enterprise. This was due not so much to their own policy as to China's want of policy; not in consequence

of their own strength, but of China's weakness. Mr. Balfour thought it was the hope of all those present to place China in a position to defend her interests, to protect her neutrality, and no longer to be the prey of acquisitive powers. He did not think that this end was likely to be attained by adopting the broad principle proposed by the Chinese Delegation, but rather by dealing with the difficulties which beset China one by one, as the Committee were actually doing, e. g., in their dealings with such questions as spheres of interest, postoffices, extra-territoriality, etc. That was likely to be a most useful and fruitful method. Another method, which ought to be still more fruitful, must be dependent on China herself. All that the Conference would do was to see that no undue limitations, no limitations which were not necessitated by the facts of the situation, are placed on China's sovereign independence, and to give all the help in its power toward the creation of a pure and vigorous administration. He could not see that the position was helped by the principle proposed by the Chinese Delegation, which went a good deal beyond any existing principle of international law. The term employed, namely, "the Pacific and Far East," was as broad as the Pacific itself. He could not believe that the powers represented at this table would accept it, more especially as China was not in possession of material forces to enable her to carry out any policy outside her own frontier. He asked if it had occurred to Mr. Koo that his principle involved a limitation of the treaty-making rights of powers which could hardly be accepted. Mr. Balfour then read the following extract: "The powers agree not to conclude between themselves any treaty or agreement directly affecting China or the general plan in these regions without previously notifying China and giving her an opportunity to participate."

Translated into international language, this would prevent France and Belgium from entering into a defensive treaty of any kind without consulting Germany. Such a limitation could not be accepted. All agreed that treaties had been entered into not only in regard to China, but also to other nations, which reflected no credit on those who had concluded them. For this evil the great remedy was publicity. Most of the nations represented at this Conference were members of the League of Nations and were bound under Art. 18 of the Covenant to register their treaties with the League, which was under an obligation to publish them. The United States of America was not a member of the League of Nations, but its Constitution necessitated wide publicity in regard to treaties. Hence, all the powers to which Mr. Koo referred were bound to make their treaties public and give them the widest notoriety. That was the real pro-

tection for China. The whole world would become the judge of future treaties. He would therefore ask his Chinese friends not to press the Committee to adopt the resolution under discussion, but to deal with particular evils, as the Conference was doing. Mr. Balfour then quoted the first of the resolutions drafted by Mr. Root and adopted by the Committee on November 21, 1921:—

"To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China."

This resolution, if sincerely carried out, would do all that the too wide proposal made by Mr. Koo could effect, without raising the difficulties inseparable from his scheme.

The Chairman, (Mr. Hughes) desired to say a few words and to offer a few suggestions in order to find a point upon which the Committee might agree. He was sure that all understood the deep concern which had prompted the proposal of the Chinese Delegation and that there was general sympathy with China in her desire that there should be no engagements of any character interfering with the establishment of a sound, stable and efficient government in China; but note must be taken of actual conditions. The question was, therefore, how could aid be rendered most effectually in the light of present circumstances. The Committee had agreed in the second paragraph of the "Root Resolution" "To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government", that was not only a pledge but, he believed, a recognition of the fundamental fact that China alone could develop and maintain an effective and stable government. This could not be done by others—China must do it herself, but other governments could afford her the opportunity and possibility of doing so. But there must be patience; development in China is an age-long process. Our hurrying peoples must be patient, for the matter could never be worked out by coercion or by rousing the passive resistance of the Chinese people against interference in their public affairs. There was no wish to interfere while waiting, but there was a wish to aid.

This, he said, was the spirit of the Conference. The Powers concerned were most anxious to help and to assist this legitimate aspiration. And the opportunity was one which could not be conserved by any action that took advantage of China's plight.

If that be the spirit, discussion of the specific question presented in Paragraph No. 1 of the "Root Resolution" might be taken up. It had been agreed to respect the integrity and sovereignty of China and this naturally implied agreement by China to respect the integrity of other Powers. Each Power should be free to make the agreements necessary for the preservation of its proper interests; any general proposition

going so far as to derogate or limit the right to make agreements relative to fundamental, legitimate interests, would be one not easily defended.

The Chairman then observed that there might be treaties affecting China not adverse to China, but it could be said that there would be no *secret* engagements. Mr. Balfour had quite properly said that the other Governments here represented were bound not to make such engagements and that the Government of the United States could not. More than that could be done however; there could be recorded an expression of a desire to be helpful to China in the preservation of the legitimate field of her administrative autonomy and a reassertion, in connection with Paragraph No. 1 of the "Root Resolution," of the determination to do nothing in derogation of the sovereignty, independence, and territorial and administrative integrity of China.

Therefore, if there were embodied in the resolution relating to treaties principles underlying the Chinese proposal and an expression of the intention to do nothing in derogation of these principles and to make no treaties or engagements in derogation of the sovereignty and administrative integrity of China, all that China desired would be attained without the Committee being led into a discussion of the theoretical freedom of the treaty making power.

The Chairman therefore suggested that the Chinese Delegation advance some qualification of their proposal which would permit the matter to be discussed in that sense.

Mr. Hanihara said that he had very little to add to what Mr. Balfour had so ably stated. He only desired to make the point of view of the Japanese Delegation clear by saying a few words. The Japanese Delegation believed that the sovereign nations had the right of concluding any treaty or agreement between themselves. At the same time, with the growing influence of public opinion and of international law, it was daily becoming evident that, should a treaty or agreement prove prejudicial to the peace of the world or violative of the rights of third powers, it was bound to fall by itself under strong pressure of popular condemnation, if not on account of action taken against it by aggrieved parties, either through direct diplomatic representation or through the instrumentality of the League of Nations of which China was a member. But an engagement by the Powers under the formula now proposed by China would operate as a serious limitation upon their sovereign right and in the opinion of the Japanese Delegation it was neither necessary nor desirable.

Sir Auckland Geddes, as a means of surmounting the difficulty, ventured to suggest a resolution. After recalling the terms of the four resolutions adopted by the Committee on November 21st, he suggested that

to these should be added a fifth, as follows:-

"To enter into no treaty, agreement, arrangement or understanding either with one another or, individually or collectively, with any other Power or Powers which would infringe or impair the principles which they have herein declared."

Mr. Balfour said he thought it was worth while for him to state, in order that it might appear on the records of the Committee, that on October 31st, 1921, the Parliamentary Under Secretary of the Foreign Office had made the following declaration in the House of Commons:-

"The policy of spheres of influence in China has been superseded by one of international cooperation, and the further development of this policy will no doubt form one of the subjects of discussion at Washington."

In relation to the formula drafted by Sir Auckland Geddes, Mr. Hanihara stated in substance that he was in full accord with the spirit of the formula proposed. However, he would state his observations on a few points.

Firstly, that the formula would not only be unnecessary in view of the fact that the principle embodied in what had already been stated most clearly in the first item of the Root Resolution, but it might weaken the force of that Resolution.

Secondly, that in the present form all Powers who were party to the Resolution were to be bound in their actions by the formula. But at the same time China would be left free to enter into any treaties or other arrangements she desired. He wished to look back to the history and to say that on several occasions China had entered into agreements with various countries which had proved to place limitations upon her own administrative integrity, which caused many difficulties in her foreign relations.

Thirdly, that if the present formula was adopted criticisms might be incurred that the sovereign rights of the Powers, party to the Resolution, were subject to limitations and Fourthly, that publicity has been assured by Article 18 of the covenant of the League of Nations which would serve the purpose of the present formula sufficiently and effectively.

Mr. Hanihara therefore proposed that the wording of the Resolution should be so phrased that China also be bound in her actions in the same manner as the other Powers concerned, and, further, that the resolution, if it is to be adopted, should not be incorporated in the Root Resolution but should stand as a separate resolution.

Mr. Viviani supported the proposal of Mr. Hughes, which he said seemed to him to supplement in the most felicitous and necessary manner the principles adopted by the Committee on November 21st. Its effect indeed was to render it impossible for the

nations who were not taking part in the Conference to practice a policy regarding the sovereignty and integrity of China different from that which the nine Powers that were represented therein had declared it their decision to pursue.

Senator Schanzer, in the name of the Italian Delegation, agreed with the proposal put forward by the British Delegates and said he would like to add the following considerations to the declaration made by Mr. Viviani: Mr. Root's draft resolution concerned not only the interests of China but also those of all the other Powers here represented.

In fact in the first resolution Mr. Root laid down certain guarantees for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China; resolutions 3 and 4 concerned the guarantees of the other Powers here represented in regard to commercial equality for all nations and the policy of the open door in China. A mutual engagement between the Powers represented at this Conference also to respect in possible future treaties the principles contained in the above mentioned resolutions 3 and 4 would, therefore, not be useless and it was for this reason that the Italian Delegation believed that the complementary resolution proposed by the British Delegate was efficacious and would receive the full support of the Italian Delegation.

Sir Robert Borden said that he had been a good deal impressed by what Mr. Hanihara had said and for the following reason. The proposals embodied in the principles drafted by Mr. Root seemed to him comprehensively worked out, and to cover all the ground covered by the resolution under consideration. For example it would hardly be said that a Power was respecting "the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China" as laid down in the first resolution, or providing "the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government," as laid down in the second resolution, or using "their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity, etc." as provided in the third resolution, if it were to enter into an agreement or treaty which was inconsistent with these principles. Instead of adding to these principles the proposed addition in one point of view would detract from them. After reading aloud the terms of Sir Auckland Geddes' resolution Sir Robert said that, if he were looking at it from the standpoint of his Chinese colleagues, he would say that it ought to be broadened in its scope. It ought not to be limited to an obligation merely "to enter into no treaty, agreement, arrangement or understanding," but should include an undertaking "to take no step." He did not rise to oppose the resolution but he himself thought it would

be better to omit it, or, if it were adopted, to extend its scope.

Jonkeer van Karnebeek said he personally was in favor of the proposal of the British Ambassador for the reasons given by Sir Auckland Geddes himself and those advanced by Mr. Viviani. He asked whether it would not be opportune to submit the matter to the Drafting Committee and in this connection called attention to two points:

(1) the statement of principles to which a fifth was about to be added was intended as a working basis for this conference not as the text of a final agreement,

(2) the question had arisen as to whether and in what measure the resolution should be open for the accession of Powers not represented there.

The Drafting Committee might well examine, Jonkeer van Karnebeek thought, the primary question as to the nature of the resolution and might present a text in which the present proposal should be inserted, and also might consider the position of other Powers.

The resolution suggested by Sir Auckland Geddes, with slight modifications, was then adopted, as follows:

That the Powers attending this Conference, hereinafter mentioned, to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, and Portugal, declare that it is their intention not to enter into any treaty, agreement, arrangement, or understanding, either with one another or, individually or collectively, with any power or powers which would infringe or impair the principles which have been declared by the resolution adopted November 21st. by this Committee. (Note for the press: This refers to the so-called "Root resolutions.")

The Committee then adjourned to meet again Saturday at 11 a. m.

December 12, 1921.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions met this morning, December 12, 1921, at 11 o'clock in the Pan-American Building. All the delegates were present except Baron Shidehara, Signor Ricci, and Sir Robert Borden. Mr. Everwijn took his seat as a delegate in the place of Dr. Moresco who had left for home.

The Committee adopted the resolution on Chinese Post Offices as follows:

RESOLUTION

A. Recognizing the justice of the desire expressed by the Chinese Government to secure the abolition of foreign postal agencies in China, save or except in leased territories or as otherwise specifically provided by treaty, it is resolved:

- (1) The four Powers having such postal agencies agree to their abandon-

ment subject to the following conditions:

- (a) That an efficient Chinese postal service is maintained;
 - (b) That an assurance is given by the Chinese Government that they contemplate no change in the present postal administration so far as the status of the foreign Co-Director General is concerned.
- (2) To enable China and the Powers concerned to make the necessary dispositions, this arrangement shall come into force and effect not later January 1st, 1923.

B. Pending the complete withdrawal of foreign postal agencies, the four Powers concerned severally undertake to afford full facilities to the Chinese customs authorities to examine in those agencies all postal matter (excepting ordinary letters, whether registered or not, which upon external examination appear plainly to contain only written matter) passing through them, with a view to ascertaining whether they contain articles which are dutiable or contraband or which otherwise contravene the customs regulations or laws of China.

Senator Lodge read the following letter:
Japanese Delegation, Washington,
December 9, 1921.

Dear Sir:

With regard to the proposed abolition of foreign postal agencies, I am happy to inform you that my Government have no objection to the initiation of the arrangement as from the date in the draft Resolution, that is, not later than January 1, 1923.

In announcing this agreement of my Government, I am instructed to state before the Committee their desire concerning the maintenance of efficient Chinese Postal Service substantially to the following effect:-

"Taking into account the fact that the proposed change in the postal regime in China cannot fall practically to affect the Japanese to a much greater extent than any other nationals, the Japanese Government wish to place on record their desire that a suitable number of experienced Japanese postal officers be engaged by China in the interest of the efficiency of the Chinese postal administration. The reasonableness of this desire will readily be appreciated, when it is considered that the Powers concerned have recognized the need of effective foreign assistance in the Chinese postal administration, and that no less than 70 British subjects and 20 Frenchmen are in that service, while only two Japanese experts are employed in it."

Yours respectfully,
(Signed) M. Hanihara

Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, Chairman,
Sub-Committee for Foreign Post Offices in China.

Mr. Sze made the following statement:

Since the establishment of her national postal service, China has at all times handled with efficiency all foreign mail. She appreciates that, with the withdrawal of foreign post offices from her soil, the amount of foreign mail to be handled by her own postal system will be increased. This increase she undertakes to handle with the same efficiency by making such additions to the personnel and equipment of her postal service as will be required. As soon as the Siberian route is re-opened for the transportation of foreign mail matter between Asia and Europe, steps will be taken to make arrangements for the transportation of such mail matter as was formerly transported by this route. As regards actual railway transportation of such mail China will hold herself responsible for uninterrupted service upon those railways or sections of railways within her jurisdiction which are under her own control and operation.

The Committee also entered upon the discussion of matters relating to radio stations in China which was postponed for further consideration. It then took up the matter of spheres of influence in China in connection with which Dr. Wang made the following statement, and the discussion of the matter was postponed to the next session of the Committee;

The phrase "sphere of interest," or "sphere of influence" as it is sometimes called, is a more or less vague term which implies that the Powers making such claims in China are entitled within their respective "spheres" to enjoy reserved, preferential, exclusive or special rights and privileges of trade, investment and for other purposes.

Germany was the first to claim a sphere of influence or of interest in its crystallized form over the Province of Shantung; later the other Powers made similar claims over other portions of the territory of China.

These claims are either based on agreements between the Powers themselves to which China is not a party, such as the agreement of September 2nd, 1898, relative to railway construction concluded between British and German banking groups and sanctioned by their respective governments, or based on treaties or agreements made with China under circumstances precluding the free exercise of her will, such as the convention with Germany for a lease of Kiaochow of March 6, 1898, and the treaties and notes of May 25, 1915, made with Japan in consequence of the latter's twenty-one demands on China.

A tentative list of the various treaties relating to this matter and the so-called spheres of interest of the various powers has already been circulated for your information. I need not, therefore, enter into a detailed examination of them at present.

That China should have been thus divided into different spheres of interest is a most unfortunate state of affairs. In the first place, these spheres of interest seriously hamper the economic development of China. The Powers claiming these spheres seem to take the view that certain portions of China's territory are reserved for their exclusive exploitation without regard to the economic needs of the Chinese people. There have been instances where a nation is willing or unable to finance a particular enterprise and yet refuses to allow it to be financed or carried out by other nations.

In the second place, the whole system is contrary to the policy of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations, —a policy which, so far as the common interests of the Powers are concerned, is fair and equitable and which has been adopted by this Committee.

A further objection to the spheres of interest is that there has been a tendency, under cover of economic claims to further political ends, thus threatening the political integrity of China and giving rise to international jealousy or friction.

It is gratifying to know that the United States and Great Britain have placed themselves strongly upon record as opposed to the continuance of spheres of interest in China. At the last meeting Mr. Balfour was good enough to say that spheres of interest in China is a thing of the past.

The claims by the Powers to spheres of interest have given rise to much misunderstandings and misgivings on the part of the Chinese people, and in view of the considerations which I have just advanced, the Chinese delegation asks that the Powers represented in this Conference disavow all claims to a sphere or spheres of interest or of influence or any special interests within the territory of China.

Mr. Hughes then stated that he desired to announce an important matter to the Committee although it was outside the proceedings of the Conference. It was a matter that had almost been concluded before the Conference convened. He was happy to state that it had now been completely settled and an agreement reached between the United States and Japan. He referred to the matter of Yap and mandated islands north of the equator. A convention would be put in final shape and signed by the two Governments shortly.

Mr. Hughes remarked that it was with the greatest regret that he must now speak of the subject of Mr. Viviani's departure. He wished at the same time to express a final appreciation of his collaboration and voice the sorrow that he himself and all his colleagues must feel at their loss. This was greeted with approval by all the delegates present. Mr. Viviani replied that he had been much touched by the words

of the Chairman; that the date of his departure had been fixed before he left France; he had been absent five months out of nine on duties that took him from Geneva to Washington, and it was absolutely necessary that he now return. He added that his regret at leaving was tempered by the fact that his mandate would be left in the good hands of M. Sarraut.

The Committee then adjourned to meet Wednesday next, December 14, 1921, at 11 o'clock a. m.

December 14, 1921.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions met this morning, December 14, at eleven o'clock. The Committee took the question of "spheres of influence" and special interest in China and the Chairman stated that in view of the situation with regard to the matter of naval armament it seemed advisable to give an opportunity for necessary conversations and discussions and also for meetings of the Subcommittee on Naval Armament in order that an agreement on this subject should be reached at the earliest possible moment. It was also a fact that at this time the Chinese and Japanese delegations were concerned with the Shantung Conversations and in order that the greatest progress should be made in the Conference the Chairman took the liberty of suggesting that the General Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions should have a short session this morning and then should take a recess subject to the call of the Chair. This suggestion was unanimously approved.

Careful examination of the correspondence recently exchanged between Japan and China will show that the divergencies of opinion between the two Governments are more apparent than real. We are hopeful that this meeting will be able to determine in common accord the essential terms of settlement, leaving the matters of detail or of local nature for arrangement by the Commissioners of the two Governments to be specially appointed for that purpose.

STATEMENT BY MR. SZE ON BEHALF OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION

Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour:

I desire first of all to express on behalf of the Chinese Delegation the sincere thanks and appreciation for the friendly and good offices that you two gentlemen have offered on behalf of your two countries in bringing about conversations with a view to a fair settlement of the Shantung question. I need not add anything more to what I said yesterday at the general meeting of the full committee.

The Shantung question is one of vital importance to China. Its importance to China and the difficulties connected therewith are too well known to all to need any remarks by me today. It is universally admitted that the condition is unsatisfactory and that an early and speedy solution, fair and just and satisfactory to the desires and aspirations of the Chinese people is necessary.

I join with you all in the hope that our conversations will be fruitful of results, resulting in a fair and just settlement.

With reference to the observation of Baron Kato that the Japanese Government was not unmindful of the difficulties which have confronted the Chinese Government in regard to the method of settling this question, the Chinese Delegation, is gratified that these difficulties have been perceived by the Japanese Delegation,—difficulties which have made necessary the resort to the present procedure which, under the good offices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour in behalf of their respective Governments, has been initiated.

This conversation was resumed at 3.30 this afternoon together with the American and British representatives. Prince Tokugawa replaced Baron Kato in representing Japan at this session.

It was agreed on the part of the two delegates that in discussing the Shantung question they would take the actual facts and not the academic viewpoint as the basis of discussion which will be for the sole purpose of promoting mutual understanding and good neighborhood between China and Japan, and without giving ground for the least inference that the discussion will be based on the treaty arrangements which have been in dispute between these two countries or others.

An interchange of views on the question of Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway then took place and this discussion will be continued at another meeting.

The next meeting will be held at 3.30 Monday afternoon.

The Chinese and the Japanese delegates met at 3.30 this afternoon at the Pan-American Building. Mr. Hanihara made the following declaration "Japan will renounce all preferential rights with regard to foreign assistance in persons, capital, and material, stipulated in the Sino-German treaty of March 6, 1898." The question of the maritime customs of Tsingtao was then discussed. After an interchange of views they have decided that the said customs will be made an integral part of the Chinese Maritime Customs with the understanding first, that the Chinese gov-

ernment will make a recommendation to the Inspector General of the Chinese Maritime Customs with a view to permitting the Japanese traders at Tsingtao to communicate with said customs in the Japanese language; second, the Chinese Government will make a recommendation to the Inspector General of the Chinese Maritime Customs that in the selection of a suitable staff for the Tsingtao customs, consideration be given within the limits of its established service regulations to the divers needs of the trade of Tsingtao.

With these two understandings the Japanese delegates waived all of the privileges, formerly enjoyed by the Germans in relation to the maritime customs at Tsingtao. The provisional agreement between Japan and China relative to the maritime customs office at Tsingtao on August 6, 1915, will be automatically abrogated when the above mentioned decision comes into effect.

The meeting adjourned to meet at three o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

Conversations Between the Chinese and Japanese Delegates on Shantung.

December 1, 1921.

The conversation between the Chinese and Japanese delegates relating to the Shantung question arranged through the good offices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour commenced this afternoon at 3 p. m. in the conference room of the Pan-American Building.

The meeting on the part of China was attended by Dr. Sze, Dr. Koo, and Dr. Wang, accompanied by Mr. Tyau, Gen. Wang, Mr. Hsu, Mr. Chao, and Mr. Koo; and on the part of Japan by Baron Kato, Mr. Hanihara, Mr. Debuchi, accompanied by Mr. Saburi, Mr. Kimura, Mr. Saito, and Mr. Shiratori. Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour accompanied by Sir John Jordan, Mr. Miles Lampson, Mr. J. V. A. MacMurray and Mr. Edward Bell, opened the meeting and retired, leaving the above-named American and British representatives to assist at the sessions.

The meeting discussed questions of procedure and decided to issue a communique at the end of each meeting. The next meeting will be held in the same building at 3.30 p. m., Friday afternoon, next.

December 2, 1921.

At the first meeting of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates held yesterday at the Pan-American Building relative to the question of Shantung, and in response to the opening remarks of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour expressing their gratification in the acceptance on the part of China and Japan of their good offices and their desire to extend their friendly intervention with a view of securing a fair and

satisfactory arrangement of this question, Baron Kato and Dr. Sze replied as follows:

JAPANESE STATEMENT ON THE SHANTUNG QUESTION.

Delivered at the Meeting of the Japanese and Chinese Delegates on December 1.

We are sincerely gratified by the opportunity which has been afforded us to meet with the representatives of China in an attempt to arrive at a satisfactory adjustment of the Shantung question. We cannot let this occasion pass without expressing our deep appreciation of the good offices of Secretary Hughes and Mr. Balfour, which have made the present meeting possible.

It is needless for us to assure you that that Japan is eagerly looking forward to an early settlement of this long pending controversy. We may add that it is the desire of the Japanese people to eliminate all cause of misunderstanding between China and Japan, in order that these two neighboring nations in the Far East may live in future in perfect harmony and accord. And we have no doubt that this sentiment is fully shared by our Chinese friends.

We are not unmindful of the difficulties with which the Chinese Government is being confronted in entering into direct negotiations on the subject. We are, however, confident that, if approached from a broader perspective, the question should be susceptible of a speedy solution. The true and vital interests of the two nations are in no way conflicting.

It is unfortunate that the real issues in-

volved have been very largely misunderstood in the popular mind. The term 'Shantung question' is itself a misnomer. The question is not one which affects the whole Province of Shantung. The important points now awaiting adjustment relate only to the manner of restoring to China an area of territory, less than one half of one per cent. of the Shantung Province, and also to the disposition of a railway 290 miles long, and its appurtenant mines, formerly under exclusive possession and management of the Germans. There is absolutely no question of full territorial sovereignty; that is being exercised by China throughout the length and breadth of the Province.

December 6, 1921.

The delegates met at 3 o'clock p. m. in the Pan-American Building, December 6, 1921, and discussed the question of restoration to China of the public properties in the territory of Kiaochow.

The delegates adjourned to meet at 3.15 p. m., tomorrow.

December 7, 1921.

The Chinese and Japanese Delegations met again this afternoon at 3.15 at the Pan-American Union Building and discussed the question of restitution to China of the public properties in Tsingtao. Substantial progress had been made and the discussion will be continued at the next meeting at 3.15 tomorrow afternoon.

December 8, 1921.

The Chinese and Japanese Delegates met in the Governing Board Room of the Pan-American Union Building this afternoon and continued the discussion on public properties. The next meeting will take place tomorrow at eleven o'clock in the morning.

December 9, 1921.

The Chinese and Japanese Delegates met for the seventh and eight times in the Governing Board Room of the Pan-American Union Building at eleven o'clock this morning and three o'clock this afternoon. The discussion on public properties

was completed. The question of opening the port of Kiaochow was taken up and the salt industry at Tsingtao was then discussed. The meeting adjourned until 3.15 tomorrow afternoon.

December 10, 1921.

The ninth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese delegates relative to the question of Shantung took place in the Governing Board Room of the Pan-American Union Building at 3.15 this afternoon. The question of salt fields and that of Kiaochow-Chinan railway were discussed. Considerable progress had been made toward an understanding on the part of the two delegations. The meeting adjourned until 3.15 p. m. next Monday.

December 12, 1921.

The tenth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese delegates relative to the question of Shantung took place in the Governing Board Room of the Pan-American Union Building. The question of Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway was discussed. The meeting adjourned at 5.15 p. m. until 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

December 13, 1921.

The eleventh meeting of the Chinese and Japanese delegates relative to the question of Shantung took place in the Governing Board Room of the Pan American Union Building. The discussion of the question of the Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway was continued. The Meeting adjourned at 5.30 p. m. until 3.15 tomorrow afternoon.

December 14, 1921.

The twelfth meeting of the Japanese and Chinese delegates relative to the question of Shantung was held at 3.15 this afternoon in the Governing Board Room of the Pan American Union Building. The discussion on the question of Tsingtao Tsinan Railway was continued and they have approached an understanding on several features of this question. The meeting adjourned at 5.30 this afternoon until 3.15 tomorrow afternoon.

Text of the Four Power Treaty

December 13, 1921.

The following is the full text of the Treaty signed today by the United States of America, the British Empire, France and Japan.

The United States of America, the British Empire, France and Japan,

With a view to the preservation of the general peace and the maintenance of their rights in relation to their insular possessions

and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean,

Have determined to conclude a Treaty to this effect and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America:

Charles Evans Hughes,
Henry Cabot Lodge,
Oscar W. Underwood and Elihu Root;
citizens of the United States;

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India;

The Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour, O. M., M. P., Lord President of His Privy Council;

The Right Honourable Baron Lee of Fareham, G. B. E., K. C. B., First Lord of His Admiralty;

The Right Honourable Sir Auckland Campbell Geddes, K. C. B., His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America;

And

for the Dominion of Canada:

The Right Honourable Robert Laird Borden, G. C. M. G., K. C.;

for the Commonwealth of Australia:

The Honourable George Foster Pearce, Minister of Defence.

for the Dominion of New Zealand:

Sir John William Salmond, K. C., Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand.

for the Union of South Africa:

The Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour, O. M., M. P.

for India:

The Right Honourable Valingman Sankaranarayana Srinivasa Sastri, Member of the Indian Council of State;

The President of the French Republic:

Mr. Rene Viviani, Deputy, Former President of the Council of Ministers;

Mr. Albert Sarrant, Deputy, Minister of the Colonies;

Mr. Jules J. Jusserand, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, Grand Cross of the National Order of the Legion of Honour;

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan:

Baron Tomosahuro Kato, Minister for the Navy, Junii, a member of the First Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun with the Paulownia Flower;

Baron Kijuro Shidehara, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Washington, Jushii, a member of the First Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun;

Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, Junii, a mem-

ber of the First Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun;

Mr. Masanao Hanihara, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jushii, a member of the Second Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun;

Who, having communicated their Full Powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

I

The High Contracting Parties agree as between themselves to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean.

If there should develop between any of the High Contracting Parties a controversy arising out of any Pacific question and involving their said rights which is not satisfactorily settled by diplomacy and is likely to affect the harmonious accord now happily subsisting between them, they shall invite the other High Contracting Parties to a joint conference to which the whole subject will be referred for consideration and adjustment.

II

If the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any other Power, the High Contracting Parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly or separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation.

III.

This Treaty shall remain in force for ten years from the time it shall take effect, and after the expiration of said period it shall continue to be in force subject to the right of any of the High Contracting Parties to terminate it upon twelve months' notice.

IV.

This Treaty shall be ratified as soon as possible in accordance with the constitutional methods of the High Contracting Parties and shall take effect on the deposit of ratifications, which shall take place at Washington, and thereupon the agreement between Great Britain and Japan, which was concluded at London on July 13, 1911, shall terminate. The Government of the United States will transmit to all the Signatory Powers a certified copy of the process-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

The Present Treaty, in French and in English shall remain deposited in the Archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof

will be transmitted by that Government to each of the Signatory Powers.

In faith whereof the above named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at the City of Washington, the thirteenth day of December, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-One.

December 13, 1921.

The following is the text of an agreement signed today:

In signing the Treaty this day between The United States of America, the British Empire, France and Japan, it is declared to be the understanding and intent of the Signatory Powers:

1. That the Treaty shall apply to the Mandated Islands in the Pacific Ocean; provided, however, that the making of the Treaty shall not be deemed to be an assent on the part of the United States of America to the mandates and shall not preclude agreements between The United States of America and the Mandatory Powers respectively in relation to the mandated Islands.

2. That the controversies to which the second paragraph of Article I refers shall not be taken to embrace questions which according to principles of international law lie exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the respective Powers.

Washington, December 13, 1921.

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From A Faint Blue Glow To Modern Miracles

EDISON saw it first—a mere shadow of blue light streaking across the terminals inside an imperfect electric lamp. This “leak” of electric current, an obstacle to lamp perfection, was soon banished by removing more air from the bulbs.

But the ghostly light, and its mysterious disappearance in a high vacuum, remained unexplained for years.

Then J. J. Thomson established the electron theory on the transmission of electricity in a partial vacuum—and the blue light was understood. In a very high vacuum, however, the light and apparently the currents that caused it disappeared.

One day, however, a scientist in the Research Laboratories of the General Electric Company proved that a current could be made to pass through the highest possible vacuum, and could be varied according to fixed laws. But the phantom light had vanished.

Here was a new and definite phenomenon—a basis for further research.

Immediately, scientists began a series of developments with far reaching practical results. A new type of X-ray tube, known as the Coolidge tube, soon gave a great impetus to the art of surgery. The Kenotron and Pliotron, followed in quick succession by the Dynatron and Magnetron, made possible long distance radio telephony and revolutionized radio telegraphy. And the usefulness of the “tron” family has only begun.

The troublesome little blue glow was banished nearly forty years ago. But for scientific research, it would have been forgotten. Yet there is hardly a man, woman or child in the country today whose life has not been benefited, directly or indirectly, by the results of the scientific investigations that followed.

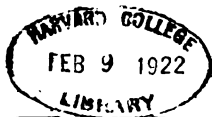
Thus it is that persistent organized research gives man new tools, makes available forces that otherwise might remain unknown for centuries.

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DR. HAWKLING YEN

**COUNSELLOR OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SECRETARY-
GENERAL OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION TO THE
WASHINGTON CONFERENCE**



THE CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY



TELLY H. KOO, *Editor-in-Chief*

P. C. HSIEH, *General Manager*



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No. 4

Mr. Liang Shih Yi

A little over a century ago, an adroit Emperor in France was forced to leave his palace in Fontainbleau for a plain residence on the Island of Elba. He managed to steal back to Paris and to enjoy his last hundred days. A little over a century later an adroit statesman in China was obliged to leave his magnificent banquet hall in Peking for a quite life in the foreign settlement of a treaty port because of his attempt to put a more adroit statesman on the throne. More fortunate than the Corsican Emperor, he was pardoned, re-admitted to offices, and allowed to play an active part in politics. Presently he assumes his office as a monarchical premier of a republican government, and in all probability, his regime will last more than a hundred days. Not so great and yet greater than a Bonaparte!

Republic or monarchy, Mr. Liang can not live without a government. He

loves politics as a school boy loves his games. Provided there is space, weather and comfort are immaterial. When his old days come, he will tell his friends, as the disappointed General told his guards at St. Helena, to lay his remains in Peking amongst a people whose government he loves regardless of forms.

Remarkably able and of a scholarly temperament, but absolutely destitute of principle and unscrupulous to an astounding degree, Mr. Liang was gravely suspected of implication in several assassinations during the most turbulent years of the Republic. From first to last he was at the same time a slave and master of a more resourceful man; slave because he was always at the whim of Yuan Shih-Kai either in persuading the Manchu Family to abdicate or in engineering a movement that was destined to failure, master because he utilized his office to such

an extent that he was not only a *persona grata* but also financially indispensable to an Emperor who needed money. Politicians are usually without convictions; particularly so with Mr. Liang. He did not know why the Manchus should abdicate, why Yuan Shih Kai should be made an Emperor, just as he has no objection to the present Republic. Of all the monarchists in 1916, he was the only brain; but it was not a brain with a conviction. It was a brain with a persistency to exist.

While his relentless critic might have gone too far in the affirmation that it was he who "withdrew all the specie from the two government banks to finance Yuan Shih Kai's monarchical restoration movement and who in 1920 obstructed famine relief" lest his effort to build up a new political machine might fail, Mr. Liang's political character was certainly not above suspicion. One mild observer pointed out that he enriched himself by utilizing first the office of the Director-General of the Bank of Communications and then that of the Chief Secretary, while another gave the following incident;

"There were many new features of interest in the picturesque pageant of life at Peking as I saw it last year, many lights and shadows suggestive of coming events, but few more significant, as straws on the wind, than the pillar-boxes of the Imperial (and quite independent) Japanese Post, dotted about all over the capital. When I spoke on the subject to Mr. Liang Shih-Yi, the great wirepuller in chief, he said that the Government had protested against these sign-posts of the Rising Sun's Ascendancy, but the Japanese Minister had paid no attention, and what more could they do?"

Such was the answer given by a practical statesman, a moving spirit of the Clique of Communications!

It will be futile to analyze the political career of Mr. Liang. It will be cruel to take him as isolated instance. Being an official sample, he merely

typifies the crowd. In politics, Mr. Liang is, after all, a philistine, a philistine with a strong will to live up to the orthodox definition of Aristotle that man is a political animal.

A review of Mr. Liang's activities during the two weeks reveals the fact that he is more indiscreet than vicious, more injudicious than treacherous. His first act was the attempt to restore the viceregal system with the alleged purpose of facilitating the union of the South and North but Canton made it known that she had no dealing with the new premier and that an order for his arrest was issued. Next was his pardon of the Aifu chiefs and his appointment of Tsao Ju-lin as high Industrial Commissioner and Lu Chung-yu as Mayor of Peking. In taking this step, he might be prompted by a personal or political motive. Tsao and Lu, like Mr. Liang himself, are extremely able men and Mr. Liang was personally indebted to them. The acceptance of these appointments would probably mean the immediate downfall of the new Cabinet. Mr. Liang might, of course, think that these appointments were merely prefatory necessity; and that he anticipated their decline. Tsao Ju-lin by gracefully requesting the President to recall the mandate, made a favorable impression, while Mr. Liang, whatever justification he might have had to incur popular indignation for such a move was not unnaturally taken as a defiance of public opinion.

Any politician in China with any common sense at all will have to act with circumspection at this juncture. His conversation with Obata, regardless of its real nature, was unwise in the extreme. To avoid a recurrence of the accident that happened in Peking in 1919 when the Paris Conference was in session, Mr. Liang should have abstained from any connection with the Japanese Minister that might give cause for speculation and rumour. Caution is a higher virtue than explanation. To ascertain how far Mr. Liang has gone in his negotiation with the Japanese Minister for the Shantung

Railway Loan Agreement is just as difficult as to inquire how far Japan had urged General Chang Tso-lin to upset the former Cabinet.

Political innocence in China is in itself stupid. A little political wisdom, we take it, is necessary. The President, answering to the heated and unbalanced denouncement of General Wu, pleaded in Mr. Liang's favour and requested to "let him prove his worth." There is yet plenty of time for Mr. Liang to make up.* "The first criminal and murderer, Cain, who acquired a knowledge of guilt,

and through guilt acquired a knowledge of virtue by repentance, and so came to understand the meaning of life, is a tragical figure more significant, and almost more respectable, than all the innocent fools in the world put together." Let us take Schopenhauer's justification of Cain as our hope for an improved premier.

* As this issue goes to the press it is reported that General Wu Pei Fu gave Mr. Liang three days to resign. The new Cabinet is hung in the balance.

Twenty-One versus Four

THE game is unbalanced; Mr. Root is playing against overwhelming odds. Unless his team is with him unless his principles are strictly applied, the aggregate of Mr. Root and Mr. Sze will be equivalent of Mr. Wilson, numerically as well as effectively. The fact that Japan subscribed to his four principles did not mean a conversion in Japanese diplomacy. Being an artistic people, the Japanese are always the first ones to agree to artistic expressions. Her stand on the Shantung question sufficiently bears out that agreement and application of a principle are two different things. Between Mr. Root and Japan, there is only one alternative; either the public abrogation of the Twenty-one Demands or the tacit nullification of his four principles. If, in the last resort, Mr. Root has to acknowledge defeat, it means that one of the great wrongs which the Conference undertakes to redress remains unchallenged. The survival of the obnoxious demands means the death of the Conference.

It is hardly necessary for us here to enter into a discussion of the history of these demands, or "the circumstances under which these demands were presented." In substance, it required that China was not to construct her railways in her own territory without

Japan's consent, that she was to surrender her mines to the Japanese capitalists and for Japanese operation, that she was not to have shipping facilities in her own province; that she was not to borrow capital from any other country except from Japan, and that she was not to do anything without consulting Japanese experts. The very fact that these demands were delivered, unhesitatingly and deliberately, to a sovereign nation clearly proved that she had absolutely no consideration, not to say respect, for China's sovereignty and independence. Her demand for the extension of the lease of Port Arthur, Dalny, the South Manchurian and the Antung-Mukden Railways, for the employment of her financial, political, and military advisers illustrated in an eloquent manner how she respected China's territorial and administrative integrity. There is no compromise between Mr. Root's first principle and the Twenty-one Demands. Either one has to yield.

The presentation of these demands *per se* was a threat to the Chinese government. Quite regardless of the details which were, to all intents and purposes designed to bind and curtail the Chinese Government, an ultimatum to compel the acceptance of a set of degrading limitations could hardly be in-

terpreted as affording an "unembarrassed opportunity to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government." There is no compromise between Mr. Root's second principle and the Twenty-one Demand. Here again either one has to yield.

Japan claimed preferential rights in South Manchuria and Inner Mongolia where no third power could build a railway or advance a loan, or recommend an expert without first securing Japan's consent. China was not even allowed to dispose of the rights and properties of the Hanyehping Company without the previous consent of Japan. There can not possibly be any compromise between Mr. Root's third principle and the Twenty-one Demand. The Door must either open or close; there is no half way.

Japan's hay-making policy in 1915 was, of course, due mainly to the European situation on the one hand and the domestic politics in China upon the other. Not only did she take advantage of the conditions in China, but she also took advantage of her ally. One of the brilliant English writers says:

"England, in particular, has reason to complain of her Allies' activities in China during the last five years. Their (the Japanese) feverish hay-making in China, and especially in the Yangtze Valley, at the time when Great Britain was not in a position to protect her interests, could hardly help leaving a distinctly disagreeable impression. Their activities in the matters of loans to the provincial authorities, and of railway and mining concessions in the Yangtze Provinces, have all been conducted without the slightest regard for Great Britain's prior claims to a particular interest in the development of this region. When, for example, in January, 1915, the Japanese Government instructed its Minister at Peking to include under Group III of the "Twenty-One Demands" recognition of Japan's claims to

priority of rights in the Hanyehping Coal and Iron Company with an extensive mining monopoly attached thereto, it was not, playing the game! It was a direct attack upon the principle of equal industrial opportunity at a point where England was fully entitled to expect fair play. Japan now keeps a small garrison at Hankow, intended, no doubt, to emphasise the principle of the "open door. . . ."

Japan had no scruples in abridging the rights of her Ally; and she has no "friendly nations." The demands,—every one of them, does not bear inspection. Suffice it to say that these terms,—or, as her "profligate apologist" calls, requests,—were handed over to the Chinese Government for acceptance accompanied by an ultimatum according to the fashion of the day. There is no possible reconciliation between Mr. Root's fourth principle and the Twenty-one Demands. Either one has to yield.

Thus one by one, Mr. Root's four principles are swept aside if the Twenty-one demands were allowed to stand. It is contended that the treaties of 1915 were concluded between two sovereign nations and consequently no third power has the right to intervene. One has to remember, however, that the issue between Belgium and Germany when the latter invaded Brussels in the autumn of 1914 was an issue between two sovereign nations. If the Allies intervened because of her guaranteed neutrality, did not, then, the powers engage to observe the principle of Open Door in the case of China? One must also remember that the United States protested upon the delivery of the Demands. For the United States to remain silent this time is tantamount to the withdrawal of her protest. It has also been argued that treaties are usually enforced by duress, and China should have accepted the demands in 1915 as Germany did in 1919. Germany accepted the treaty of Versailles willingly or unwillingly because she had to; she was too provocative. China ac-

cepted the demands in 1915 willingly or unwillingly, because she had to; she was too unprovocative. One accepted a treaty as a consequence, the other as a cause.

It is likely that the Senate will reject all Conference documents unless the Shantung question is satisfactorily settled. But in one sense, the question of the Twenty-one Demands is even more imperative than the restitution of Shantung on the simple ground that the former involves a principle while the latter is a concrete case. A con-

crete case has a limited scope; a principle is susceptible to a universal application.

Public opinion in China desires to see this question settled at the Conference. If the General Committee is willing to take that up, it will not only bring greater pressure on Japan, but the solution will also be expedited. It is probable that by the time when this issue appears, the score between Mr. Root and Japan would have been registered.

Our Provincial Students

MORE constructive than the immediate relief for our provincial students who are now in this country will be the formulation by the Ministry of Education as well as the various provincial governments of a new policy relative to the sending of students abroad. The present deplorable situation is as much the culmination of years of recklessness as the result of financial disturbances which are now prevailing in China. Hitherto this wholesale emigration of students was permitted to continue without the slightest idea of adequately providing for their expenses. The *émigrés*, on the other hand lured by the prospects of a returned student, and innocently ignorant of the inevitable starvation that awaited them, rushed with all haste to a country where hunger was incredible. Only a few of the provincial governments undertook to make periodical payments; some made irregular remittances, while others totally stopped to make provisions. Every year saw the financial situation more critical than the last, but the influx of our provincial students went on. The Director, facing a perpetual crisis was virtually a debt contractor: the Bureau a loan office.

Until now all sources of loan are ex-

hausted. The American banks, having been repeatedly defaulted, refused to make further arrangements, while the Chinese trading corporations are too cautious to run a risk. For this state of affairs, neither the Director nor the students are responsible. The solution can be found only at home where the blame rests. Things have come to such a pass that it is incumbent on the central government and the provinces either to stop the further despatch of students altogether or to see that adequate funds are being provided for. The present system of unrestricted sending of students by the provincial government is fundamentally unsatisfactory. The provincial government, —in some cases, it is not even the government,—sends the students, but the Ministry of Education is appealed to as the last resort in case of financial difficulties. That means the central government bears the responsibility of the provincial governments over which it has a nominal control both in the way of examination and the number of students to be sent abroad. In view of the political instability in China and as long as the danger of military governors remain unabated our provincial governments can not be safely relied upon for regular remittance. Our

students from the so-called model provinces ought to be gratified with the manner with which they are taken care of, but should these model governors one day be removed or replaced by poor substitutes, the situation will be even worse than what it now is. The remedy seems to lie in two directions: either the central government or the public provincial organizations take over the whole affair. In the former case, restriction, if not adequate provision, will be possible while in the latter, it is quite evident that our Chambers of Commerce and Educational associations are more reliable, as far as financing is concerned, than our provincial governments nowadays.

A feasible plan to meet the present emergency is, of course, the amalgamation of the Tsing Hua and provincial missions, that is to say, the Tsing Hua examination which is held every summer may be put on a provincial basis. Any number of students from each province may apply for examination, but not more than two should be sent annually. For such students, the remaining portion of the Boxer Indemnity refunded by the United States may be properly used. Meanwhile the provinces may be relieved of this payment which can be invested in the provincial educational institutions.

The examination, of course, is not necessarily to be held in Peking. The provincial college authorities can either recommend deserving graduates or to hold annual examinations in the provincial capitals.

Two changes are necessary. A higher standard is to be required of the candidates applying for examination. A workable knowledge of the language of the country to which they intend to go and a thorough college training must be considered as minimum requirements. It is uneconomic as well as inexpedient to send students who have to spend years in a language school before they can enter college. The second change is contingent on the first. When our students are qualified to do post

graduate work in all American universities, then the duration of their stay can be definitely determined upon. To stay in a foreign country for more than five or six years is as unwise as it is unnecessary. The question, not altogether an unreasonable one, has been always raised that instead of giving one student five years, why not accelerate the change of the Tsing Hua College into a university and divide the opportunity between two students, giving three years to each? It speaks well of Tsing Hua; it adds dignity to China in the field of education, and it affords the greatest opportunity for the greatest number. There seems to be a general desire among the Tsing Hua students along that direction. Active steps have already been taken towards its realization and the desired change may be brought about before long.

Our students at home will do well to remember that it is hard to find employment in America as well as elsewhere, and even if employment is assured it is not desirable. Except students who come definitely for technical training in which case work is valuable and comparatively easy to find,—it is not wise to depend on work. This is especially true with our high school graduates. Concentrated study is necessary for the first two years at least.

The large number of our students in France has resulted in the scholars' panic which even the luxurious Parisiens were not able to avert. The same thing is now happening in this country. It embarrasses the Director on the one hand and makes our relations with American colleges unpleasant upon the other. The Director's residence is too small for a philanthropic institution, and if no immediate relief is in sight, our students will actually have to take refuge in American charity houses.

Such crisis is to be expected once in a while; it can not be a daily occurrence. The hand-to-mouth procedure which has been hitherto followed must be substituted by a more practicable and sound arrangement.

Tagore and Gandhi

MR. Gandhi is advocating political boycott in India. Whether he is inspired by the Lord Mayor of Cork is an interesting inquiry. Ever since the days of Clive, India, like Ireland, has made more than one attempt to recover her national independence, but each explosion only served to exhaust her own power of resistance, and to precipitate a firmer grasp by an alien master. The Sepoy Meeting was a political suicide. It now appears clear to every enlightened Indian that active resistance is futile. The only alternative is to teach England that it serves no useful purpose to rule over an unwilling people. "Englishmen," says Tagore, "can never truly understand India because their minds are not disinterested with regard to that country." It remains for the Indians to show that they can never appreciate English rule because their minds are not at one with that country.

Mr. Gandhi has a double mission. Resistance, in whatever form, is negative; it is only a part of a program for a people who aspire to be independent. Mr. Wells has predicted the break-up of the British Empire within the next hundred years. While waiting for the exhaustion of England, which will surely come, it would be well for India to accelerate and materialize her constructive platform.

One can readily agree with Tagore that India's problem at present is not political but social; that the first thing for her to do it "to remove those social customs and ideals which have generated a want of self-respect and a complete dependence on those above us." True to the edifying spirit of a poetic soul. Tagore considers it a disgrace for the Indians to demand a larger representation in the council and a more effective voice in the Municipal Government. These are "scraps of things." It is begging. A much more dignified channel through which the Indians can win respect is to show the world what they can do for themselves. "It would be mischievous if the gifts we wish for were

granted to us right now." The salvation of India must come from within, winning moral victory by failure or suffering. Here Mr. Gandhi and Tagore are in accord.

Political freedom, as Tagore thinks, is devoid of meaning when our minds are not free. The politically powerful and independent people of today are not necessarily free. Free individuals are giving place to organizations of slavery which are created in the disguise of freedom! Political independence is evidently not the essence of a liberated India. Social reconstruction should precede political freedom otherwise society will become the source of danger in politics.

Where Mr. Gandhi differs from Tagore is that the latter has no faith in nationalism. "Nationalism" the poet asserts, "is a great menace. It is the particular thing which for years has been at the bottom of India's troubles." He places ideals of humanity over country, which, in the nature of things, is the logical order. But the world is too real to admit the possibility of realization of such a panacea. Inasmuch as the idolatry of Nation is still a prevailing creed, the idolatry of humanity must necessarily occupy a secondary place. India's aspiration, according to Tagore, is the welding together of various races into one body. Her mission is to realize a spiritual unity.

But the day for such a unity seems yet remote. "India tolerated difference of races from the first, and the spirit of toleration has acted all through her history." Yet it does not require a sensitive man from the Orient to feel that he is being discriminated against in America, the most liberal and free of all nations. The very fact that he admitted the suicidal procedure of borrowing other people's history seems to imply a recognition of the impossibility of such an ideal union.

Rather, as is the belief of Mr. Gandhi, a national and racial consciousness must be created in India before she could make her resistance effective.

Until that consciousness predominates, until a nation in its abstract and higher reality is formed, India can scarcely hope to be free. If India is not politically free—although political freedom is not the immediate issue at present—her ideals can not possibly bring any fruit. Hellenic and Roman civilization became immortal not during the decadent days of the Greek and Roman sway but during the period of their national supremacy.

Mr. Gandhi should make his movement of non-cooperation and passive resistance a means of creating a social compactness and racial solidarity which will eventually lead to national unity, the first step towards political independence.

"The Nation", says Lord Acton in one of his illuminating essays, "is here an ideal unit founded on the race, in defiance of the modifying action of external causes, of tradition, and of existing rights. It overrules the rights and wishes of the inhabitants, absorbing their divergent interest in a fictitious unity; sacrifices their several inclinations and duties to the higher claim of nationality, and crushes all natural rights and all established liberties for the purpose of vindicating itself." Briefly, it creates a power necessary to the attainment of autonomy.

If Providence actually used England to find India's salvation, it is precisely this stimulus for a racial and national consciousness. It is true that England

built railways and telegraphs in India, but railways and telegraphs are not civilization. The English mission is to remind India of her ego. It remains for England, in the interests of humanity, to retire gracefully and honorably in the course of time, in order not to incur the responsibility of making "the feeble to acquire power enough to resist her intrusion," by violent means.

The West is still laughing at the eternal stars because they are not half as bright as the lights which people have invented, but "the extreme explosiveness which is the cause of their power," will also be the cause of their exhaustion. The day, however remote, will eventually come. India does not need to compete or imitate Western civilization. She can acquire national unity by different means and use it for different purposes.

And precisely for this reason active resistance is unwise, lest India may have to become like England before she could free from English yoke. India's program today is patience on the one hand and construction on the other.

"The crimson glow of light on the horizon is not the light of thy dawn of peace, My motherland.

"It is the glimmer of the funeral pyre burning to ashes the vast flesh, the self-love of the nation—dead under its own excess.

"Thy morning waits behind the patient dark of the East meek and silent."

Reconstruction in China

By BERTRAND RUSSELL

IN writing for Chinese readers, it seems appropriate to emphasize rather what the Chinese can do for themselves than how foreigners ought to help them. The practice of looking to foreign nations for help is not desirable, both because it encourages a parasitic habit of mind, and because, in the long run, all nations are egoistic. China is capable of saving herself by her own strength, and I assume that all patriotic Chinese would wish her to do so.

When I ask myself what national goal I should propose to myself if I were Chinese, it appears to me I should have two aims, one conservative and one progressive. On the one hand I should wish to preserve certain excellences in the traditional civilization of China which are lacking in the West; on the other hand I should set to work to acquire and diffuse as much as possible of western knowledge and skill. To reconcile these two objects is difficult, but not wholly impossible; and to reconcile them as far as possible is the purpose of what I have to say on Chinese problems.

As the first of Chinese merits I place the habit of judging activities by their purpose, and not merely by the amount of energy they call forth. We in the West tend to think energy a good thing in itself; we admire hustle and athletics and war, but are incapable of any rational employment of leisure. Our civilization grows more and more ugly and harsh and destructive, so that it will destroy itself unless something in the nature of pursuit of ideals can be substituted for purposeless push. In the old China there existed a respect for aesthetic ideals, and even in the new China men require a motive before they will rush into action. This virtue is the source of Chinese pacifism and of

Chinese art; it is also the cause of the extraordinary intellectual candour by which the educated Chinese are distinguished.

Unfortunately, the contemplative virtues have as their counterpart laziness in practical affairs. This would not much matter if China could remain isolated, but as that is impossible it subjects China to domination by more energetic nations. This foreign domination, whether military or economic or merely spiritual is a misfortune, which can only be avoided through the energy of reforming Chinese. The preservation of national independence is a precondition of everything else that is to be desired for modern China.

If national independence is to be preserved, there are four great tasks which the Chinese will have to accomplish for themselves in the following order: (1) The growth of public morality and energy; (2) The establishment of a good and stable government; (3) Education, both technical and elementary; (4) The development of Chinese industrial resources by Chinese capital and skill. Let us consider each of these in turn.

(1) Traditional Chinese morality is private, and has its basis in the family. Public faults, such as bribery, extortion, and neglect of duties, are lightly regarded, though in fact, in the modern world, they do far more harm than a lack of filial piety. It is, to my mind, the special province of those Chinese who have received a modern university education to introduce into politics and the civil service a higher standard of honesty and industry than has hitherto prevailed. So long as officials are corrupt, rich foreign nations can always induce them to sell the interests of their country while the Tutchuns can not be prevented from prolonging the

existing anarchy. The regeneration of China demands a body of men devoting themselves to politics and administration honestly, energetically, and in all enlightened spirit. Of such a body the returned students ought to form the nucleus.

(2) Given such a body of public-spirited and modern-minded men, it would be possible to put an end to the existing anarchy and established order and good government throughout the country. Without a stable government nothing can be accomplished. It is impossible to resist foreign aggression, because there is no political strength in the nation. It is impossible to develop the industrial resources by Chinese enterprise, because the Tutchuns can not be trusted to abstain from spoliation. It is impossible to extend education, because there are no public funds for the purpose. Good government is therefore absolutely essential even for matters which might seem at first sight remote from politics.

I think it is clear that a stable government in China will have to be federal, allowing to the provinces a very large measure of autonomy. In this respect, I think, the constitutionalists of 1912 made a mistake; something more analogous to the American Constitution would have a far better chance of success than the constitution aimed at in the first days of the Republic. The important thing is to discover and advocate a kind of constitution which the great mass of public opinion can support; and this will almost certainly be a federation of autonomous provinces.

As to how such a constitution is to be established in face of the opposition of the militarists, it is impossible to prophesy definitely. Obviously the first requisite is united action by all those who desire to end the existing anarchy. There is need of an informal Congress to draw up a new draft constitution, with the understanding that its members should all support the draft when it is drawn up, even if it fails to represent exactly the individual views of this or that member. It might then happen that some comparatively en-

lightened Tutchun would agree to establish the new constitution, or that the soldiers could be induced by propaganda to abandon the more reactionary Tutchuns. The precise method of getting the constitution established would depend upon circumstances, but if once the enlightened Chinese were united in advocating it, there can be little doubt that its enactment could be brought about by sufficiently persistent propaganda. When that is achieved, the militarists, so far as they survive, can be forced to serve the central government and the existing anarchy can be ended.

(3) No progress is stable in any country unless it is accompanied by an increase of education. There are two things, both requiring education, which are needed for Chinese stability, namely democracy and industrialism. Democracy is needed both as good in itself and as the only way of avoiding dictatorship of men who appeal to ignorant prejudice. Industrialism is needed not as a good thing in itself (for in itself I regard it as an evil), but as absolutely necessary for the preservation of national independence. But before it becomes possible for the Chinese to run their own industries it will be necessary to have technically trained experts and skilled workmen. I sometimes think that the Chinese students who come to Europe and America are too conclusively occupied with abstract studies. Many, for example, learn economics, but hardly any learn how some large industrial enterprise is actually run, though this knowledge would probably be far more useful to China. And the same thing applies to the foreign teachers who are brought to China. When I was lecturing on philosophy in Peking, I was painfully conscious that the knowledge I had to give was far less valuable than what could be given by (say) a mining engineer or a man intimately acquainted with the iron and steel industry. Such men ought, in my opinion, to be induced to come to China and to impart their knowledge to those who would make practical use of it.

If China is to become a democracy

on the Western model, universal elementary education is indispensable. This would require two things which do not exist at present, namely, an adequate revenue, and an adequate supply of teachers. The revenue will be forthcoming when a stable government has been established, but not before. Normal schools for teachers already exist, but many more will be required before a competent teacher can be supplied to every village. Probably this increase of normal schools also will be impossible, on any large scale, until there is a constitutional government recognized throughout the country.

(4) In preserving national independence, the crux of the whole matter is industrial resources, especially railways and mines. China is rich in minerals, which foreign industrialists wish to exploit. So long as railways and mines are in the hands of foreigners, no legal safeguards will secure any real freedom for China. If the industrial resources *could* remain entirely unused, that might be the last thing for China; but that is impossible. The only real alternative is between Chinese and foreign exploitation. I desire very strongly to see Chinese rather than foreign exploitation, because I admire and love Chinese civilization, which will inevitably be replaced by that of the West if economic power remains in Western hands, whether individual or

national. Of course, the growth of industrialism will change Chinese civilization, as it has changed ours, and I do not wish China to remain unchanged. There is need of widespread radical reform in China. But I wish reform to proceed on Chinese lines, as a growth and development out of China's past, not as a mere substitution of Western ideas and Western practice. I believe that by a judicious infusion of Western knowledge, China can enter upon a new period of greatness, and can find solutions for many problems which we have found baffling—perhaps for our fundamental problem, how industrialism is to be made the servant of men instead of his ruthless tyrant.

China's potential strength is so enormous that no great intensity of militarism or nationalism is required for successful resistance to foreign aggression. Some slight amount, no doubt, is required. This is an evil, but one for which the responsibility rests with the Western nations and their Japanese pupil. I wish to see in China just so much of nationalism as is necessary for self-preservation, but no more. And in view of the Chinese character, I do not despair of seeing this result achieved. But I should be sorry if, in achieving it, the Chinese were driven to imitate as in anything except knowledge; for in their philosophy of life, I believe them to be definitely our superior.

The Ideas of Mr. J. O. P. Bland.

By CHANG HSIN-HAI.

THAT brilliant and versatile Victorian, Walter Bagehot, used to write from France, as if he would be subjected to persecution for making the statement, that "in real, sound stupidity, the English are unrivalled". Few will deny that stupidity is one of the most remarkable qualities of the English race, so remarkable indeed that it has stamped English political institutions with that mark of solidarity and permanence which we seldom find elsewhere. The English were the first to appreciate—the appreciation has now become an instinct and a habit—that in the guidance of political affairs, it is lack of prudence to resort to fundamental ideas and theoretical constructions. And this for two reasons; namely, that politics, being a matter of practical, everyday concern, it is necessary to handle in a way most consistent with its own temper and structure, that the final solution of its numerous problems lies in what politics itself is founded on which is common sense. The second reason is that theories, once they have been allowed to dominate political facts, are apt to acquire so much prestige that they will not deny themselves the privilege of constant interference. But political institutions, under these circumstances, are liable to run into the danger of being regarded as mere chattels, or as flimsy edifices built upon an insecure foundation of sand which can be readily torn down and reconstructed at the will of the theorists. All this is of course perfectly sound, full of sanity, and well worth the highest admiration. It is owing to this stupidity, this unique mental temper, that the English are able to offer so much to the world in political affairs. In France, it required decades of turbulence and bloodshed to have a successful revolution. But in England, even

the greatest of her revolutions is a revolution that never took place. The Reform Bill of 1832 did everything that was necessary.

Now Mr. Bland, it seems, is a typical Englishman. His mental structure and his general mental outlook remind one very much of what Bagehot attributed to the English people as a whole. But while he could have been of much use if he stayed at home, that same attitude, which he has rigidly and consistently maintained for more than two decades in regard to the conditions in China, has served little purpose, and has called forth a large amount of most rancorous criticism. Whether it is he who is in the right or his critics, it is the aim of this paper to inquire. But at any rate, we can say from the outset that any dogmatic assertions, thrown out to solve a complicated and an extremely significant problem, will not give us much substantial help. People in general are not yet fully alive to the gravity and the acuteness of the problem. A few casual remarks from some special students appear sometimes to betray that the world is not altogether ignorant of its consequences for good or for evil; but for the people who are directly affected, the problem becomes sufficiently broad in its scope that they do not hesitate to consider it as being worthy of universal attention. A human society, especially a modern one, says Taine, is the most complicated thing in the world. Our present problem involves not only one, but two distinctly original civilizations, between which there is so much antagonism and friction that it is necessary to demand the services of the great minds of the age for an harmonious adjustment.

Mr. Bland has, for a long time, been one of the most conspicuous figures who

have attempted to offer a satisfactory solution. Starting as a correspondent to *The Times*, he has had a very chequered career and has probably wider knowledge of Chinese events than any one among the increasing number of foreign students who are studying the special conditions of China. Ten years ago, he published a book, *Recent Events and Present Policies in China*, which attracted a good deal of attention among Englishmen. It was specially reviewed for *The Nineteenth Century* by Earl Cromer. But his latest book, *China, Japan and Korea* has, in addition to attracting a good deal of attention called forth a number of criticisms, by far the larger part of which is destructive.

The Chinese themselves are especially impatient with the views which Mr. Bland has held for many years, and have given up all hope that he will ever discard these views since they have become convictions very deeply ingrained in his mental constitution. We shall at least have to admit that Mr. Bland does not possess suppleness of thought. Whether his views are acceptable or not is a separate question to which, of course, we are not indifferent. But he would have done well—it is an indication of intellectual soundness—to keep the avenues of his thought widely open for the constant flow of fresh ideas and suggestions which are apt to appear in all realms of thought. And in political speculations, especially on the conditions which have developed in China within the last twenty years, there is real danger in any fond and passionate attachment to prepossessions cherished just as long ago. Mr. Bland himself recognises that the last twenty years of China's history cannot be easily compared with any other twenty years, or, for that matter any two hundred years even, of her previous history. The problems which have arisen are so many and so varied that, if only for prudential reasons, any critic should go no farther than keep a kind of suspended judgment and be "divers et ondoyant" in his critical pronouncements. But while time has so tremendously chang-

ed, we find Mr. Bland still living, with unabated satisfaction, in that little world of ideas in which he has always moved, lived and had his being. This is stupidity with a vengeance. It is at least a magnificent example of the imperviousness to ideas.

It is impossible, therefore, that there can be any agreement between Mr. Bland and the large group of his critics among whom there is no less an eminent thinker than Mr. John Dewey. Mr. Bland is not in sympathy with the entire body of men who are now trying to modernize China, or with the movement which they are energetically sponsoring. We too do not completely endorse the views which the young men are disseminating so rapidly and so effectively throughout China. Mr. Bland's admonitions, which he delivers with a usual ingenuousness, are therefore valuable in many places. The present generation of Chinese, or, as Mr. Bland chooses to give a more formidable appellation, the Young China Party, is passionately of the opinion that salvation of their country lies in an abrupt and decisive break with the past, that what we traditionally regard as essential to our well-being and existence must be rendered effete, as it is no longer effectual in a modern society where people must of necessity employ a different set of criteria for the guidance of their life. They are intoxicated with the power and strength of the Western peoples—seldom do these qualities fail to appeal to the young—that they do not hesitate to stand for a complete transformation of their society into something analogous to what we find in the West. *Umwertung aller Werte*, they would cry out with Nietzsche. For according to them, this is progress in its pure essence. Or to employ the words of an eminent leader, himself an ardent admirer of Spencer, progress consists in passing from a simple state to one that is more complex. We may accept this idea for what it is worth, but it is the motto which is woven in gold on the banner of the Young China Party. We need make no enquiry as to what constitutes a sim-

ple, what a complex, state. The terms carry the meanings that they usually convey. To be complex means to be what the word implies—all the machinery, the industry, the noise of our Chicagos and New Yorks.

To the ordinary man, this sounds very well. But to Mr. Bland, it appears that the young men are hastening their country down the road towards destruction. If ever there was a passionate lover of the Chinese race and of the civilization they have independently developed, it is Mr. Bland. He is a sincere admirer of Chinese culture, and would not for a moment barter away its moral and intellectual beauty for all the materialism of the West, for what he calls a mere "mess of pottage". Mr. Bland always waxes eloquent whenever he has an opportunity to speak of the supreme qualities of the Chinese people. He believes that "the masses of the people of China and Japan are unconsciously nearer to the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount than many of the Christian communities in Europe and America which subscribe to send missionaries to the East". And I cannot do better than quote at length his own words on the spiritual elevation of the Chinese people and on the soundness of their philosophy of life:—

I find myself more than ever compelled to accept and respect the Oriental conception of life—that attitude founded on the wisdom of the ancients, which has given to their form of civilization a stability and harmony such as our modern world has never known. The philosophy of the Chinese is the birthright, not of an intellectual élite (as with us), but of the race; it has taught them that even wealth is only a means to a rational end, that the secret of human progress lies rather in being than doing, and that, in this unsubstantial pageant of illusions, the spirit is more than the flesh. Thus regarded, all fitful fever of Europe's social system, all the triumph of our industrial organization are but the dead sea fruits of purblind

error. From the Eastern point of view,

"The world is too much with us, late and soon,

Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers'.

And a civilization which leaves neither time nor place for meditation stands, by that fact, condemned—I believe that the social institutions which have grown out of the Chinese philosophy are nearer to the truth, and therefore morally superior to our own".*

This may smack of the Romantic *O altitudo*; but nevertheless it is a sound and noble tribute to a sound and noble civilization. No sensible person, who comprehends the meaning of life, will dare to come forward and question the wisdom and depth of this sentiment; for here, Mr. Bland, in concert with the aristocracy of the spirit which is altogether too lamentably thin and meagre in this aimless world of ours, penetrates into the secret and the essential aspects of what goes to form real civilization. It is a worthy service which he is rendering not only to China which gave birth to that civilization, but also to humanity at large. We are living in a world of perversities where we have lost all sense of value, and we stand in great need of being constantly reminded of what constitutes life and what mere living or existence.

It is no wonder that we find Mr. Bland so painfully engaged in attacking the Chinese of the present generation, attacking them for the grossness and vulgarity, the thoughtlessness and frivolity to which they are being rapidly converted by the influence of "modern" education. The opinions of these half-breeds, as Mr. Bland correctly but somewhat too cruelly calls them, are "based on the fixed idea that noise and bustle are symptoms of a superior civilization, that progress is a product of machinery, and that ballot-boxes are the only reliable signposts of Utopia". Let me be perfectly frank that Mr. Bland need entertain no fears of isola-

*China, Japan and Korea p. 247.

tion by speaking the truth, by expressing sentiments so full of sanity and wisdom. The Chinese are getting vulgarized, especially under the benevolent influence of the country which finds the supreme enjoyment of life in what Mr. Bertrand Russell has but lately characterized as "clean-living, clean-thinking and pep". What Mr. Bland utters may, as he himself considered it, be a *vox clamantis*; but it is a voice which, though for the present drowned in the noise of the factory and of the tram-car, will eventually be heard, heard with distinctness and in clear resounding tones throughout the country, not because the noise of the factory and of the tram-car will be subdued—it is neither possible nor wise to subdue it—but because the voice, as it is a voice of truth, will be attentively listened to and acquire volume and strength in spite of the surrounding noise.

It is a great pity, however, that although he is substantially correct in his views on the soundness of the great inheritance of the Chinese race, Mr. Bland is unable to solve the problems that are facing it. It is here that he is amenable to the criticisms that are levied against him, for in the sphere of practical politics where the consequences of its activity will largely determine the status of the Chinese nation and even of their great inheritance, he has not only completely failed to give us any help, but has also made suggestions which are positively dangerous. The truth is, I think, that either Mr. Bland is not a thinker, or, if a thinker, one who is incapable of having a comprehensive view of things. The whole series of panegyrics which he has so worthily bestowed upon a civilization which he genuinely loves is not so much the child of his thought as the product of his feelings, the result of rich and varied experiences which he has acquired through intimate contact with the people for a long period. But the difficulties which the Chinese people have to struggle with today, especially in their international politics are those which require a subtle and analytical power of reasoning to disentangle. Mr.

Bland does not seem to have that power, or else he could not have been so contradictory. Politics is politics; history, history: but he who entertains one view of politics and another of history, as Lord Acton warns us, cannot be relied upon. This, it seems to me, is exactly what Mr. Bland has done; for although his views on the product of Chinese history are generally sound, they are in utter discord with his views on China's present-day politics.

One of the most favorite views of Mr. Bland's on the suppression of the present turmoil and confusion in China is alien interference. But, as far as we can see, foreign control can never be a panacea for China's troubles. Mr. Bland's unshakable conviction is this: "the rapidly increasing financial and administrative difficulties which now confront the Chinese Government as a result of ten years of civil strife and official corruption can only be overcome, and the nation's recuperative powers encouraged, by concerted action of the Powers, directed, in the first instance, to the disarmament and disbandment of the rabble armies, which prey upon every form of productive industry, and thereafter to the moral and material support of the Central Government, howsoever constituted. When no more money is forthcoming for the maintenance of these armed hordes (and that day is close at hand), crisis will occur; and to escape from their wrath, the mandarins will probably endeavour, as usual, to divert unpleasant attention from themselves by the instigation of an anti-foreign movement. When this crisis has passed, a period of reconstruction, with foreign supervision over China's finances, must of necessity be imposed." The way of looking at these difficulties is clear enough, but why insist upon foreign supervision? It is beyond the intelligence of any one to see how a man who is so enthusiastic in upholding the virtues of Chinese civilization could sink so low in offering such a solution to the political problem. Has not Mr. Bland read enough of history to realize that foreign supervision invariably leads to foreign con-

trol, and that foreign control is never a blessing? Is not Mr. Bland familiar enough with the temper of the activities of the foreign powers in China within the last few decades? We wish as yet to know of one single example where the foreigners have rendered disinterested service to the poor and struggling nation. I am prepared with the answer that the customs is a case in point. But the Chinese customs is filled with foreigners who assign to themselves all the important and responsible positions, leaving only the clerical and manual work to be done by the Chinese themselves. The Inspector-General is a foreigner: his word is law, and it is not subject to veto even by the Chinese Government. This is no disinterestedness; and it certainly sounds more like interference with the domestic affairs of China than service. The history of China's international relations is a history of just such concessions, leased territories, settlements, mining concessions, railway concessions, etc. etc, which go to increase what one imperialist still has the boldness to call "the white man's burden".

The truth is that foreign supervision of any kind is injurious both from the material and the moral point of view. We are still living in an age of imperialism, although its nature and form are somewhat different from the too frankly aggressive type so prevalent in the nineteenth century: but it is imperialism nevertheless. And to say, therefore, that an international commission will relieve the pains now afflicting China is to be ignorant of her psychology and of the tendency of international politics. In speculation, as in practical affairs, men judge the unknown upon the basis of the known and what is known to the Chinese people, what constitutes their international history for the last two generations induce them at least to maintain a dubious attitude towards any suggestion of international supervision. But even were it wise, from the practical point of view, to follow the advice of Mr. Bland, which it is not, we still refuse to admit that it will, in the long

run, prove beneficial to the Chinese people. The most essential element in the life of a nation is after all its spirit. The spirit of the Chinese people is sound and wholesome to the core, and as long as it is so, the ills which flesh is heir to are a malady of no surviving interest. But anything in the nature of foreign intervention, even though it were able for the moment to eradicate the causes of the ills, would at the same time be an insult to the spirit. That is inevitable; for an alien supervision of a nation's administration in its finances and politics is concomitant with a molestation of that subtle and indefinable element. As Mr. Russell, who but recently left China, expressed it, "the practice of looking to foreign nations for help is not desirable both because it encourages a parasitic habit of mind and because in the long run all nations are egoistic".

It is precisely for this reason that Mr. Bland is regarded so unfavourably by the Chinese as well as by those who have the welfare of the Chinese at heart. This is as it should be. The Kingdom of Heaven, with nations as with individuals, lies *within*, but Mr. Bland insists that it lies *without*. We are not interested in the conquest of evil merely because evil will be conquered, but also because, what is of far greater significance, the act of conquering gives strength and power to the will of the conqueror. And the will is the ultimate source to which we shall have to look for a genuine salvation. There is no gainsaying the fact that all is not well with the Chinese nation at present—famine, pestilence, brigandage, banditry, civil war, what you will—but within this field of desolation, the spirit of the people is ever at work, proud of what it has already accomplished and hopeful of what is to come. The man who advocates foreign intervention is no friend to the people, but its enemy, for he interferes with the aspirations of that spirit towards its legitimate achievements.

We have all along taken for granted, of course, that what Mr. Bland believes, he has said as an honest thinker. He

is entitled to his own beliefs and ideas on Chinese politics, and what we have done is merely to show that these ideas are untenable, not because they happen to conflict with those that are usually held among the Chinese, but because they will be found to be unwholesome by any one analysing them with sufficient thoroughness and impartiality. But we have reason to suspect also that there is an ulterior motive in addition to his honest thoughts. Mr. Bland sometimes goes so far as to express opinions which can neither fit in with his general scheme of thought nor with his professed or implied honesty. His recent article "The Future of Manchuria"* has all the more aggravated the antagonism which is already very strong among his Chinese readers. Without any justification, except perhaps a few legal arguments, Mr. Bland is willing to hand over to Japan the provinces of Manchuria which, for centuries, have remained politically and culturally as integral parts of China. Mr. Bland, as we have seen, is a sincere admirer of Chinese civilization, but does he mean to say that Chinese civilization could be preserved either by foreign supervision or alienating China's territories? At the bottom of his thought, we cannot help being convinced that there is an utter irreconcilability.

Mr. Bland, we must ultimately admit, is not much of a thinker. He is far from having a luminous mind which sees things steadily and sees them whole. His is the mind of a man of *obiter dicta*, not of one who has the philosophic temperament by which all I mean is the ability to grasp the relations and connections between things, rather than their independent existences. In other words, there is no system in his thoughts. A system implies comprehensiveness; it is, as Renan so admirably expressed it, "an epic on things" where one part may differ from another in nature and in treatment, but where all the parts are nevertheless coherent and unified. But Mr. Bland's

views on present day China, if carried out, would leave no room for the development of the traditional Chinese life upon which he is so extravagant in his encomia. I am taking Mr. Bland to task very seriously; but he deserves it, as he is now one of the foremost living authorities on current Chinese affairs.

In the same way, his strictures upon Young China betray real lack of sympathy. *Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner*. But Mr. Bland does not pardon, because, I suppose, he does not know, does not go deeply into things. The present-day Chinese are "the semi-Europeanized product of our Mission schools and universities overseas". Granted this is true, we shall have to admit that the young men are more sinned against than sinning. His labours would have been more usefully spent in criticising the institutions responsible for the "product" than the "product" itself. If he is not in a position to criticise the universities overseas, he could have at least examined the Mission schools which are moulding the opinions of Young China and preparing them for the universities abroad. We are willing to admit with Mr. Bland the follies of the Young China Party, but they are in a measure necessary and inevitable, when as an American observed "probably nowhere else in the world (as in China) is there such a mixture of territorial rights with foreign privileges and understandings, of purely political engagements with economic and financial concessions, of foreign interests conflicting with one another and with those of the nominally sovereign state". The follies are to be viewed in the light of the political dangers of the country. They are the follies of desperation. There was a choice between the devil and the deep sea. To plunge into the sea would be extinction for ever. They chose to struggle with the devil, for there is hope of conquest. The English can afford to be stupid, because they have the power to resist: not so with the Chinese; they have to make truce with the force that invaded.

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Democracy in China

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a. SURVEY OF THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

IMAGINE that over four thousand years ago hordes after hordes of people descended from the highland of Central Asia, pursued their course along a big river, which is now known as the Yellow River, felled thick forests, killed and drove away wild ferocious animals, dug ditches to conduct the over flowing water to the sea, and finally settled and prospered in a region which is now known as the Provinces of Kausu, Shensi, Honan and Chili. These sturdy and hard-working people multiplied and expanded until finally they spread over a large area whose confines reached the desert in the North, the sea in the South and East, and high mountain ranges in the West.

China was not a homogeneous nation as it exists at present. Early Chinese history records eight hundred nations. Later they were gradually amalgamated until finally during the time of Confucius (551-479 B. C.) they were reduced to seven. For sixty years these seven states were constantly at war until 220 B. C., when one strong man arose and consolidated all the small states into one Empire.

From the date of the founding of the Empire to the present, that is, during the course of a little more than two thousand years, China was thrice divided—the first time into three kingdoms, the second into six, and the third into five, but each period of division lasted for a short time—the first lasting forty-four years, the second twenty-seven years, and the third fifty-three years. If the statement that the exception proves the rule is true, their division proves unity with respect to the Chinese history also holds good. Geographically isolated as she was

and having early attained to a high degree of civilization, China's political struggle was intra-national rather than international. It often occurred that when the political and administrative machinery set up by the founder of a dynasty fell into desuetude and decay, ambitious political adventurers made their appearance and stepped into the shoes of the degenerating rulers, and when there were several political adventurers of equal strength the consequence was necessarily the setting up of several Kingdoms. But very soon strong unifying factors asserted themselves. The geographical unity of the country, the uniformity of language, and the sameness of culture, religion, and customs, conquered the disintegrating forces and consolidated the petty rival entities into one state.

In the course of the same period China twice suffered aggression at the hands of the Northern military tribes: first, the Mongels and then the Manchus. At the end of the thirteenth Century, the Mongols overran China as well as Western Asia, and imposed their military rule over the Chinese for eighty-eight years. In 1644 the Manchus invaded China and enforced their rule over the Chinese people for two hundred and sixty-seven years. In each of the two cases the rule was imposed against the will of the people and was maintained by military force. However, the imposition of the military force not only did not kill the patriotic spirit of the people as it was designed and expected, but had the contrary effect of arousing national consciousness, nourishing hatred against the foreign aggressor, invoking the native healthy and persistent virility which,

at a moment opportune, burst forth in more or less a violent manner, dislodged the aggressor from the usurped throne and restored the rightful ruler to his proper place.

This is a very brief sketch of the historical background of China which I have ventured to draw in the hope that I may be able to speak more intelligently on some phases of the democratic spirit of the Chinese people.

b. DEMOCRACY AND MONARCHY NOT NECESSARILY INCONSISTENT.

The question may be raised as to whether democracy is compatible with monarchy. The structure of monarchical government existing throughout the long period of four thousand years, improved and modified from dynasty to dynasty in accordance with the exigencies of the time, was carried to a high degree of perfection. Nevertheless, a high degree of perfection of the monarchical government did not prevent the development of democracy in China in the same way as the monarchical government did not hinder the growth of democracy in England.

The Chinese political philosophy is based upon the principle of democracy. For example, the Book of Records, the most ancient of the Five Classics, contains the famous saying "Heavens looks as the people look, and Heavens listens as the people listen." In the works of Confucius and especially in those of Mencius it is stated again and again that it is the happiness and welfare of the people that should constitute the sole object of each state. Mencius even went so far as to assert that to kill a tyrant is not regicide but the execution of a common foe of the people. In political writings of later scholars this principle of democracy, that is, the happiness of the people should constitute the object of the state, has been constantly kept in view.

Perhaps the form of state antithetical to democracy is not monarchy but feudalism. Feudalism implies classes, and classes imply privileges and immunities. China, in common with

other nations of recognized standing, has passed through the normal stages of political development. The Chow Dynasty, existing from 112 B. C. to 249 A. D., marked the period of feudalism. The seven Kingdoms to which I have referred before, represented the amalgamations of small feudal states as the results of numerous wars, and the seven Kingdoms in turn fought against one another, and were, as I have already mentioned, consolidated into the Empire by the First Emperor. This Emperor was a man of extraordinary ability and superhuman energy. He was so tired and disgusted with the apparently interminable warfare that he attempted to do away with the existing political system and start a new order of things. He wiped out completely the feudal systems and set up a new structure in its place. Instead of creating dukes, marquises, earls, counts and barons, he divided all the territory under his control into thirty-six administrative departments, over each of which he appointed a prefect. In order to prevent the people from relapsing to the old order of things he went to the extent of burning books and records and forbidding the scholars and teachers to talk about the past politics.

Thus from the ruins of feudalism arose the fabric of monarchy—a fabric in which, in spite of slight modifications, persisted throughout the various dynasties up to the establishment of the present Republic. With the Emperor at the head, whose exercise of authority was generally confined to the matters in connection with religious worship, ceremony formal sanction and promulgation of laws and decrees, the real political power of the government rested with the Ministers or High Officials. It was the manner of selecting these Ministers that largely determined the form of the government. Under the monarchical regime the basis of the selection extended over the whole of the population, that is, equal opportunities were open to any subject to serve in the government, and the procedure of the selection was what is known as the civil

examination, or the literary examination.

This system of literary examination which lasted nearly two thousand years was one highly conducive to democracy. In view of its uniqueness and its influence over the Chinese society and civilization it may not be out of place to explain some of the principal features of this system.

For the purpose of administration China was and still is, divided into provinces, prefectures, and districts, respectively governed by Viceroys or Governors, prefects and magistrates.

During the pre-republican regime the young men pursued their studies mainly in their homes or in schools voluntarily organized and maintained by several families in the same village. Once a year a competitive literary examination was held in each district and then in each prefecture, and was open to any young man aspiring for literary honor and political life and considering himself sufficiently prepared to stand the test. Every successful candidate of this examination was conferred a literary degree which might be compared to Bachelor of Arts in this country.

Once in three years a competitive examination took place in the capital of each Province, but this examination was open only to the successful candidates of the examination mentioned above. The young men who successfully passed this examination were conferred a degree which corresponded to Master of Arts.

The third periodical examination was held at the national capital and was open only to the successful candidates of the provincial examination above referred to, and the conferring of a degree corresponding to Doctor of Philosophy as the reward to the successful competitors.

The final examination was held in the Imperial Palace and those who succeeded in this examination were appointed members of the Imperial Academy, the highest literary honor that could ever be obtained by any Chinese scholar.

It was from the successful candidates of the various examinations that officials in various branches of administration were selected. As a general rule, they were first appointed to the lower grades of official posts and were gradually promoted to more important positions in accordance with their ability, efficiency, merits and experience.

Thus equal opportunity was open to all, and by sheer ability and efficiency the humblest subject might be placed in a position where he could exercise the highest political power of the country.

Whatever may be said against the drawbacks incident to this system of examination, it undoubtedly proved to be one of the greatest democratic institutions of the world; but however for good or for bad it was abolished several years before the Revolution, and thus so far as the institution itself is concerned, is relegated to the background as a mere matter of historical interest.

c. PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF CHINESE DEMOCRACY.

Now let us turn our attention to some concrete existing facts which may be regarded as the expressions of the Chinese democratic spirit.

I. *The democratic spirit as expressed in the political constitution.*

In the preceding paragraphs I have referred to the aggression and the imposition of foreign rule by the Mongols and Manchurs. But it is interesting to note that both of these nations or tribes were subsequently conquered by the Chinese, and their native lands were incorporated in the Chinese territory. It is also interesting to note that the Mongols and Manchus enjoy all the political privileges and immunities in the same way as the Chinese themselves. If you make a cursory examination of the organization of the Legislative Council which was promulgated October 30th, 1914, you will find the constitution of its membership as follows:-

Central Electoral College	40 members
The 22 Provinces	202 members
Metropolitan District	4 members
Jehol	2 members
Suyuan, Chahar, Szechuan	2 members
Frontier (1 each)	3 members
Mongolia	16 members
Tibet	6 members
Chinhai	2 members

Total 275

If you take a look at the law on the organization of the Convention of Citizens' Representatives you will see that Article 3 runs as follows:

- a. Each district in every Province and special administrative area shall elect one representative (total—1834).
- b. Outer and Inner Mongolia shall elect altogether 32 representatives two for each League.
- c. Outer and Inner Tibet shall elect 12 representatives, 6 for each Division.
- d. Chinhai shall elect 6 representatives
- e. The Manchu, Mongolian and Chinese Banners (8 each) shall elect 24 representatives, 1 for each Banner.
- f. 60 representatives shall be elected by the Chambers of Commerce throughout the country.
- g. 30 representatives shall be elected by scholars of recognized standing.
- h. 20 representatives shall be elected by those who have rendered distinguished services to the country.

It may be of interest to note that these laws were made and promulgated during the administration of President Yuan Shih-Kai. After whose death the original Provisional Constitution of 1912 was again brought into force. It is not my intention to discuss the merits or validity of the laws above referred to, but endeavor to show the political conception habitually entertained by the Chinese toward the inhabitants of those regions which do not fall within what has been known as China Proper. Democratic spirit has so much permeated the political thought of the Chinese people that in framing the constitution

or enacting laws for the country no distinction or discrimination has been made with respect to the inhabitants of the various parts of the land falling under the Chinese sovereignty either because of the difference of religion or race or because of the situation of the territory. Equality before the law is the dominating idea of the Chinese political thought.

The design of the new republican national flag once more confirms the democratic spirit of the Chinese people. This flag, which is sometimes described as the "Rainbow Flag" contains five parallel colors, red, yellow, blue, white, and black. Red represents the Chinese, yellow the Manchus, blue the Mongolians, white the Mohammedans, and the black the Tibetans; and the parallelism denotes equality.

The same spirit of magnanimity and toleration was also manifested in the treatment accorded by the victorious Chinese to the Manchus after the success of the Revolution of 1911. Instead of bloodshed and horrors of revenge which have been almost invariably incident to such political revolutions, a pledge written in black and white was made by the Chinese conquerors to respect, protect and support the family of the fallen Emperor. This pledge is popularly known as the Articles of Favorable Treatment. I will cite 4 of these articles as follows:

Terms of Abdication

The Articles of Favorable Treatment.

- Art. 1 After abdication the Emperor may retain his title and shall receive from the Republic of China respect due from a foreign sovereign
- Art. 11 After abdication, the throne shall receive from the Republic of China an annuity of 4,000,000, taels, until the establishment of a new currency, when the sum shall be \$4,000,000.
- Art. III After abdication the Emperor shall, for the present, be allowed to reside in the Imperial Palace, but shall later remove to the Echo Park, retaining his bodyguards at the same strength as hitherto.

Art. IV After abdication all the private property of the Emperor shall be respected and protected by the Republic of China.

Today, if you pay a visit to Peking you will see that the northern portion of the Imperial Palace is set apart for the residence of the family of the Manchu Emperor, with his household officers his retinue, and his bodyguards, in which the Emperor holds audiences, performs ceremonies and discharges family functions—an episode perhaps without its parallel in history, but certainly a living testimony of the magnanimity and tolerance of the Chinese people.

II. *The Democratic Spirit as Expressed in Economic Conditions.*

Perhaps the economic condition of a country is a fundamental factor of its political structure, and no nation economically undemocratic can be or remain to be politically democratic in the true sense of the term.

Directly after the termination of the Great War, when bolshevism raged throughout Russia and in view of the fact that the territory of China is contiguous with that of Russia for thousands of miles, the question was again and again raised as to whether China would become bolshevistic. Any intelligent and close observer would have answered in the negative, and after supported his answer with three reasons as follows:

1st. The conception and organization of family as taught by Confucius and reinforced by the practice from generation to generation, is so strong and entrenched so firmly in the mind of the Chinese people that any innovation tending to impair the institution will not only be repulsive but will be regarded with horror.

2nd. Industrialism has not yet been developed in China. Certainly there are factories and mills in and around foreign settlements and along the sea coasts and big rivers, but in view of the vast population the modern great industrial activities are comparatively insignificant. As extreme forms of

socialism can take hold only among populations where the *proletarian* class is large, bolshevism cannot reasonably find an atmosphere in China, which is favorable for its stay and growth.

3rd. China has been, and still is, an agricultural nation. The Chinese peasants are not laborers depending upon the landlords. Mainly they are farmers as well as landowners, or tenants and landlords at the same time. An average farmer family may be said to possess 10 "mow" of land and cultivate 50 "mow" for its landlords.

There is no promogeniture in China. Land is the common measure of the wealth of any individual family. By sheer dint of diligence and economy a poor peasant may save 50 dollars in the course of two or three years, and thereafter purchase one "mow" of land. Being a possessor of land he is conscious of his independence, liberty and dignity. Politically and legally the peasant is not inferior to his landlord, and economically is not dependent upon him.

It often happens that after the harvest when the time of paying rent comes, the landlord and the tenants of a certain locality cannot agree as to the amount of payment. Then it is quite possible that the landlords of that locality will meet together to devise a common course of action. But in case this common decision is found to be unfair the peasants will also hold meetings to resist the application of the decision. In such circumstances resort will be had to a meeting of the landlords and peasants usually through the representations of both sides and almost invariably the differences are amicably settled on a compromise.

If the above three reasons are good in arguing against the introduction of bolshevism into China, it may be admitted that they are, at least the last is, strong factors in promoting and maintaining the democratic spirit of the Chinese people.

A foreign tourist whose travel in China is only confined to visits to Hong-Kong, Shanghai, or even Peking and Hankow cannot have a clear conception

of what is attempted to be described above. To appreciate the life of the Chinese farmer he has to go far into the interior and must not be satisfied with a flying trip.

If one should ascend a hill at some distance away from the city and stand on the top which overlooks the surrounding region his eyes would meet the pleasing view of vast expanses of green fields, neat, regular, and carefully cultivated, traversed by long roads and intercepted by small streams. Here and there he would also see clusters of the farmers' houses lifting their clean tiled roofs against the blue sky but partially concealed from view by tall bamboo or overhanging cedars. Early in the morning he would see the farmers of these houses wearing a broad straw hat and a blue cotton coat, proceeding to their fields with agricultural implements on their shoulders. There they work and rest from time to time until the sun is directly overhead, at which time they will have their lunch, and resume their work in the afternoon, coming back home when the sun is at a pole's distance from the ground. Now, with a light heart, he washes his hands and feet, kisses his baby and strokes his dog, and sits down to enjoy his well-earned dinner with all members of his family.

This is a rough picture I have attempted to draw of the average Chinese farmer even of today. In this age of great industrial development he is certainly medieval, but he, feels happy and contented.

III. *The Democratic Spirit as Expressed in Social Life.*

In every Chinese community one may find three social organizations which are based upon, and in turn highly conclusive, to democracy, that is, the family, the guild and the village government.

Chinese family has been often described as based on patriarchal system, i e., having the father as the head of the family and each family forming an independent unit. This description is

partially true, but highly inadequate. In theory the father is head of the family but in practice the mother is the centre of the family's domestic life. In law it is the father who is responsible for any action of the family which may affect other families, but in fact it is the mother who decides important questions relating to the inner working of the family or with respect to the children. It is the mother who manages the business of the home and directs the social and ceremonial relations with the friends and relatives of the family. It is usually she who approves or disapproves the marriage of her children. It is she who sees that the general festivals and family rules are observed and complied with. Thus by a wise division of labor whereby the husband occupies himself with work of supporting the family, while the wife undertakes to control the internal affairs the spirit and ability of self-government has been greatly encouraged and developed.

The guild in China also deserves our attention. A guild is organized by the merchants or tradesmen of the same trade. The bankers, for example have their guild, where, disregarding provincial barriers, all the bankers of one town or several towns are eligible to membership upon payment of a certain sum as subscription fee. Every guild has a special building in which its officers, usually elected each year, transact its business and in which periodical meetings are held to discuss and decide any question concerning the general interest of the members of the guild, for example, in case of the rise in the cost of living, the members of the carpenters' guild would meet to fix the amount of increase of their wages. Once fixed, every member of the guild is obliged to demand the increase as decided upon. If any one should fail to carry out the decision he is liable to be expelled from the guild. If, on the other hand, any employer should refuse to pay this amount of increase of wages, he would not be able to get any carpenter to work for him, and no carpenter, though he is not a member of the guild, dare to ac-

cept the offer, as such acceptance is sure to result in a boycott from other workers of the same profession. Thus the weapons of strike and boycott, although practiced on a smaller scale, have been known among the Chinese for a very long time.

In actual working, China is a huge Republic within which are myriads of petty republics. The village in China is an autonomous unit. Nominally it is governed by the Central Government through a series of officials, but as a matter of fact, with the exception of coming in contact with the tax collectors who are government employees, there is a complete absence of governmental interference. Roads, irrigation, sanitation, schools, places of worship, constabulary, fire corps, and other establishments of public utility are matters of non-official initiative and control, for the maintenance of which the families of the same village are either asked to subscribe in a voluntary manner, or assessed in accordance with their respective amount of property. In cases where more than one village is interested in such as roads or irrigation, the representatives of such villages will meet and decide upon a common course of action.

Quarrels among the members of the same family are settled by the head of the family and differences among the inhabitants of the same community are composed by the elders of the village. Very rarely and not until no other means are left to him, will a disputant bring his case before the magistrate of his district, for consciously or unconsciously self-government is regarded by the Chinese as an honor and is looked up to with such pride.

Thus it may be surprising to find that in a district where the average population is 300,000 there is only one magistrate who is appointed by the Central Government and who discharges the numerous functions of the administrator, the judge, the chief tax collector, and educational commissioner, all rolled in one.

What I have attempted to describe

above has been in existence for ages in the social structure of the Chinese people, and now I propose to refer to some of the recent manifestations of the same democratic spirit which have attracted much attention from all over the world.

In the first place, I should like to refer to the boycott movement in China. I do not propose to discuss the merit of the case but try to point out some facts in connection with this movement.

In the Covenant of the League of Nations an attempt had been made to substitute war by what has been known as the economic weapon. Article XVI provides as follows:

"Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its Covenants under Arts. 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their national and the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

"It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force, the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenant of the League.

"The members of the League agree further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the Covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces

of any of the Members of the League which are cooperating to protect the Covenant of the League.

"Any member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other members of the League represented thereon."

In China, in connection with the Shantung question, a nation-wide boycott movement against the Japanese goods was launched in 1919.

In this connection I think that I cannot do better than quote a few paragraphs of an address delivered by the President of the Nisshin Kisen Kaishu, an influential Japanese steamship company operating in China. The speaker said:

"During the last business term of the company, domestic market in China improved and her import and export trade began to show activity with the gradual resumption of normal commercial activities following the conclusion of peace. It so happened that at this juncture anti-Japanese movements broke out on the Yangtze and showed renewed activity repeatedly. The agitation did not end before the termination of the company's business term under consideration.

"The trade in Japanese goods fell off in a marked degree, while Chinese merchants entrusted the shipment of their merchandise to other steamship companies. As a result the company suffered severely from the Anti-Japanese Boycott.

"The company could only obtain some shipments from Japanese European and American merchants on the lower reaches of the Yantze. The cargo shipped by the company during the business term showed a decrease of about 50,000 tons or of about 660,000 yen in freight rates compared with the preceding term.

"No optimism for the next business term is warranted, for the Anti-Japanese Boycott still continues. As a matter of fact there is not a single ton of

cargo obtainable in the direction of Ichang."

In the second place I should like to call your attention to what is known as the student movement. This gigantic movement also developed in the course of the Paris Peace Conference. When the articles respecting the settlement of the Shantung question were made known the student body in China energetically protested against the signing of the Versailles Treaty. The movement was started by the students in Peking, but very soon it spread throughout the length and breadth of the whole country. They refused to attend their classes in the school; they made demonstration marches in the street holding flags inscribed "Shantung" thereon: and demanded again and again the President of the Republic to instruct the delegation at Paris not to sign the Versailles Treaty.

After some days of turmoil the demonstration efforts became more and more organized and centralized. At Shanghai which is situated between the North and South and to which access is easier than any other place, a central office of the students was established, and this establishment was rapidly followed by the establishment of similar branch organizations in the different Provinces, Prefectures and Districts. A central committee, consisting of the representatives of important educational institutions sat at Shanghai where they received and distributed information respective the question at issue, discussed and decided the general policy and common course of action to be followed, and issued direction to the branch committees as to what to be carried out.

When questioned and argued as to the desirability and propriety of the students interfering with the business of the government they frankly admitted that they should not meddle with politics, but they said that extraordinary circumstances required extraordinary remedies. They regretted that they had to interrupt their school work but it was their settled conviction, they added, that their apparent

interference with the Government was purely out of their patriotic motives in the belief that they represented the enlightened class of the people and were quite willing to bear responsibility growing out of their seeming interference.

In the third place I should like to draw attention to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

According to the returns supplied by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry with respect to the Chamber of Commerce the following statistical formation may be quoted.

CHAMBERS. BRANCHES

Chili	4	61
Jehol	1	4
Honan	2	52
Shansi	1	22
Shantung	3	30
Kansu	1	4
Fengtien	3	61
Kirin and Heilung Kiang	3	25
Kuangsi	8	33
Shensi	1	8
Anhui	4	41
Sinkiang	1	..
Kiangsu	6	40
Chekiang	2	..
Kuangtung	2	74
Hunan	1	20
Hapeh	2	23
Szechuan	2	106
Kiangsi	3	46
Kuangtung	2	74
Fukien	2	44
Yunnan	1	9
Kuei Chow	1	4

During 1915 the total number of Chambers of Commerce increased from 797 to 869 the number of shops enrolled from 196,336 to 230,431 and the total amount of the membership fee amounted to \$1,050,000.

It is understood that the above figures did not include the Chambers of Commerce established abroad.

In the recent years when the domestic and foreign commerce has begun to assume an important position and the merchants have become wealthy and ambitious. The Chambers of Com-

merce have made their influence felt not only in their own domain of commerce and trade, but also with the authorities of the Government.

The Chinese Banking Consortium is a new product of evolution, but through its sound business-like administration it has gained the confidence of the people and exercised a good deal of influence with the Government. More than once it has relieved the Government of the financial embarrassments it was in and has averted a financial crisis resulting from the collapse of the Banque Industrielle de Chine by advancing cash money to redeem the large amount of bank notes it had issued.

In view of the rapid development of Commerce and Industry in China, the Chinese Chambers of Commerce are bound to grow and their influence is bound to increase and before long they will assume the proper place due to them.

d. ADJUSTMENT OF NATIONAL DEMOCRACY WITH THE WORLD DEMOCRACY.

I am sure that you have heard and read a good deal of our recent home troubles, our so-called division of the North and South and the existence of excessive large armies in different Provinces. I do not come to offer any apology for the abnormal condition now existing in China but a few words of explanation may serve to clarify the confused idea which has been entertained toward the new Republic of China.

From the point of view of geography, of race, of history, of civilization and of language, there cannot be a real division between the North and South of China, and nor is it from the point of view of fact. The two democratic organizations which I have outlined above include both the so called North and South. At the special meetings of the national Chambers of Commerce and Educational Union recently held at Shanghai for the purpose of discussing matters in connection with the Washington Conference, the representatives from the South Provinces as well

as of the Northern Provinces also participated. In internal trade, in communication and in some cases of administration, unity has continued to exist. Such being the case this so-called division cannot but be temporary in nature.

From the day when China threw her door open to foreign intercourse her social and political structure was bound to undergo transformation. The Revolution of 1911 by which an Empire changed into a Republic marked the transformation. It is only ten years since that great political transformation took place. All would be happy if there were no disorders following the transformation, but no intelligent observer of world affairs would be surprised by what is now going on in China. In a word it represents a readjustment of the national democracy of China with the democracy of the world.

In coming into the family of world democracy China has two contributions to offer: 1st. The peace loving nature of the Chinese people; 2nd. Her long and rich history of 4,000 years.

1. *The peace-loving nature of the Chinese people.* At the time of the Paris Peace Conference, when a durable peace was planned by the delegates of all the countries participating therein, it was pointed out again and again that no real durable peace is obtainable until you have changed the psychology of the people who are warlike in nature. This time at the Washington Conference M. Briand, in delivering his powerful speech on the question of the limitation of land armament, referred to a moral disarmament as a fundamental requisite for the success of physical disarmament. The English translation of the passage concerning it is as follows:

"There is another consideration which we have no right to neglect in such a problem that touches vital questions which are of the most serious character for the country concerned.

It is necessary that besides this physical disarmament there should be in those circles what I shall call a general atmosphere of peace. In other words, a moral disarmament is as necessary as the material one."

Chinese history does not show that the Chinese people were not military in their nature. It was only after centuries of teaching and experience that peace is the necessary condition of progress and prerequisite to happiness, that the so-called moral disarmament was made possible. China is a sincere supporter of peace; she signed treaties of arbitration with the United States and Holland, she participated in both of the Conference of the Hague; and she collaborated at the Paris Conference, the League of Nations and now the Washington Conference.

2. *China's long and rich history of four thousand years.* To an ordinary European or American nothing in China is more attractive than the vast and almost untapped resources of raw materials. He desires to avail himself of the doctrine of the open door, by which he, in free competition with other exploiters, can gain a free access to this vast store of wealth.

Hardly has he ever suspected of the existence of a vast mass of wealth different in kind, but perhaps superior in quality; I mean the varied and long accumulated experiences of the Chinese people. As indicated in the previous paragraphs the Chinese have tried the different forms of government, and tested various methods of administration. They have devised and applied the economic weapon. They have struck upon and carried out the moral disarmament. Now her vast material resources have become known, and the various Powers are trying to apply the open door policy upon these resources. It is hoped that her spiritual resources will also be made known and the same policy will be applied to the end, that the whole world may be facilitated in arriving at the goal thus laboriously sought after.

Modern Education in China

By P. C. KING

CHANGE is the keynote in describing the general trend of events in China in the last decade. So rapid is the process of change that to a western observer who is familiar with old China but not with the new, the changes must appear visual distortions rather than realities. The political change in 1911 which transformed the country into a republic in a bloodless revolution was, while important in itself, only the beginning of many eventful and significant happenings yet to follow. Social and industrial changes have been coming forth as a sequel to the political revolution. In the field of education changes reflecting thoughts and movements of a national character are equally marked and noticeable.

Modern education in China, so to speak, did not seriously begin until the old system of examination was abolished seventeen years ago. In contrast with such characteristics as pedantry and ultra-conservatism, all too well-known symbols of the old system, modern education has strived for the same ideals of education as those found in western countries. Though hampered and handicapped under extremely trying conditions, the unmistakable sign of Chinese education is to go forward and upward. A systematic treatment of educational development in China in recent years may be well left to students of history and education. We are here contented with reviewing the broad tendencies in the modern educational movement in China, and with discussing some of their practical effects on thought and action of the Chinese national life.

The chief inspiration of education under the old system was to a literary man. Another less worthy object was to step into officialdom. Both of these

had to give place to the more practical, nay loftier, ideal in modern education, namely, to fit each man to his life work so as to become a useful citizen. This seems natural enough. But it involves the adoption of an entirely new conception toward education. The old idea of education was to acquire literary knowledge, or at best book knowledge in general. The modern conception is to get hold of all human experiences and practices in all walks of life. This broadening of the scope of education has given a new meaning to education and has given life and breadth to professional training. If we compare the manner in which only one or two decades ago our engineers and mechanics were despised as men of no education with the high regard and consideration these men are enjoying now, the conclusion is forced on us to admit what a great difference this new conception has brought about. In fact, new conception accounts for all the difference between old China and the new.

To fill the void caused by the disappearance of old ideals of education and of life, the idea of practicality finds an easy inroad into the mind of Chinese educators. Industrialization of middle schools has easily become the endorsed plan of many because it is conceived to be the most practical. One of the Chinese educational leaders became so fascinated with the practical idea of the industrial school plan in Manila where he visited that he religiously followed out the plan by establishing a similar school in China upon his return. Indeed, the idea of practical education has become so popular that the University of Nanking has included agriculture and forestry in its curriculum, and the Peking Christian University

has deemed it advisable to have a school of tannery placed side by side with one of theology.

Another dominant note in the change of ideas in education is the very idea of change for change's sake. Ex-President Taft once remarked that in these days of progress, reform, uplift and improvement a man did not show himself abreast of the age unless he had some changes to suggest, even though changes for change's sake. The same opinion obtains in the educational world in China. Among the rank and file of China's young men, be they teachers or students, the desire for new and for change is unquenchable. Each is trying to advocate for something new, something different from the beaten path. The spirit of nonconformity is especially noticeable with ambitious young men who would call into question ideals and practices which have never been questioned. One would shudder at this clamor for change when he reads what was written by an Englishman not many years ago that the very idea of change was repugnant to every Chinese.

This insatiate desire for change coupled with the change of ideals and the adoption of a new conception toward education cannot fail to produce results and create new conditions. Foremost among these results is the widespread national consciousness stirred up by the activities of students. The students, as a class, have been, be it fortunate or otherwise, more active and more public-spirited as a result of modern education. They discern the national dangers and feel more keenly. By spontaneous action they have caused the fire of burning patriotism run throughout the country. By means of parade demonstrations, street oratory and handbill publicity they have successfully enlisted sympathy and support from merchants and other classes of people. The combination of students and merchants virtually forced the government to yield to the public demand in allowing certain pro-Japanese ministers to resign and in refusing to sign the Versailles Treaty. The students

have also made the boycott of "enemy goods" very effective, much to the chagrin of our shrewd neighbor. The so-called student movement is still spreading and pulsating in different parts of the land and its full effect must be measured with the events of the coming generation. Already it has left a distinct landmark in China's history.

Another new development in China's education is the question of co-education. When modern schools were introduced, the government found it necessary to provide more schools and colleges for men than for women. Now with the advent of the new wave for women independence, there is a persistent demand for equal treatment of women in education. Doors of government colleges and universities have been knocked for admission of women students and not a few have been thrown open to admit them. The principle of co-education is not to be debated. But its carrying out requires time and consideration. Not all the courses now offered to men are equally suitable to the education for women. To make women really independent education must meet their needs. It would be a crime to admit women students without carefully planned courses and well supervised facilities. Another consideration is that they should be admitted on equal footing as men, on merits and qualifications. The standard of requirements should not be lowered to accommodate them. That much of the success of co-education in China will depend on these two considerations is held in firm belief by many educators.

The Chinese written language in the old pedantic style has been aptly described as a stumbling block to the spread of education and to the path of advancement in China's civilization. A few thinking men in recent years have happily hit upon the idea of removing the stumbling block by advocating a simple style of writing, making what is written approach as closely as possible what is spoken by adopting a set of marks of punctuation and disregarding the con-

ventional rules and effected styles of the old written language. The idea cannot be more sensible. The new style has at once become very popular, especially with the students. At the height of the student movement more than one hundred kinds of student papers, written after this style, made their appearance in a few months. More and more newspapers and written lectures are being published in this style. Some enthusiasts not satisfied with the mere adaptation of the new style to the practical purposes of writing, endeavor to demonstrate what can be accomplished with this new instrument of writing even in the realm of poetry. But the more serious minds are inclined to think that more earnest work needs to be done to perfect the new style of writing for adaptation to the very purpose for which it was originally intended, namely, for the spread of general education. Time and energy cannot be spared to the working out of a Chinese grammar into which good rules and usages should be incorporated. The grammar should show for practical purposes the rudiments of what constitutes correctness in both speaking and writing. Such rudiments, so common in western languages, are certainly to be found in the Chinese language, and must be found to prevent the language from being a "hit or miss" affair.

Another movement of intellectual interest is the invitation extended to eminent thinkers in foreign countries to go to China to give travelling lecture on various subjects. This reminds one of the lecture movement in America during the first half of the last century when such popular writers as Dickens and Thackeray were invited

to lecture at popular meetings. There is a difference, of course, in the nature of subjects treated. Dr. John Dewey, the first lecturer, has popularized his theories of education. Prof. Bertrand Russell is responsible for making the Einstein theory best known, if not understood, to the popular mind in China. Small discussion groups were formed, and lecture notes taken down in Chinese were printed and given the broadest publicity. A number of Dewey's and Russell's books have been translated into Chinese.

The above facts are merely drawn to show the direction of change and the path of development. Dark clouds are overhanging in China. The only silver lining is in the force of education. Even here one must take to heart the tremendous problems yet to be faced and solved. The first and foremost is, of course, the mass education, the foundation of true democracy. A system of tax for the support of public schools must be devised and carried out so as to yield sufficient funds for compulsory education. Schools and colleges have suffered greatly in scholarship and discipline as a result of successive student strikes in the last three years. Measures must be taken to guard the sacred duty of educational institutions for the encouragement of good scholarship and for the moulding of sound character. In higher educational institutions, the spirit of scientific research should be fostered and facilities for such should be provided. The road to educational democracy in China is not at all even and smooth. But difficulties and obstructions are not insurmountable if we all have faith in China's salvation through education.

Viscount Bryce on Modern Democracies

BY PAO-CHAO HSIEH

CHINESE readers can hardly agree with the Chinese conditions described by Viscount Bryce in his *Modern Democracies*. It is easy to point out improvements he has overlooked and obseletisms he has stressed. But, as a matter of fact, he neither overlooks the new conditions nor takes bygones for prevalences. For, he does not mean to have this his works one of current politics, but one about democracies in 1914 when political institutions were more or less stable. So, we must not judge this book from the validity of the incidental memtions about China. A scientific view is a prerequisite for the appreciative study of a scientific book like this.

This book consists of three parts. The first, deals with the activities, institutions, and qualities that have bearing on a democracy. The second treats of the actual working of six modern democracies as they existed in 1914. The third contains an examination of the facts in Part II, criticism of the institutions, and observation of the common phenomena. It is the first and third parts that we are more interested in. For Chinese readers, his chapters on the Republics of South America should prove instructive.

There is a store of facts in the first and third parts that makes the opinions and conclusions of the author well grounded. Likewise, in the second part, the facts are presented with opinions admixed in such a charming and instructive manner that while we are getting the facts, we are not embarrassed by being confronted with a dry tabulation of them.

The author proposes to leave out Great Britain for fear that his personal experience in English politics might somehow or other make him biased in treatment. But, throughout the book, English institutions are cited

for illustration: in fact, more English than any other institutions are cited.

Throughout the whole two volumes, the abundance of "Buts" and the scarcity of "Ifs", "Whens", "May bes", and "Provideds" are noticeable. The former indicates his employment of the comparative method in questions of fact and his eagerness to present the arguments of both sides in questions of opinion; while the latter denotes his rigid recognition of facts in formulating his opinion. His speculations are safe and conservative. They are based on past facts and present tendencies.

The reviewer intends to give only a resume of this works. He has found it extremely difficult to criticise a book written by a man of a rare combination of undesputed authority, extensive travelling, and political, diplomatic, and legislative experience. To the first and third part of this book, attention of this review is primarily devoted.

Definition of Democracy

The term "Democracy" is defined in the strick, narrow, and yet prevailing sense, "rule of the majority" of the qualified voters, "the classes and masses of the whole people being taken together". "Where the will of the whole people prevails in all important matters even if it has some retarding influences to overcome, or is legally required to act for some purpose in some specially provided manner, that may be called democracy". Numerically speaking, the qualified voters ought to be about three-quarters of the adult population so that "the physical force coincides the voting power".

The social and moral connotations of the term is not considered.

Causes of Democracy.

Two things are essential for democracy—theoretical justification and ac-

tual practice. The Doctrine of Popular Sovereignty derived from the political philosophers and the idea of equality from Christian teaching make up the former. Upward economic progress, in the old countries in Europe, favorable economic conditions in the new countries like America, Australia and New Zealand, discontentment with the old regime coupled with a desire for better, and the effort of the parties to gain control of the government through popular support from the latter. The last cause is accelerative. Every one of the parties wants to control the government. Every one knows that the best and sometimes the only way is to get it through popular support. So, every one tries to win popular support by introducing measures that meet at least the momentary taste if not the real need of the people. When one party is in power, the other can overthrow it only by winning the people over with more popular measures. Hence, every time a party rises or falls, the government will be so much more popular. Thus all work towards the same goal. The race for popularity would not stop until the prevailing conditions intervene. The taste of the people may change. But, the control of popular sentiment over political measures and the power they have in either accepting or rejecting them manifest the triumph and demonstrate the superiority of the populace.

Prerequisites of Democracy.

For the establishment of a democracy, the habit of local government, first of all, works up the common interests of the individuals for the community. Some of the components have to work for the whole body. In this process, they are equipped with common sense, reasonableness, justice, and sociability, thus trained to work with others. The nature of the service compels the workers to be honest. Brave endeavors of some inspire the public spirit of others. The quality and ability to handle larger governmental activities can best be prepared from small local self-government.

Education has often been mistaken as a prerequisite for democratic government. But, in fact, it is only a means to it. Intellectual aggrandizement does not coincide with increase of sense of civic duty. Knowledge of reading is only an entrance to knowledge of political affairs. Its effect cannot be overestimated. It is a help at its best. But, it also leads the people to diverse interests which the uneducated do not care for. The development of new interests unconsciously closes the door to political duties which education is supposed and expected to open. Here, the author seems too pessimistic, yet he displays impartiality.

Common Features of Democracy.

Democracies, like individuals, though differing from one another, has at the same time four common features. The theoretical bases of all of them is the doctrine of popular sovereignty. A difference of degree between these is, however, exhibited. Then, all of them express their sovereignty by a constitution. Whether it be written or unwritten, rigid or flexible, it serves to guarantee the working of the doctrine. Thirdly, all have representative assembly or assemblies which control the purse of the state thus safeguards the invasion of the popular sovereignty by the executives. Finally, all of them are worked by political parties. The number of parties, the method of securing control, and the way of controlling differ, but the fact of controlling is exactly the same.

Three Types of Democracy Compared

The three outstanding types of democracy are the Cabinet system, the Presidential system, and the Swiss system. Each has both its merits and defects. Since the Swiss system is employed only by Switzerland, not copied by any other country because of its impracticability for countries of larger size, suffice it to say that Switzerland has employed it to the best of its advantages and with very few defects. The comparison, then is chiefly between the Cabinet and the Presidential systems.

The Cabinet system which is employed by four of the six countries discussed in the book and practically all the new countries in Europe, deserves our first consideration.

First, the cooperation of the Executive and the majority of the Legislature is an advantage. Both being from the same party, the responsibility of running the government efficiently and economically is concentrated. The executive, being members of the Legislature, have the opportunity to hear the opposing views in the Legislature. Constant close contact of both parties results at the eradication of misunderstandings and modification of views and methods of the ruling party. The government machine is thus smoothed. Interrogation by the opposition gives the Government opportunity to make its policy better understood and its mistakes corrected. Then able man can be more easily discovered. A brilliant speech in the Legislature usually attracts the attention of the nation and wins the admiration and support of the party. Criticism of the opposition also requires men who know how the Government works and how to criticize it effectively. Men of ability in the rank and file cannot escape notice. It also prepares men to take up the Government readily. Finally the non-partisanship of the Executive head keeps the Government machinery in operation irrespective of changes no matter how radical or how frequent they may come about.

A number of defects, however, discredits this system. The quick action brought about by cooperation is usually brought about by domination of either the Executive or the Legislature; the former is common in France, while the latter, in Great Britain. In both governments, steps are often hastily taken. Interrogation, when misused, as unfortunately it often is, means obstruction. Too much time is wasted in unnecessary debates. Criticism of the Opposition may mean attack of everything the Government does. Moreover, the rival parties are always fighting against each other. Time is again

wasted. To win an election, public pulse must be felt. Measures to meet the approval of the constituencies must be brought up. They may be of only temporary fancy, and no real need. But, they are brought up just the same. The principal business of a party is to win an election. The desired victory justifies any means. In countries where there are more than two parties, a coalition cabinet is the only solution. The life of this kind of cabinet depends on the "unstable compound". The Government falls as soon as the compound is dissolved.

The presidential System has also its merits and defects. It gives a stable government. The fixed term of both the Executive and the Legislative makes the elected officers less dependent on the momentary support of the people. The Executive is continuous. The Legislature is concentrated. When a policy is mapped out by the majority party, it is surer of execution. Because of the stability, party conflict is less eminent. Instead of fighting all the time, the parties fight only at the election time which comes in a fixed interval. But, the separation of the Executive and Legislative makes the two departments unable to cooperate. Unless one party controls both, the tendency of each is to block the other's measures. Also the reeligibility of the chief Executive tends to influence his action and make him work more for reelection than for his official duties.

Having stated the comparative merits and defects of the two systems, the author proceeds to answer three questions.

1. "Which of them succeeds best in giving prompt and full effects to the will of the people?"

2. "Which is calculated to guard against errors into which the people may be betrayed by ignorance or haste or passion?"

3. "Which secures the highest efficiency in Administration?"

He concluded that the Cabinet system is built to secure "swiftness in decision and vigor in action", therefore, can best give prompt response to the will of the

people. The Presidential system which is built for safety and stability guards better against errors that the people make in haste or by ignorance or passion. Administrative efficiency, which is shown by both forms to very high degree, is however, more easily secured by the Cabinet system.

Checks and balance therefore do not coexist with cooperation of Executive and Legislative; nor can safety and stability go hand in hand with swift action on and prompt response to popular demands. Administrative efficiency can be realized by both. The strength is often the weakness at the same spot. Governments have to sacrifice one for the other.

Democracy Compared With Monarchy and Oligarchy.

Democracy should not be studied by itself. In all fairness its merits and defects should be judged side by side with other forms of government—monarchy and oligarchy.

Monarchy claims four merits, stability, efficiency, service and justice between classes. The author denies the first and fourth unconditionally and gives the second and third only conditional credits. Monarchy is, first of all, not more stable than democracy especially in foreign policies. A monarch is more disposed to war and aggression. This kind of disposition makes the monarch subject to all variance. Speaking of justice between classes, a monarch is usually kind to his favorites and harsh to the masses. He depends on them and is nearer to them. Efficiency and service are secured provided there is a good monarch. But, unfortunately enough, good monarchs seldom appeared in history.

In comparing democracy with oligarchy, the author accepts that administrative efficiency, service, and economy are more easily securable by an oligarchy than a democracy. But, he is inclined to think that many good points in a democracy cannot be found in an oligarchic government. Democracy on the other hand, has been able to rid itself of the weakness of an oligarchy.

Thus administrative skill and efficiency are secured at the expenses of denying the whole people of the opportunity for training in civic duties. A humane government under a democracy is better than an economic government under an oligarchy. Thus far, we have dealt with the good side of these institutions assuming that both are at their height. But, human institutions, like human beings who found them, are not infallible. When they fall below standard, when the governments are not working as they should, democracy proves a decidedly better form. The check of an oligarchy is only social censure. It is of no legal effect. It may bring no practical results except by revolution. On the other hand, public displeasure in a democracy means the downfall of the unsatisfactory government. The change requires neither violence nor bloodshed.

Those who say that Viscount Bryce is pessimistic over the situation of present day democracy must have failed to see how totally he disapproves other forms of government; how firmly he refutes their supposed merits; how definitely he recognizes the superiority of democracy over them. From various statements in his book, one cannot but be impressed with his discontent with its result. On the one hand, we see him clearly a champion of democracy. On the other, we find him mercilessly enumerating its present defects and plainly showing his pessimistic attitude over its future. He is eager to plead for the best existing governmental institution; yet he never forgets the other side of the question. His characteristic impartiality cannot escape the notice of any careful reader.

Success And Failure of Democracy

Now let us turn to the question what good and what evils democracy has done. Before the question is answered two things should not be passed by unnoticed.

People must not confuse what a form of government can do with what people mistakably expect it to do. Generally more is expected from democ-

racism than what the Russian Soviet promises to give. So, judging its merits and defects we ought to bear in mind that democracy is a human institution.

The gain of democracy is chiefly negative. Thus Viscount Bryce says "Popular Government has been usually sought and won and valued not as a good thing in itself, but as a means of getting rid of tangible grievances or securing tangible benefits". Even though more evil is rid off than good done. It is for this reason that the author seems pessimistic. It is also for this reason that he is impartial. He writes this book just like the English built up their constitution. They did not assert what the people's rights were and what they wanted to have but they set down what the King could not do—a negative yet practical way of doing it. Applying the same negative method, we may say that democracy is not the best but the least unsatisfactory form of government.

To democracy, the following are accredited.

It has been successful in resisting external attack. Monarchy and oligarchy can achieve the same end, but they often mix defense with aggression, while a democracy can increase its defensive armament without ambition in neighboring territory.

In the maintenance of internal order, it is equally successful as other forms of government. Nay, it is more so. Democracy demands the obedience of their constituencies to laws made by their representatives who voice their opinion on them. Monarchy and oligarchy compel the people to abide by the laws dictated by an individual or a class. Laws of democratic government are political contracts and those of monarchy and oligarchy imposed conditions of the ruler. It is true that a good monarch or oligarchy makes good laws. But good monarchs are rare, and class interest is seldom overlooked by lawmakers of an oligarchy. Sometimes, disorder like picketing and lynching happens in a democracy. But, aside from these, the order is almost perfect.

Justice is administered honestly and capably in most of the democracies. The only dark spot of a democracy is the elected judges in some states of the American union where political influence, not judicial knowledge secures the election. The elected judges' opinion and decision are often influenced by re-election and party bosses.

Civil administration is quite efficiently conducted. To this statement, loose and extravagant financial administration makes an exception.

Democracy has removed the causes of the people's unhappiness. It has done away with the sources of fear, suffering, oppression, injustice, religious persecution, slave trade and what not. It has guaranteed liberty, equality, freedom of speech, freedom of press and other means of securing happiness. It has not bestowed directly to the people happiness itself. That is without the reach of a political institution. Yet it has provided the means which pave the way for it, and it has diminished, if not entirely abolished the obstacles which block the peoples from their advancement towards it. Thus negatively at least, democracy is a success.

Recognizing the rigid and merciless fact of natural inequality in human beings, oligarchy is inevitable no matter what beautiful name a form of government bears. But, democracy has shown a decidedly achievement in that oligarchy within a democracy is one of natural ability not one of rank, nor of heredity. It is an oligarchy of talent not wealth, one of the deserving not the fortunate. It is dynamic not static for oligarchy within a democracy changes hands as public opinion changes. The oligarchic form remains but the men in the oligarchy change. The ability of the people to prescribe the form of government provides them with weapons to fight the evils of particular forms of oligarchy. The practice of choosing men to form the oligarchy enables them to form it themselves. Finally the negative power to reject the measures of the government and to recall its administrators is a remedy for any existing or unexpected

evils of the system. From a state of compulsory and helpless acceptance of any oligarchy that happens to be given to the people, democracy has made the people to choose one for themselves. It has also given them the means to check their choice or to substitute it with another when necessary or desirable.

Democracy has secured a legislature more responsive to the calls of the lower classes which are always in the majority of a body politic.

Democracy seems to be inconsistent in foreign policies due to the frequent changes of policy formulators and executors. History, however, proves otherwise. The shaping of a foreign policy is not entirely an internal affair. External circumstances are strong enough to check the momentary whims of any people.

Democracy has proven grateful to those who render it their service.

Taking it as a whole, democracy can and has achieved more for the people in general than any other form of government.

Counterbalancing the success of democracy is its failure. It has not been able to place the responsibility of government on the people. Where there is responsibility, it is very much limited, too much to be of real significance. With the possible exception of Switzerland, financial administration of the democratic governments is a failure. Switzerland makes it a success only because she is poor. Its looseness and extravagance partly due to party politics and partly due to lack of high skill are lamentable results. Contrary to its negative success, democracy fails to create happiness for the people. No people can say that they have got what they expect from democracy. The contentment and satisfaction that are expected of a democratic government are not induced. With the exception of Australia, no democratic government has ever attempted to aid the people by conducting industry and commerce. But, the results of the Australian experiment prove futile. Democracy fails to bring fraternity within a race as well as be-

tween races. The service of a democratic state is poor and the appreciation of administrative skill is almost nil. The fear of revolution is not removed by democracy. The legislatures of democracies are not free from corrupt practices and party dictation. They have a tendency to play for votes. They are afraid to pass laws against popular fancy even though popular sentiment is known to be in a wrong channel. The undue and undesirably strong power of the political parties is not eliminated. Politics is not purified. Professionalism in politics is not reduced. Money power has corrupted every department of a democracy. Finally, real democracy has never existed. An oligarchy within a democracy is inevitable for the need of expert skill in organization and administration, the indifference of the majority to public affairs, and the ignorance and incapacity of the masses that always form a majority of a body politic.

Present Tendencies of Democracies

An inquiry into the present tendencies of the democracies is natural after the merits and defects of the democracies have been stated. To the great surprise of the advocates of democracy and the fond hopes of the people, one finds that of all the prevailing tendencies, only one is favorable, that is; it is spreading. We see in many corners of the earth new governments of republican form and democratic nature organized. With the exception of Soviet Russia, every revolution had democracy as its end. Democracy has become a fashion, if not a real object.

Practically, however, they are just the opposite. Money power in politics tends to grow and strengthen. Financial oligarchy seems to be ready to step into the shoes of popular government. The extension of government activities demands highly skilled men for administrative offices and that they stay long. The lengthy term tends to create a class of experts in government administration. Bureaucracy will likely result. The ever increasing urbanization gives a government greater burden in main-

tainment of order. It gives the political parties a supply of paid voters. This intensifies its difficulties and modifies its popularity. The initiative and referendum, recommended by the doctrine of popular sovereignty, have been checked by the difficulties of their operation—high cost of voting and powerful political party render them impractical. The decline of legislature, due to party struggle, strict party discipline, the application of the theory of Imperative mandate, the influence of party newspaper, and payment of membership in legislature, proves detrimental. The establishment of Labor Unions and the advocacy of class war disintegrate a democracy. Finally the doctrine of general strike and dictatorship of the proletariat tries to destroy it altogether.

The Future of Democracy.

Then will democracy hold its place in the future? Prediction is vain. Yet, having seen it at work, and having examined its prevailing tendencies, if not a definite forecast, at least the factors that shape its future can be analysed. First and foremost, the taste of the people should be considered. As we have seen monarchies and oligarchies changing into democracies, we have also seen democracies changing into monarchies, only the latter happens more infrequently and further back. Greeks and Romans saw their democracy extinct without regret. The French supported Napoleon the Third quite as loyally as they did to the first two republics. From 1871 to 1918, the Germans preferred industrial prosperity paternalized by benevolent despots to political freedom guaranteed by a democratic government. The Spanish welcomed the monarchical restoration in 1873. All these show the viscitude of the peoples. A change of government follows the change of taste. And if the taste is for a popular government, the degree of popularity is still a question. But, several elements which influence the taste of the people must not be overlooked. Within a state, the

direction of foreign policies complicated by the possibility of war constantly calls for expert skill and keeps the formulation of the policy in the hands of a few. Then the instinct of self-preservation requires diplomacy and armament. Secrecy in diplomacy and skill in military organization forbid popular participation. Armament gives incentive to military conquest on the one hand and arouses suspicion of the neighbors on the other. Once the suspicion of the neighbors is aroused, a race for armament takes to foot, democracy will be on its way to the ruin. Again, civil strife checks the growth of democracy. Every step in party organization proves a retreat of democratic development. The indifference of the people, both the masses and the classes, though does not destroy it, minimizes the political interests of the people, and keeps them away from the performance of civic duties without which no government can aspire to do the greatest good for the greatest number. Lastly and not the least important is the premature satisfaction with the accomplishments of democracy. It is hardly seen that democracy has only destroyed the bad. But it has not established the good. This contentment easily makes the people blind to the possible and probable constructive good it can and has to do.

Against all these forces operating for its destruction, some safeguards can be relied on. Laws can provide a test and set up a standard by which temptation is checked. They can also keep the conscience of the people in a higher level. A sound and uncorruptible public opinion can be developed to supply the lack of laws. The sentiment of national unity can be fostered to check the internal difference. The right of the people to choose the leaders, their duty to watch on them, the exercise of the negative power in rejecting measures or recalling the officials can be exercised.

The future of democracy then, may remain in the inevitable oligarchic state. To reach the real goal of democracy depends on the steady and sure

progress of human moral which, fortunately has kept pace with material and scientific development. The faith of the human race in democracy remains as no better alternative has been yet demonstrated feasible. The hope for its future is bright. Democracy is safe.

Compulsory Education in China

By L. S. LOH

THAT universal education is essential to the success of a democratic system of government is now-a-days subscribed to by almost everybody. The illiterate person who knows no geography outside of his own neighborhood which he has traversed on foot, who has no conception of government beyond a possible encounter or so with a local magistrate or some of his overbearing satellites, who knows no duties or obligations beyond the limit of his immediate family group makes a poor unit in a democracy. And yet how often one meets such a person in China! It is estimated that over 90 per cent. of China's great population are illiterate. Most of them lead a most restricted and narrow life in a miserable environment, with no intellectual exercise other than the pursuit of food through the medium of some miserably monotonous and fatiguing labor. So long as such condition continues in the country so long there will be no democratic government that will not be a mere veneering of rotten wood. All the loans in the world, all the elaborate schemes of reform, and all the trade and industry that could be built up would supply relatively puny needs compared with the need of education which would raise the masses of the people above the darkness of illiteracy.

The most effective way of disseminating education among the masses is the enforcement of universal compulsory education. This was demonstrated to be the case in Prussia over a century ago, later in other European and American countries and recently in Japan. Could not China do the same thing? Yes, she could and she has been trying to do it for sometime. But the task is immense, the obstacles in the way are numerous, and so far very little progress has been made.

I. Compulsory education in the Manchu days.

The idea of compulsory education in China was initiated in 1906 by the then newly created Ministry of Education, when it was discovered that during the period of reorganization of education from June 1, 1901 to the time of the abolition of the examination system, Sept. 2, 1905, modern schools were not being established as rapidly as the government had hoped. In some provinces little if any attention had been given the subject, while in some others only half-hearted attempts were made. But the Ministry was aware that much deliberation and planning were needed before any concrete step could be taken. In connection with the governmental examination of the returned students on August 29, 1906, the Ministry utilized the students' opinion by asking them to write one of the required thesis on the subject. "The Practicability or Otherwise of Enforcing Compulsory Education in China at Present." ¹ It was reported that as soon as the examination was over, the Ministry memorialized the throne on the necessity of enforcing compulsory education. The memorial suggested that the education of Chinese children should be made compulsory and that the power of enforcement and inspection should be exercised by the newly-created commissioners of education in the provinces.

On Sept. 1, 1906, added impetus to the movement of compulsory education was given when the highly important decree was issued whereby the Throne put itself on record as favoring a constitutional form of government. If such a form of government was to be granted, the people must be educated.

¹ *The World's Chinese Students' Journal*, Vol. I, No. 4, January and February, 1907, p. 20.

"Education, universal compulsory education for the enlightenment of the people is the *sine qua non* of political reform," it was urged. From this time on the question of universal compulsory education was frequently discussed in the press and by the educational authorities. Suggestions and counter suggestions were offered for a number of years, and by the frequent pronouncements by the Ministry of Education it is apparent that the government was fully alive to the importance of this problem.

In July, 1911, three months prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, the First Central Educational Conference of the Central Educational Council, a council similar in its nature and duties to the Comité Consultatif of France, was held in Peking. To this conference the question of introducing a "modern system of compulsory education" was referred by the Ministry of Education. After much deliberation the proposition was passed by the conference, and eighteen rules² constituting a sort of compulsory attendance law were drawn up. They may be summarized thus: Rule 1, sets forth that all persons of school age shall receive a course of elementary education to be styled duty-bound education. Rule 2 gives the school age as from the completion of the sixth year to that of the fourteenth year. Rule 3 devolves the responsibility for such education upon the default, other persons recognized by law, apprentices shall be persuaded to study during leisure time by employers. Rules 4 and 5 detail what schools and books should be chosen. Private tuition is allowable provided the lessons be the same as those of the public schools authorized by the Ministry; and when pupils are graduating, official examiners shall hold the examinations and issue the certificates. Rule 6 permits those too poor to take the elementary course, to enter a school teaching easy characters. Rule 7 demands a full record of the pupils with regard to their names, addresses, and age, as well as the profes-

sions of their parents or guardians for report to the government at the end of every year. Rules 8, 9 and 10 mention the plan of keeping a registering of deaths or of pupils leaving school through other causes, of the number of children of school age, for the purpose of notifying their parents or guardians in advance as to their duty and of informing the schools of the same. Rules 11, 12 and 13 give elaborate injunctions as to how to persuade the guardians to send their protégés to schools, how to report neglect, if any of this duty after having twice notified them. Rule 14 exempts four classes of children from attending school, namely, those who are (1) insane, (2) deficient in any of the five senses, (3) lame and deformed, and (4) afflicted with incurable diseases. Rule 15 allows those with weakly developed bodies, and those in extreme poverty, to postpone the time of going to school. Rule 16 declares the officials of the districts and the local self-government offices to be responsible for the establishment of such schools, and of the number of children of the right age in the said districts. Rule 17 states that these rules shall be in force as soon as the dispatch enclosing them is received. Rule 18 reserves the right to have the rules amended, added to, or curtailed when necessary by the Ministry of Education.

The scheme of compulsory education embodied in the eighteen clauses was officially adopted by the Ministry of Education and was probably meant to be carried out, but the outbreak of the Revolution in October of that year put a stop to the whole movement of modern education and prevented the scheme from being put into execution.

The brief account just given of the attempts at compulsory education by the government under the Manchu regime shows that while the government was perhaps earnest about the question, the whole movement never went beyond the promulgation of regulations and drawing up of rules on paper.

Various reasons may be given for the failure of the movement. Some

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 550.

charged that the whole attempt was superficial and uncertain. Some of the regulations themselves are superficial and illusory, and would have led to undesirable results if they were carried out. The government believed in a general way, no doubt, that education is a secret of western progress, and that similar methods might be tried with equal advantage in China, but it never knew how to do it. Some critics even went so far as to say that the whole thing was nothing more than an expression of pious aspiration, somewhat of a *ballon d'essai* to test public opinion.

But the chief reason that was responsible for the lack of success is doubtless the absence of funds. Compulsory education in such a country as China, or any other country for that matter, is not so much a case of making education compulsory as one of bringing it within the reach of all. The political economist says, "If desires were horses, then beggars would ride." The mendicant may desire a horse but can he bestride the beast if he does not have that power which will secure for him the purchase? Education is believed to be China's greatest need for the enlightenment of her illiterate people, but where is that power which will create schools properly equipped and furnished? Under the Manchu regime, as at present the malady of "without funds" was universal in China. The reason was perfectly obvious. The country had just emerged from medievalism. Finding herself to be far behind the other nations in matters of a material civilization, she made great efforts to reform herself along many lines political, military, educational and economic. Constructive reform along any line needed money, and since education, however fundamental it might be, was only one line of reform, it naturally could not monopolize all the funds that were available. Consequently the amount that could be devoted to education was very limited, and any ambitious attempt at compulsory education was checked from the start. Indeed, it was a usual thing to

hear that it was impracticable to found new schools on account of lack of funds for the purpose of purchasing sites, erecting and furnishing new buildings; that schools already opened had to be closed because government subsidy had stopped, that pupils had left schools because they had to pay tuition, that private munificence had to be sought so that the schools may last; that Buddhist temples had to be snatched from the monks or nuns by way of providing buildings for new schools, *et cetera*.³ Such being the case, the enforcement of compulsory education was out of question. Hence we find that in 1910 the total number of children enrolled in the primary schools, including the kindergartens, was only 1,416,206.⁴ This constituted only about two per cent of the children of school-age in the country.

II. Provision for compulsory education since the Republic.

Since the organization of the Republic the problem of universal education had loomed ever larger in the minds of the Chinese statesmen and educators. Dr. Wu Ting-fang, former Chinese Minister to the United States, is reported to have said, "Let us once get our masses educated as Americans are educated and China, now that she has dropped the fetters of royalty, will become the greatest of all the nations of the earth. Education-general education is our first need and our greatest need. It is the imperative need of any country where the people rule. To rule well presupposes trained minds. Chinese minds must be trained. Think what a republic of 400,000,000 educated people will make!"⁵ The late President Yuan Shi-kai also said, "The plan of preservation of people lies in education and maintenance. Education is the root of all administration, and the primary school is the root of education. Univer-

³ Op. cit., Vol. II No. 1 pp. 31-32; No. 3 p 20
Reisch, P. S. "Political and Intellectual Currents in Far East," pp. 200-207.

⁴ Statistical Report of the Ministry of Education, 1910.
⁵ *The Chinese Students' Monthly*, Vol. IX, No. 5, March, 1914, p. 373.

sal education must come before the people, in serving under arms and paying taxes, become acquainted with national principles, society will be ameliorated, morality will be elevated, every one will act like true gentleman and the administration will be civilized".⁶

The policy of enforcing compulsory education under the Republic was first nominally adopted in the Emergency Central Educational Conference held in Peking from July 10 to August 10, 1912. The Conference like the one held in 1911 was called by the government for the purpose of asking the prominent Educators of the country to help the government adopt a sound educational policy for the new Republic. Among other things it reorganized the system of schools and made the period of four years of the lower primary school one of compulsory education.⁷ However, no regulations were made as to the ways and means of enforcing compulsory education beyond the mere statement that the period between 6 and 14 constitutes the school-age and that upon reaching the school-age children should attend the lower primary school. The omission of detailed regulations is probably to be explained by the fact that while compulsory education is desirable yet because of the stringent financial status of the country after the revolution, its enforcement is impracticable. So the official endorsement of compulsory education is to be regarded merely as the official sanction of an aspiration, the realization of which is to be worked out in the future.

Two and half years elapsed before anything further was done by way of official propagation for compulsory education. On January 1, 1915, a lengthy Presidential mandate appeared urging upon the nation the great importance of educating the people. It says that owing to the internal turmoil following upon the revolution and the inauguration of the Republic, the government had not had time to devote much attention to this question. Now that the nation is comparatively at rest, the moral culture and general education of

the people should be taken in hand at once. The aim should be to bring education within the reach of all classes. Among other things, the President considers it advisable to fix the primary education at four years as the minimum time during which every child should attend school as in duty bound. The mandate closes by asking the Ministry of Education to begin working for its realization.⁸

On July 31, 1915 a set of compulsory attendance regulations appeared as a part of the ordinance on citizen school.⁹ On January 1 of the following year another set of more detailed regulations was issued as a part of a further ordinance on citizen school.¹⁰ These two sets of regulations make up what may be called the compulsory education law of China. They may be translated in substance as follows.

1. School age—The school age begins on the next day after the child completes its sixth year and expires when it completes the thirteenth year. During these seven years the child is within the school-age. However, the school attendance period starts at the time when the child begins the first school year after the day on which it attains its school age and ends when it has completed the course of the citizen school.

2. Obligation for attendance. The parent or guardian of children of school age is under obligation to send children to the citizen school in his district or a substitute citizen school recognized as such from the beginning to the end of the attendance period. But, as an alternative, he may give the same course at home, or send them elsewhere for education by the permission of the gentry of the city, town or village. As in such cases there is an element of uncertainty as to the completeness of the education imparted, the gentry exercises a mea-

⁶ *The Rebirth of the Nation* Edition of the China Press, Shanghai, Tuesday, October 26, 1915, p. 1.

⁷ *China Year Book*, 1913, pp. 382-385.

⁸ *The North China Herald*, Vol. CXIV, No. 4274, January 9, 1915, p. 104.

⁹ Chao Yu Fa Hwei Hsueh Pien, p. 124.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 184-187.

sure of supervision over such education and, if necessary, examines the children, and should he find it inadequate, the permission given is withdrawn. The law also provides that in case children who have not finished the course in citizen schools are employed during the school age, the employer shall not by any means handicap their school attendance.

3. Exemption from the obligation. There are special cases in which exemption from or some delay of the obligation of school attendance is granted. They are as follows. Children who are insane, idiotic, deformed or disabled, those who are physically feeble or imperfectly developed, and those whose parents or guardians are extremely poor. All these cases must be reported by the gentry to the district magistrate and be approved by him. In the first two cases, a certificate to the effect by a competent physician is required.

4. School census. In order to carry out the compulsory attendance, the gentry has to take, every year from the end of May to the beginning of August, a detailed census of the children living in his district who will reach the beginning of school age by the month of August. But for those schools which begin their year in April the census register should be complete before the last day of December of the preceding year. The form of such census and the date to be included must conform to the standard set by the Ministry of Education.

It is also the duty of the gentry to keep such census continuous. Any changes made after the completion of the census, such as the death of children or the moving into or out of the district, are to be duly made in the register. In case the child moves to another district, a duplicate of his or her census registry is to be sent to the gentry of that district.

5. Enforcement of compulsory attendance. When the census of the children who will reach the beginning of their attendance period in the month of August is finished, the parents are

notified before hand of the day on which they must send their children to school. If there is more than one school which the child may attend, the gentry may indicate at the same time which one he shall attend, but the parent or guardian may also state his choice to the gentry. The names of children and the day on which they should enter the school are communicated to the school principal concerned. The principal then keeps an attendance register which is to be corrected from time to time. When any of those children whose names have been given by the gentry do not appear within seven days after the day appointed for their entrance, a report there upon is made to the gentry in charge. The principal is to keep a record of the attendance and non-attendance of children each day. When the children belonging to the school are absent for seven consecutive days without good reason, their parents or guardians must at once be notified thereof, and be instructed to make the children attend. In case their absence continues for another seven successive days, the gentry in charge must be notified thereof. On receipt of such notification he shall impress upon the parents or guardians the necessity of making the children enter the school and attend regularly. When such a pressing intimation is given for the second time, and still no notice is taken of their neglect to attend school, the matter is reported to the district magistrate. On receipt of such report, the magistrate shall compel the parents or guardians to send their children to school at once.

Such are the regulations of compulsory attendance in China. While there is no intention in this connection to make a detailed critical study of them, it may not be out of place to point out what it seems to the writer to be the shortcomings of these regulations.

First, a period of four years of required attendance is too short. So far as the writer is aware Finland is the only other country that has a four-year requirement. On the other hand, there is a strong movement in a num-

ber of countries such as England, Japan and many states of the United States of America further to lengthen the compulsory period by continuation education. The reason why a four-year period is too short for China is obvious. The Chinese language being an extremely difficult subject to learn, four years time will never be sufficient to enable the average child to acquire a sufficient mastery of it, not to say to get a good common school education in addition.

Secondly, the matter of child labor is not sufficiently taken into consideration. At present child labor is very extensively practised in China. The young people in the rural regions work in the fields, and those in the cities are apprentices in the shops, trades and factories. It would be impossible suddenly to enforce a system of compulsory education without upsetting the whole economic situation. How are we to get the children now employed as apprentices or wage earners into schools? Unless special adjustments are made for them, the enforcement is a physical impossibility.

Thirdly, in respect to the agency of enforcing attendance, the government appears to have been influenced by the example of Japan and France. The gentry or headman of a Chinese city, town or village occupies about the same position as does the mayor of a Japanese city, town or village, or the mayor of a French commune. Unlike the Japanese or French mayor, however, the present generation of the Chinese gentry is without modern education, ignorant of its rudiment requirements and therefore not qualified to do the delicate work of enforcing attendance and taking the school census. Even if they were qualified, they would usually be too busy with the other local government affairs of the community to give time to enforcing attendance.

Fourthly, no penalty is specified for violation of the compulsory attendance law. The regulations merely say that the gentry on receiving the notification of a child's absence should call upon the parent or guardian to make the

child attend. If this injunction given twice be still of no effect, then he must report the matter to the district magistrate who will then send an injunction to the parent or guardian, and there the matter ends. Suppose the latter still refuses to send the child to school, then what can the authority do since no penalty is prescribed in the law?

III. Efforts to put compulsory education into operation.

After the regulations have been promulgated, the next step is to set up a plan or program according to which they may be put into operation. Inasmuch as conditions and needs of the provinces vary, it is evident that no uniform program for the whole country is possible. Each province will have to set up its own program according to its individual needs.

The first province that started to put compulsory education into execution is Kirin.¹¹ In the spring of 1916 the educational authorities of the province began the experiment of setting up a model compulsory education district in the capital of the province and three years later also in the district city of Chan-Chuen. According to the program of the Provincial Bureau of Education compulsory education should be carried out first in the provincial capital, then in the densely populated district cities, then in the sparsely populated district cities, then in the populous towns and finally in the small villages and rural districts.

The second province that has made vigorous effort to put compulsory education into operation is Shansi.¹² Under the guidance of Tuchun Yen Hsi-shan, the progressive military governor or Shansi, the province has made great progress in education in recent years and is considered to be the "model province" in the matter of compulsory education. In May, 1918 the Provincial Bureau of Education issued the program for the enforcement of compul-

¹¹ Kuo T'i Fang Hsih Hsih Yi Wu Chao Yu Huch Kan, pp. 25-26.

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 11-12.

sory education in the province. The program says in part. First, there are problems that must be solved before the enforcement of Compulsory Education can be carried out. They are (1) preparation of the necessary number of teachers, (2) establishment of school census, (3) provision of funds and (4) exhortation of people to send children to school. Secondly, the administration of compulsory education should begin in 1918 and be completed according to the following schedule.

1. For the provincial capital by July, 1918.
2. For the district cities by February, 1919.
3. For the towns and villages of 300 families by August, 1919.
4. For the villages of above 200 families by February, 1920.
5. For the villages of above 100 families by August, 1920.
6. For the villages of above 50 families and those of below 50 families but situated together by February, 1921.
7. For the very small villages and rural districts special provision should be made by local authorities.

The third province to attempt compulsory education is Kiangsu.¹² An order issued by the Bureau of Education to the district magistrates in September, 1919 gives the following important items for enforcement of free education in the province.

First, before enforcement a survey should be made regarding the ages and number of children as compared to those of the children already in schools. The primary schools should be capable of accomodating children of these ages. Second, if magistrates and officers of educational propagation complete starting free schools in more than two districts within the first period they shall be rewarded accordingly. If they fail to complete the work in one district, they shall be liable for punishment. Third, any person contributing funds for free education or supporting a pri-

vate school to enable all the children of prescribed ages in a district to study free shall be rewarded according to his merits. Fourth, a plan should be submitted by each district every year to the civil governor in order that a sufficient number of qualified teachers may be prepared.

The steps of enforcement are as follows. (1) *District*. A special district may be selected for beginning the work. If there are sufficient funds, several districts might be started simultaneously. Every town or village may be divided into several districts. (2) *Period*. The survey of children of prescribed age should be completed during the time from September to December of 1919. The schools should be located either in new places, or in old schools by increasing the classes. This should be completed during January to July, 1920. Pupils should be secured by promotion from August, 1920 to July, 1921. Compulsory schooling should be enforced from August, 1921 to July, 1922. By this time all children should be in schools. (3) *Teachers*. The required number of teachers should be trained by (a) increasing the classes in the existing normal schools, (b) establishing more normal schools, and (c) establishing short teacher training courses either under the auspices of the provincial normal schools or by the districts themselves. (4) *Expenses*. The original school funds should be regarded as the base, and in case of deficiency, new funds may be added or provincial subsidy may be granted.

It was reported that programs very similar to those quoted above were also promulgated in Chili, Honan, and Anhui.

Seeing that compulsory education was making very little or no progress in most provinces, on March 13, 1920, the Ministry of Education submitted to President Hsu Shih-Chang a memorial from the national union of Educational Associations, requesting the actual adoption of compulsory education in all the provinces. Six days later the President who had the reputation of

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 68-66.

having adopted the enforcement of universal education as one of his eleven political policies issued a mandate for Compulsory Education in the following words.

By the order of the President.

"The Ministry of Education submits a memorial from the national union of educational associations requesting the actual adoption of compulsory education in all provinces, etc. As universal extension of education is considered to be of fundamental importance to the existence of a nation, the Ministry of Education has framed and submitted a preparatory scheme for its propagation which has been sanctioned and promulgated.

"In recent years, with the exception of Shansi, in which province a progressive program has been put into execution and successful results achieved, none of the provinces has been able to carry out this scheme either owing to financial limitations or being handicapped by military activities. Let the said Ministry forward the plan devised by Shansi through circulars to all the other provinces and territories to be consulted or copied, and let these latter each draw up a program for the execution of the scheme as the local conditions may permit and submit it to the Ministry for approval.

"Our chief aim is to extend our scheme of compulsory education gradually from time to time until the charming sound of teaching is audible from every house hold and literary distinction is evenly distributed among all clans whereby the knowledge of our people may be improved and the foundation of our nation consolidated, for which I, the president, entertains the fondest hope."¹⁴

Complying with the order of the President in the mandate the Ministry of Education issued an ordinance to the provinces on April 2, reiterating the ideas expressed in the mandate and calling upon the provincial bureaus of Education to carry out the work of compulsory education in their respective provinces according to a modified

Shansi program appended to the ordinance. The program prescribes that the work of enforcement is to occupy eight years beginning in 1921 with the coast cities, sea-ports, and provincial capitals and ending in 1928 with the towns and villages of less than 100 families."

IV. *Extent of Universality of Education in China.*

Thus far we have reviewed the official provisions, both central and provincial, for the enforcement of universal compulsory education. How far have they been carried out? In absence of reliable data no definite answer can be given. But so far as the writer is aware, experiments in compulsory education have actually been made only in the capital city of Kirin and in T'ai-yuan, the capital of Shansi, the "model province" in China.

One way of telling how extensively has compulsory education been enforced is to find out how universally is education being provided. In the pages following, the writer proposes to reveal the extent to which modern primary education is actually universal and the obstacles that are in the way of rapid progress toward universal education.

According to the statistics for 1916-1917, the latest statistics available, we find that in that year the total number of children enrolled in the citizen and higher primary schools for the whole country was 4,122,878,¹⁵ including those enrolled in the missionary schools. If we include the latter who constituted a total of 159,974¹⁶ in 1917, the grand total would be 4,282,857 assuming that China's total population of school age is 66,945,750¹⁷ the per centage of school age population in school for 1917 would be 6.39.

The shocking revelation of the figure is that in spite of all the efforts made

¹⁴ *The Chinese Educational Review*, Vol. XII, No. 4, April 20, 1920.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, No. 5, May 20, 1920.

¹⁶ *Educational Directory and Year Book of China*, 1920, Part I, p. 155.

¹⁷ *China Mission Year Book*, 1918, Supplementary Sheet No. 2.

¹⁸ The figure represents 15 per cent. of China's total population which according to the 1919 *Custom Report* is 439,405,000 plus 1,200,000 for Sinkiang.

for compulsory education, only a trifle over 6% of China's school age children are attending modern schools in 1916-1917, while the others 94% are growing up without a modern education. China's extreme backwardness in this respect is evident even when compared with the countries in the Orient. The ratio of school enrollment to total population

practicable even India is ahead of China in this respect.

The cause of China's backwardness is not far to seek. The progress of education in China since the Republic has not been as rapid as it ought to have been. The following table indicates the trend of increase in primary school enrollment from 1912-13 to 1916-17.

INCREASE IN ENROLLMENT FROM 1912-1917

Year	Number of Children Enrolled ²⁰	Increase over the Preceding Year	Increase over 1912-13
1912-13	2,756,857	.....	.....
1913-14	3,444,205	687,348 (24.93%)	687,348
1914-15	3,875,292	431,088 (12.52%)	1,118,436
1915-16	4,086,962	211,669 (5.46%)	1,330,105
1916-17	4,122,878 ²¹	35,916 (.88%)	1,366,021

for Japan, Philippine Islands, India and China for the year 1917 is as follows.

Japan	13.58% ²⁰
Philippines	6.42% ²⁰
India	2.80% ²¹
China .....	.96%

If it is assumed that 15% of total population represents approximately the proportion of school age children in each of these countries, the relative per cent of school age children in schools for these same countries would be as follows.

Japan	90.54%
Philippines	42.80%
India	18.44%
China	6.39%

While it may seem unfair, on the one hand, to compare China which is extensive both in population and territory with such comparatively small and compact countries as Japan and the Philippines, the writer believes it is justified, on the other hand, to compare her with such a country as India whose population is not only large in number but also diverse in racial character. And yet even India, where the educational authorities declare any scheme of universal compulsory education is im-

The table tells two things. First it shows that the increase in enrollment which is as high as 25% in 1913-14 over the preceding year gradually dwindles down until in 1916-17 it becomes as low as .88%. This discouraging situation is easily explained. During the first three years of the Republic the country was comparatively at peace, and enthusiasm for education was high. Beginning with 1915, however, the military disturbances, initiated by the monarchical movement and set at full blaze by the death of Yuan Shih-kai and the consequent rise of military factions and the civil war between the North and South, have been raging with increasing intensity. For the maintenance of the military organizations an increasingly large part of the country's revenue has

²⁰ Japan's population and her number of children in Elementary Schools for 1917 are, respectively 56,356,220 and 7,654,047. See *The Statesman's Year Book*, 1921, p. 1040 for population and *Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Minister of State for Education, 1916-1917* p. 171 for children in schools.

²¹ The corresponding figures for the Philippine Islands are 10,350,640 and 664,568. See *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Director of Education for the Philippine Islands*, pp. 92-98 and the *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 18.

²² *Seventh Quinquennial Review, 1912-1917*, Vol. I, pp. 4-5.

²³ *The Fourth Statistical Report of the Ministry of Education, 1915-1916*.

²⁴ *Educational Directory and Year Book of China, 1920*, Part I, p. 155.

to be spent. It is reported that China for the past few years has been spending about 70% of her annual income for her so-called army which is large enough to cause endless hardship for her peace-loving people, but is absolutely useless in her defense against foreign encroachments. This being the case, retrenchment in funds for the other departments of governmental affairs is inevitable. Education is the first to suffer and which has suffered most. In the province where military operations have taken place cases of school houses being taken by force, books and apparatus being destroyed, and funds allotted to schools being used to support soldiers are too numerous to be related. By way of showing the disastrous effect on education the following piece of fragmentary statistics is illuminating.

ly statistics from these two provinces are not available.

Secondly, the table on the trend of increase in enrollment from 1912-13 to 1916-17 shows that the total increase for the five years is 1,366,021 pupils. In other words, it is an increase of 49% for a period of five years. If such a rate of progress were to continue, it would take about 245 years to really universalize education in China. That would be in the year 2166!

V. *What must be done.*

What has been said above shows pretty clearly that the per cent of children enrolled in schools is dreadfully small, that the educational conditions in the country are anything but hopeful and that in general the task of universal education has scarcely been

NUMBER OF CHILDREN ENROLLED IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN FOUR PROVINCES FROM 1915-1916 TO 1918-1919.*

Province	1915-1916	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19
Kiangsu	289,269	317,346	332,964	360,238
Shansi	318,071	318,743	333,330	.....
Yunnan	189,400	186,254	.....	173,981
Hupei	229,740	.....	.....	38,526

It is to be observed that in Kiangsu and Shansi both of which provinces have been free from military activities, the progress in enrollment from year to year though small is steady. The tendency is quite the reverse in the other two provinces both of which have been hampered by the soldier-curse. The condition in Hupei is nothing short of shocking. While it had an enrollment of 229,740 in 1915-16, 83% of them disappeared by 1918-19. In the latter year there was only a handful of 38,526 children in schools for the whole province. If such are the conditions in Hupei and Yunnan where military ravages were comparatively slight, what must be the educational retrogression in, say, Szechuen and Hunan where ravages were much worse! Unfortunate-

begun and the possibility of enforcement is not in sight.

In view of these facts the writer is prompted to ask, why all this fuss about enforcement of universal compulsory education while its accomplishment is clearly beyond possibility at present? Compulsory education is essential to effective government in a democratic country, and the writer does not for a moment underrate its value. But we must face the facts as they are. Compulsory education presumes provision of enough schools to take care of all children. But in China where there are few schools which children might attend, what value is there of writing the compulsory law into the statute where it must remain a dead letter? It must

* Statistical reports from the four provinces.

be remembered that to adopt a compulsory education law is easy, but to provide the necessary accommodations that will make its enforcement possible is by no means so easy. It seems that the sensible thing for us to do at present is to bend all our energy upon increasing the school facilities, create a permissive legislation for the progressive communities which are really in the position to enforce the law, but cease bothering ourselves for the time being with the impossible task of attempting to enforce universal compulsory education for the whole country. In other words, let us proceed upon the principle that the necessary conditions must first be created by a systematic provision for increasing the number of schools near or up to the full requirement of our vast population before legal enactment should be attempted. That is precisely the procedure that is being followed in the Philippines and in Russia before the war.

In order to make any educational progress possible, one thing must be attended to, and that at once. The civil war in the country must cease, and the military expenditures must be curtailed. The present helpless condition of schools is mainly a product of the civil strife. So long as the troops are not disbanded, educational funds are squandered for military purposes and school houses are used as barracks, China is committing an educational suicide.

A second important step to be taken by way of insuring rapid progress with the ultimate view of enforcing universal compulsory education in China is to adopt a system of taxation for schools. So far this has not been done, although its need has long been keenly felt. As a consequence, various arbitrary means of getting funds for schools have been resorted to with the result that public schools in China are no more than "Charity schools". A circular issued by the Ministry of Education on April 19, 1919 describes the condition of school support that is quite general throughout the country. The circular says, "Schools without a reliable source

of income can not succeed. In foreign countries schools have a definite source of revenue which render them independent. Some schools in China depend upon adjunct tax or appropriations, and when such sources are suddenly cut off, the schools have to be closed. Some spend too much when they have money and so fail to continue when their incomes are reduced. Some depend entirely upon tuitions collected from pupils, some subsist on loans and borrowings. The local officials sometimes have no respect for education and appropriate school funds to other uses, and so greatly endanger the future of education. School officials are hereby instructed to pay more attention to finances. If they have any endowment, they must preserve it by all means, if they have not yet money against a "rainy day", they should try hard to cut down expenses and save as much as possible in order that they may be prepared against emergencies."²⁸ Such being the situation, disastrous results are inevitable.

From the foregoing it seems clear that school support in China must be improved and an adequate system of educational revenue must be devised. China's fundamental need in this respect, as is the need of every other country, is (1) an independent system of general taxation for Education and (2) an adequate system of government aid. The fundamental principle of educational finance is that the entire nation is vitally interested in the education of every individual child in the country. Education is both a national and local concern, therefore, both the nation as a whole and the local community must bear their proportionate share of the cost. The nation for its part must pay sufficient to equalize educational advantages throughout the country. Similarly the province must pay to equalize the educational opportunity of the province, and finally the local community must pool its efforts in whole or in part, to maintain the

²⁸ *The Chinese Educational Review*, Vol. XI, No. 3, March 20, 1919.

schools of the community to keep alive and foster local interest in school affairs and to develop the greatest measure of local independence and self-reliance.

These are, however, general principles whose validity has been recognized but whose application to the Chinese situation will have to be worked out. The Chinese people have not yet been in the habit of realizing that education should be supported by taxation. To tax the

rich for the education of the poor will probably meet considerable opposition. But opposition or no opposition, the principle of taxing the people according to what they have and providing them with education according to what they need must be put into practice. Unless this is done, the enforcement of universal compulsory education must remain hopeless.

Some Anthropological Problems of China

BY CHI LI

IT is easier to speak with definiteness on problems concerning archaeology, linguistics, ethnology and to a certain extent sociology and psychology than those concerning anthropology. The reason is not far to seek. Anthropology as a science, if it has long been conceived, is not yet born. It may never become a science. It has a greater chance to become a system of philosophy. But it is a good term to retain and useful for more than one purpose, since in the family of scientific vocabulary, it alone comprehends all the phases of humanistic study. One of its many definitions that has been handed down to us since its inception as a branch of scientific inquiry is: it aims to study man and his products. Ignoring the metaphysical dilemma upon which this definition rests, an anthropologist may enthusiastically go on working out his problem with a perfect good conscience that he is making contributions to this great study of humanity. He is justified to do so. But his results will be either archaeological, ethnological or linguistic, or any other of a sub-anthropological nature rather than anthropological in the strictest sense. They can be valuable only discreetly.

Anthropology conceived as a course of all humanistic studies has an inherent difficulty to tackle with. It all depends whether man can study himself in a really scientific sense, whether as William James once so curtly put in his discussion on introspection as a scientific method, one can see the form and color of his own eyes by turning his eyes rapidly. The European answer to it is of course not to answer on the very sensible ground that it has never been answerable. One may almost say to himself with a feeling of relief that since there are definite

groups of phenomena known by the term; Man, and others. His Products, why not study them as they are inductively with the recognized biological principle of evolution as the guidance! This has been the course generally pursued, and speaking at large, the position of European and American anthropologists up to the present time.

That is probably the only course from an European and American point of view. But a Chinaman is not necessarily bound to take it, even he wants to study anthropology. Nor does he have the right to, as he lacks that great history of scientific scholarship as his background which is at once the pride and burden of all Europeans. An Easterner is to be benefited by a knowledge of scientific development in the West, only in so far as it is negative. For failures are always to be avoided, while achievements shift their value from generation to generation, thus need constant reexamination. To this rule the theory of evolution forms no exception.

In the long list of eminent scientists in Europe and America, there is perhaps no abler biological thinker than Darwin whose discourse on evolution culminates all scientific achievements of the nineteenth century. The almost divine attempt of Herbert Spencer to fit all natural phenomena into his conceived and conceivable pattern of evolution has never been challenged in regard to its fundamental premise. Today the one thing that a school teacher is sure to know is that man is descended from a kind of monkey. He will tell you that in the course of time, Baboon begets Gibbon, Gibbon begets Chimpanzee, Chimpanzee begets Gorilla, Gorilla begets *Pithecanthropus Erectus* and *Pithecanthropus Erectus* begets Man—strangely reminiscent of the Chapters

on Genesis except the garment has changed its shape. Anthropological literature is literally saturated with Darwinism. Only lately, one eminent anthropologist has made this remark: anthropology is essentially a Darwinian science, accept Darwinism or reject anthropology. One discerns immediately that the *Zeitgeist* with which more than 10,000 articles on *Pithecanthropus Erectus* have been produced is still having its palmy days and the recent discovery of *Rhodesiansis* is likely to produce another scientific storm sweeping over five continents.

There is no necessity for any one to renew the Agassizian controversy over Darwinism just now. Yet it does not take one long to find that the Darwinian tyranny, enlightened as it is, is irritating in many respects to those who are devoting themselves to humanistic study. One finds too that some of the essential aspects of its meaning are extremely hollow. The interpretation of the survival of the fittest is only one of many examples that one can cite. Nor has there been a single successful experiment unveiling the mystery of heredity on which the whole Darwinian formula hangs. The net result is that there are as many interpretations of Darwinism as the number of interpreters. Thus it rivals the Concept of God as a topic for speculation.

But Darwinism has stimulated research. As an working hypothesis it still offers an immense potentiality for further exploration. The danger spot of the whole theory, which one apprehends, lies in its ossification with age into a rigid dogma which would deaden the scientific spirit that has been originally stimulated by it, and that unfortunately seems to be the present tenet in regard to the increasing zest shown by Europeans and Americans for anthropological study; it points out that this zest is impelled by their curiosity to prove how civilized they are rather than a real scientific interest. This may also serve to explain the ponderous faith of Europeans in human progress and incidentally as the foundation of their Greco-Roman Mania.

Whatever one may say, Europe is on the tip-top of civilization, and will always be so as long as there are heaven and earth. All anthropologists, therefore, must do their homage to the classical scholars from an European point of view. If any European dares to break this tradition, he will be ostracized and considered as an outlaw to his class defying their ancestral God: which is the greatest triumph of Darwinian dogma.

Of course no seriously minded person would belittle the tradition of the Greeks and the Romans, or the theory of evolution as a pure hypothesis. It is altogether a different argument than self-pooled esteem that should lead an Easterner to start his scientific inquiry with thorough skepticism. Nothing harms one's mental habit so much as the acceptance of other's conclusion without first of all living through with their premises. The Chinese as a race is just beginning its serious scientific career; the first item on its programme, if it works, ought to be an examination of all the Western scientific dogmas by studying their details. Moreover, his task is not only to de-Europeanize science, but also denationalize himself as far as his attitude towards the object of his study is concerned. This applies particularly to those whose course of scientific pursuit is more of a humanistic nature in which the *ego* has a greater part to play.

The arguments advanced so far are intended to show that the anthropological problems of China are more than a purely technical question. It is true that we have many technical problems to solve. We need an archaeological survey, and anthropometrical survey, an ethnographical survey and a linguistic survey, all of which require a vast amount of energy and great ingenuity for solution. Their immediate solution is the more necessary in order to dispel some of the commoner misconceptions about China entertained in some parts of the world and created intentionally or unintentionally by the pseudo-scientific attempt of some over-enthusiastic and self-appointed authorities of the

Far East. But in the nature of the case, these problems, while difficult, are not baffling. Given time and money, they are capable of being solved within a fixed period. Looking from a different angle into this field, a Chinese anthropologist would feel the urgent necessity of transcending his national boundary. There are general problems which he alone, by virtue of the peculiar position that he occupies in the scientific world, can solve and from which responsibility he has no reason to evade. This brings us to the anthropological problem of China in its truest sense.

Certain premises have to be taken for granted before these problems could be brought out in the right perspective. They are time and changes. All genetic studies have time as their background. Anthropology if rightly studied is essentially a genetic science and depends mainly for its results on historical and comparative method. It is in this sense only that anthropology may be considered as an evolutionary science; for the only logical meaning of evolution is also the simplest, namely, time accompanied by change. As such, it does take a Hackel to speak of its final works, for the ancient Greeks have defined it for us long ago. When Herbert Spencer elaborated it in term of complexity and heterogeneity, he not only smothered the soul of this term but also betrayed a refreshing ignorance of human psychology and unconsciously led his younger contemporaries astray. It is he together with Huxley who are more responsible for the hunting expedition of all European and American anthropologists for Man in "his bodily frame the indelible stamp of his lowly origin" than Darwin's own words. There is nothing wrong in this, so far as it serves only as an impetus for further research: but it resulted in a distorted proportion of our knowledge about ourselves. Now we know a great deal more about our bones and muscles thus, linking our stock with the Simian family with a great deal of pride, than our own mind. The reason is that evolution in the Spencerian

sense finds more confirmation in one's body than in one's soul.

Yet it is commonly admitted that the study of man must begin with that on his very self as a separate entity, rather than through the sounds that he could utter, the metals that he could shape or the institutions that he could build. This forces us back to face the metaphysical dilemma to which we have a moment ago referred. In the light of psychology as a science, it is altogether too early to give an adequate answer to the question whether man can study his self. But the peculiar position of a Chinese who has acquired an Indo-European language as an organ of thinking in addition to his own native tongue suggests at least a possibility of avoiding this metaphysical dilemma.

For it may be argued, much of the difficulty arising out of the study of our own mental constitution is due to the impossibility of rendering an impartial account of it by the very language with which the mental habit is formed. The Chinese linguists, and the European orientalists too should they acquire it as a part of their mental equipment rather than as a fulfillment of their simple curiosity, have obtained a mirror. If the nature of the language does effect the mode of thinking, the knowledge of a second tongue totally different from the first would give him a clear reflection of the original mode.

It is the written language as well as the spoken language that are meant here. Language has been traditionally treated by European scientists as a collection of sounds instead of an expression of something inner and deeper than the vocal apparatus as it should be. The accumulative effect of language-symbols upon one's mental formulation is still an unexploited field. Dividing the world culture of the living races on this basis, one perceives a fundamental difference of its types between the alphabetical users and the hieroglyphic users, each of which has its own virtues and vices. Now with all respects to alphabetical civilization, it must be frankly stated that it has

a grave and inherent defect in its lack of solidity. The most civilized portion under the alphabetical culture is also inhabited by the most fickle people. The history of the Western land repeats the same story over and over again. Thus up and down with the Greeks; up and down with Rome; up and down with the Arabs. The ancient Semitic and Hametic peoples are essentially alphabetic users, and their civilizations show the same lack of solidity as the Greeks and the Romans. Certainly this phenomena can be partially explained by the extra-fluidity of the alphabetical language which can not be depended upon as a suitable organ to conserve any solid idea. Intellectual contents of these people may be likened to waterfalls and cataracts, rather than seas and oceans. No other people is richer in ideas than they; but no people would give up their valuable ideas as quickly as they do. Westerners have called their civilization dynamic which is essentially true and compatible with the nature of their language. But its mobile part is that of Tennyson's man rather than that of his brook, for it apprehends its coming by going and never stays. "Nothing is new under the sun" is an European proverb; yet every European tries to get something new everyday, and also gives it away as soon as they have got it—a defect inherent in their civilization.

The Chinese language is by all means the counterpart of the alphabetic stock. It lacks most of the virtues that are found in the alphabetic language; but as an embodiment of simple and final truth, it is invulnerable to storm and stress. It has already protected the Chinese civilization for more than forty centuries. It is solid, square, and beautiful exactly as the spirit of it represents. Whether it is the spirit that has produced this language or whether this language has in turn accentuated the spirit remains to be determined.

The proposition laid out here is not for moralizing but for experimentalization. It is to be considered as the first

anthropological problem of China. The science of psychology has already reached a stage of development at which an anthropologist may utilize its result to his advantage. The influence of lines and forms exerted on the mental content of a psychological observer has long been reckoned with. Certainly it is reasonable to assume the existence of an intricate relation between the character of a written language on the one hand and the origin, growth, formulation and mobility of ideas on the other, which could be experimentally determined. If in term of an alphabetical language, one can describe the influence of hieroglyphic writings on his thinking mode, and then reverse the process to identify the result, it would not be too much to expect that man has finally achieved a method to study his most supreme self in the most objective way.

To study linguistics on a psychological basis as an anthropological problem is by no means a radical idea. It is the only logical outcome of the scientific movement for the study of man. To correlate language, culture and race with each other has already become an obsolete anthropological game. Classification of mankind on different anatomical basis could no longer be considered as the final goal of anthropological study just as classification of living organism can no longer be considered as the object of biological study. It is doubtful whether the classification of man should be considered as an anthropological problem at all; or granting that it is still of some use, whether it should rest on an anatomical basis. But at any rate, it could be considered only as a means for further end. The most wayward development of modern anthropological study is the gross assumption by anthropologists of a concomitant variation between body and mind. This is due more to the lack of psychological knowledge than any other single cause. The only remedy to it is a genetic study of mind for which the hieroglyphic alphabetic method has been proposed.

To study mind on its own account

and ascertain its different types and laws in order to give a more vital stimulus to anthropological study as well as a living interpretation of the existing anthropological data must be based on a broadly defined principle of evolution rather than by restrained Darwinian formulae which necessitates the assumption of a monotypical nature and hampers the range of investigation. The two types of language, for instance, which we have considered can not be possibly explained on the old-fashioned evolutionary basis. This bi-lineal development suggests plainly other cultured phases of a similar nature, and sufficiently warrants us to take departure from the orthodox anthropological method.

If the above considerations are of logical possibilities, it is evident that the other anthropological problems of China are to be deduced therefrom. Of course everybody is interested in the origin of the Chinese and their relation with the other races. In the light of

our present knowledge, which is extremely limited, it is to be said that the Chinese are extremely heterogeneous and their origin is quite obscure. Thus it justifies a thorough anatomical and anthropological survey not only of the Chinese themselves, but also the Aborigines found in the Southwest of China, the Tibetans, Mongolians, and the Siberians, all of whom have contributed their quota to the formation of the Chinese. To this must be added the linguistic study by means of phonology, which, however, can be of use only as an accessory to the psychological method. As for the social institutions and the meaning of the different phases of material culture, they are closely dependent for their interpretation upon a revelation of the Chinese type of mind which I consider as qualitatively different from the alphabetical races. Facts are what we need to prove this thesis. The duty of a Chinese anthropologist at present is to collect facts.

Japanese Immigrants in China and Their Economic Status

BY TA CHEN, A. M.

Sometime Fellow of Columbia University

JAPAN has repeatedly contended that her emigration to China is to alleviate the pressure of her population. The validity of this contention will depend upon a consideration of the following questions: Has China room for any large influx of Japanese immigrants? Are the Japanese now in China improving their social and economic conditions? Is the Sino-Japanese economic competition mutually beneficial to both nations so as to make the Japanese immigration desirable to China?

Manchuria has a habitable area of 92,000 square miles and 20,122,000 people, of whom 19,369,700 are Chinese and 473,500 foreigners. In other words, in a territory of a little larger than the State of Oregon live about twenty-five times as many inhabitants. According to the Statistical Annual of the Imperial Cabinet of Japan, the annual rate of increase of population in Mukden province is 3.5 per cent., in Kirin, 8.8 per cent. and in Hei Lung Kiang 4.5 per cent.; whereas the annual rate of increase in Japan proper is only 1.50 per cent. and in the United States 1.90 per cent.

Obviously, Manchuria offers no great inducements to Japanese immigrants. In fact, the Bank of Chosen, under Japanese management and control, has stated frankly that "Manchuria is well inhabited and does not leave much room for immigration."

The Japanese Bureau of Colonization has recently reported that eleven Japanese communities send their sons and daughters to Manchuria to the number

of five hundred or more per year. Usually they go to seventeen Manchurian towns and villages including Antung, Dairen, Yin Kow and Chin Chow. Excepting Tokio-fu and Osaka-fu whose densities are 1357 and 1158 persons to a square mile, the remaining Japanese have emigrated from places of relatively lower density to those of higher density. For example, Hiroshima has a population of 115.75 persons and Okayama 100.00 persons per square mile. A number of their people have gone to Manchurian towns such as Antung whose density is 427.33 persons per square mile, and to Liao Yang whose density is 498.50 per square mile.

Of late, the South Manchuria railway has made a cost-of-living survey of the farmers in about one hundred villages in the "railway zone" under Japanese consular jurisdiction. The study covers such items as food, clothing, fuel, education, heat and light and miscellaneous expenses. It is found that on the average, a small farmer in Manchuria spends 7.44 yen for food per year less than a farmer of the same class in Japan; and a middle class farmer in Manchuria spends 15.30 yen less than one in Japan. This relatively lower standard of living in Manchuria has worked hardships on the Japanese in the territory, especially among the wage earners. Unsatisfactory social and economic conditions such as these have given rise to the "pessimistic view of Japanese agricultural emigration to Manchuria."

In addition to these, it must be pointed out that Japanese emigrants to Man-

churia have really moved from a relatively higher wage level to a lower wage level as the following table will show:

Occupations	Dairen (daily wage in yen)	Japan (average daily wage in yen)
Blacksmith .....	.33	.91
Bricklayers .....	.30	1.22
Carpenters .....	.50	.97
Day Laborers ....	.30	.70
Painters .....	.40	.85
Stone Cutters ....	.50	1.11
Tile roofers .....	.44	.99
Tailors .....	.50	.79—.97

Even giving some allowance to small differences in living costs in these two regions, the Japanese in Dairen are receiving much lower wages than their fellow country men in the same occupations in the Island Empire.

These facts tend to show that Japanese immigrants in Manchuria are not improving their socio-economic conditions in any material way. How can it be seriously maintained that Japan's commercial and industrial expansion by means of a mass emigration can relieve economic pressure at home?

In spite of strenuous efforts of the Japanese government to induce her nationals to seek homes in Manchuria and Mongolia, the experiment is a failure. The Oriental Development Company, with a capital of 10,000,000 yen and a government subsidy of 500,000 yen per year, is one of the largest emigration companies for Manchuria and Mongolia. Yet in ten years, namely from 1907 to 1916, the company has emigrated only 4,000 families. This has led the Japanese General Staff to say that "over-population of Japan is an exaggeration".

Jehol in Mongolia has a comparative lower density of 70 persons to a square mile. But Japanese emigrants are going there in such large numbers that the rate of increase in density is much faster than the rate of increase in arable land in the region. For example, in a report on "Population, Land and Agriculture" by the South Manchuria rail-

way, it is estimated that up to 1928 the rate of increase in density will be 14.02 per cent. whereas that in arable land will hardly exceed 7.09 per cent.

Shantung is far more crowded than Manchuria. Not quite as large as Illinois, Shantung supports about six times as many people. In other words, within the boundaries of 55,980 miles, 29,600,000 souls are swarming.

The density of the province is 528 persons to a square mile, being the highest in China. Most Japanese have come from Kioto-fu and Nagasaka-ken whose densities are 118 and 98.7 per square mile respectively. Thus the Japanese have moved to Shantung where the struggle for existence is appreciably severer than in their home towns; yet they are telling the world that they are solving their surplus population problem!

In describing a congested section in Shantung, Prof. F. H. King says: "One square mile of soil is supporting 3072 persons, 256 cows, 256 donkeys and 512 pigs." Is the province not a human beehive? Has it room for Japanese immigrants?

Nevertheless, there has been an immense increase of the Japanese population in the province during the last ten years. This phenomenal increase of Japanese has forced thousands of Chinese out of various occupations. The Shantung strawbraid, chiefly exported to the United States for hat and basket making, is produced in northern Shantung, especially in Yangshin, Saho, Changyi and Laichow. The trade was formerly monopolized by the Chinese in Laichow and Tengchow. To-day, the splitting of the straw and the plaiting of the braid is rapidly falling into the hands of the Japanese in the province.

Sixty-five per cent. of the Japanese people are farmers cultivating on the average three acres of land. The produce of each cultivated acre supports four persons. 6,000,000 Japanese have to buy rice, their staple food, from imports of British India and French Indo-China. But the agricultural situation in China is worse. About seventy-eight per cent of the Chinese population is

engaged in agricultural pursuits. The average size of farms in north China is a little larger than two acres. The crops of each tilled acre have to feed five persons. Public lands in China are mostly granted to cultivators, but Crown lands in Japan are still preserved by the Mikado. Mountain terraces in China are intensively cultivated, those in Japan are now laying in waste.

Moreover, in Japan, general economic conditions are more favorable than in China. Between the Russo-Japanese and the European war, wages in Japan increased faster than wholesale prices. Taking 1900 as the base year, the Bank of Japan has reported that up to 1915, wages increased 49 per cent. whereas prices only 25 per cent. Since the war, male workers in many industries have an increase of 110 per cent. of their daily wages, and female workers an increase of 90 per cent. In addition, liberal employers freely grant annual bonuses to their employees to the amount of 15 yen. For employees of five years or more, a larger bonus is usually given. In some industries, a subsidy for family maintenance is provided, usually about 4.5 per cent. of the monthly wage of the employee.

In China, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce has found that since 1914, wholesale prices in Shanghai have increased 140 per cent. whereas wages hardly 80 per cent. Meantime, the cost of polished rice has advanced 135 per cent. when the peak price was reached last fall. The slow increase in wages has not kept pace with the rapid advance in prices. This creates serious social maladjustments in the Chinese proletariat, and also vitally affects the Japanese in China. What economic inducements are there for further influx of Japanese immigrants?

From these facts it is clear that a great majority of Japanese have emigrated from relatively lower density in Japan to higher density in China. Japanese workmen in China are receiving much lower wages than their comrades in the Island Empire. In China,

many Japanese business men have not been able to compete with Chinese successfully, on account of cheaper labor and comparatively lower living costs of the latter. Japanese emigration to China is not an economic success. "Since the South Manchuria question and the Port Arthur opium scandal", declares Matsuji Mureo, editor of the Ryoto Shimpo, "our colonization of seventeen years in Manchuria is a complete failure.

In spite of all these economic disadvantages, the Japanese have come to China in large numbers especially during the last decade. Thus, in 1910, the Japanese in Manchuria only numbered 62,627, but at the end of 1920, they swelled to the handsome number of 156,079. In Shantung, there were only 616 Japanese in 1910, and 29,988 in 1920. Why is this phenomenal increase of Japanese in Chinese territories?

Baron Shimei Goto has given a hint. Being the most experienced colonial administrator of Japan and the first Governor General of the South Manchuria Railway Administration, he has laid the cornerstone of Japan's emigration policies in a series of confidential correspondence with Prince Yamagata, Ex-Prime Minister Saionji and Ex-Foreign Minister Hayashi. The Baron advocates the policy of the "peacefully disguised military preparedness" or preparations for war in times of peace. "If Japan has 500,000 emigrants in Manchuria," says Baron Goto, "and several millions of horses, mules and other domestic animals, they could be of great use in case of war. If in such a war, the opportunities are favorable to Japan, they can at once be armed to attack our enemy. If opportunities are unfavorable, they can also be used to maintain strongholds for negotiating peace." Today, there are about 40,000 soldiers in Manchuria in addition to the civil population of the Japanese. In thirty-seven towns and villages in Manchuria and East Inner Mongolia, there are Japanese resident military officers and reserve soldiers.

The Chinese Eastern Railway

By SHAO YING T. C. YEH, M.A., LL.B.

WITH the general assurance that the original agenda will be followed in this Conference, the Chinese Eastern Railway being listed may come up for discussion at any moment. Although China, in taking charge of the administration of this line at present, is doing no more than what she is morally bound to, fortunately misunderstandings have created an impression that this is taking an unfair advantage of the present Russian situation and in violation of the original agreement. The following is an attempt to present in an impartial way not only her just claims but also the condition which made the step she took unavoidable.

The construction of this railway was undertaken in pursuance of the agreement reached between the Government of China and the Russo-Chinese Bank in 1896. Under the provisions stipulated therein, it was agreed that "China and Russia establish a company to be called the Chinese Eastern Railway Company to construct and manage this railway." "The shares may be bought only by Chinese and Russians. In the Imperial sanction given to the Chinese Envoy empowering him to negotiate on the matter, the Company was accorded concessions, privileges and facilities, in return for which the Company was to pay to the Chinese Government five million treasury taels on the day the line is completed and traffic commenced." The line was to remain as the property of the Company for eighty years from commencement of traffic, at the end of which it would be reverted to the Chinese Government without payment. China is given, however, an option to take it over at the end of thirty-six years on payment of all capitals, debts and interest owned

by the Company and undistributed profits if any.

During the disturbances of 1918, allied forces were sent to Siberia to maintain order and to assist in the evacuation of the Czeco-Slovaks there. To facilitate the evacuation, an Inter-Allied Commission was created to take over the administration of the line. This arrangement provided for a technical board and a military transport board comprising of a representative from every nation that had a force there,—including one from the Russian Government, which issued a declaration in approval of the arrangement—both in this declaration and in the one issued by the Allied representatives, emphasis was laid on the fact that, in doing so, it only intended to facilitate and improve the railway, and no violation of Russian sovereignty was contemplated. Although stipulation was made for the dissolution of this Body upon the withdrawal of the allied forces, the railway is still under its management today.

A careful study of the relation between the Company and the Russian Imperial Government clearly shows the political role of this Railway with the inevitable disadvantages results to its commercial standing. The losses were at first made good by the funds of the Russian Government, but when the Bolshevik *coup d'état* did away with the Board of Directors of the Company at Petrograd, it was deprived of the only financial prop on which the Company has been relying and the result was disastrous. This was further aggravated first by the political interest of some of the directors such as General Horvath and Vice Admiral Kolbchak, then by the enormous depreciation of the roubles and lastly but not the least by the struggle of the various political

factions in Eastern Siberia and the consequent disorder along the line, which is a natural result of their guerilla warfare.

Such strifes were not only detrimental to the Russians themselves but were gradually affecting the safety of the Chinese. China suffered this state of conditions as long as it was compatible with her own duty towards her subjects. The time came at last when any further inaction on her part would endanger her own security, and after consulting her allies she joined them in sending an expeditionary force into Siberia to assist in maintaining some sort of order there.

When the Inter-Allied Commission came into existence, China opposed the inclusion of the Chinese Eastern Railway under its administration. The protest however, failed to bring any desired effect.

The reasons on which China base her claims for the sole administration of this railway can be summarized as follows:

(1) The line is on Chinese territory. The lands through which the line runs and the adjacent land are grants to the Chinese Eastern Railway Company by the Chinese Government free of charge. It is, therefore, only just that its administration by any other party besides Russia, to whom China is bound by treaty, can only be interpreted by China as a derogation on her territorial integrity.

(2) China is one the two principal shareholders by virtue of the agreement of 1896 "Russians and Chinese only can be shareholders." As a matter of fact, the Russo-Asiatic Bank remains the sole shareholder of this Company with the exception of a few individual shares. But this Bank is a joint Chinese and Russian concern, the former having subscribed and paid up the sum of 5,000,000 taels.

(3) China is a creditor of the Company. According to the agreement of 1896 the Company was to pay to the Chinese Government the sum of 5,000,000 taels in return for the land granted to the Company by the Chinese Gov-

ernment. This for some reason or other was never carried out and together with interests it has now amounted to something like 11,000,000 taels

(4) By the agreement of October 2, 1920, signed between the Russo-Asiatic Bank and the Ministry of Communication, it was stipulated that, pending an agreement to which the Chinese Government will come with the future Russian Government recognized by China, China will assume the control over its administration in order to give it efficient protection. China therefore, is honor bound to make good the promise she has given the Bank. To prove the efficient way in which China has carried out this promise the following Reuter's telegram from Peking of November 23, 1921, can be quoted:

"Five bridges along the Usuri railway are now destroyed by bandits. Besides 300 Russian Partisans outside the Chinese National boundary near Pajrani-Chinaya have destroyed three points of the line and twenty-four telegraph poles. Telegraphic communications and train service between Vladivostok and Harbin are all stopped. These incidents indicate that Japanese and Russian Railway guards are far less efficient than the Chinese troops."

(5) Since the Chinese assumed control of the railway financial conditions have greatly improved. Instead of relying upon Russian government subsidies to make up its enormous deficit as had been hitherto the case, the revenues and expenditures are now almost balanced.

In claiming the administration of this Railway, China is not only actuated by her own interests but also by consideration for the welfare of the Company. This can be easily proved by a careful study of the agreement of 1920, which is only a provisional understanding pending the constitution of a recognized Russian Government. It contains no special derogations of the status of the Railway Company as of the 1896 contract, which was reconfirmed. To guard against possible abuse it contained a special clause confining the activi-

ties of this line, only to those of a purely commercial character. All these facts demonstrate clearly that, beyond protecting her own and the Company's interests, China has no intention to take advantage of the present Russian situation, although it would be quite justifiable, seeing that the 5,000,000 taels to be paid by the Company stipulated in the original agreement was never paid up.

As soon as a stable government is established in Russia that can take up the role which is now forced on China, negotiations for a settlement will no doubt be arranged at the first favorable opportunity. The matter in short is one between China and Russia and to be settled between these two countries themselves when China can find a recognized government to deal with in Russia. That this is clearly acknowledged by Russia herself can be seen from the aforesaid agreement. The fact that Russia is not represented here, and especially her refusal to be bound by any settlement involving Russian interests in her absence, make it at least impracticable, not to say futile, for any discussion on the subject in this Conference.

It may be added here that the Inter-Allied Commission was called into existence on military exigencies. Now

that all the allies except Japan have seen fit to withdraw their forces, it has outlived its usefulness. Why not dissolve it and prove to the Russians as well as the Chinese the good faith of the Allies stated in their declaration in 1918? To the Russians, this will mean the fulfilment of a promise eagerly awaited; to the Chinese its termination will mean the ending of what has always been considered a gross violation of their administrative integrity and territorial sovereignty.

In view of the above considerations, China is prepared to bear on her own shoulders the whole burden and responsibility of continuing to maintain the efficient administration of the railway as long as Russia is not in a position to do her share. Any interference on the part of others will be, therefore, not only unjustifiable, but detrimental to its continual smooth working. We have not the slightest doubt that such a course of action will be met with the disapproval, not only of the Chinese, but also of the Russians, whose interests China is bound by treaty to uphold and protect. We trust, however, to the sense of equity and justice of the peoples who have sent their representatives to this Conference to settle all differences and devise measures for a permanent peace.

Futility of the Washington Conference

By F. CHANG, LL. B.

THOUGH it may be premature to forecast the final achievement of the Washington Conference, yet what has been done gives indication of a tendency that unless some unexpected stroke is to happen it will be doomed to be a failure and disappointment to those who have put faith in this Conference in particular and in the efficacy of Conferences in general for the adjustment of international problems. The calling of the Conference was no doubt aminated by the desire of a war-weary world to lessen the burden of taxation caused by the maintenance of armaments and by the belief that after the Great war the scene of the next war will be transferred to the Pacific. Thus the Conference was called, which, by finding a solution for the Far Eastern problems, aims at the removal of the causes for future wars and the competition in naval armaments.

Great Britain, Japan, the United States and France have signed a treaty respecting their insular possessions and dominions in the regions of the Pacific. Though it is destined to supersede the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, yet it makes the United States an associate of Japan and excluded Holland, which has not the least insular possessions in the Pacific, from this association. It also shows that the preservation of the peace of the Pacific rests only with those who have the means to disturb it and that China who has the greatest interest in the maintenance of the peace of the Pacific is a negligible quantity. This association of Japan with the United States, while assuring each other of consultation in so far as their respective insular possessions are concerned only nevertheless leads to an inclination on the part of the latter to acquiesce in the former's policy towards the Asiatic Continent.

The five naval powers, Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy have come to an agreement on the limitation of their naval armaments. The treaty in which this will take final form is nearing completion. Thus the Conference has achieved something, and from one point of view, the essential thing, for the delegates of certain countries have been favoring a speedy close of the conference irrespective of the solution of the Far Eastern Questions.

The questions of great importance to China and the peace of the Far East are the Shantung question, tariff autonomy, and the twenty-one demands. According to the latest information, the Shantung question may be settled satisfactorily to China. The twenty-one demands may and may not be even discussed at the Conference. As to tariff autonomy, the date is not in sight of the present generation. What has been agreed to is only an increase to an effective 5 per cent to which China is already entitled by treaty, a 5 per cent surtax on luxuries, and an additional $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent increase upon the abolition of the likin.

As to the abolition of extraterritoriality in China, a Commission had been appointed by the powers concerned to study and report on the state of judicial administration in China, and as to the withdrawal of foreign troops in China a similar procedure is to be followed. There is no certainty that the report will be in favor of the withdrawal of foreign troops, that it will be unanimous, or that it has any binding force on the powers concerned.

From the tenor of the arguments concerning China, it does not seem that the powers are really animated by a true desire to remove the causes of international misunderstanding and fric-

tion. They hold on to what illegitimately is their due until their situation is made untenable by force. In so far as China's judicial administration does not meet with the full requirements of modern civilization, it is reasonable to withhold consent to the abolition of the extraterritorial rights they enjoy in China, but no adequate reason exists for denying to China the restoration of her

complete tariff autonomy, and the freedom from foreign troops in her territory.

It is futile to expect justice from others by talking and it is a shame to rely on protection from others. China must raise her position by deeds and concrete accomplishments. On the Chinese students at home and abroad this grave responsibility rests.

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MARCH OF EVENTS AT HOME

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AT HOME

The long-predicted fall of the Chin Yun-peng Cabinet came on December 18, 1921. The resignation of the Cabinet is believed to be the direct result of the stringent financial conditions and the presence of General Chang Tso-lin in Peking. Liang Shih-yi was immediately appointed to succeed Chin and the so-called new Coalition Cabinet was organized. The new Cabinet assumed office on December 25, the personnel of which is as follows:

W. W. Yen, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

Chang Hu, Minister of Finance;

Pao Kwei-ching, Minister of War;

Li Ting-hsing, Minister of the Navy;

Yeh Kung-chui, Minister of Communications;

Chi Yao-shan, Minister of Commerce;

Kao Ling-wei, Minister of the Interior

Huang Yen-pei, Minister of Education

To the formation of the coalition general Wu Pei-fu, the most upright and respected of the three super-Tuchuns, has not given his support, evading participation in the present conferences and not dictating any appointments. It is reported that his opposition to General Chang and his "Peking puppets" is but thinly disguised.

This came out quite clearly in General Wu's opposition to Peking's direct negotiation with Tokio for a settlement of the Shantung question. Cables from home revealed that the new government has negotiated direct with Japan and that this has aroused great tension throughout China. General Wu is said to have sent out a circular to every part of the country, denouncing the new government's alleged pro-Japanese policy, demanding that it resign, and threatening to force it out if it does not.

Denying General Wu's accusations, Premier Liang Shih-yi issued a state-

ment setting forth the new government's policy with regard to the Conference. "China," says the statement, "desires permanent peace in the Pacific. China earnestly desires enjoyment of the sovereign rights indispensable to independent state. The existing international differences must be removed through friendly cooperation with the powers. Therefore China hopes that all the major Chinese problems will be solved by the conference.

"The new cabinet fully indorses the attitude of the Chinese delegation with regard to Manchuria."

AMERICAN PROTEST ON CHANG CHING-YAO

The American Legation protested formally to the Peking government against the return to the capital of General Chang Ching-yao, former military governor of the Province of Hunan, whose troops killed the Rev. W. A. Reimert, an American missionary at Yo-chow in June, 1920.

The Legation reminded the Foreign Office that former protests from Washington and demands for the punishment of Chang had brought no result, and insisted that, now that he was in Peking, the Chinese government was responsible for his detention pending trial or other disposition of his case.

The government is embarrassed by the new American demand, as Chang is one of the followers of General Chang Tso-lin who formed the new coalition Cabinet and who is protecting the former, thereby making his arrest by the civil authorities virtually impossible.

SUSPENSION OF RELATION WITH BRITISH LEGATION

Relations between the Chinese government and the British Legation in Peking, interrupted because of the Amoy incident, have not been resumed, and it is hinted in official circles that the recall of the British minister may be re-

quested. British official circles are unperturbed, but a boycott is feared by the commercial community if relations are not resumed.

CHINESE BANKS TO JOIN IN LOAN TO PEKING

Chinese bankers are reported to have formed a group which would join with the inter-allied consortium in loaning to the government \$90,000,000 silver. They would contribute \$16,000,000, taking as security the revenues derived from the salt monopoly, and the shares of the loan apportioned to the four members of the consortium, amounting to \$74,000,000, would be used for refunding debts already incurred. The contribution of the Chinese banks would enable the government to meet its administrative expenses, the consortium having refused to furnish money for this purpose.

NEW INDUSTRY IN CHINA—MANUFACTURING OF ELECTRICAL APPARATUS IN SOO-CHOW

The manufacture of electrical apparatus in China is foreshadowed by the purchase in Soo-chow of seventy-five acres of land by the Electrical Appliance Manufacturing Company. This concern which is wholly Chinese has made arrangements with the Siemens Company in Germany, through which the Chinese company will be enabled to use the Siemens patents on a basis providing for the payment of a certain percentage of profits. The Siemens Company will furnish the Chinese concern with a corps of experts to install and assist in the operation of the plant.

The company chose to locate its plant in Soo-chow because land can be purchased there at less than one-tenth of the price asked in Shanghai. The location is only eighty miles west by water and fifty-five miles by rail from that city. Labor costs are also lower at Soo-chow than at Shanghai. S. T. Sze, a brother of the Chinese Minister to Washington, is manager of the new concern. It will manufacture motors and electrical appliances suitable for

the Chinese market. The initial capitalization is equivalent to about \$800,000 gold.

LEAD MINING IN SWATOW

The Chuling Mining Works which is working a lead mine in Chenping district, recently made its first shipment of lead. Smelting by native methods is carried on at the mine, the present capacity of the furnaces being three short tons per day. It is proposed to double this furnace capacity at an early date. A high-grade soft lead, running between 99.97 and 99.98 per cent. pure, is produced. It is shipped in slabs weighing 140 catties (about 187 pounds) each. About 115 short tons have already been exported. A ready market for this product is found in South China.

A NEW CHINESE POSTAGE STAMP

A new postage stamp of unusual design has just been issued its novelty being in the three portraits forming the chief design of the stamp. These portraits are in ovals and are those of the President Hsu Shi-Chang, and two members of the Cabinet, one of the latter being Yeh Kung-cho, the minister of the Communications. The stamp, of which there are four values, has been issued to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Chinese Government Post. The values are 1, 3, 6 and 10 cents, and it is said that only a limited number has been printed.

The ordinary stamps now in use were issued by the Republic in 1913. They are in three designs: a junk, a reaper, and the Hall of Classics at Peking. It is reported that this issue will soon be abandoned for a new series of stamps, the characteristic feature of which will be a picture of Confucius. He will be portrayed on the lower values, while on the higher values will be a camel and a pagoda.

EARTHQUAKES IN SHANGHAI AND NORTH KANSU

A very distinct earthquake shock was felt in Shanghai on December 1, at eight

minutes to 7 P. M. A very definite impression of the earth's movement was emphasized by the swinging of lamps and pictures, the rattling of crockery, and the general disturbances of household movables. The movement continued for a period variously estimated at one minute and upwards.

On the next day the inhabitants of Suchien, N. Kansu were also startled by a much more violent earthquake. It occurred about seven in the evening and lasted for quite a few seconds. It seems to have been the worst ever known in this district, and was felt both in the city, and in the neighboring districts. Windows rattled, doors shook and the floor boards vibrated. Some people who had gone early to bed said their beds shook. With the memory, fresh in one's mind of what happened last year in Kansu it was not a pleasant sensation.

BOXER INDEMNITY TO RE-ESTABLISH FRENCH BANK

An Associated Press dispatch from Paris dated December 27, reports that Premier Briand has announced his intention to introduce a bill in the French

Parliament authorizing the government, through agreement with China, to use the Boxer indemnity for the re-establishment of the Industrial Bank of China with a view to preserve France's material and moral interests in the Far East.

TSAO YU-LIN AND LU CHUNG-YU AGAIN IN POWER

According to an Associated Press dispatch Tsao Yu-lin has been appointed high industrial commissioner and Lu Chung-yu named mayor of Peking. Neither of the men has been in government service since June, 1919, when they were forced to resign as Minister of Communications and Director of the Currency Bureau respectively.

Their resignations in 1919 followed charges that they favored the Japanese in connection with several agreements and loans, and news of their appointment by the present government has met with considerable adverse criticism. Several local organizations have called upon the people to protest against the appointments.

L. S. LOH

CLUB NEWS

BALTIMORE

Party for Chinese Students

"With lights shaded and the sweet strains of Oriental music in the air, the Chinese Students' Club of Baltimore was entertained last night at a Christmas party at 1009 Roland avenue, the home of Doctor and Mrs. Richard A. Bolt, who spent a number of years at the Tsing Hua College in Peking, China.

A number of noted Chinese from educational institutions in this part of the country attended the party. Chinese food was served and gifts were distributed. Special prizes, presented by the President of the Club, were given those who played, sang and cooked. Except for Doctor and Mrs. Bolt, all who attended the party were Chinese."—*The Sun, Baltimore, December 28, 1921.*

CINCINNATI

On Dec. 4th, 1921, a meeting of the members of the Chinese Students' Club of Cincinnati was called at 2657 Dennis St., for the purpose of electing the president of the Club, created by the departure of the former president. Mr. Dip Lonie was elected by an unanimous vote.

The election was followed by a free conversation among the students. Different opinions about how to make the best of ourselves were exchanged.

Sincere desire and ardent hope for stronger unity and greater cooperation among the Chinese students. To this all agreed.

H. C. Lui.

COLUMBIA

A special meeting was held on Nov. 18, 1921 at Philosophy Hall to consider our students' attitude towards the vital proceedings of the Washington Conference in relation to China. Mr. K. L. Lo gave a report of his investigation in Washington, D. C. There were numerous discussions, but finally the majority deemed it wise, (at least in the

meantime), not to interfere with the actions of the Chinese Delegates.

As Miss Chindon Yui, our club president, has resigned on account of her "doctor's advice," Mr. Chai-lan Yu was elected to fill the chairmanship.

An Oriental Entertainment was presented on Nov. 29, 1921 at 8 p. m. at Horace Mann Auditorium, under the auspices of the Chinese Educational Club of Columbia University for the benefit of The New Teachers College Library Fund. The success of the Oriental Entertainment was really due to the cooperation and untiring efforts of many fellow-students.

The following interesting items, constituted the program of the evening:

1. Word of welcome..Mr. Y. H. Ou (Presiding officer).
2. Address Dean J. E. Russel of Teachers College, Columbia University.
3. Mother Goose Tales of China (Dramatized) Miss Sui Wong, Miss Wan Chuck and Mr. L. C. Cha and five children.
4. The Humorous Side of Chinese Handwriting Mr. P. W. Chen
5. Instrumental Trio (Chinese) Dr. S. Y. Chu, Mr. K. H. Wong, Mr. W. Ai.
6. The Cow Herd and the Weaving Maid. (A Playlet based on Chinese Folk-Lore) By Mr. Shen Hung.
PrinceMr. S. Hung.
Weaving MaidMiss S. Yipsang.
Cow Herd Mr. L. Sun.
Cow Mr. L. C. Cha.
7. Alma Mater "Just Above the Lordly Hudson."

Costume and Stage Managers—Messrs S. J. B. Cheng and Mr. H. C. Chow.

The Oriental Entertainment was highly appreciated by the audience, and the net proceeds were about \$400.

The meeting held in the Kindergarten Room of Teachers College on the evening of Dec. 12, 1921, was a great success. Dr. W. P. Montague, Prof. of Philosophy at Columbia University

avored us with an enlightened, philosophical and inspiring address on "Ideals of Government, National and International." He stated that the essence of true democracy is liberty, equality and fraternity,—including freedom of opinions and expressions; and that the "cure of democracy is a restoration of true democracy itself." His sincere advice to us was, "when you students return to China as leaders, be generous and brave enough; never yield to temptation of forcible restraint of your political opponents' opinions; but rather welcome criticisms, in order to strengthen your beliefs." Interesting discussions followed, and delicious refreshments accompanied by pleasant conversations concluded the evening.

The New Year's social gathering was well attended by our fellow-members and friends. It took place in Room 110, Teachers College, on Friday evening, 8 o'clock, Jan. 6, 1922; and our Chairman, Mr. C. L. Yu presided. The program consisted of 3 parts:

(1.) Delightful music.

A violin solo by Mr. E. C. Hsiao; instrumental trio by Dr. S. Y. Chu, Messrs J. W. Ai and K. H. Wang; Chinese songs by Dr. S. Y. Chu accompanied by Mr. Wang; and famous Chinese phonograph records were played.

(2.) Wholesome games.

Mr. P. W. Chen performed some entertaining "magic." Miss Wan Chuck, assisted by Miss Yipsang, conducted some wholesome games, in which everyone participated whole-heartedly.

(3.) Enjoyable refreshments.

Orange punch and tasty cookies were served, and all agreed that they were "delicious."

Thus, the club's desire to win the cheerful spirit of our audience was gratified. In conclusion, we again extend to all our fellow-students and friends, success and happiness!

"May this greeting bring good wishes,
For the best this life can give,
Not only for the New Year,
But for every day you live!"

Susan Yipsang.

CORNELL

There were some very interesting socials in C.C.S.C. during the past month. In spite of the fact that a number of our members went away for trips in the Christmas recess, those who remained in Ithaca enjoyed their holidays none the less.

On December 26th we were honored by an invitation from Rev. H. Moran who has been in China for many years and is a well known friend to all the Chinese students in Cornell. Then, on New Year's Eve we arranged a grand social in which every one enjoyed the typical Chinese jokes, magic, games and eats to the full extent.

In the newly born 1922 may we, Cornell Chinese students, wish you a prosperous and successful college year.

T. H. Shen.

IOWA STATE

"I have seen many ways of raising money for the financial campaign for the Washington Conference," Dr. Y. Y. Tsu once told us, "but your way is unique". We gave a Chinese dinner and opened a bazaar at the parlor of the First Methodist Church in this city. Each ticket cost fifty cents. We had a big crowd and raised more than one hundred dollars in one evening. This was our unique way! In this connection, the club wishes to extend its appreciation to the guests who came to the dinner.

Early in December, the club adopted a new constitution drafted by the Constitutional Committee, with Leonard S. Hsu as the chairman. A new group of officers was chosen as following: President, Eddie Lum; Vice President, Miss N. C. Shih; English Secretary, Miss Lily Zecha; Chinese Secretary, L. T. Yuan; Treasurer, Edward Zecha.

We are very sorry to say good-bye to Mr. T. M. Lan, former president of the Club. Mr. Lan is planning to go back to China early next fall. His service to the club was valuable. His unselfish leadership contributed much to the prosperity of the club.

Leonard S. Hsu.

MICHIGAN

All the members of our Club felt most at home during the last Christmas vacation, because we were well entertained by our American friends as well as by several groups of the club. Out of six socials, two were most noteworthy—one given by the fair sex of our club to the boys, and the other by the boys in return. The boys enjoyed most the social given by the girls; whether it works the other way or not I do not know. But if human psychology is just the same irrespective of difference sex then I will so presume.

The American friends who gave socials to our club are Dr. and Mrs. W. C. Rufus, and Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Vogel. "Good eats" and interesting games characterized both.

L. Y. Hu.

MICHIGAN COLLEGE OF MINES

In cooperation with both the Chinese Students' Alliance and the Chinese Students' Committee on Washington Conference to create a better understanding among our American friends about China's problems at the Disarmament Conference, the Chinese Students' Club of Michigan College of Mines has stirred up the whole copper country of the state of Michigan by conducting a remarkable event at the opening of the year 1922 and that is known in all the local papers as "M.C.M. Chinese Students' Club Essay Contest."

The Club is now offering twenty prizes of beautiful Chinese embroideries for the best essays on the subject of "China at the Washington Conference" by the High School boys and girls in the districts of Houghton, Hancock, Chassell, South Range, Painsdale, Dollar Bay, Lake Linden, Calumet and all others of the copper country. These prizes are worth \$100.00 which are voluntarily contributed by the nine miners, the only members of this club, who are now moving with a fighting spirit and in a single line to back up our publicity workers of the Chinese Students' Alliance at Washington, D. C. and the Chinese Students' Committee on Washington Conference in New York

City, New York. Of this big sum, \$25 was contributed by our active member Mr. P. H. Kwik, to whom the Club must express its appreciation.

The main purpose of this contest is to arouse more interest among our young American friends in the pamphlets and other publications that have been issued both by our Alliance and the Students' Committee on China's problems. By means of this, we have eventually secured a large circulation for the publicity department of the above organizations.

The contest opens on Jan. 3, 1922 and will be closed on the 27th. of the same month. Judges for the contest are Professors A. F. Westphal, Chairman, J. B. Cunningham, P. R. Sisson, Rev. J. E. Lewin, Minister of Grace Church, Houghton, and Mr. M. W. Youngs, Chief Editor of the Daily Mining Gazette, Houghton, Michigan.

The twenty American boys and girls that win the prizes will be announced by Feb. 10, 1922. Any essay of sufficient merit will be published in the local papers, if the judges so decide. By that time we will hear what our young American friends voice for China.

I wish to take this opportunity to suggest to our fellow students in other Colleges and Universities to undertake some work of the same nature so as to back up our patriotic workers in Washington and New York and also to serve as a challenge to the nine miners of Michigan College of Mines. "Let us go broke, so that China may be enriched."

C. W. Pan.

NORTHWESTERN

Our last club meeting on the sixteenth of December last year was half-social and half open-forum in character. Most speakers dealt principally with China and its relation to the Washington Conference. Professor Edmund Soper who was in Japan for many years and who was in China just for a short time said in his speech that unless China becomes equally as strong as Japan there will be no hope for real peace in the Far East and in the world at large.

Dean Eiseln of the Garrett Biblical Institute here strongly felt that the world and China just as well is in desperate need of a higher type of manhood which will bring about a new and reliable code of international morality and a genuine international friendliness. Finally Dr. Arthur Isaac Kendall, the dean of the Medical School, one of the leading medical scientists in this country and a student of Chinese philosophy, commended highly the unique aspect of Chinese philosophy and the Confucian teachings as well and he emphasized energetically that America and the world as a whole ought to make a thorough study into the intellectual and the cultural details of it and can learn a whole lot therefrom. He said that China needs silent and hard workers who will gradually bring about a fundamental and lasting change in accordance with our national hopes and aspirations. All speeches were followed by loud applause and the meeting was closed with refreshments and social stunts—Chinese and American music.

A social gathering was held in the Canton Tea Garden in Chicago on the evening of January third to which many Chinese students were invited for two purposes—to discuss Chinese problems and how could the Washington Conference help China to secure justice in her claims at the Conference. Ex-Minister Crane spoke at the banquet. The banquet was considered eventful in more than one way as there was quite a number of Chinese students who expressed themselves unreservedly relative to the failure of this Conference as well as to its possible success. Many Americans participated in the open-forum discussion.

Livingston S. Y. Hu.

PHILADELPHIA

On December 13, the Women's Hospitality Committee of the International Students' House gave a social in honor of the Chinese students in Philadelphia. An impromptu program which consisted chiefly of musical numbers made the evening a splendid success. Two fea-

tures particularly worthy of note were a speech made by Dr. M. I. Tin on "China and the Washington Conference" and another one by our Chairman, Mr. P. Chu, on "Chinese Architecture". They were at once entertaining and informing and were generously applauded by the audience.

Over 40 of our members attended the Provost Banquet on December 23rd. It was a unique assembly with a strong, cosmopolitan savour. Almost all nations on the earth and all states in the Union were represented. But there was one spirit dominating all. It was the spirit of good old Pennsylvania. As the orchestra played the solemn and beloved air of the Red and Blue, the spacious dining hall rang with yelling and singing wildly. Our Chung-Hua-Min-Kuo Cheer also stirred the enthusiasm of the crowd. "Happy as the gods" we sang and we were!

There are 16 students studying banking in the University of Pennsylvania. They have recently organized themselves into a Banking Club with Messrs. S. Y. Liu as President, C. H. Chen as Vice-president, P. C. Yang as Secretary, and K. N. Li as Treasurer. Several preliminary meetings were held during the past few weeks. The club will arrange to invite prominent bankers and authorities on Banking to address its members in the near future.

Our annual Chinese Night to be given in honor of our American friends will take place on January 20. As we have been requested by the committee in charge "Don't tell everything" we shall reserve the news for our next report.

H. S. Chou.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Our club was well represented at the Harvest Festivals Program given by the Cosmopolitan Club of the University. Each nationality put on its own skit and we chose to present an Old Chinese Wedding Ceremony which was well received by the audience. This is the first time that the Chinese students here have attempted anything of this sort for the students and friends of the University and our success is due chiefly

to the untiring efforts of Miss Elizabeth Chan, Messrs. P. W. Lowe, D. L. Dzu, and P. W. Wong.

The members of our club have been speaking to the Chinese merchants of this city and the suburban towns in behalf of China, informing them of the facts and developments of the Washington Conference. Much credit is due to Messrs. C. C. Lee, P. W. Wong, D. L. Dzu, and P. W. Lowe, who were instru-

mental in raising hundreds of dollars for the cause of our country.

At our last regular monthly meeting, we had a very enjoyable evening. Our minds reverted back to the time when we were children, for Santa Claus visited us and left for each one of us a little present from which we derived much pleasure and amusement—mostly the latter.

Lillie Leung.

PERSONAL NOTES

Mr. P. Chu of the University of Pennsylvania, was twice awarded first medal in an intercollegiate contest conducted by the Beaux Arts Institute. Mr. Chu's first design was a "Naval Pantheon" in commemoration of the historical achievements of the American Navy and the second one was an archaeological design representing a Chinese pavilion.

Mr. C. T. Chow, graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, was married to Miss Elizabeth Wong of Philadelphia on January 23. They will proceed to China immediately after the wedding. To the new couple we extend our congratulations and *bon voyage*.

Mr. S. Y. Liu, graduate of New York State School of Ceramics, formerly connected with Thatcher Furnace Company of Newark, N. J., is now working in Porcelain Enamel Manufacturing Company of Baltimore.

Dr. M. J. Bau has had his book, "Foreign Relations of China", published by Flemming H. Revell Company of New York. His book has been favorably reviewed in many leading newspapers and magazines.

Mr. C. K. Ho, B.E.M. '20 Ohio State; M.S. '21 Lehigh, is now employed as assistant mining engineer in the Tennessee Copper Co., Ducktown, Tenn. He finds that the practical work is very interesting and helpful.

Mr. Robert V. U. Wang has just recently been awarded a certificate of honor by the U. S. Department of Commerce for his valuable service to the Department in his capacity as a translator in Oriental language during the Washington Conference. We shall regret very much to see his coming de-

parture sometime in January, but on the other hand, we shall heartily congratulate him for his graduation from the George Washington University this winter.

Mr. E. T. Yen is teaching in the Georgetown University as a Professor of Chinese.

Mr. A. C. Waung came to America after he had finished his three-years service in France during the great War. He has just recently received a medal from the British Government for distinguished service.

Miss Zok Tsung Wang, an honor graduate of the University of Chicago and a member of the Phi Beta Kappa society, is now pursuing medical studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

Dr. Y. L. King, has returned from China. It is reported that he will proceed to London for further advanced studies.

Miss Hilda Yen spent her New Year vacation in Washington with her father. It is generally admitted that she is one of the most popular as well as the most attractive among the Chinese girls now in this country.

Mr. H. A. King, B.S. '15 Purdue University, is now stationed in Baltimore as leading draftsman and inspector of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Mr. King has had nearly ten years practical experience in this country with various engineering firms, including the Westinghouse Electric Co., the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the American Locomotive Co. He has also taken out a patent for a special design of locomotive.

BOOK REVIEWS

China Awakened. by Dr. M. T. Z. Tyau. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$5.00.

This is another good book by Dr. Tyau. True, the reader will doubt whether the uncritical acceptance of the western civilization is a desirable attempt, whether the ruthless destruction of the old Chinese tradition is a wise action, whether change is reality and not appearance, and whether change, being appearance, can be identified with progress. He may further ask himself whether the philosophy of life underlying the modes of living of the western people at the present time is really sane and wholesome and whether, by adopting their modes of living without discrimination, we are not unconsciously acquiring their outlook upon life which, contrary to the advice of the Latin poet, is to exist, not to live well. He may be led to reflect that, instead of discarding the old Chinese customs and traditions, it would not be unwise to rationalize them so as to infuse them with a new vitality and give them a new life. For customs and traditions are symbols which may lose their significance and original meaning in the course of time, but which can be easily revitalized by a process of synthesis and reinterpretation. This is the case with words; this is the case with all conventions and symbols. Why not with traditions and customs?

But Dr. Tyau has given us a very useful book which is full of facts and statistics and which reflects the industry and energy of the author. The reader must not, however, think that the book is on that account dreary and uninviting. For the truth is that the book is extremely interesting; it is full of anecdotes and incidents amusing or pathetic. Just as the tragic scenes in the Shakespearean plays are always followed by comic episodes, so are the cold facts and statistics in this book

always followed by entertaining stories. The author's humor never fails the reader when he has had a plentiful supply of facts. And consequently the reader is not only informed, but entertained. Besides, the whole book vibrates with a joyful and hopeful spirit and the style is so brilliant and cheerful that the reader has the impression of listening to the author speaking instead of poring over so many lifeless symbols.

The book is divided into nineteen chapters and is full of significant illustrations. "Within the covers of one volume", Dr. Tyau has tried his best "to present a picture that explains the situation clearly as well as comprehensively—from educational reforms, intellectual rebirth, social transformation, improved communications and industrial progress to judicial reforms, self-respecting international attitude, rupture with the War and finally participation in the Peace Conference." And there are other extremely interesting chapters such as the New Women, Marriage Reforms, New Patriotism and the Students' Movement. In addition to the nineteen chapters there are appendices which "are not separate, but a continuation of the narrative." Appendix A contains the official statement by the Chinese government respecting the Sino-Japanese negotiations of 1915. Appendix B embodies the claim of China for direct restitution to herself of the leased territory and other rights in Shantung, submitted by the Chinese Delegation to the Preliminary Peace Conference at Paris. Appendix C contains all the questions for readjustment submitted by China to the Peace Conference at Paris.

The book is altogether informing and interesting. To every one who takes any interest in the evolution of China and who wants a good reference book on the recent facts of China this volume is indispensable.

K. L. L.

The Twenty-one Demands, Japan versus China. The Chino-Japanese Treaties of May 25, 1915. By G. Zay Wood, Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1921.

These twin volumes by the former editor-in-chief of *The Chinese Students' Monthly*, Mr. G. Zay Wood, appear in the nick of time when there is in session in Washington the Conference on Limitation of Armament "in connection with which Pacific and Far Eastern Questions are to be discussed." Now among the many issues pertaining to the Far East, none surpasses in importance, in magnitude and in far-reaching effect the general one between Japan and China. This issue the author has set forth in a clear and dispassionate manner, altho on the outcome of that issue depends, as the author sees it, the continued existence on an independent basis of his own country. But dispassionate language and clear expression must not be taken as the lack of conviction, for the opinion of the author is most conclusive and his conclusion most uncompromising. He stands for the abrogation of the Chino-Japanese treaties of 1915, treaties growing out of the Twenty-one Demands. If the Washington Conference will review and void these treaties, well and good; if not, the author will urge repudiation on the part of China.

Such, in substance, is the author's conclusion which has been reached through a painstaking process of presenting facts, weighing and analyzing arguments. The facts presented, in both volumes, are so fair and unbiased that they must satisfy the most critical of his readers. Of this, we think, there can be little doubt. Perhaps the same can not be said with equal accuracy as regards the arguments he has advanced, almost all his arguments being in favor of China. Here the author is open to the charge of special pleading, a charge unfriendly critics can easily insist with some resemblance of reason. But it must be remembered that "out of nothing nothing comes" and that if the

author presents no argument in Japan's favor it is perhaps because there is really nothing to be said for her case. For has not Mr. Kawakami admitted in writing Japan's "blunders"? Did not the late Premier Hara condemn the Okuma Cabinet for its China policy as revealed in the Demands? And as late as November, 1921, Japanese statesmen and publicists loudly proclaimed that the Japan of the Washington Conference would be different from, or not the same as, the Japan of the Twenty-one Demands. Why all this professed change of heart, if there isn't anything really bad that has need of a change?

Now to the arguments the author has advanced for abrogation. These are all in the volume entitled *The Chino-Japanese Treaties of May 25, 1915*. After a short introduction, more or less historical, the arguments appear in the following order: (1) lack of legislative concurrence, (2) conflict with existing treaties, (3) conflict with the Open Door Policy, (4) doctrine of *Rebus sic stantibus*, (5) abrogation of the lease of Kiao-chow, (6) duress as a ground for abrogation, and finally (7) transfer irregular and illegal. Each is an argument for abrogation and each forms the heading of a separate chapter devoted to the exposition and sustentation of that one particular contention—all in a conclusive and convincing manner we think. The conclusion sums up and reinforces the seven separate arguments, ending with this general plea: "Speaking metaphorically, the Twenty-one Demands were the flowers while the Chino-Japanese Treaties of 1915 were the fruits. Like the "forbidden apple" of Eden, the fruits of the year 1915 cannot be enjoyed by Japan without seriously menacing the peace and tranquility of the political firmament in the Far East." Thus ends the main body of this volume on the "fruits" and we are led to the volume on the "flowers", namely *The Twenty-one Demands, Japan versus China*.

As is well known, the Twenty-one Demands were divided into five groups, each bearing on a particular subject or a particular region, or both. This or-

derly and logical arrangement furnishes the most convenient form of treatment any author can desire. So after an introduction with a little historical background, followed by a narrative of the manner (the very unusual manner) in which the Demands were presented and the enforced secrecy in which the negotiations were conducted, the author enters into a minute analysis of the Demands group by group, devoting one chapter to each. Taken together, these chapters leave very little to be desired, and when the "unilateral" character (which means all being in favor of Japan) of the negotiations is considered, as the author has considered it, the conclusion thus arrived at can hardly be different from, or any less strong than, the one reached by the author. With that conclusion we are in hearty and full agreement.

In his treatment of the Twenty-one Demands there is one serious omission—an omission which is entirely justified if we view the Demands as an isolated incident, not as the logical and almost inevitable outcome of a well-conceived and equally well-executed policy: *we mean the forward policy of Japan*. It seems to us that any adequate treatment of the Demands ought to include a general sketch, however brief, of that forward policy of which the Demands were but a part. Now there are two schools of expansionists (all exponents of that same forward policy) in Japan. One party, largely composed of the army people, is known as the "Continental School"; and the other, composed largely of the navy people, we may call the "Insular School" for lack of a better term. The Continental School sees in the mainland of Asia but so much land to be conquered and so many peoples to be subjected, all for the glory and benefit of a Greater Japan. The annexation of Korea, the lease of South Manchuria, the Twenty-one Demands, the military occupation of Siberia—these are but so many steps of that steady march to the Continent. The "Insular School", on the other hand, fixes the eyes of Nippon on the sea. They see no safety nor

salvation for their homeland except an absolute control of all water routes approaching the Continent. To them nothing could be more intolerable than alien, which means non-Japanese, control over any of the long chain of islands from Saghalin to Formosa or perhaps even to the South Sea Islands. The first part of their dream has at least come true. The Rising Sun now flies over the barracks all the way from Cape Elizabeth in northern Saghalin to Takao in the southern tip of Formosa, as the Mikado's soldiers answer to the morning bugle call. Nay, has not the world war resulted, incidentally at least, in Japan supplanting Germany in the control of many islands north of the Equator? Is Japan entirely without ambition in the Philippines, as her statesmen and publicists have repeatedly assured us? Or shall we take as more representative, and hence nearer the truth, the ideas of General Saito as he revealed them in his candid book, *If America and Japan Fight?*

All this is, perhaps, a little beyond the point. Enough has been said, we hope, to show the comprehensive schemes of expansion as worked out by the directing brains of modern Japan, and the necessity for an equally comprehensive plan of resistance and defense. Into the latter it is not the duty of the author, nor indeed of ourselves, to go. Let us hope that the proper authorities are taking adequate measures to meet the situation, or better still, (although this is hoping against hope), that the improved world order will render such resistance and defense forever unnecessary.

Of the other and physical aspects of the books under review there is little to be criticized. They are not too long, there being less than two hundred pages to the volume. Both are well documented. In fact, more than one-third of the pages contain nothing but official statements, texts of treaties and exchange of notes, diplomatic instructions, etc. An index to each volume, some maps showing the strategic positions of places already under Japanese influence or control and an adequate

bibliography would have increased the value and serviceableness of both volumes. These, however, are only minor points. They do not affect their larger and general usefulness. As a whole, the two books form a valuable contribution to current political literature and deserve to be read and re-read by all interested in the affairs of the Far East.

P. T. H.

Fir-Flower Tablets, by Florence Ayscough and Amy Lowell, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1921, xcv+228.

The translation of Chinese poetry has never been prolific. It is not because the Western world keeps its usual attitude of aloofness from the treasures of alien civilizations, but because the language has always remained an insuperable difficulty. Of late, however, many attempts have been made at least to give some literal translations from the selections of the greater Chinese poets. Mr. Waley has achieved quite a success with his two books, published but a year or so ago. They find, I believe, a very ready market; and it certainly looks that Chinese poetry is beginning to be appreciated by the cultivated English-reading public. Miss Lowell has now given us a good-sized book, and it is destined, I believe, to find as great a market as those of Mr. Waley. Miss Lowell's poetic gifts are unquestioned, and her power of transfusing foreign material into something original and pleasing to her accustomed audience must be equally great. In the Middle Ages, Europe had a text of Aristotle which was a translation of Averroes, which in turn was a translation of a Greek commentary on the Greek original. I do not guarantee the correctness of the successive steps, but I am sure that there were about four or five

successive steps: and Aristotle was the great treasure of the schoolmen. It was great probably also because it was Aristotle plus the genius of the translators. We don't know what the present book will ultimately be in the history of American poetry; but, at any rate, the poems have now the distinction of being the original plus the sinological scholarship of Mrs. Ayscough plus the poetic genius of Miss Lowell. The translation does not of course give the flavour of the original, but no translation in the history of that subtle art, has ever given the flavour of the original. So this does not constitute a failure. The failure has become so universal and so inevitable that it no longer is a failure. But what we are dissatisfied with is that the form of the poems is very queer. To the native English reader, the form of the original itself is queer, and he does not of course usually take the trouble to distinguish one kind of queerness from another. But to a Chinese, all is different. The queerness increases in proportion as he is familiar with the technique and form of English poetry. Take, for instance, the following three lines: (p.81),

When I was young, I spent the white
days lavishly,
I sang—I laughed—I boasted of my
ruddy face.
I do not realize that now, suddenly,
I am old.

One would think that the Chinese poet lived in a small egocentric world. Even Max Stirner probably would not have uttered so many I's in three lines, or the distinguished Roosevelt either, at that. Now I do not consider this as a true representation of Chinese poetry; I do not know that this is English poetry. And then we do not see that Chinese poetry has any resemblance to free verse, except possibly, if we stretch our imagination a little, a portion of what we call "ancient" poetry. But Miss Lowell's translation is in free verse throughout, as if she wishes to

prove that there were *vers libriste* in a foreign country considerably more than ten centuries ago! This is no place to criticise the honourable movement in American poetry. It is, at any rate, a patriotic movement: it is 100 per cent Americanism, although, as Mr. Maynard recently said, a Lowell has no need of it. But what Miss Lowell has given us is Americanism even with a vengeance: she discovers that the Chinese poets had long ago inbibed the spirit!

It seems that we have been unusually harsh on the translators, but it is truth that is responsible for what we have said. Nevertheless, we are perfectly willing to grant that parts of the translation are full of beauty; beauty, alas, of free verse, not of Chinese poetry. The work is still of the pioneer sort, and the lack of any satisfactory guidance accounts, I think, for what seem to a Chinese reader inexcusable crudities.

H. H. C.

CORRESPONDENCE

TRAVEL IN CANADA

Dear Sir:

I am now glad to advise that certificates for use in connection with above are now available and have been supplied our representatives in the United States as follows:

Mr. E. T. Stebbing, cor. Madison and 44th. Sts., New York City.

Mr. C. E. Phelps, 1419 New York Ave., Washington, D. C.

Mr. D. R. Kennedy, 11 South Division St., Buffalo, N. Y.

Mr. R. S. Elworthy, 40 North Dearborn St. Chicago, Ill.

Students desiring to travel through Canada should be referred to any one of the representatives mentioned, who will be glad to provide the necessary certificate.

Yours truly,
Wm. Ballantyne.

Canadian Pacific Railway Co.,
Montreal, January 11, 1922.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

Dear Editor:

It is perhaps yet too early to comment on the Washington Conference, its fruits and its failures, though it is quite possible to make general observations about it, particularly in reference to Far Eastern matters. It is true that the Conference is at this writing still deliberating on some of the most vital problems. Their disposition will not, however, materially affect the Conference one way or another, or alter the results already arrived at.

It is important to bear in mind that the impressions recorded here are those of a newspaper man, a Chinese newspaper man, whose interest in the Conference is equalled to the great interest which China as a nation has in it. My views may not be exactly correct, and my impressions may be erroneous, but they are my own convictions.

At the Conference the thing that strikes me most is the prevalence of the old type diplomacy, seeking to accomplish the selfish ends which each of the major Powers has in view. All the typical practices known to the diplomats of the old school are in evidence at the Conference. Secrecy, bargaining, procrastination, and what not are the order of the day. Beyond the official communique which comes out from the Conference as a sop to the newspaper men, they have little means of knowing what is exactly going on behind the scene. This is particularly true with regard to the Shantung negotiations, or "conversations". The conference has held so far but four Plenary Sessions. Is it due to the fact that the Committees and Sub-committees that are doing the real work of the Conference have accomplished little or nothing to report to the general public? Or is it because of the natural inclination of the leading statesmen at the Conference to conduct their business in secret? The answer may be both. The Conference is called for the avowed purpose to discuss limitation of armament and settle Far Eastern problems. But are the Powers really sincere in their attempt to limit their armament? What has been done is a monumental evidence of the failure to limit armament. It seems that the Powers have been only trying to economize on their armament, limiting it only as economy demands it.

Take the United States for instance. The United States was at the outset very much determined to effect a general settlement of the Far Eastern questions. Owing to the necessity of bargaining with Japan and the European Powers, however, in regard to the naval matters, the Far Eastern questions which occupy one half of the program of the Conference have been relegated to the background and there is no rea-

son to suppose that the United States will ever take a strong and firm stand on the Chinese question. This is a typical bow-wow to European diplomacy, to the Japanese and European diplomats, who are here to bargain, not to limit armament or settle the Far Eastern questions.

The course which Great Britain has taken at the Conference so far indicates that she is an opportunist. She may be a friend to one at one time, and she does not hesitate to prove herself to be an opponent at another. She sides with the United States in naval matters merely to suit her own convenience, and she sides with Japan in the Chinese tariff question so as to protect commercial interests in China. In other words, Great Britain is here to gain, not to sacrifice.

The conduct of France at the Conference is equally disappointing. The arrival of Premier Briand was actuated by a desire to bring about an Anglo-American-French entente. His failure to achieve this all-important mission was largely responsible for his immediate return to France and for his subsequent political downfall. His attitude on the Shantung question was typical French, hardly in accord with the spirit which lay behind the Conference, when

he insisted on the validity of the Versailles Treaty. Twice France attempted to deadlock the Conference, first by the naval ratio question, and secondly by her stand on the submarine problem. All this only serves to indicate that France is not at all interested in the limitation of armament or in the settlement of the Far Eastern questions.

The real success of the Conference, or its failure, may be measured by what it has done for China. In other words, what has China got at the Conference? China has the promise of a conditional raise of her tariff instead of autonomy as demanded by her; the abolition of foreign postal establishments except in the leased territories and other specially designated areas. And that is about all. By clear Japanese propaganda, it may be observed, it was made to appear at the beginning of the Conference that China had gained this and that. The result is that when it is known that the Chinese are not satisfied with what the Conference has so far done for her, the American public seems to raise the question: how much more does China want?

Yours Sincerely

C. C. T.

Washington,
January 17, 1922.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTS

Chinese Tariff Resolutions Adopted by the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions.

January 5, 1922

The seventeenth meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held this morning, January 5, 1922, at 11 o'clock, in the Pan American Union Building.

The Chairman (Mr. Hughes) said that he was sure that all those present greatly regretted that Mr. Van Karnebeek had been compelled to leave them by reason of his public engagements at home and that they extended a cordial greeting to Mr. de Beaufort, who was now meeting with them.

This meeting of the committee had been called to hear the report of the Sub-Committee on Chinese Customs Duties, which would be presented by Senator Underwood.

Senator Underwood said:

"I desire to present the report of the Sub-Committee on the Chinese Customs tariff, but in advance of reading the report I wish to make a short statement to the Committee in explanation of what the Committee has done.

"I desire to express my appreciation of the attitude of the Delegates on the Sub-Committee with respect to the broad principles involved in a matter so serious as that which touches the financial resources of the Chinese Government. I feel that they have approached the subject in an admirable spirit of collaboration with a view to achievements of a constructive order which would only meet the present exigencies and assist in stabilizing economic conditions in China but would go much further by removing elements of friction in the general trade adjustment.

"The importance of this agreement in reference to trade conditions in China, which to a large extent are controlled by the duties levied at the customs house, I think goes much further than the mere question of the money involved. As I stated some time ago, I think one of the principal causes of irritation and difference between the nations of

the world arise from their trade conditions, and when one nation feels that it is not standing on an equality with another nation, it is likely to bring about conditions of unrest that may lead in the end to war; and the great purpose of this Convention has been to eliminate the causes of war. Therefore, I think that we can congratulate ourselves at this time that we have reached, in this report that I shall present, an understanding to wipe out the discriminations on the border of China in reference to customs duties, and that will make all the countries of the world feel that they will hereafter have an open door that means equal opportunity of trade.

"The Chinese tariff, being a treaty tariff and depending upon the unanimous consent of the treaty powers, would have presented difficulties of agreement respecting revision or improvement in the system which would have been almost insurmountable had it not been for the generous and open-minded attitude of the Powers with respect to the broad purposes of their deliberations.

"The last revision of the tariff took place in 1918. The revision was for the purpose of bringing the rates up to a basis of 5% effective. The basis of revision was, however, the average of the values of imports as they appeared upon invoices during the year 1912-1916. The rates fixed by this revision and which became effective in August, 1919 were to last for at least two years after the end of the war at which time another revision might be made. Manifestly valuations based on an average of values from 1912 to 1916 no longer represent the true value of importations and as a result, the revision of 1918 instead of producing revenue representing 5% effective, actually produced only about 3½% effective.

"The Agreement, in its present form, contains provisions relating to two distinct phases of tariff readjustment, namely: those which may become immediately applicable without taking treaty form requiring ratification, and those which must be embraced in a treaty and which will require ratification. The first of these relates to

the immediate revision of the present tariffs to a basis of 5% effective and the second relates to subjects to be dealt with in a special conference which will be charged with taking measures looking to the speedy abolition of likin and the application of surtaxes together with the realization of the principle of uniformity in the rates of customs duties on all frontiers whether land or maritime.

"The stages, therefore, of applying the terms of the Agreement are as follows:

"1st. A Committee of Revision will meet forthwith at Shanghai to revise the present tariff to a basis of 5% effective. This revision will become effective two months after publication without awaiting ratification. It will provide an additional revenue amounting to about \$17,000,000 silver.

"I want to say, of course, that the figures that I give here are substantially accurate. I am sure that all the members of the committee realize the impossibility of getting absolutely accurate figures, but they are substantially correct.

"2nd. Immediate steps will be taken for a special conference representing China and the Powers charged with the duty of preparing the way for the speedy abolition of the Likin and bringing into effect of the surtaxes provided for in the treaties between China and Great Britain of 1902 and China and the United States and Japan of 1903. The special conference will likewise put into effect a surtax of 2½% *ad valorem* which will secure additional revenue amounting to approximately \$27,000,000 silver, and a specified surtax on luxuries, not exceeding 5% *ad valorem* which will provide a still further revenue amounting to \$2,167,000 silver.

"The additional revenue from customs duties provided in the present agreement falls into four categories, as follows:

- "1. Increase to 5% effective \$17,000,000 silver.
- "2. Surtax of 2½% \$27,000,000 silver.
- "3. Surtax not exceeding 5% on luxuries \$2,167,000 silver.
- "4. Total additional revenue \$46,167,000 silver.

"With the completion of the work of the special conference carrying into effect the abolition of the likin and application of the surtaxes provided in the treaties with Great Britain, Japan and the United States, the additional revenue provided should amount to \$156,000,000 silver. The present tariff produced revenue at the rate of \$64,000,000 silver for 1920. If to this is added the additional revenue provided in the agreement, the total yield from customs duties will

amount to \$110,167,000 silver. Aside from these measures, there are important provisions in the agreement relating to the future revisions of the tariff with a view of maintaining it on a correct basis of valuation so that it may produce revenue at the effective rates to which China is entitled. Following the immediate revision, there will be a second revision in four years, and subsequent revisions every seven years.

Heretofore there has been some difficulty encountered in securing revisions regularly. The special conference is charged with the duty of providing means whereby future delays in revision may be avoided. Carrying into effect the general agreement already adopted by this conference, there is a provision in the present agreement for effective equality of treatment and of opportunity. This provision carries with it an important recognition of the principles of uniformity in the rates of customs duties levied on all frontiers, which means the abolition of discriminatory practices in relation to goods imported by land.

"I feel that for the first time measures have been taken which effectually remove the highly unjust and controversial preferences with which the foreign trade of China has heretofore been encumbered. Those nations which have enjoyed the advantages of preferential treatment across their land frontiers have acted with commendable foresight and altruism in surrendering those mineral advantages in trade to the broader principles of equality of treatment and the general betterment of the conditions of friendly trade competition. This, to my mind, is a signal achievement not only in the interest of trade in general and of peace itself.

"Before reading the report, I wish to say that it is a report that comes before the full committee with the unanimous approval of the members of the Sub-Committee.

The REPORT reads as follows:

The Sub-Committee on Chinese Customs Duties, having had under consideration the proposal of the Chinese Delegate for the restoration of tariff autonomy and the re-adjustment of Maritime Customs Duties with a view to providing additional revenue to meet the needs of the Chinese Government, reports that it has reached the following agreement.

"The Powers attending this Conference agree:

"I. That immediate steps be taken through a Special Conference representing China and the Powers which accept this Agreement to

prepare the way for the speedy abolition of likin and the fulfillment of the other conditions laid down in Article VIII of the Anglo-Chinese Commercial Treaty of September 5th, 1902 and the corresponding Articles of the United States and Japanese Treaties, with a view of levying the surtaxes as provided in those Articles.

"II. That the present tariff on importation shall be forthwith revised and raised to a basis of 5% effective.

"That this revision shall be carried out forthwith by a Revision Committee at Shanghai on the general lines of the last revision. The revision shall proceed as rapidly as possible with a view to its completion within four months from the conclusion of the present Conference, and the revised tariff shall become effective two months after publication without awaiting ratification.

"III. That the interim provisions to be applied until the Articles referred to in Paragraph I come into operation be considered by the aforesaid Special Conference which shall authorize the levying of a surtax on dutiable imports as from such date, for such purposes, and subject to such conditions as they may determine. The surtax shall be at a uniform rate of 2½% *ad valorem* except in the case of certain articles of luxury which in the opinion of the Conference can bear a greater increase without unduly impeding trade, and upon which the total surtax shall not exceed 5%.

"IV. (1) That there shall be a further revision of the tariff to take effect at the expiration of four years following the completion of the immediate revision herein authorized, in order to ensure that the rates shall correspond to the *ad valorem* rates fixed.

"(2) That following this revision there shall be periodical revisions of the tariff every seven years for the same purpose.

"(3) That in order to prevent delay such periodical revisions shall be effected in accordance with rules to be settled by the Special Conference provided in Paragraph I.

"V. That in all matters relating to customs duties there shall be effective equality of treatment and of opportunity for all nations parties to this Agreement.

"VI. That the principle of uniformity in the rates of customs duties levied on all the frontiers land and maritime of China be recognized, and that it be referred to the Special Conference mentioned in paragraph

I to make arrangements to give practical effect to this principle, with power to authorize any adjustments which may appear equitable in cases in which the customs privilege to be abolished was granted in return for some local economic favor.

"In the meantime any increase in the rates of customs duties or surtax imposed in pursuance of the present agreement shall be levied at a uniform rate *ad valorem* on all frontier land and maritime.

"VII. That the charge for transit passes shall be at the rate of two and one-half % *ad valorem* except when the arrangements contemplated in Paragraph I are in force.

"VIII. That the Treaty Powers not here represented shall be invited to accept the present Agreement.

"IX. That this Agreement shall over-ride all provisions of Treaties between China and the Powers which accept it which are inconsistent with its terms."

The Delegate for China submitted the following communication which it was unanimously agreed should form a part of the foregoing Agreement as an Appendix thereto:

**"DECLARATION OF INTENTION NOT TO
DISTURB THE PRESENT ADMINIS-
TRATION OF THE CHINESE
MARITIME CUSTOMS**

"The Chinese Delegation has the honor to inform the Committee on the Far Eastern Question of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament that the Chinese Government have no intention to effect any change which may disturb the present administration of the Chinese Maritime Customs."

The Sub-Committee recommend that, as the foregoing agreement includes provisions relating to two distinct matters, namely:

(1) The immediate revision of the present tariff in accordance with existing treaties; and (2) other matters involving the modification of existing treaties;

this report after consideration by the Full Committee be referred to the Drafting Committee with a view to putting the agreement into final form, and separating the provisions which can go into force forthwith from those which are dependent on ratification by the Powers.

"That completes the main report; but in addition to the main report affecting Chinese customs tariffs your Sub-Committee, realized

that one of the matters of great importance that came before us was not merely an adjustment of the border revenue as to the Powers dealing with China, but that a matter of supreme importance was to secure to the Chinese government sufficient revenues to properly maintain a stable and safe government; and at the same time your Committee realized that maintenance in China of large military forces was a serious drain on the finances of China and materially affected the question of raising revenue, and at the same time was in contravention of the great principles of this Convention looking to the disarmament of nations and securing the peace of the world; and therefore, with the consent of the Chinese Delegation, the other members of the committee agreed to the resolution that I will now read:

The Chinese Delegate not voting, the following resolution was adopted January 3rd, 1922, to be annexed to the report of the Sub-Committee on Chinese Revenue and Tariff:

"The members of the Sub-Committee in studying the question of increasing the customs tariff rates to meet the urgent needs of the Chinese Government have been deeply impressed with the severe drain on China's public revenue through the maintenance of excessive military forces in various parts of the country. Most of these forces are controlled by the military chiefs of the Provinces, and their continued maintenance appears to be mainly responsible for China's present unsettled political conditions. It is felt that large and prompt reduction of these forces will not only advance the cause of China's political unity and economic development but hasten her financial rehabilitation. Therefore, without any intention to interfere in the internal problems of China, but animated by the sincere desire to see China develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government alike in her own interest and in the general interest of trade, and inspired by the spirit of this Conference whose aim is to reduce through the limitation of armament the enormous disbursements which manifestly constitute the greater part of the encumbrance upon enterprise and national prosperity, the Sub-Committee ventures to suggest for the consideration of the Committee the advisability of laying before the Conference for its adoption a Resolution, expressing the earnest hope of the Conference and embodying a friendly recommendation to China that immediate and effective steps be taken by the Chinese Government to reduce the aforesaid military forces and expenditures."

"Now, Mr. Chairman, that completes the work of the Committee, and I ask the adoption of the report and after its adoption its

reference to the Committee on Drafting, to be put in treaty form."

Mr. Koo read the following statement:

"On November 23rd last, I had the honor on behalf of the Chinese Delegation, to lay the tariff question of China before the Committee. Three propositions were submitted, the principal one of them was for the restoration to China of her tariff autonomy, the other two being intended merely as provisional measures to prepare the ground for the early consummation of the main object. At the same time I stated that it was not the intention of the Chinese Government to effect any changes that might disturb the present administration of the Chinese maritime customs, though this statement obviously could not be reasonably construed to preclude China's legitimate aspiration gradually to make this important branch of the Chinese Government more national in character.

"I explained the reason why China was desirous of recovering her freedom of action in respect of the matter of levying customs duties. The Committee, after some discussion, referred the whole question to a Sub-Committee, of which Senator Underwood has been the distinguished Chairman. The results of the discussions in the Sub-Committee are embodied in an agreement which has just been laid before you. It is a valuable agreement, embodying, as it does, a number of important points connected with the effective application of the present regime of treaty tariff. But it will be noted that the question of the restoration of tariff autonomy to China is not included, it being the opinion of some members of the Sub-Committee that it would not be practicable to fix at present a definite period within which the existing treaty provisions on tariff were to be brought to an end, and that the question should be decided in the light of conditions that might arise in the future.

"The Chinese Delegation, however, cannot but wish that a different view had prevailed. Tariff autonomy is a sovereign right enjoyed by all independent states. Its free exercise is essential to the well-being of the state. The existing treaty provisions, by which the levy of customs duties, transit dues and other imposts is regulated, constitute not only a restriction on China's freedom of action, but an infringement of her sovereignty. Restoration to her of tariff autonomy would only be recognition of a right which is hers and which she relinquished against her will.

"The maintenance of the present tariff regime means, moreover, a continued loss of revenue to the Chinese Government. The

customs import duty under this regime is limited to the very low rate of 5% *ad valorem* for all classes of dutiable goods, compared with the average rate of 15% to 60% levied by other countries. In fact, because the duties are levied on the basis of a previously fixed schedule, the actual collections amount to only three and a half per cent effective. The customs revenue therefore constitutes only about seven and a half per cent of China's total revenue, while the average for the principal countries in the West ranges from 12% to 15% at present, and still higher before the war. When the proposed surtax of 2½% for ordinary articles and of 5% on certain luxuries eventually goes into effect, more revenue will be produced, but even then, it will hardly be commensurate with the rapidly growing needs of the Chinese Government. Much of the elasticity of the fiscal year of other states depends upon their freedom to regulate their customs duties. To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government, it is necessary to restore tariff autonomy to her at an early date.

"The necessity to levy a uniform low duty has encouraged a disproportionate increase in the import of luxuries such as wine and tobacco; and apart from the loss of revenue consequent upon giving these things the same rate as is levied on the necessities of life, the effect on the social and moral habits of the Chinese people has been altogether deleterious. A beginning has been made in the agreement before the Committee in authorizing a levy of an additional surtax of 2½% on certain articles of luxury, but it is apparent that a greater increase is needed if a restraining influence is to be exercised in the use of these articles of luxury.

"Nor is it to be overlooked that the present treaty tariff regime is an impediment to China's economical development. Under this regime China enjoys no reciprocity from any of the powers with which she stands in treaty relations. Though every treaty power enjoys the advantage of having its wares imported to China at the exceptionally low rate of 5% *ad valorem*, the Chinese product and merchandise, on entering into any of these countries, is subjected to the maximum rates leviable, which are in some cases sixty or seventy times the rate which she herself levies on foreign imports. The necessity of levying uniform duties imported into China on all articles, on the other hand makes these duties on such articles as machinery and raw materials for Chinese industries a handicap to China's industrial development. At present there are more

than one thousand Chinese factories employing foreign machinery and methods and engaged in over thirty different kinds of important industries. To enable them to live and develop and thereby contribute to the growth of China's foreign trade in which all nations are deeply interested, some latitude is necessary in the regulation of the customs duties.

"Besides, regulation of China's tariff by treaty inevitably in the nature of things, must work unjustly and to her great detriment. Thus whenever China makes a proposal, be it for revision of the tariff to bring it more into harmony with the prevailing prices or for instance of the customs duty to meet her increased needs, the unanimous consent of more than a dozen treaty powers is necessary. As each country naturally desires to protect and promote its own commercial interests in China, and as the industries of these treaty powers vary in character and export different kinds of merchandise, they all seek to avoid the burden of the new revision or increased rate falling upon the industries of their own countries. With this end in view, different conditions are not infrequently attached by different powers to their consent to revise the customs tariff or increase the rate.

"Thus, though this matter of custom tariff is intimately connected with the well-being of the Chinese states, the interests of the treaty powers appear to be placed at times before the legitimate interests of China. Under such circumstances the difficulty of effecting any adjustment or arrangement favorable to China can easily be conceived and it has at times been well-nigh insurmountable. On one occasion or another there is always some power who considers its own interests in the matter of Chinese customs tariff more important than the supreme interests of China. The experience of the Chinese Delegation in the Sub-Committee, on tariff much as it has accomplished has not altogether removed the ground for this opinion. But as unanimity is required, the dissent of one power is sufficient to defeat and upset a general arrangement agreed to by all others, while by virtue of the most favored nation clause, a concession or privilege granted by China to one nation for a specified consideration, is at once claimed by all without regard to the *quid pro quo*.

"In view of inherent difficulty and injustice of the present regime and of the wholesome and desirable effect which restoration of tariff autonomy is sure to have upon the trade and economic development of China, as well as upon the evolution of her fiscal system, the Chinese Delegation feel in duty

bound to declare that though this Committee does not see its way to consider China's claim for the restoration of her tariff autonomy, it is not their desire, in assenting to the agreement now before you, to relinquish their claim; on the contrary, it is their intention to bring the question up again for consideration on all appropriate occasions in the future."

The question of the adoption of the report of the Sub-Committee was then put by the Chair and the above nine articles and the Declaration of Intention not to disturb the present administration of the Chinese customs were unanimously adopted. The recommendation of the sub-Committee that the foregoing agreement be referred to the Drafting Committee was also unanimously adopted.

The Chairman said that they had come to the resolution embodied in the report presented by the Sub-Committee. It related to present conditions in China and at the end was found this:

"The Sub-Committee ventures to suggest for the consideration of the Committee the advisability of laying before the Conference for its adoption a resolution expressing the earnest hope of the Conference and embodying a friendly recommendation to China that immediate and effective steps be taken by the Chinese Government to reduce the aforesaid military forces and expenditures." The adoption of this report would be the adoption of a recommendation that there should be prepared and submitted to the Conference a resolution in the sense of the declaration or resolution adopted by the Sub-Committee.

Senator Underwood said: "Mr. Chairman, I do not desire further to discuss the pending resolution, but I wish to make one statement before we adjourn this morning. I listened with much interest to the statement read by Dr. Koo in reference to the desire of China for tariff autonomy, which is a very natural and proper desire. Any great government naturally wishes the time may come when she may control her own finances, notwithstanding that she yielded the control herself. So far as I am concerned, I gladly welcome an opportunity, when it can be done, of restoring to China her entire fiscal autonomy; but think it is fair to the Sub-Committee and to the members of this Committee to say this—and it is in line with the resolution pending—that I am sure this sub-Committee and the Committee to which I am addressing myself now, would gladly do very much more for China along all lines if conditions in China were such that the outside Powers

felt they could do so with justice to China herself. I do not think there was any doubt in the minds of the men on the Sub-Committee as to the question that if China at present had the unlimited control of levying taxes at the custom house, in view of the unsettled conditions now existing in China, it would probably work, in the end, to China's detriment and to the injury of the world; and I think that had more to do with the Sub-Committee not making a full and direct response to Dr. Koo's request than anything else. I am sure there was no desire on the part of the other Powers to be selfish, or not to recognize the full sovereignty of China, and I only rose to say this, that if I am a judge of the situation, a judge of the temper of conditions in the balance of the world, I feel sure that when China herself establishes a parliamentary government of all the provinces of China and dispenses with the military control that now exists in many of the provinces of China so that the outside powers may feel that they are dealing with a government that has entire and absolute and free control of the situation, China can expect to realize the great ideals of sovereignty that she asks for at this table."

Mr. Koo then read the following statement:

"The hope for effective reduction of the military forces and expenditure in China as expressed in the resolution proposed by the Sub-Committee completely coincides with the desire and determination of the Government and people of China. Knowing the profound sentiment of sympathy and disinterested friendship which the United States always entertains toward my country, and to which the Chairman of the Sub-Committee who originally proposed the suggestion in that body, has so frequently given expression in the deliberations of this body, and as we are assured that the suggestion is animated by the best of intentions, and without any desire to interfere in the internal problems of China, I do not hesitate to say that the Chinese Delegation has no objection to the Chairman's suggestion and though naturally I wish to abstain from voting on it myself, I nevertheless appreciate the spirit in which it is moved."

The Chairman then suggested that the resolution should be recommitted to the Sub-Committee with instructions to bring in a resolution in the sense of their recommendation, in form suitable for adoption by the Committee. This was unanimously agreed to.

The Chairman said he would ask Mr. Root, as Chairman of the Sub-Committee on

Drafting, to present a resolution which he understood had been formulated, upon the subject of the withdrawal of foreign troops from China.

Mr. Root then said that the Sub-Committee on Drafting, in reference to resolutions in regard to armed forces, had to report the resolution in somewhat different form from the shape in which they were sent to the Committee. Mr. Root then read the resolutions which the Committee had reported.

Mr. Sze then said: "The Chinese Delegation takes note of the Resolution with regard to the withdrawal of foreign troops from China and expresses its appreciation of the offer of the eight Powers approving this Resolution to instruct their respective diplomatic representatives at Peking to associate themselves with representatives of the Chinese Government, when that Government shall so request, in order to conduct collectively a full and impartial inquiry as to the necessity for continuing to maintain foreign armed forces in China. The Chinese Delegation will assume, unless now notified to the contrary, that, should their Government at any future time desire to avail itself of the foregoing offer, inquiries and resulting recommendations may be asked for with reference to the presence of foreign armed forces at particular places or in particular localities in China.

"The Chinese Delegation desires to say with reference to the general matter of maintaining armed forces by a nation or nations within the borders of other States which have not given their express consent thereto, that it is its understanding that according to accepted principles of international law, the sending or stationing of such forces can rightfully be only a temporary measure in order to meet emergencies that threaten imminent danger to the lives or property of the nationals of the States taking such action, and that, upon passing of such emergency, the forces sent should be immediately withdrawn. It is also the understanding of the Chinese Delegation that the obligation to make such withdrawal cannot, as a general principle, be rightfully postponed until the Government of the State where they are located has consented to an inquiry by the representatives of other Powers into its own domestic conditions as regards the maintenance of law and order, and a report has been made declaring that there is no necessity for the presence of such foreign armed forces. In other words, it is the understanding of the Chinese Delegation that accepted international law recognizes the basic right of every sovereign State to refuse its consent to the sending into or the stationing

within its borders or foreign armed forces, and that while it may, by an exercise of its own will, consent that an injury shall be made as the necessity in fact of the continuance within its borders of such foreign armed forces as may be therein, such action upon its part, or a Resolution by other Powers offering their cooperation in such an inquiry, is not to be deemed in derogation or limitation of the inherent right of a sovereign State to refuse entrance to, or further continuance within its borders, of foreign armed forces."

The resolution after further discussion and amendment were then unanimously adopted, China not voting, as follows:

"WHEREAS

"The powers have from time to time stationed armed forces, including police and railway guards, in China to protect the lives and property of foreigners lawfully in China:

"AND WHEREAS

"It appears that certain of these armed forces are maintained in China without the authority of any treaty or agreement;

"AND WHEREAS

"The Powers have declared their intention to withdraw their armed forces now on duty in China without the authority of any treaty or agreement, whenever China shall assure the protection of the lives of foreigners in China;

"AND WHEREAS

"China has declared her intention and capacity to assure the protection of the lives and property of foreigners in China;

NOW

"To the end that there may be clear understanding of the conditions upon which in each case the practical execution of those intentions must depend;

"IT IS RESOLVED:

"That the Diplomatic Representatives in Peking of the Powers now in Conference at Washington, to wit, The United States of America, Belgium, The British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands and Portugal, will be instructed by their respective Governments, whenever China shall so request, to associate themselves with three representatives of the Chinese Government to conduct collectively a full and impartial inquiry into the issues raised by the

foregoing declarations of intention made by the Powers and by China and shall thereafter prepare a full and comprehensive report setting out without reservation their findings of fact and their opinion with regard to the matter hereby referred for inquiry and shall furnish a copy of their report to each of the nine Governments concerned which shall severally make public the report with such comment as each may deem appropriate. The representatives of any of the Powers may make or join in minority reports stating their differences, if any, from the majority report.

"That each of the powers above named shall be deemed free to accept or reject all of the findings of fact or opinions expressed in the report but that in no case shall any of the said Powers make its acceptance of all or any part of the findings of fact or opinion either directly or indirectly dependent on the granting by China of any special concessions, favor, benefit or immunity, whether political or economic."

The committee then adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

Conversations Between the Chinese and Japanese Delegates on Shantung.

December 15, 1921

Further progress was made in the thirteenth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese delegates relative to the question of Shantung in their discussion about the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway. The meeting was adjourned at 6 p. m. until 2.30 tomorrow afternoon.

discussion centered around the proposal from the Japanese Delegation to have certain offices in the administration of the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway filled by Japanese Nationals. The meeting adjourned at 5.30 p. m. until 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

December 16, 1921

The fourteenth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese delegates relative to the question of Shantung was held in the Pan American Union Building this afternoon at 2.30 o'clock. The discussion on the question of Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway was continued. The meeting adjourned at 5 o'clock until 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

December 20, 1921

At the seventeenth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates relative to the question of Shantung, held at the Pan American Union Building at 3 p. m. today, the two delegates discussed the question of the plan of payment in cash of China's liabilities regarding the Shantung Railway properties and also an alternative plan of the payment in Chinese Treasury Notes, having special reference to the question of the appointment by China of Japanese experts in the service of the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu as proposed by the Japanese Delegation. These questions involving points on which it was found necessary for the Japanese Delegation to consult with its home government, the meeting adjourned at 6.30 p. m. pending receipt of instructions by the Japanese Delegation from Tokio.

December 17, 1921

The fifteenth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese delegates relative to the question of Shantung was held in the Pan American Union Building this afternoon at 3 o'clock. There was further interchange of views on the question of the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway. The meeting adjourned at 5.30 until 3 o'clock Monday afternoon, December 19.

January 4, 1922

The Japanese Delegation, having received instructions from Tokio on the subject of the Shantung question were resumed at 5 p. m., Wednesday, January 4, 1922, in the Governing Board Room of the Pan American Union Building. The meeting adjourned at 7 o'clock p. m., until tomorrow when discussions will be completed.

December 19, 1921

The sixteenth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese delegates relative to the question of Shantung took place in the Governing Board Room in the Pan American Union Building this afternoon at 3 o'clock. The

January 5, 1922

The nineteenth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates on the subject of the Shantung question was held in the Governing Board Room of the Pan American Building Thursday afternoon, January 5, 1922, at 5. 30 o'clock. The discussion on the Shantung Railway was continued. The meeting adjourned at eight o'clock until three o'clock tomorrow afternoon, January 6, 1922.

January 6, 1922

The twentieth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates was held at three o'clock in the afternoon in the Governing Board Room of the Pan American Union Building. Discussions on the Shantung Railway question were continued.

The Japanese Delegates proposed a railway loan agreement plan for the settlement of this question on the basis of the terms of ordinary railway loan agreement entered into by China with various foreign capitalists during recent years, namely, on the following general lines:

1. The terms of the loan shall be fixed at fifteen years while China shall retain an option of redeeming the whole outstanding liabilities upon six months' notice after five years from date of the agreement.

2. A Japanese Traffic Manager and Chief Accountant shall be engaged in the service of the Shantung Railway.

3. The details of the financial arrangement shall be worked out at Peking between the representatives of the two parties to the loan.

This plan was not found acceptable to the Chinese Delegation.

The Chinese Delegates, on their part, proposed the following two alternative plans:

1. China to make a cash payment for the railway and its appurtenant properties with a single deposit in a bank of a third Power at a specified date either before the transfer of the properties or when such transfer is effected.

2. China to make a deferred payment either in Treasury Notes or notes of the Chinese Bankers' Union secured upon the revenue of the railway properties, extending over a period of twelve years with an option on the part of China at any time after three years upon giving six months' notice to pay all the outstanding liabilities.

The first installment to be paid on the day on which the transfer of the railway and properties is completed.

China to select and employ in the service of the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway a district engineer of Japanese nationality.

Neither of these plans was found acceptable to the Japanese Delegates in the present form.

The meeting adjourned at 5.30 p. m., sine die, pending further developments.

January 11, 1922

The twenty-first and twenty-second meetings of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates were held in the Governing Board Room of the Pan American Union Building at 11 a. m. and 4 p. m., respectively. Pending instructions from their Governments on the question of Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway the two delegates discussed the withdrawal of the Japanese troops along the Railway and its branches and an agreement for such withdrawal was reached. The meeting adjourned at 7 p. m. until 11 o'clock tomorrow morning, January 12, 1922.

January 12, 1922

The twenty-third and twenty-fourth meetings of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates took place at eleven o'clock a. m. and three o'clock p. m., respectively, on January 12, 1922, in the Governing Board Room of the Pan American Union Building.

The question of the extensions of the Shantung Railway, namely, the Koami-Hsuechow and Tsinanfu-Shunteh lines and of the Yantai-Weihsien Railway were discussed and an agreement was reached.

Further, the question of the opening of the leased territory of Kiaochow and of certain cities and towns in Shantung to international trade was taken up and progress was made. The discussion will be continued tomorrow.

The meeting adjourned at 6.30 p. m. to meet at 11 a. m. Friday.

January 13, 1922

The twenty-fifth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates was held today at eleven o'clock a. m. in the Governing Board Room of the Pan American Union Building and the discussion on the opening of the for-

mer German leased territory of Kiaochow to foreign trade was discussed and an agreement was reached.

The meeting adjourned at half past one o'clock to meet at ten thirty o'clock Saturday morning, January 14.

January 14, 1922

The twenty-sixth meeting of the Chinese

and Japanese Delegates relative to the Shantung question was held in the Governing Board Room of the Pan American Building at 10.30 a. m. today.

The question of the transfer to China by Japan of the administration of the former German leased territory of Kiaochow and of the surrounding 50 kilometer zone was taken up. The discussion will be continued at 10.30 Monday morning, the meeting adjourned at 1.30 p. m.

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THE
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MARCH, 1922

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SOMETIME CONSTITUTIONAL ADVISER TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT
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penation, and that the exportation to Japan of a quantity of salt produced by such industry along the said coast is to be permitted on reasonable terms.

Arrangements for the above purposes, including the transfer of the said interests to the Government of the Chinese Republic, shall be made by the Joint Commission provided for in Article II of the present Treaty. They shall be completed as soon as possible, and, in any case, not later than six months from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty.

**SECTION X.
SUBMARINE CABLES.**

ARTICLE XXVI.

The Government of Japan declares that all the rights, title and privileges concerning the former German submarine cables between Tsingtao and Chefoo and between Tsingtao and Shanghai are vested in China, with the exception of those portions of the said two cables which have been utilized by the Government of Japan for the laying of a cable between Tsingtao and Sasebo; it being understood that the question relating to the landing and operation at Tsingtao of the said Tsingtao-Sasebo cable shall be adjusted by the Joint Commission provided for in Article II of the present Treaty, subject to the terms of existing contracts to which China is a party.

**SECTION XI.
WIRELESS STATIONS.**

ARTICLE XXVII.

The Government of Japan undertakes to transfer to the Government of the Chinese Republic the Japanese wireless stations at Tsingtao and Tsinanfu for fair compensation for the value of these stations, upon the withdrawal of the Japanese troops at the said two places, respectively.

Details of such transfer and compensation shall be arranged by the Joint Commission provided for in Article II of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The present Treaty (including the Annex thereto) shall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Peking as soon as possible, and not later than four months from the date of its signature.

It shall come into force from the date of the exchange of ratifications.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty in duplicate, in the Chinese and English languages, and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at the City of Washington this *fourth* day of February, One Thousand, Nine Hundred and Twenty-Two.

Sao-Me Albert Jr.
W. H. Wellington
Chung-tsun Wang
Li Shih-chang
Li Hsin-shan

SIGNATURES OF THE SHANTUNG TREATY

THE CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY



TELLY H. KOO, *Editor-in-Chief*

P. C. HSIEH, *General Manager*



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The Aftermath of the Conference

POPULAR satisfaction for the success of the Conference is still in its sentimental stage; the final judgment has to be reserved for the future historian. Men are disposed to accord excessive credit to this Conference because it was held far enough from the atmosphere of Paris but near enough in the recollection of its failure. The formal close of this memorable gathering did not mean the end of its work. Indeed, as critical observers of Washington rightly pointed out that the great danger with this Conference was its indulgence in theory, its agreement "in principle." Proposals were written in exquisite style; catching phrases evoked a smiling assent. In Paris, secrecy predominated; in Washington principles overflowed. In Paris few knew the inside working of the Conference; in Washington all craved for publicity. "Sovereignty", "independence", and "integrity" were

formidable terms. To subscribe to these terms was one thing, to see them strictly applied in their details was quite another. With one exception—the respect of China's neutrality in war time where violation would be clearly noticeable,—the terms of the Nine Power Treaty are susceptible of different interpretation. And evasion is just as bad as trespass.

The main reason why the friends of China were reticent at the Conference was that China was politically unstable, morally corrupt, and financially insolvent. It would be fair therefore to see what China has yet to do after the Conference. The victory, if we may call it and be it remembered that it is given and not won, is not at all reassuring. China has to show that justice is properly administered, an efficient postal system is maintained, likin is to be abolished, military forces are reduced, and foreign troops are made un-

necessary. In connection with the Shantung settlement, the funds for the redemption of the railway are yet to be raised, a responsible local government is to be set up and proper training is to be given to the successors of the Japanese traffic manager and accountant. A colossal task is ahead of China. It will surely take years for China to justify herself for her yearning for justice. China's salvation does not lie in the frequency or liberality of Conferences. A nation can not forever live on charity.

On the part of the other powers, it remains for them to vindicate their consistent adherence to the resolutions to which their authorized representatives assented in the Conference. The questions of the arms embargo and the Chinese Eastern Railway are to be settled through diplomatic channels. An equitable settlement will add much to the record of this Conference. They have yet to withdraw their postal agencies, troops, and radio stations such as specified in the resolutions adopted by the Conference promptly and faithfully. It speaks well for the prestige and dignity of the powers to see that the terms of these treaties are actually and effectively executed.

Much of the work of the Conference has been left to commissions. There is the commission "to inquire into the present practice of extra-territorial jurisdiction in China, and into the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China." Our hope is that the commission, while assisting and furthering the efforts of the Chinese Government towards the attainment of her expressed desire to reform her judicial system, will not lose sight of the improvements that China has already made in the administration of justice. A fair and favorable report of the commission, uninfluenced by adverse criticisms which are to be expected from the resident traders of the respective powers, will do much towards the progressive relinquishment of the rights of extra-territoriality.

There is the tariff commission which shall meet at Shanghai to effect the re-

vised rates of duty such as agreed upon by the Conference. Then is the Special Conference "to prepare the way for the speedy abolition of likin, to authorize the levying of a surtax on dutiable imports and to give practical effect to the principles of uniformity in the rates of customs duties levied at all the land and maritime frontiers of China. For over half a century, China had been deprived of one of the main sources of her revenue. None can be more anxious than the Chinese to see that the increase of revenue which will result from the revision is properly spent.

The smooth working of this special Conference must be one of the potent factors in the reorganization of China's finances.

There, too, is the Board of Reference about which there is much misunderstanding and speculation. It is not a foreign court of supervision. Nor yet is it a court of arbitration. It is an instrument through which any controversy relating to the principles of Open Door may be settled. The principles are so broad, that difficulties of interpretation are bound to arise. It is expedient as well as economic to inquire into such difficulties and to refer them to the Board for settlement. Instead of the United States bearing the responsibility alone all the contracting parties as well as those who express their willingness to adhere to the present Treaty are made equally duty-bound to observe this principle. If the Board actually functions, as we hope it will, this time-worn principle which has been advocated on many occasions and broken as often, will have less chances of being disregarded.

There is, finally, the joint Sino-Japanese Commission to carry out the detailed arrangements relating to the transfer of the administration of the former German leased territory of Kiaochow and to the transfer of public properties in the said territory and to settle other matters likewise requiring adjustment. Upon the harmonious cooperation of the Commissioners of both countries depends a speedy and

amicable end of seven years' unpleasant experiences.

The world is now watching Japan with critical eyes, especially so because she maintains *status quo* in Manchuria and has been assured of her Pacific possessions. It is incumbent on her to respect the pledges which she has so deliberately given. She has yet to convince the world that her intention of withdrawal from Shantung and

Siberia is a sincere one, and that she does not mean to defy the moral sentiment of the enlightened public.

Thus the work of the Washington Conference is only half done. The practical half is really more arduous if not more difficult. If the various commissions can conclude their work just as palpably and satisfactorily as the Far Eastern Committee did theirs, then they would cast a pleasant reflection on the work of this Conference.

The Last Episode of the Shantung Question

THE settlement of the Shantung question was generally considered as the crowning achievement of the Washington Conference. When Mr. Hughes announced at the last plenary session that the Chinese and Japanese delegates had signed a treaty relating to Shantung, the audience gave expression to unreserved ecstasy. Doubtless it was one of the triumphant moments in the life of Mr. Hughes. To those who have watched the Far Eastern situation with concern, it was a relief. To the partisan, it was a Republican victory. To the sentimentalists, it was an American success. A question which had stirred the whole world, a question which had elicited the moral and political judgments of all contemporary statesmen, a question which remained unsettled during the last seven years was finally and amicably settled to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. It was not a mere accident. It must be, as an average American would say, attributed to the peculiar atmosphere of Washington hitherto untainted by secrecy and intrigue. Men could still recall the days of Versailles, and not unnaturally they began to study the difference between the two conferences, between Mr. Hughes and Mr. Wilson.

The collateral conversations on Shantung really formed an important part of the whole Conference. Men were too conscious of the consequences of its

settlement or non-settlement. Press reporters, members of the different delegations, students, and the general public cared more for the results of these discussions than anything else. This was particularly true as the Conference drew toward its close. The anxiety on the part of the spectators became more manifest; the solicitude of the Republican Administration more apparent. When the final agreement on the railway was made known, the mission of the Conference was thought to have been admirably fulfilled.

These conversations between the two delegations were, indeed, peculiarly interesting in many ways. They had more meetings than any other committee and two of those meetings actually lasted from three in the afternoon till ten in the evening. The Chinese delegates with their secretaries and technical experts occupied one side of the table while the Japanese delegates and their staff the other. Two American observers,—Mr. MacMurray and Mr. Bell—and two British observers,—Sir John Jordan, later succeeded by Mr. Gwatkin, and Mr. Lampson,—sat at the end of the table. Throughout, the conversations were conducted in the most frank, and, with the exception of two or three occasions, friendly manner.

In general the Japanese proposals of September 7, 1921, were taken as the basis of discussion. The transfer of

public properties, the maritime customs of Tsingtao and the restoration of the former German leased territory of Kiaochow were first taken up. It was the intention of the Japanese delegates to dispose of all the minor questions first leaving the railway problem till the end. This the Chinese delegates could not agree. They were already overwhelmed with telegrams from the various Chinese organizations in this country as well as at home demanding the unconditional restitution of the whole territory. Accordingly it appeared unwise to the Chinese spokesmen to proceed with the details first. The Japanese yielded and the question of railway was then brought up. One thing was quite certain at the outset of the conversations, namely, the Chinese had to pay for the road to the amount which the Japanese had to pay the Germans. The figure—53,406,141 gold marks—was determined upon by the Reparation Committee at Paris. The question was one of mode of payment,—by loan, by cash, or by installment. Cash and loan were two extremes. The Japanese declined cash payment just as the Chinese declined loan agreement. The argument advanced by the Chinese was a sound one. Our merchants had volunteered to raise the fund, what was the necessity for a loan? Loans had been contracted in the past only for the construction of railways, but the Tsingtao-Tsinan line was already completed. The Japanese delegates naturally retorted that since there was cash available in China why did not the Chinese liquidate their outstanding liabilities. If loan agreement was not acceptable to China, then Japanese refusal of cash payment was a foregone conclusion.

In connection with the plan of deferred payment, the difficulty was the employment of Japanese traffic manager, accountant, and engineer. The Chinese were disposed to consider the employment of one Japanese subject as district engineer and no more. That the question was eventually settled was mainly due to the good offices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour as well as to the ap-

prehension of consequences which the Chinese delegation would have to bear in case the Conference should be wrecked by a deadlock of the conversation. Nothing could have been more spectacular and impressive than the scene of the signing of the Treaty when the two mediators sat at the end of the long table in the Main Hall of the Pan American Building watching smilingly the two delegations at work. "It reminded us of the grandfathers at a Chinese wedding," said one of the newspaper correspondents. The characterization was quite to the point.

We are fairly familiar with the attitude and position of the Chinese delegates during these conversations. A few words, however, must be said to the credit of the Japanese plenipotentiaries. If the vice-minister of foreign affairs impressed as an maneuvering, obstinate, and typically Japanese, Baron Shidebara was certainly one of the most liberal and statesman-like among the Japanese diplomats. Time and again when the conversations were strained, when silence followed heated debates, he was always the first one to smooth over things. It was rumored that his signature to the Shantung Treaty would cost him a seat in the Imperial cabinet, but to him much of the moral prestige which Japan gained by this settlement was due.

It is our fervent hope that the commissions of both countries will work harmoniously and amicably that the whole question can be concluded within the period stipulated in the Treaty. The settlement of this question will serve as a test to the Chinese, the Chinese sense of patriotism and ability of government. The territory has been restored; it remains for us to show what we can do in the administration of the territory and in the raising of sufficient funds for the redemption of the railway. Campaigns are already under way for the collection of money with a view to the eventual taking over of the whole line. This is encouraging news and may the spirit be kept up!

The Treaty can not be said to be satisfactory in every respect, but it was

surely the best that any conference could do considering especially that the powers attending the Conference were signatories to the Versailles Treaty. To

get anything from a Conference is different from getting it on the battlefield. This, at least, must be the reason for our satisfaction.

British Prestige in China

MR. Lohead writes in *The London Times* that of late years he has marked with no little concern the decline of British, and the great increase of American prestige in China. The causes for this change are:

(1) The United States has no territorial ambitions in China, whereas Great Britain has been associated with Japan politically.

(2) The gifts of American philanthropy and education in China have greatly increased, whereas British contributions in money and men have declined.

(3) The remittance of the balance of Boxer Indemnity fund has enabled China to send hundreds of students to the American universities. "This one act has done more than anything else to give China an impression of America's disinterested friendship."

The United States has always been regarded as the sponsor of China's territorial integrity. It can be said without exaggeration that John Hay is more honoured in China than in his own country. The Washington Conference is generally considered to be an American attempt to bring about a more effective application of the principles of open door. Unfair as it is to overlook the economic and commercial aspects of American altruism, her record in China nevertheless has been a clean one.

On the other hand, it is still a question of debate whether Great Britain was wise in going to war with China in 1841. Whatever interpretation and explanation English historians may give, the war had an unfortunate association. Palmerston, to the Chinese, was a reminder of gunboats. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was, of course look-

ed upon in China with suspicion and disconcert. Happily time changes. The voluntary restoration of Wei-hai-wei at the Washington Conference is as much an expression of English good will towards China as an evidence of the gradual drifting apart of the allies. England knows perfectly well that it is no longer expedient to associate herself with Japan politically. A constructive British policy in China lies not in the abstaining from exploitation but in the manifestation of her willingness to relinquish what she already acquired.

As regards the second point, it is quite evident that America has invested more money in the educational, medical and charitable institutions in China than England. The Rockefeller Foundation is an eloquent expression of American interest in the general welfare of China, while American colleges are moulding thousands of China's younger generation in American ideals. Today international advertisement is a part and parcel of international understanding. In this material world, material means seems to be the easiest and most effective way of improving friendly relations.

The good that has resulted from the remittance of the Boxer Indemnity by the United States is incalculable. We have now ten times as many Chinese students in this country as there are in England. Sophisticated in American ways and ideals, most of them, upon their return, become fervent advocates for Americanism, the term is used for want of a better one. What these returned students have done in the promotion of American trade and education in China has been amply shown during the last decade. The United States feels justified in taking this step.

But there are admirers of England, of her culture and antiquity, just as there are admirers of America. And indeed many of our students who are in this country rightly regret that their study of American institutions is without historical continuity inasmuch as they have not seen England. If the British Government should finally decide to remit the Boxer Indemnity, our students would flock in great numbers to English universities and, returning to China, would greatly increase China's good will towards the British. Oxford and Cambridge can revolutionize international understanding just as efficiently as Chicago and Columbia.

It is said that, instead of asking the

Chinese Government to send students over to England, the remittance will be made by extending such English educational and religious institutions that are already existing in China. Although from a Chinese point of view, this would rob much of the lustre of a generous offer, the form of remittance is really immaterial.

British policy in China is changing, and the change is becoming daily more obvious. The queries put forth by Mr. Lohead ought to interest every thinking Englishman: "Is Great Britain in danger of surrendering moral leadership in the East? Is she willing to give up the high position in China that the services of her statesmen, teachers, soldiers and traders have won for her?"

The Spirit of Resurrection

SPRING returns. With it comes her goodly train, the beauties of nature, the vitality of life. Everything seems so different,—the surroundings, the clime, and even life itself.

Men are only too eager to break loose from the shackles of the dreadful eclipse, the predominance of chillness, darkness and stagnation, but spring is only a resurrection and resurrection is different from a *naissance nouvelle*. The flowers that blossom, the maids who dance in a ring, the palm and may that make country houses delightful, the fields that breathe sweet, the daisies that kiss our feet,—are not these the same as we saw last spring? A new spring dawns, the world remains old.

Nor is resurrection a revival of the old. The Eastern poet mourns that at the last new year eve the lanterns shone as bright daylight, the young lovers met at mid-night when the moon was at the top of the willows, but this new year eve, the lanterns and flowers are what they were, but the lovers are no longer there, and the tears soak the blue sleeve. The mourner keenly feels

the absence of the old, but he overlooks the coming of the new. The moon is not the same, nor are the flowers and willows. With equal bitterness, the western poet mourns:

"Thou (spring) turn'st sweet youth, but ah!
 my pleasant hours
 And happy days with thee come not again;
 The sad memorials only of my pain
 Do with thee turn, which turn my sweets
 into sour.
 Thou art the same which still thou wast
 before,
 Delicious, wanton, amiable, fair;
 But she, whose breath embalm'd thy whole-
 some air,
 Is gone,—nor gold nor gems her can restore.
 Neglected virtue, seasons go and come,
 While thine forgot lie closed in a
 tomb."

Did he not know that the "delicious, wanton, amiable, fair" spring was not the same spring? There is change in eternity.

The chariot of time pushes forward. Each spring is fuller of hopes than the last. The world goes on, the young takes the place of the old, spring is

spring nevertheless. Time is indeed a riddle. The figures on the Grecian Urn are perpetually young and always old. Each spring we hope a new world will emerge from the old, but how often our disappointment!

The new and the old. Spring means both and neither. Speaking of time, it is always there and it ever will be. Those who enjoy spring, how transitory they are!

But, spring, like youth, will soon pass away. It never continueth in one stay. And without chillness, stagnation, and darkness, who can appreciate the charm of a March day? Charm, in its various forms, never lasts long and spring has its mourners.

The age of creation is over, the age of invention is pretty nearly exhausted. But men still bent on transcending and defying nature. They hate the world with its regularity and monotony not realizing the number of springs they can survive. Innovations are dazzling, but what are they when compared with the cycle of seasons, so many changes and yet so unchanging.

The immortal Goethe gives a clever answer to an ever recurring question. "Are we not here to make the transitory permanent? This we can do only if we know how to value both."

Such should be our spring thought. Such should typify the spirit of resurrection.

Philosophical China

By FRANK J. GOODNOW

IN an opinion in one of the United States Supreme Court reports it is said that religion has to do with man's "relations to his Creator and to the obligations they impose of reverence for his being and character, and of obedience to his will." It is added that the first Amendment to the United States Constitution, which forbids Congress to pass any law "respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," was never intended to be "a protection against legislation for the punishment of acts inimical to the peace, good order, and morals of society. With, however, man's relations to his Maker and the obligations he may think they impose, and the manner in which an expression shall be made by him of his belief on those subjects, no interference can be permitted."

As opposed to this conception of religion, in almost every people we find a body of thought which has to do with the relations of man, not to his Creator, but to his fellows, and with the general conduct of a mundane life. This body of thought is often spoken of as philosophy.

If we adopt this distinction we may perhaps be justified in saying that the Chinese are a philosophical rather than a religious people. Their relations to a Creator have apparently given them little concern. The conduct of this earthly life has, however, been a subject of absorbing interest. This is not to say that the Chinese have been, or even now are, free from superstition. Indeed, few peoples are more prone to credulity than they. The lack of the development among them of what we in the Occident speak of as science has caused them to reach the most puerile conclusions with regard to the causes

of many natural phenomena. As a result they fall easy victims to priests or medicine men who extort from them large sums for protecting them from the malevolence of a host of evil spirits. These priests, furthermore, have constructed shrines at which offerings may be made to effigies of historical heroes and mythical personages to whom mystical powers are attributed. At the same time, the Chinese fail to accord to their images that reverence which springs from a truly religious feeling. Sometimes where their petitions and offerings have not in their opinion had the desired results, they will drag an offending image from its shrine and subject it to reproaches and indignities in the hope of causing it to feel a higher sense of obligation for past favors.

By some students the belief is expressed that in days long gone by, the Chinese did have what resembled very closely a religion. Within the last few centuries, however, the only evidence that such was the case, which are manifest in the ordinary life of the people, are on the one hand the ceremonies incident to ancestor worship, and on the other, the official worship of heaven and the powers of nature formerly participated in by the Emperor at the capital and by the principal magistrates in the chief cities.

Ancestor worship would seem to be due both to the desire to do reverence to the departed heads of the family, as a part fulfillment of the obligation of filial piety, and to fear that the spirits of the dead may, if not appeased, exercise unfavorable influences upon the fortunes of the living. Ancestor worship thus savors a good deal of animism which resembles superstition rather than religion. So far as concerns its ani-

mistic side it is encouraged for their own profit by a distinctly sordid priesthood.

The official worship carried on in former days by the Emperor and the magistrates, but since the establishment of the republic fallen into disuse, was apparently a sort of sublimated pantheism. What was worshipped was nature and the moral law rather than a personal God. The Emperor was accustomed to go in great state to the Temple of Heaven at Peking and after spending the night in seclusion, at daybreak of the New Year, to confess his sins and making sacrifices, to implore for his people the favor of Heaven for the coming year.

The characteristics of both ancestor worship and of this official religion, if such it may be called, was that it made no provision for a professional priesthood. The Emperor, the "Son of Heaven," as he was called was himself the High Priest and alone was competent to make sacrifices and intercede with Heaven for the people. Possessing, as he did, the Mandate of Heaven to rule, he was believed to be responsible for what of good or evil had happened during the year that had expired.

In the case of ancestor worship it is the head of the family alone who can officiate. This worship is very simple and consists in little more than doing reverence to the dead whose tablets stand in a prominent place in the house and represent them as the objects to be revered. It is only when the dead are to be buried that resort is had to a professional priest.

Apart from the official worship and ancestor worship the two principal religious or quasi-religious influences in China have been Taoism and Buddhism. The former was in origin distinctly animistic, and is indigenous to China. The latter came into China through Tibet about 500 A. D. Chinese Buddhism belongs to the Northern School, the Greater Vehicle, as it is called, and consequently lays considerable emphasis on a life after death which is, however, not eternal and from the tempor-

ary torments of which the sinner may be relieved through the efforts of Buddhist saints and priests. Chinese Buddhism has become very corrupt. Its priests like the Taoist priests prey on the superstition and credulity of the people. But apart from the powers which priests, both Taoist and Buddhist, claim to exercise over the influences of nature and the behavior of a host of malevolent spirits, including those of ancestors—powers which are recognized by the ignorant—neither Taoism nor Buddhism has any great effect on the moral life of the people. The morals of the Chinese are controlled by a distinctly non-religious philosophical system.

Students of Chinese philosophy are inclined to recognize two rather distinct philosophical influences, which have been exerted, for the most part in two separate periods in the history of the country's thought. The first influence was one of transcendentalism and mysticism, and is closely connected with Taoism. It had almost a monopoly in the early history of the people from 2500 to 400 B. C.

As a philosophy this transcendentalism found its highest embodiment in the teachings of Lao Tzu, the "Venerable Philosopher," who lived about the end of the period. From a philosophical point of view, its goal was quietism. From a practical point of view, its results have been superstition. It has taken on the name of Taoism from the philosophical work attributed to Lao Tzu called the *Tao Teh Ching* or the Book of the Way of Virtue. "Tao" in Chinese is "the way," and has somewhat the same connotation as the "Logos" of the New Testament.

Lao Tzu's *Tao Teh Ching*, which dates from about 550 B. C. has been described as "one of the most eminent masterpieces of the Chinese language; one of the profoundest philosophical books the world has ever produced." Indeed it is so profound as to be almost unintelligible to the Western mind. The philosophy which it inculcates is an anti-social philosophy. In somewhat

the same way as Buddhism it finds the supreme good for the individual in quietism and indifference. Among its most famous passages are the following: "Both heaven and earth endure a long time. The cause of their endurance is their indifference to long life. Thus the wise man, indifferent to himself, is the greatest among men." "Heaven is eternally at rest, yet there is nothing that it does not do." "He who humbleth himself shall be exalted; he who exalted himself shall be humbled." "It is the way of reason not to act from any personal motive; to conduct affairs without feeling the trouble of them; to taste, without being aware of the flavor; to account the great as small and the small as great; to recompense injury with kindness."

The emphasis which the *Tao Teh Ching* lays upon the necessity of following natural inclinations, and the desirability of not exhibiting anxiety in the pursuit of anything, even of virtue, led Yang Chu, a disciple of Lao Tzu, who lived in the 4th century B. C., to inculcate in his book "The Garden of Pleasure," a most thorough going Epicureanism. "Enjoy life and take one's ease," he says, "for those who know how to enjoy life are not poor, and he that lives at ease requires no riches." "If we hasten to enjoy life we have no time to trouble, about what comes after death." Yang Chu, however, never had among the Chinese much recognition as a philosopher. A certain moral severity, almost a puritanism, has characterized most Chinese philosophic thought, to which his views were abhorrent.

While Yang Chu developed one side of Lao Tzu's teachings, another disciple, Mo Ti, who dates from the 5th Century B. C., was the exponent of a certain utilitarian, if not pragmatic, altruism, with which he tried to credit Lao Tzu. He formulated three tests of truth:— (1) Is the doctrine in accordance with the spirit of the universe? (2) Is it in accordance with the teachings of the ancients? (3) Will it stand the test of experience?

He maintained that love stands all these tests. He believed that nature was full of love and gave man the sun, moon and stars, rain and warmth, flowers for beauty, and grain for food. Love or universal benevolence was therefore in accord with the spirit of the universe. Mo Ti also maintained that the ancient sages sought to help the people. Benevolence was therefore right when judged by the second test. Finally he claimed that selfishness was the cause of all evil. Mo Ti condemned the fatalism and quietism of Lao Tzu and approved a strenuous life as contributing to the advancement of the race.

The most brilliant expounder of Lao Tzu, however, was Chuang Tzu, who lived in the fourth century B. C. He exhibited the same mysticism which is characteristic of Lao Tzu and the same indifference to the affairs of this life, having evidently a suspicion, to say the least, that there may be another life which begins when this one ends. In one of his most famous passages he asks:

"How then do I know but that the dead repent of having previously clung to life?" to which he answers:

"Those who dream of the banquet awake to lamentation and sorrow. Those who dream of lamentation and sorrow, awake to join the hunt. While they dream, they do not know that they dream. Some will even interpret the dream they are dreaming; and only when they awake do they know it was a dream. By and by comes the Great Awakening, and then we find out that this life is really a great dream. Fools think they are awake now. * * *

Once upon a time I, Chuang Tzu, dreamt that I was a butterfly, fluttering hither and thither, to all intents and purposes a butterfly. I was conscious only of following my fancies as a butterfly, and was unconscious of my individuality as a man. Suddenly I awoke, and there I lay myself again. Now I do not know whether I was then a man, dreaming I was a butterfly, or whether I am now a butterfly, dreaming I am a man."

The philosophy of Lao Tzu and his expounders has been regarded as distinctly heretical by the recognized orthodox school and their works are not given a place in the accredited Chinese Classics. Its mysticism and lack of practical value have further prevented it from making much of an appeal to the intelligent classes. Its concrete manifestations finally have become little more than the devices and expedients of a system of magic which in the hands of the Taoist and Buddhist priests alike has been used for the purpose of playing upon the superstitions and fears of the ignorant. A system of philosophy which originally had considerable dignity, has become little more than a scheme of necromancy and geomancy. At the present time, it lays great emphasis on the powers of departed ancestors over the lives of the present generation, and of certain supposedly natural influences upon individual and public welfare. Ancestors must be appeased by properly situated graves. Life, in general, in order to be successful must be carried on in harmony with certain supposed principles of nature. A pseudo science has been built up about these two ideas under the name of Feng Shui, which may be literally translated as Wind and Water. Thus, before an ancestor may be buried or a house built, the Feng Shui experts, must be consulted, for a badly situated grave will arouse the wrath of the departed, and any erection which is higher than adjacent habitations may interfere with their Feng Shui, or, if improperly situated may bring misfortune to its builders. The Feng Shui theory, together with the numberless graves scattered over the country in accordance with approved Feng Shui principles, made the building of telegraph and railway lines difficult, as they, it was believed, might easily disturb the repose of the dead or interfere with the Feng Shui of the living.

The Chinese are, however, a pre-eminently practical people. Their fears that ancestral anger might be aroused

by the desecration of graves it has been possible to allay by payments of money to the descendants at the time of the disinterment and the transfer of the bodies of the dead to other suitable places of burial. Indeed, one of the items of expense which appear regularly in railway accounts is for graves. The popular appreciation of the advantages of the telegraph and the railway, and the fact that experience has shown that the building of such lines has not been accompanied by the anticipated misfortune and disaster, also have reconciled the people to this new means of communication whose extension now meets no further opposition.

During the later years of the life of Lao Tzu, another Chinese philosopher appeared. This was Confucius, the Latinized name given to Kung Fu Tzu or Master Philosopher Kung. Under his guidance the practical side of early Chinese thought came to the front. While Confucius never claimed to be an innovator or to be advocating anything particularly original, his influence has been so great that the ideas which he and his followers advocated are commonly grouped together under the general head of Confucianism. Others such as Mencius, Wang An Shih, and Chu Hsi, elaborated what they considered to be his ideas in their commentaries on his writings, but the system as a whole may be treated as a single one without regard to the contributions which each single writer has made of it, or to the aberrations from it for which any particular commentator may have been responsible.

Confucianism, so conceived, is a philosophy of life. It is at once a system of ethics and of politics. But, comprehensive as it is, it is confined entirely to a mundane life. It does not attempt to solve in any way the problem of the why and wherefore of man's existence, nor to explain nor even postulate a future life or other life than the one we know in the world in which we are now living. Confucius' position was distinctly that of the agnostic. He says: "When

you know a thing to hold that you know it, and when you do not know a thing, to acknowledge that you do not to know it—this is knowledge."

He was therefore silent upon supernatural questions. In answer to the inquiry how best to serve the spirits, i. e. the ghosts of the departed, he said "When one cannot serve man, how can he serve the spirits?" When asked as to what lies beyond the grave, he answered, "So long as we cannot know life, how can we know death. * * * To give oneself earnestly to the duties due to men and while respecting spiritual beings to keep aloof from them may be called wisdom. * * * If you wish to know whether the dead have consciousness or not you will know it when you die. There is no need to speculate upon it now."

Confucius' agnosticism was accompanied, however, by a very keen sense of duty and by an abounding belief in the existence of an all pervasive, all controlling moral law. The Chinese Classic called the "Chung Yung," translated originally as the "Doctrine of the Mean," but given in a latter translation the more appropriate title of "The Conduct of Life," consists for the most part of the sayings of Confucius which were collected and published by his grandson. It begins as follows:

"The ordinance of Heaven is the law of our being. If we would fulfill the law of our being we must follow the moral law. The moral law is a law from whose operation we cannot escape. Our moral being is the great reality of existence, and moral order is the universal law of the world. When true moral being and moral order are realized, the universe becomes a cosmos, and all things attain their full growth and development."

This moral law is not, however, according to Confucius of divine or supernatural origin. In another place in the Chung Yung he is reported as saying: "However excellent a system of moral truths, appealing to supernatural authority may be, it is not verifiable by experience; what is not verifiable

by experience cannot command credence; and what cannot command credence the people will never obey." Nor may the moral law rely upon force for its compelling power. For he adds, "however excellent a system of moral truths, appealing merely to worldly authority, may be, it does not command respect; what does not command respect cannot command credence; and what cannot command credence the people will never obey." Mencius, the most brilliant expounder of Confucius, who lived about 300 B. C., expresses the same idea when he says; "When one by force subdues men, they do not submit in heart. When he subdues them by virtue, in their hearts' core they bless him and sincerely submit to him." This being the case, concludes Confucius "Every system of moral laws must be based upon man's own consciousness. It must be verified by the common experience of men. The moral law is not something apart from actual human life. Wherefore, the moral man in dealing with men appeals to the common human nature. When a man carries out the principles of conscientiousness and reciprocity, he is not far from the moral law. What you do not wish others should do unto you, do not do unto them."

The practical character of Confucius' mind is shown in the recognition of man's limitations which is contained in the following passage: He says: "I know now why there is no real moral law. The wise mistake the moral law for something higher than it really is; and the foolish do not fully comprehend it. I know now why the moral law is not understood. Noble natures wish to live too high, high above their ordinary moral selves; and ignoble natures do not live high enough, not even up to their ordinary moral natures." An example of this side of Confucius teaching is to be found in the rather famous dialogue reported in the Analects, "Someone said to Confucius" referring to Lao Tzu's command. "What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?" The

Master said "With what then will you recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justice, and reward kindness with kindness."

This eminently practical character of the Confucian ethical system and its almost complete divorce from the supernatural have had for their efforts to develop a sense of purely moral obligation which would seem to be rarely reached elsewhere. A recent Chinese writer, Ku Hung Ming, who by reason of living abroad has been able to acquaint himself both with European thought and with European life, has said that the European has never been able to follow the dictates of the moral law without some ulterior motive. The mere desire to do what is right is not sufficient. He has always in the past obeyed, and even now obeys the moral law, not because he is convinced of its all compelling force, but because he either hopes for a reward or fears a punishment of some sort.

In former days Ku says the European was prone to regard the moral law as promulgated by a supernatural authority, which had the power to reward obedience and punish disobedience. He was good because of his fear of God. On the basis of this fear were built up a theological system in which heaven and hell played a most important role, and an ecclesiastical organization with a priesthood who were ever present to warn the wicked and encourage the righteous. The result in Europe was, in his opinion, the development of an intolerable ecclesiastical tyranny which was only partially overthrown as a result of the Protestant Reformation.

He adds, finally, that with the overthrow of ecclesiastical tyranny the European endeavored to bolster up his moral code by force—by "worldly authority" as Confucius calls it—as exemplified in the policeman and soldier, with the result that Europe has for years been dominated by militarism. China, has on the one hand been spared the evils of ecclesiastical tyranny because its "system of moral truths" did

not "appeal to supernatural authority," and, on the other hand, has been able to develop along pacifist lines because that system did not appeal to "worldly authority" and therefore did not find its sanction in force.

Confucius himself would seem, however, to have been conscious of the fact that rewards and punishments have their effects in producing moral conduct. Thus in one place he is reported as saying: "There is only now and then a man under heaven who loves what is right without expectation of reward or hates what is wrong without fear of consequences." But in many other places he would seem to place almost complete reliance on the force of the moral law and particularly of example. Thus he says: "Man is born for uprightness. If a man lose his uprightness and yet live his escape is the result of chance." And again, "The moral man does not use rewards, yet the people are stimulated to virtues. He does not show wrath yet the people are more awed than by spears and battle-axes."

Confucianism in its practical applications leads to or at any rate permits certain concrete results, of which Westerners would disapprove. But it can hardly be denied that many if not all these results are consistent with the existence of a high sense of moral obligation. Many things are done by the Chinese because they are thought to be right, which Westerners may think are wrong, and on the other hand many things are left undone because they are thought to be wrong, although we might think them right. For the most part they are, however, thought to be right or wrong because they are enjoined or forbidden by the Confucian system. In other words, the accepted moral code of Confucianism has a great influence on the practical everyday life of the Chinese people.

One of the reasons for the practical influence of Confucianism is to be found in the fact that the Confucian classics have been for centuries the basis of the education of the literary

class from whom the officials have in the past been chosen. The literary class has not only governed China from a political point of view. It has as well for more than a thousand years, exercised the controlling intellectual social and moral influence. It has been the only learned class.

The only outlet for intellectual activity has been along classical literary lines. The artificial and conventional literary standards which have developed have in China, as is frequently the case elsewhere as well, caused the literati to live in a world by themselves, peopled with fancies which have little in common with every day human life. To these standards the would be scholar has had to conform if he would attain eminence and exert influence in the world of thought or of action. But, in order to be able to comply with these standards, he has been obliged to pursue an arduous and long continued course of study in the classics, and has not been able to escape from the ethical influences with which the classics are permeated. There is probably no classical literature in which ethical influence so abounds as in the Chinese. The Chinese classics are almost exclusively devoted to philosophy and ethics, and contain none of the stories of the frailties of anthropomorphic gods and goddesses which are so commonly found in the Greek and Latin classics. There have been reasons, therefore, why the Confucian ethics have been able, probably more than any other system of purely ethical theory, to exert controlling influences on the practical life of a people, in a way almost to mould that people.

Confucianism is on the one hand a philosophy of individual life. On the other hand it is well a social and a political philosophy.

Originating as it did, Confucianism could not as a philosophy for the individual escape from the influences of quietism and indifferentism which are so characteristic both of thought and of individual conduct in the Orient. The sayings of Confucius reveal in a

measure the same disregard for what we Occidentals consider the good things of the world, which appears on almost every page of Lao Tzu's *Tao Teh Ching*. They are also frequently express the uselessness, from the viewpoint of the wise and moral man, of striving to better one's position in the world. In one of his characteristic passages Confucius thus says:

"The moral man adapts himself to the circumstances of his life; he does not desire anything outside of his position. If he finds himself in a position of wealth and honor, he lives as becomes one living in a position of wealth and honor. If he finds himself in a position of poverty and in humble circumstances, he lives as becomes one living in a position of poverty and in humble circumstances. If he finds himself in uncivilized countries, he lives as becomes one living in uncivilized countries. If he finds himself in circumstances of danger and difficulty, he acts according to what is required of a man in such circumstances.

In a word, the moral man can find himself in no situation in life in which he is not master of himself. In a high position he is not domineering to his subordinates. In a subordinate position he does not court the favors of his superiors. He puts in order his personal conduct and seeks nothing from others, making no complaint against Heaven nor railing against men. Thus it is that the moral man lives out the even tenor of his life, calmly awaiting the will of Heaven; whereas, the ordinary man takes to dangerous courses, trusting to the uncertain hazards of chance."

In the writings of either Confucius or his disciples the attributes of the moral or superior man, as some of the translators render the term into English, are set forth with great particularity. In one of the most interesting passages in "The Conduct of Life" which reads almost like a Messianic prophecy, Confucius is reported as saying: "It is only the man with the most perfect moral nature who is able to confine in

himself the quickness of apprehension, intelligence, insight and understanding, qualities necessary for command; magnanimity, generosity, benignity and gentleness, qualities necessary for patience; originality, energy, strength of character and determination, qualities necessary for endurance; dignity, seriousness, order and regularity, qualities necessary for selfrespect; grace, method, delicacy and lucidity, qualities necessary for critical judgment. * *

As soon as such a man shall make his appearance in the world, all will reverence him. Whatever he says, all will believe it. Whatever he does, all will be pleased with it. His name and his fame will spread and fill the civilized world, extending even to savage countries. Wherever ships and carriages reach; wherever the labour and enterprise of man penetrates; wherever the heavens overshadow and the earth sustains; wherever sun and moon shine; wherever frost and dew fall; all who have life and breath will honour and love him."

Confucianism seems, however, to lay particular emphasis on absolute intellectual honesty, which is the text of many of the master's teachings and on the ability of the individual without outside aid to act in full conformity with the moral law. Thus Confucius says of himself:

"At fifteen I had my mind bent on learning. At thirty I stood firm. At forty I was free from doubt. At fifty I knew the decrees of heaven. At sixty my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth. At seventy I could follow my heart's desires without transgressing what was right." Again he says: "The scholar may not be without breadth of mind and vigorous endurance. His burden is heavy and his course is long. Perfect virtue is the burden which he considers it is his to sustain; is it not heavy? Only with death does his course stop; is it not long?"

The cultivation of individual character is in Confucianism the necessary prerequisite not merely for an individ-

ual philosophy, but as well for a social and political philosophy. In the Chinese classic entitled the "Great Learning," Confucius says:

"The ancients, when they wished to exemplify illustrious virtue throughout the empire first ordered well their states. Desiring to order well their states they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families they first educated themselves. Wishing to educate themselves, they first made pure their purposes. Wishing to make pure their purposes they first sought to think sincerely. Wishing to think sincerely, they first extended their knowledge as widely as possible. This they did by investigation of things.

By investigation of things their knowledge became extensive; their knowledge being extensive their thoughts became sincere; their thoughts being sincere, their purposes were made pure; their purposes being made pure, they educated themselves; being educated, their families were regulated; their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed; their states being rightly governed, their empire was thereby tranquil and prosperous."

The passage just quoted is a typical example of Confucius' method of teaching. It is of course prolix and rather tiresome but it shows very clearly how he tries to lead on step by step to his conclusions. It is interesting as well in that it indicates the process by which the superior or moral man is to develop; by broad study, by intellectual honesty, by purity of purpose and by self culture. It also shows how important in Confucius' mind was the development of individual character to a proper social and political system.

Finally one of the fundamental principles of Confucianism is that "Man is by nature good." These words form the opening line of what is called the "Three Character Classic" which is one of the first books placed in the hands of children when they begin their education. Man being by nature good self development even to the point of per-

fection is possible. Reliance on aid outside of man is unnecessary.

Confucianism is in the second place a social philosophy. As such a philosophy it starts with the family rather than with the individual as the unit, and bases itself upon the fundamental obligation of filial piety. One of the Confucian Classics is the Hsiao Ching or Book of Filial Duty, which is supposed to date from about 400 B. C. In this Confucius is reported as saying:

"The duty of children to their parents is the fountain, whence all other virtues spring and also the starting point from which we ought to begin our education. The first duty of a son is to pay careful attention to every want of his parents. The next is to serve his government loyally and the last to establish a good name for himself."

It will be noticed that the duty of a child is primarily to his parents and only secondarily to the state. This is by no means the only time that Confucius places the obligations of family ahead of those of the state. In the *Analekts* it is stated that: "The Duke of She informed Confucius saying 'Among us here there are those who may be styled upright in conduct. If their father have stolen a sheep, they will bear witness to the fact.'" Confucius said, "Among us in our part of the country those are upright who are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this."

The claims of family members are recognized in some passages to such an extent as almost to justify nepotism. Thus Confucius says that: "The Duke of Chow addressed his son, the Duke of Lao saying, 'The virtuous prince does not neglect his relations.'" And himself expresses the opinion that: "When those in high stations perform well their duties to their relatives, the people are aroused to virtue. When old friends are not neglected by them, the people are preserved from meanness."

Confucius' idea in thus emphasizing

family loyalty and filial piety seems to have been due to his belief, expressed almost everywhere in his writings, in the force of example. As he says: "The best way to teach a people to love their sovereign is for the sovereign first to love his own parents * * * When a ruler wishes to teach his own people to love their parents, he does not go to their families every day to teach them. He teaches them by showing reverence to all old people. * * * There is nothing so great in human nature as filial piety. The feeling of affection is fostered in infancy and from that affection springs reverence. Since every man has a natural reverence, the great sages teach him how and when to show it; and since he has a natural feeling of affection, they teach him when and how to cultivate it. As the teachings of the sages are based on the principle of filial piety their doctrine is propagated without effort and their government is effectual without resort to force."

Confucius' reverence for the moral law was, however, so great that he felt, that notwithstanding the force of the obligation of filial piety, the command of a parent to do what was wrong should not be obeyed. On being asked by one of his disciples "Whether it is filial that a son should obey every command of his father, whether right or wrong" he replied: "What do you say? What do you say? * * * When the command is wrong a son should resist his father and a Minister his august Master. * * * How can he be called filial who obeys his father when he is commanded to do wrong?"

Finally Confucianism is a system of political philosophy as well as a system for the individual both as an individual and as a member of society.

We have seen how much emphasis Confucius lays on individual character as the necessary foundation for proper social and political relations. He not only is continually calling attention to the necessity of the development of individual character, but he is as well just as continually laying stress on

the necessity of securing good character in public officials. Perhaps no passage sets forth better his belief in the close connection between good government and the individual character of public officials than the following: "With the right men" he says "the growth of good government is as rapid as the growth of plants in the right soil. The conduct of government therefore depends upon the man. The right men are determined by the ruler's personal character. To put in order his personal character, the ruler must understand the moral law. To understand the moral law, he must use his moral sense, which is the characteristic attribute of man. Justice consists in the recognition of what is right. To honor those who are worthier than ourselves is the highest expression of the sense of justice. The relative degree of honor we ought to show to those worthier than ourselves is what gives rise to the forms and distinctions of social life. For unless social inequalities have a real moral basis the government of the people is an impossibility. Therefore it is necessary for a man of the governing class to be a man of good personal conduct and of high character."

This reliance on the effect of individual character combined with the belief in the perfectibility of man has led the apostles of Confucianism to pay little regard to systems and organization as effective means of attaining good government.

In Confucius' history of China there is an interesting passage which indicates his opinion of the comparative value of the rule of law as opposed to the decision of the wise and upright official. In the spring of 536 B.C. one of the leading statesmen of the day decided to publish the laws on tablets of brass for the information of the people. One of the ministers of a neighboring state made to him a written protest which Confucius sets forth in full, apparently with approval. This protest reads in part as follows: "When the people become cognizant of a written law they will cease to fear their super-

iors and moreover will acquire a contentious spirit. Having a book to refer to they will employ every device to elude the letter of the law. This will not do at all. * * * The advent of a written law has on three occasions connoted a decay in government. * * * You are now proceeding to embody three special collections in a new popular code, which you have had cast in metal characters. If you are doing it with a view to pacify the people, surely you will not find this an easy matter. The Book of Odes says: 'King Wen took virtue as his guide and thus gradually pacified the four quarters of the world.' It also says: 'The methods of King Wu secured the confidence of all the other countries.' Where were the written laws in those times? When people begin to get the contentious spirit in them, they will have done with the principles of propriety and only stickle for the letter; they will haggle upon every tiny point accessible to knife's edge and awl's tip. We shall witness a flood of litigation; bribery and corruption will be rampant."

This insistence on the inexpediency of the written law, this emphasis on the individual character of public officials, and this belief that man is by nature good all combined to justify if not to produce autocratic government to which all Asiatic peoples are prone. Furthermore, the obligation of filial piety, it was recognized, was owing to the Son of Heaven in whom as the possessor of the Mandate of Heaven all powers of government were centered. Chinese political philosophy might easily have developed into a justification of theocracy had it not been for the great stress which Confucianism laid on the omnipresence and omnipotence of the moral law, and had it not been as well for a democratic attitude of mind which would seem to be almost as old as the Chinese people themselves.

The Son of Heaven was believed to possess the Mandate of Heaven not because he was of divine or heavenly origin as in the case with the Japanese

Emperor. He had obtained the right to rule because he had conformed to the moral law and was justified in retaining it only so long as he remained virtuous. Mencius amplifying the statement of Confucius to the effect that when a command was wrong a son should resist his father and a minister his august Master says: "If the king is false he should be admonished. If warned several times and he heeds not, change him" and asserted that putting a bad monarch to death was not murder. When asked how a bad monarch should be overthrown he said: "The first to act should be the royal family. If the royal family refuses to put away a bad ruler, then the ministers should act. If the ministers fail in their duty then the Minister of Heaven." By the Minister of Heaven Mencius seems to have meant some one to whom the people could turn when they were dissatisfied with the Son of Heaven. For the fundamental democracy of the Chinese has caused them to feel that it is for the people to determine when and if the Mandate of Heaven has been withdrawn from a particular person or dynasty. There is an old Chinese saying which Mencius delighted to quote, to the effect that "Heaven sees as the people see;

Heaven hears as the people hear."

When the Mandate of Heaven was believed to have been withdrawn there was no longer any obligation of filial piety due its former possessor. And it was commonly believed to have been withdrawn after a series of misfortunes and disasters had been attendant upon a dynasty. For the belief in the force of the moral law was so strong that it was inconceivable that these misfortunes would have come had the members of the dynasty acted in conformity with that law. Their troubles were due to their lack of virtue.

It is interesting to note how for thousands of years the Chinese have acted in accordance with the principles of this political philosophy. For some reason or other, whether because of an

increase in the severity of the struggle for existence due to the growth of a superabundant population, or to the moral deterioration of dynasties, there have been in China since the days of Confucius great political disturbances which have occurred with an almost periodical regularity. Each such disturbance has usually been followed by the overthrow of an old dynasty and the establishment of a new one through the agency of what Mencius calls a "Minister of Heaven". Sometimes the Minister of Heaven has been a domestic rebel, as was the case with the founder of the Ming dynasty, who was a Buddhist monk. Sometimes the "Minister of Heaven" has been a foreign conqueror, as was the case with the founder of the recently overthrown Manchu dynasty.

Such are, in brief, the general principles of Chinese philosophy, and particularly of Confucianism. That they altogether explain Chinese life may not be asserted. They may be an effect rather than a cause of the conditions which have for so long existed in China. But that the actual life of the Chinese people has been for centuries, and to a large extent is now, carried on in accordance with the principles advocated by Confucius and his followers cannot be denied. The close accord between theory and practice cannot, it would seem, fail to be of interest when we remember to how large a mass of humankind this particular philosophical system has made appeal, and for how long a time this appeal has continued with almost no diminution of its force.

We must not, however, conclude that the appeal of Confucianism will continue in the future without abatement. Forces have been for some time and are now, with increasing strength, at work, which cannot fail to change the economic conditions for which Confucianism was formulated, and to which it was adapted. The energy and enterprise of the Occident are causing new wants to be felt, the desire to

satisfy which is changing the quietism of individual Chinese life. The gradual change from an agricultural to an industrial civilization is having the effect of undermining the obligation of filial piety and making necessary the formation of social groups larger than the historic Chinese family. The greater complexity of the social organization due to contact with the Occident, is calling for a greater governmental regulation of individual activity. More and more appeal will be made in the future to the "worldly authority" which Confucius deprecated, and less trust will be given to the mere force of moral obligation.

All of these influences will unquestionably cause a restatement of Confucian principles. On the other hand, the practical abandonment of the hith-

erto exclusively literary education will make it comparatively difficult to instil into the minds of the young the moral precepts and teachings with which the Chinese classics abound. It is, however, doubtful whether the Chinese will in the visible future abandon the distinctly agnostic and non-religious character they have had for so long. The most important things which the West in all probability will do for them, will be, through scientific instruction, to emancipate them from their belief in the malevolence of evil spirits which must be propitiated, and both by precept and example to teach them a greater spirit of altruism and self-sacrifice in the interest of the large social groups which the change in economic conditions will unquestionably bring into being.

Ought China to be Satisfied with the Washington Conference?

By M. T. Z. TYAU, LL.D., (London)

THE Washington Conference has come and gone. Are we Chinese gratified with it? Ought we to be satisfied with what it has accomplished for China? The enterprising Editor of the CHINESE STUDENTS MONTHLY has asked me to write an article for the Monthly; and as one who has had the privilege of taking part in the Conference, although in an humble capacity, and therefore of observing events at close quarters, it seems that I cannot do better than ask our compatriots to consider whether China ought not to be satisfied with what she has obtained from this Conference.

To begin with, it should be borne in mind that the epoch making assembly has not been convened entirely for the sake of China, and this fact ought to be sufficient to console those who had been too sanguine and reasoned that China should get all that was properly hers. The invitation extended to China last August reads:—

“It is the earnest wish of this Government that through an interchange of views with the facilities afforded by a conference, it may be possible to find a solution of Pacific and Far Eastern problems, of unquestioned importance at this time, that is, such common understanding with respect to matters which have been and are of international concern as may serve to promote enduring friendship among our peoples.

“It is not the purpose of this Government to attempt to define the scope of the discussion in relation to the Pacific and Far East, but rather to leave this to be the subject of suggestions to be exchanged before

the meeting of the Conference, in the expectation that the spirit of friendship and a cordial appreciation of the importance of the elimination of sources of controversy, will govern the final decision.

“Accordingly, in pursuance of the proposal which has been made, and in the light of the gracious indication of its acceptance, the President invites the Government of the Republic of China to participate in the discussions of Pacific and Far Eastern questions, in connection with the Conference on the subject of Limitation of Armament, to be held in Washington, on the 11th day of November, 1921.”

To which the Chinese Government replied in the following words, as communicated formally by His Excellency Dr. Sao-ke Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister in Washington, under date of August 17, 1921.

“A conference for the purpose stated meets with the hearty concurrence of the Government of the Republic of China. Since the conclusion of the war in Europe the fear is general that there may again be a recurrence of the horrors of war. Furthermore, the center of gravity in matters international has recently shifted to the Pacific and the Far East. China occupies an important place not only on account of the extent of its territory and the density of its population, but also on account of its geographical position. The Pacific and Far Eastern questions as viewed by the Chinese people are questions affecting the peace of the world of the present day.

"This Conference at Washington, called by the President of the United States for the promotion of peace, cannot but contribute in a large measure to the accomplishment of results that will enable the people of the world to enjoy prosperity and happiness and obtain permanent release from the calamities of war. It is with special satisfaction that the Government of the Republic of China makes known its desire to co-operate on a footing of equality with other governments in this beneficent movement.

"The American Government by declaring that it is not its purpose to attempt to define the scope of the discussion in relation to the Pacific and Far East gives evidence of its readiness to be fair to all without any preconceived bias. The Government of the Republic of China desires to take the same position, and will participate in the Conference in the spirit of friendship and with a cordial appreciation of the importance of the elimination of the sources of controversy as stated in the American Charge's note and observe perfect frankness and cordiality in the exchange of views and in arriving at decisions to the end that the purpose of the President of the United States to promote universal peace may be fulfilled."

Secondly, the Conference is not a place where the rule of the majority vote can apply. Each of the Powers represented at the conclave is an independent, sovereign Power, and the plenipotentiary delegates only speak as spokesmen of independent, sovereign peoples. If there is to be a decision the vote must be unanimous, and any Government that is unwilling or unconvinced has it within its power to block or reject any proposal brought up. There being nine Powers assembled, every question is necessarily viewed at from as many national angles or standpoints, and the fact that despite this multiplicity of interest the Conference has been able to reach so

many momentous decisions with unanimity can but heighten the success of its achievements.

In the third place, China is not yet a reunited, stable and well-ordered country. There are few foreigners who do not know this fact; at the same time, unfortunately, there are not a few who did not cease to proclaim this fact to the outside world. It is said that a house divided within itself cannot stand; yet, in spite of the unsettled conditions in China, in spite of the unbridled rein of Tuchunism in the Republic, the Conference has deliberately blinded its eyes to the fact and proceeded to solve China's peculiar problems as if conditions in her territory were normal like those in any other country represented at the Arms Parley.

These three factors cannot be overlooked in the same discussion of China's gains from the Conference, for the fact that China is still unsettled has disheartened many a warm friend and rendered it difficult for them to render our cause the maximum assistance. This was why more than once the question had been asked "What is China?" The intended answer need not be exclusively in terms of territory and geography; one may indeed suspect that the contemplated reply was to be likewise in the language of political science and comparative government.

On the other hand China has not a little for which to be thankful. From the very outset the position of China was tactically that of an accuser or complainant, and it was presupposed that she was out to get back, not so much justice, as that which originally belonged to her as an independent, sovereign state. It was fortunate that the conference had been held in the capital of the country that is still China's most disinterested friend. It was fortunate that the aspirations of four hundred million people were entrusted to the safe hands of able diplomats like Dr. Alfred Sze, Dr. Wellington Koo and Dr. Chung-hui Wang. Above all, it was most fortunate that the sympathy of the

world had always been with China, and this unanimity of public opinion in favor of making amends to one-fourth of the entire human race it was which had ushered in the era of new liberal diplomacy and done substantial justice to China's claims.

Rome is not built in a day, and after ten years of experimental republicanism China is yet far from the professed ideal of a government of the people, by the people and for the people. If so, no international conference anywhere can hope to cure in twelve weeks the maladies of China which had been accumulating for at least three quarters of a century. In fact, it may be conscientiously asked if it is wise at all for China to have at once returned to her all that her people light-heartedly desire. With the country still disunited, with the preponderating majority of the Chinese people unprepared for real, democratic government, and with the devil-may-care Tuchuns dominating the government in Peking instead of executing its orders, it will hardly be suggested that China is in a position to receive all that she has every right, in other and better times, to demand. For example, who will say that the Chinese judiciary is at once ready to give reasonable and adequate protection to the life and property of all foreigners in China?

The achievements of the Conference in reference to China indeed leave much to be desired, and perhaps the greatest criticism will be concentrated on the meagre concessions granted to China in the matter of tariff increase. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that what has now been withheld will in the end be given back to us after a reasonable lapse of time. Considering that China has been fettered by treaty restrictions for nearly eighty years, probation for a few more years will do her no harm. In fact, the prolongation of this probation will redound to her eventual benefit. It will spur our people forward in pushing the necessary reforms everywhere to the utmost degree, and the longer the period of trial the greater

will, we hope, be the effort to hasten the dawn of a happier era. This is best illustrated in the solution of the Shantung controversy. In another five years China will assume the absolute and sole control of the Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway, if our people are able to assist the government to consummate its repurchase; and until then it behooves our people to put forth their best so that the price of redemption will be forthcoming when the appointed day of deliverance arrives. If a period of five years seems too long to wait, let us remember that four hundred million people have failed in eight years, ever since the Japanese occupation of Shantung in 1914, to make the Japanese yield to surrender aught of their so-called rights of conquest.

Such being the concatenation of circumstances, the Chinese would appear ungrateful indeed were they to disparage what the Conference, convoked only secondarily for their benefit, has actually accomplished for them. For the sum total of its achievements is that it enables China henceforth to breathe more freely and develop its own institutions with considerable less external interference together with the tacit promise that given time and opportunity for readjustment to foreigners and Chinese alike, the last semblances of outside interference will ere long be withdrawn. This sum total is composed of the following gains:—

1. Treaty engagement of eight Powers

“(1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China;

“(2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government;

“(3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China;

- "(4) To refrain from taking advantage of the conditions in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of the subjects or citizens of friendly States and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States."
2. Treaty engagement of eight Powers "not to enter into any treaty, agreement, arrangement or understanding, either with one another, or individually or collectively with any Power or Powers, which would infringe or impair the principles which have been declared by the resolution adopted," etc.
 3. Treaty engagement of eight Powers, "with a view to applying more effectually the principles of the Open Door or equality of opportunity in China for the trade and industry of all nations," "not to seek
 - "(a) any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of their interest any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China;
 - "(b) any such monopoly or preference as would deprive other nationals of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China or of participating with the Chinese Government or with any local authority in any category of public enterprise, or which by reason of its scope, duration or geographical extent is calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity.
- "It is understood that this agreement is not to be so construed as to prohibit the acquisition of such properties or rights as may be necessary to the conduct of a particular commercial, industrial or financial undertaking or to the encouragement of invention and research.
- "China undertakes to be guided by the same principles in dealing with applications for economic rights and privileges from Governments and nationals of all foreign countries whether parties to that treaty or not."
4. Treaty engagement of eight Powers. "not to support any agreements by their respective nationals with each other designed to create Spheres of Influence or to provide for the enjoyment of exclusive opportunities in designated parts of Chinese territory.
 5. Treaty engagement of eight Powers. "fully to respect China's rights as a neutral in time of war to which China is not a party; and China declares that when she is a neutral she will observe the obligations of neutrality."
 6. Treaty engagement of eight Powers and China that, "whenever a situation arises which in the opinion of any one of them involves the application of the stipulations of the present Treaty, and renders desirable discussion of such application, there shall be full and frank communication between the Contracting Powers concerned."
 7. Treaty revision of Chinese tariff rates to a five per cent effective basis, plus a surtax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and plus another surtax on luxuries not exceeding 5 per cent. ad valorem, pending the abolition of likin; followed by a further revision at the expiration of four years and periodical revisions of the tariff rates thereafter every seven years. (It is officially estimated that the increase to 5 per cent. effective will yield \$17,000,000 silver; the surtax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. surtax \$27,000,000 silver; surtax on luxuries \$2,167,000 silver; or a total additional revenue of \$46,167,000 silver. This added to the present revenue of \$64,000,000 silver (figure for 1920), will produce altogether \$110,167,000 silver. When likin is abolished and the promised extra surtaxes come into effect, the additional revenue provided will amount to \$166,000,000 silver.)
 8. Formal resolution of eight Powers and China, "that there shall be established in China a Board of Reference to which

any question arising on the above Agreement and Declaration may be referred for investigation and report."

9. Formal resolution of eight Powers and China to establish a commission,

"to inquire into the present practice of extra-territorial jurisdiction in China, and into the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China, with a view to reporting to the Governments of the several Powers above named their findings of fact in regard to these matters, and their recommendations as to such means as they may find suitable to improve the existing conditions of the administration of justice in China, and to assist and further the efforts of the Chinese Government to effect such legislation and judicial reform as would warrant the several Powers in relinquishing, either progressively or otherwise, their respective rights of extraterritoriality."

10. Formal resolution of the Powers concerned to withdraw or hand over to Chinese Government unauthorized radio stations upon proper compensation, subject to certain exceptions.

11. Formal resolution of the Powers concerned to withdraw their post-offices in China not later than January, 1923.

12. Formal resolution of eight Powers to instruct their diplomatic representatives in Peking, whenever China shall so request,

"to associate themselves with three representatives of the Chinese Government to conduct collectively a full and impartial inquiry"

into the question of foreign armed forces in China, including police and railway guards, and their withdrawal "whenever China shall assure the protection of the lives and property of foreigners in China."

13. Formal engagement of eight Powers and China to make public all existing commitments with or concerning China, as well as

"contracts between their nationals, of the one part, and the Chinese Government or any of its administrative subdivisions or local authorities of the other part, which involve any concession, franchise, option or preference with respect to railway construction, mining, forestry, navigation, river conservancy, harbor works, reclamation, electrical communications, or other public works or public services, or for the sale of arms or ammunition, or which involve a lien upon any of the public revenues or properties of the Chinese Government or of any of its administrative sub-divisions."

14. Settlement of the Shantung dispute between China and Japan on eminently satisfactory terms.

15. Treaty engagement of the Powers concerned, in conformity with China's declaration not to exercise unfair discrimination of any kind over the railways in China in respect of charges or facilities, not to exercise discrimination

"in respect of any of the aforesaid railways over which they or their nationals are in a position to exercise any control in virtue of any concession, special agreement or otherwise."

16. Facility afforded for other Powers not represented at the Conference to adhere to the engagements above recorded and thus further China's progress and development.

17. Formal promise of Great Britain to restore the leased territory of Weihai-wei to China.

18. Conditional promise of France to restore the leased territory of Kwangchow-wan to China.

These are valuable gains, and certainly China is better off in February 1922 than in November 1921.

If there are any who regret that China has not been made a party to the Four-Power Pacific Treaty, let them solace themselves with the reflection that the two-Power Anglo-Japanese Al-

liance has been replaced with a Four-Power compact. If there are those who regret that the Japanese Treaties and Exchanges of Notes of May 25, 1915, have not been entirely abrogated, let them take comfort in the facts that the Shantung portion of those agreements has been disposed of by the settlement of the Shantung dispute, that Japan has renounced her claim to "special interests" in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia and thrown open her rights to special favors in those regions to the enjoyment of all foreigners therein, and that Japan has formally withdrawn her right to revive the famous Group V, which had been "postponed for future negotiation." And finally if there are those who are dissatisfied with the settlement of the railway part of the Shantung controversy, let them hearken to the following statement to the Chinese Press issued by a sincere friend and loyal servant of China, Mr. John E. Baker, American adviser to the Ministry of Communications since 1917.

"The Chinese people are to be congratulated upon the settlement of the Shantung question. By agreeing to the railway settlement the whole Shantung question is settled. China gets rid of 2,000 Japanese employees at the price of retaining only two. The price to be paid for the railway is to be no greater than that which Japan paid for it, and will probably be less than it would cost to reproduce the railway today. China has five years or fifteen years at her option, with which to raise the purchase price. The railway can be made to pay for itself within the fifteen year limit. While it would have been desirable to get rid of all Japanese participation in this railway immediately, there will be certain benefits accruing to a campaign extending for five years during which the purpose of eliminating Japanese influence from Shantung is placed before the Chinese people.

"There has been a very real fear that if employees of Japanese nation-

ality remained upon the railway, some means will be found by Japan to retain possession of the line. If that were the ultimate intention of Japan there was no need whatever for her to have entered into these negotiations. Supporting her position in Shantung, she had the signed agreement of the three most powerful European nations. This support Japan has now signed away. In the case of Siberia, Japan had no support of this kind, yet she openly defied the United States and the expressed opinion of other Delegations, and got away with it. If she had intended to remain in Shantung, she could have done so.

"Furthermore, the Japanese Traffic Manager and the Japanese Chief Accountant (the latter of whom acts jointly with the Chinese Chief Accountant) are so hedged about with limitations to their powers that under a vigorous Chinese administration they should be harmless. They are "under the direction, control and supervision of the Chinese Managing Director." Take the case of the Traffic Manager. By no means will he have unrestricted liberty of action in the performance of his duties. Upon the Chinese Government railways there are at present two organizations of the Traffic Managers; (1) the Through-traffic Conference and (2) the General Traffic Conference. Both of these conferences meet at least once a year, but generally an extra conference or two is called by the Ministry of Communications for specific purposes. The first is composed of representatives of the through-traffic lines and of the Through-traffic Administration in the Ministry of Communications, while the second is composed of Traffic Managers of all Government lines together with representatives of the General Traffic section of the Ministry of Communications.

"The Traffic Manager of the Shantung Railway will go into one or the other or both of these conferences.

These conferences act as a legislative body which passes the laws governing the traffic department upon all the lines participating in such conferences. The law, comes into effect when approved by the Minister of Communications, and is administered by the Traffic Manager as the representative, under the Managing Director, of the Ministry of Communications. Thus this Traffic Manager will be subject to the control which comes from association with technical representatives of other lines as well as the control of his own Managing Director. To escape from such control either he must defy his colleagues in the conference or deliberately disobey the Ministry of Communications, in which case he is subject to removal by the Director, power to do which is expressly reserved in the agreement.

"Such conferences have already prescribed a uniform classification of goods; uniform rules for the carriage of goods and passengers, baggage and parcels; uniform rules for car distribution and reporting of car performance. The formulation of uniform operating rules, signalling rules, and civil service rules is already under way. Other subjects will follow.

"A similar condition will be found governing the Chief Accountant, who will be subject to the scrutiny of a Chinese Chief Accountant, as well as of the Managing Director. The uniform classifications of accounts on Chinese railways have been in force for several years. The conferences of the Accountants have had nearly eight years of successful history. Practically the whole field of accounts has been covered, and these classifications and accounting rules are a part of the railway law of China which the Japanese Chief Accountant will be compelled to follow.

"The accounts and statistics required of Chinese railways are considered by experts to be among the best in the world. If used intelli-

gently they hold to rigid accountability both the integrity and efficiency of operating officers. If care is taken to appoint a vigorous and intelligent Managing Director, China has little to fear from the presence of a Japanese Traffic Manager or Accountant.

"As a matter of fact this settlement secures better terms for China than are to be found in any other railway contracts negotiated under the Republic. All such other contracts place a mortgage on the line and yield commissions on foreign supplies purchased by the railway or limit the freedom of the government as to banks with which it will deal. All of this is avoided in the Shantung Agreement. All of them provide for a foreign Chief Accountant who acts alone, while this agreement gives China an associate Chief Accountant. All of them provide for foreign Chiefs of Maintenance of Way, of Locomotives and of Traffic, or else for a foreign General Manager, compared with a mere Traffic Manager on the Shantung Railway. Besides, all of these agreements were made in days before China possessed any of the machinery described above for circumscribing the powers of any of these officers. Today, China can safely be far more liberal in appointments of foreigners than she could be five or six years ago, yet this agreement is much more conservative than those negotiated by Sun Yat Sen and others in 1913, 1914 and 1915.

"In fact, on lines where the Government is under little or no compulsion to use foreigners, China has voluntarily placed foreign accountants, engineers and mechanical experts in much larger numbers than are required in their contract.

"There is nothing to fear from the present arrangement if China will merely use ordinary vigor, intelligence and integrity in her handling of the situation.

"In case there should be any disposition to defy such established con-

ditions—a disposition which is not expected at present by any one conversant with these negotiations—the machinery has been provided by conference for the establishment of a Board of Reference which will make an attempt on the part of Japan to take advantage of China's weakness publicly apparent. There can be no greater protection at the present time."

Everything considered and calmly cogitated up, it must be frankly ad-

mitted that China has won a decisive victory. We doubt not that if only conditions had been normal in China, the Republic would have obtained much more. This is where our people will have to bestir themselves. Let us remember that treaties are necessarily scraps of paper, and it is up to the Chinese to decide whether solemn international engagements recorded or unrecorded in treaty form, shall or shall not bear good fruit. After all heaven helps those who help themselves.

Standardization of Chinese Railways

By JOHN EARL BAKER

WHATEVER attempts were made during the last generation to dismember China, were made principally through the instrumentality of railway concessions. Beginning with the closing years of the Nineteenth Century, Chinese railways have been built largely by foreign money. On 3,780 Kilometres the entire control of the line is placed in foreign hands, and on about 5,400 Kilometres the contracts give foreigners the appointment of the principal technical officers of the line. However, this latter class of agreements specifically denominates the line as a Chinese Government railway and reserves to the Chinese Government the appointment of a Managing Director, who is the Chief Executive Officer, and whose veto or approval is final.

For years no attempt was made to limit in any way the plans or the personal preferences of the foreign construction forces. Thus, each of the Government railways possessed an individuality of its own, marked clearly by the national characteristics of the money lender. Thus, when the Republic came into existence, there were ten Government railways, showing unmistakable British, Franco-Belgian, German and Japanese characteristics, together with several short, purely Chinese lines, which on the whole reflected a preference for American designs. Thus, in effect, there were fourteen different lines as distinct in character as if they were operated in fourteen different countries. Their managements kept themselves in water-tight compartments, so to speak, and these railways served the public with no more relation to each other than if they had, in fact, been located in different countries. Indeed, the railways of Continental Europe were integrated, so far as service

was concerned, with less reference to nationality than were these fourteen Chinese lines.

Railroad operation is a complicated affair. The number of men employed is so large; the value of the property in use is so great; and the territory which the railway serves is so extended, that long experience is required in order to develop managerial ability, and even the most experienced and expert of railway managers is compelled to resort to comparisons with other lines in order to measure the degree of success or failure attending his efforts. Naturally, under the diversity outlined above, no comparison whatever with other lines was possible, and consequently inexperienced Chinese Government representatives were powerless to assert the control over their foreign technical assistants which the contracts specifically placed in the hands of the Chinese Government. Hence, in 1912, when the Republic first came into existence, there was little to choose between the Government railways built under foreign agreements, and the distinctively foreign railways like the South Manchurian or the Shantung railways as instruments for the dismemberment of China.

With the advent of the Republic, the Ministry of Communications proceeded almost at once to assert Chinese control along two lines—service and administration.

A Conference was called of the Traffic Managers of the contiguous Government railways and representatives of the Ministry, which drew up train schedules permitting of continuous journeys without delay; through tickets were provided and through baggage service arranged. These conferences have been continued semi-annually with the result that in addition to

through ticket and through baggage service, through express service, with a C.O.D. feature, and recently through train service between important terminals has been put into practice. With the construction of a train ferry, which has now been agreed upon, over the Yang Tse river at Nanking, there will be through train service between Peking and Shanghai, and five all-steel Pullman trains are now on order to serve this run.

Attention was also given to the freight service of the lines. It had always been necessary to re-invoice and to transfer goods from the cars of one line to those of another at junction points, with consequent damage and delay. Interchange of rolling stock has now been arranged, and with it through-invoicing of goods. Three years ago a special division was created in the Ministry of Communications to take care of matters of an interline nature. One section of this division, known as the Clearing House, is charged with the auditing of all interline tickets and invoices, maintains an account of interline car balances, and arranges the settlement of balances of all kinds between the interested lines at the end of each month.

A uniform classification of goods has been compiled. While the specific rates for the respective classes differ on the various lines, the same article will be found in the same class upon all lines. Class rates are applied to a given shipment on a distance basis, the tapering principle being admitted on long distance shipments. While there are a few "commodity" rates in China,—that is, rates quoted at a fixed charge per ton between given stations,—distance (next to class) is the governing factor in the fixing of railway charges. If this method is held to, China will escape that great complexity of rates which has built up an unnatural and unstable commercial structure in America, a structure which will fall in a ruinous crash if anything abrupt is attempted by way of revision.

Simultaneous with these efforts and developments in railway service, began

and continued the forging of the instrumentalities of administrative control. Under the immediate leadership of an American Returned Student, Dr. C. C. Wang, there was formed a Commission for the Unification of Railway Accounts and Statistics. While Liang Tung-yen, an older Returned Student, was Minister of Communications, uniform classifications of accounts were promulgated, covering capital expenditures, revenues, expenses, income, profit and loss, appropriations of surplus, and the balance sheet. The form of an annual report and rules for the compilation of train and locomotive statistics were also prescribed. Of the accounts classifications nothing better need be said than that Acworth, the British authority, recommended to the South African railways that they adopt these classifications *in toto*, so the writer is informed.

Concerning the statistics resulting from the accounts and reports there is the testimony of the British Parliamentary Commission appointed to investigate the management of the East India railways, as follows:

"The Annual Report of the Chinese Government Railways, of which five numbers have now appeared, is a model of its kind, probably more up to date than that produced in any other country in the world."

The work of unifying the accounts upon the different lines has now been extended also to the accounts rendered and records maintained by stations, material stores and construction engineers. Plans are immediately in view to extend the program to workshops and to fuel efficiency. A basic decision was made early in the deliberations of the Accounts Commission in favor of the metric system as the standard for weights and distances. This system has now actually been applied in all tariffs, statistics and, wherever possible, to physical structures on lines which formerly used the English system.

Thus it will be seen that the Chinese Government has now at its disposal most of the information which it needs in order to exercise the actual

control specifically reserved to it by the agreements governing the construction of the Government railways. In addition it has started upon the difficult task of standardizing the physical structures and equipment of the various lines. In the interest of safe interchange of rolling stock, standard overhead and side clearances have been prescribed, and standard designs for the various types of freight cars have been agreed upon. Thus it was no mere hope, that, expressed by Mr. Hughes and adopted by the Disarmament Conference; the resolution that "the future development of railways in China shall be so conducted as to enable the Chinese Government to effect the unification of railways into a railway system under Chinese control." So far as the Government railways are concerned, this unification is well on its way.

On the whole, foreign technical officers have actively assisted the Chinese members of these Commissions and conferences. It should be remarked that little has been heard of this work of unification or standardization either outside or inside of China. The men who have performed the actual tasks are not mentioned in the press, nor are they particularly prominent in their own communities. The research, discussion and committee attendance which have brought about this result have been attended by nothing spectacular. The members of the various committees, commissions and conferences have played nothing but a "common toilsome part." But their efforts though perhaps "unnoticed by the

great", have rescued the Government railways from the danger of being instruments for the partitioning of China and have made of them instead the most powerful influence working towards a strong, united China. Those efforts have done more than anything else to shatter the idea of "spheres of influence" within the Eighteen Provinces. They have overthrown absolutely any idea which might have been held at one time concerning the international administration of railways in China, and have led the Powers of the World to declare in favor of a "railway system under Chinese control".

The Hughes' resolution, be it known, is not limited in its application to Government railways, but rather covers "railways in China", at least, "to the utmost degree consistent with legitimate existing rights". By implication, the Yunnan, the Chinese Eastern and the South Manchurian railways are pointed to as legitimate objects of Chinese aspiration. When those lines are finally amalgamated with the Chinese Government railways, haply the result will be due not to brilliant diplomatic successes nor to epochal changes of heart on the part of the present holders of these railways *irredenta*, but to the continued, intelligent, laborious, conciliatory work of patient and industrious men serving in the relatively obscure places on unification commissions and standardization conferences.

Fortunately, many of these obscure young men, as a result of the experience gained from such work, have been called to places which lead to prominence.

China's Part After the Washington Conference

By Y. S. TSAO

THE world has seen many conferences and congresses and most if not all of them meant the bartering among the strong at the expense of the weak and might was made to look like right despite all the noble phrases used to cover up acts of aggression or violence. The Washington Conference has been unique indeed, in that the Powers actually sacrificed their claims to might and were even prepared to make such restitution to the weak in the spirit of self-abnegation. A large number of factors contributed toward such a great change of heart and inasmuch as the change is so great and astounding that one is inclined to question whether such an advance in the morality of international relations could be maintained for any length of time. For the first time in the history of China's foreign relations, she actually obtained something instead of having lost something and those gains were not made upon her own merits but rather due to the general desire on the part of the nations assembled to see a greater measure of justice and fair-play shown in international relations so that future causes of war or cut-throat rivalry might be reduced.

Dreamers and moralists might be disappointed with the results of the Conference, but all practical men, be they statesmen or soldiers, cannot but hail the work of the past twelve weeks in Washington as an epoch-making task. The nations are not unmindful of the sympathetic assistance they have rendered to China and although they have done much for China they are also aware that they have not done full justice to China, nevertheless in the principles laid down and in the resolutions

passed there are hidden untold treasures for China provided the Chinese people will have the genius to avail themselves of the opportunity to consolidate their gains and to delve for the hidden treasures with a singleness of purpose and with a determination that knows no defeat.

For the next decade, the best minds of China will be put to the test and her every ounce of energy that her people can exert should be devoted to make good the gains she has made at the Conference, or else the nations will consider her unworthy of the sacrifices made under the ideal and unique environment of Washington. A simple enumeration of the great tasks that are immediately before our eyes will be sufficient to indicate to an imaginative mind the complexities involved and the amount of labour that is necessary to reap the fruits of her gains. The preparation for the final abandonment of extra-territoriality requires a host of lawyers and judges for the modern courts that are to be set up. The revision of the tariff involving the abolition of the likin leading up to the goal of complete tariff autonomy needs a number of devoted men who will be prepared to assume the responsibility of a thankless task. The arrangement for the return of such leaseholds that have been promised is by no means such a simple task as the acceptance of a birthday present. The return of Shantung alone which necessitated no less than thirty six sessions at the Conference to cover the numerous points involved would require thousands of men and months and years of detailed negotiations before it can be finally consummated. Besides these bigger questions there are post-offices

and wireless stations to be taken over, the railways to be controlled and built. Three far-reaching statements have been made with regard to the famous 21 demands of 1915 and one can rest assured that nothing can come from these statements unless China performs her share and performs it well.

Gratifying as the gains made at the Conference are, they represent however only the cart and not the horse—that is the power which will set the equipage in motion. The wise veteran British statesman told the whole world in simple and plain words that the great task of building for herself a strong, united and stable Government is China's task and hers alone. In other words, China must not be unreasonably looking for continual sympathetic support and unnatural propping up of a poorly built edifice. It is sound advice and let all loyal sons of Han take this note of warning. This might mean the last chance and only chance so far as concerted moral support from the outside world is concerned. Henceforth, China must look to herself. It is in response to this timely warning that the writer wishes to emphasize the horse or the power that is to put the cart into continual motion with ever increasing speed.

The *sine qua non* for the establishment of a strong, united and stable Government is first of all unification. All parties whatever their convictions must make sacrifices in the spirit of the Washington Conference, sink the differences and unite the country politically first, so that the energy spent in airing the differences might be devoted for the higher loyalty to unity. It is only necessary for our men at home who cling to minor differences to look at the greater and higher goal to be attained then they will be in the position to see that after all the sacrifices which they are called upon to make is relatively nominal as compared with the substantial advantages to be gained by all parties concerned. The much debated question of calling a National Assembly representative of the whole country is de-

sired by all and there can be no unsurmountable obstacle in the way, provided the leaders in political life could for one moment catch a glimpse of the vision that has guided the deliberations and decisions at Washington. May the sons of China lift up their voices and sing the song of Unity!

Aside from political unity, there is the absorbing problem of geographical unity which depends upon the construction of railroads and modern roads. Political unity without geographical unity is precarious as evidenced by the urgent construction of trans-continental railways in the United States in the earlier days so as to bind the scattered states together into a homogeneous whole. Engineering, finance and organization combined alone can solve this great practical question and viewed from this standpoint, these professions assume a new and patriotic role that must be played with courage and devotion.

In the second place, as recommended by the Powers, other than China, in the Washington Conference, China must reduce her unnecessary military forces that are absorbing the finances of the country and which in turn tend to prolong the sectional differences. Public opinion might be able to do much to dissipate the strong local desire to keep these forces, but if absolutely necessary, the organization of the gendarme system or state police system and the formation of local volunteer corps might serve as practical measures to strengthen public opinion in demanding the disbandment of superfluous military forces. This work when successfully carried out will save the squandering of national revenue and strengthen the hands of the Central Government.

Closely allied to the second desideratum of reducing provincial military men, is the question of the nationalization of finances. When the Central Government assumes full control of China's purse-strings, the local authorities will not be in such an independent position as to defy the orders of the Central authority. Then and then only will the

Super-tuchuns and Tuchuns become satisfied with the title of civil governors. In the earlier development of the American Constitution, the great controversy of State Rights versus Federal Rights took some years before it was settled and China seems to be repeating this chapter of the history of constitutional evolution in her fight between Provincial Autonomy and Central Government. Although in a large country like China, Provincial Autonomy might yield a number of advantages, in the long run, it is only through the concentration of power in the Central Government can the nation really become united and stable.

It is the hope and desire of the writer to emphasize the part that China is expected to play after the Washington Conference, so that the Chinese students in this country might prepare themselves for the great task that is before them. The gains made at the Conference will not be permanently China's, unless we all work for the political and geographical unification of the country and for the nationalization of trade and finance under the guidance of a strong Central Government. When these objects have been achieved, those just claims which China failed to obtain at the Conference will be given to her to hold and to keep.

The Chinese Eastern Railway

By HOUX KOUNG-OU, LL.D. (Paris)

AS a student of law I shall make an attempt to review the whole question from the legal point of view.

1. *History of its construction and the Chinese interest in the Railway.* This railway was built in pursuance of a concession granted to the Russo-Chinese Bank. In 1896 an agreement to that effect was entered, by virtue of which the Chinese government was to subscribe 5,000,000 Kuping taels as her part of the share for the establishment of the bank.

According to this agreement a separate company to be called the "Chinese Eastern Railway Company" was to be formed with 5,000,000 gold rubles as capital. "Only Chinese and Russians could be shareholders."

Land used by the Railway was granted by the Chinese Government free of charge. The total mileage thus occupied was 985,790 *Mous* and their estimated value was about \$4,928,950 (Mex). Later on it was agreed by a subsequent contract that the Company would pay this sum to the Chinese Government, but for some unknown reasons this was never carried out.

Article 12 of the agreement of 1896 provides for the payment by the Company to the Chinese Government the sum of 5,000,000 Kuping taels on the date of the opening of traffic. This sum, like the previous one, was never paid, and with its accrued interest up to the present, it amounts to 12,701,758.42 Kuping taels.

Since the conclusion of this agreement China has granted numerous favors to the Company, such as exemption from tax on the following items, (1) Land, (2) Fâres, (3) Telegraph receipts, (4) Railway materials.

Moreover since the supplementary agreement of October, 1920, the Chinese Government has successively advanced to the Company sums amounting in capital and interest approximately \$2,000,000 (Mex).

In view of the above facts the Chinese interests and rights in this railway are obvious. It is agreed that the greater part of the capital for the construction of this railway was furnished by Russia, but it is quite evident also that China shared to no small extent in the completion of this line.

2. *Supplementary Agreement of October 2, 1920.* Since the Russian revolution of 1917 frequent disturbances took place between the Russian red and white factions residing in the railway zone. General Howath, the general manager of the Company, appropriated the funds of the company for the purchase of arms and ammunitions. As a result of these political activities Harbin became the centre of trouble. Matters came to such a pass that the Chinese Government, in order to maintain order in that part of her territory, found it necessary to disarm the Russian Railway guards and dismiss the Russian manager on March 16, 1920. Following this a supplementary agreement was entered into with the Russo-Asiatic Bank—formerly the Russo-Chinese Bank—in October of the same year, by virtue of which China took over the control of the Railway temporarily.

Following are the important points of the supplementary agreement.

(a) The original 5,000,000 Kuping taels together with the capitalized interest were reaffirmed and their reduction allowed for at the date of the redemption. This does not in any way

impair the financial arrangement of the Railway, it is merely a means to protect China's legal right when the time of redemption comes.

(b) In order to put into practice the original agreement of joint control between China and Russia, and to rectify the injustice hitherto existed, additional Chinese Directors and Comptrollers were appointed while no alterations were made on the Russian staff.

(c) The activities of the Railway were confined to the purposes of commerce; its use for political purposes were strictly prohibited.

No interference of whatever nature was allowed in its administration. Only a few Chinese departmental assistants were appointed. The general Manager as well as the departmental managers and the chiefs of bureaus and their respective subordinates were left to the Russians.

For public interest and security, a state, by virtue of her territorial sovereignty, has the right to assume control of all enterprises especially of a public nature within her territory in time of emergency. Railways having connection only with the question of general communications come under the heading of "Domain Publique". According to this principle no private interest is allowed to interfere with that of the public. As an example we may take the Government control of all railways in the United States during the war. Spain and South American countries utilized the system of inviting foreign capital and made extensive use of the "concession" system, but this is never allowed to impair the right of sovereignty or self-defense. From this point of view, even without entering into this supplementary agreement, China would have the right to take over its temporal administration. Indeed to protect her interest as well as her partner's China had no alternative.

(3) *Reasons why it should not be discussed at the Conference.*

(a) This Railway was constructed by agreement between China and Russia. Therefore in matters relating to

it, only parties to this agreement are interested and no others are entitled to interfere.

(b) The provision that only Russians and Chinese are allowed to be shareholders excluded effectively possible interest of any third power.

(c) As any settlement on this question must depend for its validity on the consent of both China and Russia, the absence of Russians at this Conference would make such settlement impossible.

(d) To settle questions of a private business concern by an international conference is not only unprecedented from the legal point of view but also in opposition to the principles announced by this conference.

(e) It has been said that this Railway concerns international communications and therefore its discussion here is quite legitimate. To this the reply is that the Chinese Eastern Railway, having no direct access to the sea, can not be considered of much international value. Furthermore it is surrounded by the Usuri, the Trans-Baikal, the Amur, and the South Manchurian Railways, all of which are of more importance as means of international communication. It is significant that while laying special stress on the Chinese Eastern Railway the others seem to be lost sight of altogether.

(f) Another stock argument is that, in order to prevent other countries from taking advantage of China's weakness, it is better to entrust it to one strong power or to the joint administration of several powers. This is too absurd to require any serious refutation. First of all we do not believe that the powers interested in the Far Eastern problems and represented here at the Conference harbour any covetous designs on this Railway. Should unfortunately this be the case, then it seems to us that it is the duty of the Conference to prevent others from encroaching upon it rather than to take away from China what belongs to her by right.

(g) Another reason given in favor of seeking a settlement in Washington is based on the fact that it is already

now under control of the Inter Allied Board. This is still less tenable, for the agreement that created this Board provides also for its termination on the withdrawal of the Allied troops in Siberia. In fact the Board has been established for a temporal purpose and cannot be made a legally permanent institution. It has now long outlived its purpose.

(h) It has been advocated by some that the management of the Railway should be entrusted to an international control "in trust" for the Russians who are now impotent. To this our answer is that the Chinese Eastern Railway is only one of the many Russian interests in China. It is illogical that whilst no objection is raised about the others the Chinese Eastern Railway should be singled out. Besides, Russian investments can surely also be founded in countries other than China. Are the other powers to be accorded the same treatment?

(4) *The two resolutions of this Conference.*

At the Far Eastern Committee meeting the following resolutions were adopted on February 2, 1922;

"1. *Resolved*, that the preservation of the Chinese Eastern Railway for those in interest requires that better protection be given to the Railway and the persons engaged in its operation and use a more careful selection of personnel to secure efficiency of service, and a more economical use of funds to prevent waste of the property. That the subject should immediately be dealt with through proper diplomatic channels."

"2. The powers other than China in agreeing to the resolution regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway reserve the right to insist hereafter

upon the responsibility of China for performance or non-performance of the obligations toward the foreign shareholders, bondholders and creditors of the Chinese Eastern Railway which the Powers deem to result from the contracts under which the railroad was built and the action of China thereunder and the obligations which they deem to be in the nature of trust resulting from the exercise of power by Chinese Government over the possession and administration of the railroad."

Concerning requests in resolution 1 the Chinese Government has already attended to them and it is hoped that the wishes of our friends will be satisfied without the necessity to resort to diplomatic channels. My personal view is that, although the Chinese Government will welcome any friendly technical and economic assistance, it will object most strongly to any interference of general finance, operation and police. This is vital for the protection of her own interest as well as that of her partner's.

The second resolution insists on the Chinese responsibility of the obligation toward the foreign shareholders. According to principles of law, China, having assumed the direction exercised by the Russian Government, naturally will accept its responsibilities. At the same time it must be remembered that Government responsibilities are different from responsibilities of a corporation. In case of the latter, responsibilities of the various acts are shared by the shareholders meeting, board of directors, board of comptrollers, manager, etc, whereas the Government, taking no part in its internal operation, can not reasonably be held responsible for obligations other than its direction.

How French India Once Had a Lucky Escape From Annihilation

BY PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER
Victoria University of Manchester.

ALL old residents in China will remember a grim old warrior who a generation ago held the proud position of Admiral on the Yangtse, cooperating with the three viceroys and governors at Nanking, Wuchang, (Hankow) and Gankin, and to a certain extent with the other two governors having authority over the huge Lakes of Poyang and Tungting; but independent of them all, and even to a certain extent of the Emperor, whom he would never go to visit at Peking, yet whose confidence he enjoyed, and who was invariably asked to report in case any viceroy or governor was charged with corruption or maladministration. The old man's name was P'eng Yu-lin, and he always lived the simple life without suite, staff, sedan chair, or even decent clothes; cared for no one, made no squeezes, had no friends or parasites, and took care to keep himself in an (official) condition of chronic ill-health, so as to evade inconvenient summons to Peking. When he at last retired, he spent his time like a hermit on an islet in the Hangchow Lake, and no doubt Dr. Main and other old residents of Hangchow will remember him well. During the Russian squabble about Ili, the Japanese contest for Loochow, the Korean revolution of 1882-3 and the capture by China of the Korean King's father, the French conquest of Tonquin, and other foreign troubles of the early "Eighties", his advice was constantly sought and bluntly given. Li Hung-chang's mother happened to die in 1882, and he had to be forcibly dragged out of mourning by soothing decrees in order to deal with

the Korean King's father at Tientsin and Peking. The viceroy Chang Shu-sheng of Canton was therefore in temporary charge at Tientsin, and the London Envoy Marquis Tseng's uncle was in temporary charge at Canton. After Ravière's defeat by the Black Flags and his death in May, 1883, the Chinese took heart of grace, arranged to assist the Annamese surreptitiously, and, whilst pretending to protect Annam against the Chinese Black Flag rebel Lao Vinh-phuoc, in reality cooperated with both him and the Annamese (notwithstanding the King of Annam's treaty with the French) in the hope of driving out the same French. Li Hung-chang—temporarily at Shanghai—was made strategical generalissimo for the three provinces of Kwantung, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. Tsen Yuh-ying, the bloodthirsty crusher of the Panthay revolt, and the supposed instigator of Margary's murder in 1875, was recalled from the Foochow governorship (to which he had been appointed in order to keep the Japanese off Formosa) and re-appointed to Yunnan. Tseng Kwoh-tsuan, after making the best dispositions he could to fortify the Canton river, was recalled; Chang Shu-sheng resumed his post there; Admiral Ting now first appeared upon the scene and in Tonquin waters, whilst P'eng Yu-lin was ordered down to Canton as a sort of adviser at large. The French had arranged a protectorate with the King of Annam and had just taken Bacninh and Sontay in spite of the Chinese demonstrations of resistance, so that things were looking remarkably black for the ultimate safety of the Chinese

frontiers, when the doughty warrior P'eng Yu-lin in ghastly secrecy recommended to the Emperor the following heroic scheme for curing the French malady and, as he expressed it, "applying a conpuncture to the back of the neck in order to deal with a carbuncle on the tip of the nose." He asked the Emperor to telegraph a reply direct to him at Canton, so as to prevent Li Hung-chang (Superintendent of trade for the North) and Tso Tsung-tang (ditto for the South, the reconqueror of Turkestan in 1877) from delaying the proposition he was making.

P'eng Yu-lin's ingenious scheme was this. He had made the acquaintance at Canton of a certain Cheng Kwan-ying who, amongst other things, represented the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company at Saigon and Singapore, and belonged to the same family or village clan as the King of Siam: he pointed out,—what as a matter of fact seems to be historically correct—that in 1771 when "Alompra" or Aloungpya of Burma annihilated Siam, a man of Chinese descent named Cheng Chao rallied the broken Siamese and established upon the ruins the new dynasty that exists to this day. In 1782-1786 Phaya Tan (or Chakri) was succeeded by his son (? Phaya Phutta Yot 3a) known in Chinese as Cheng Hwa who agreed to send tribute to China every ten years. During the Manchu-Burmese war of 1765-1770, when Burma refused to send tribute the Chinese succeeded in inducing Siam to attack Burma, who finally did send tribute,—though certainly not out of dread of Siam. But in order to induce the Manchu Emperor to believe in Siam's willingness and capacity to help him against the French in 1883, P'eng Yu-lin went even further back by showing the services rendered by Siam to the Ming dynasty. For instance when the Japanese Napoleon Hideyoshi was conquering Korea in 1592 Siam offered to send a force to take Japan in the rear, and at the time of the Manchu conquest of China the Governor of Yunnan invited the assistance of Siam against Burma whose attacks upon

China thereupon ceased. Finally when the last scion of the Ming dynasty took refuge in and was interned by Burma, Siam attacked Burma in order to assist the troops of the Ming general. Finally when the Li dynasty of Tonquin was overthrown by the Ngyuen family, Siam supported Ngyuen Fuh-ying and assisted in destroying the coast pirates. (He discreetly omits to mention that Bishop Adrian and the French Government supported the same man, who was the Emperor Gialong of the present Annamese dynasty). The Ngyuen family proceeded to annex Ciampo and the northern part of Cambodia,—that is, the central part of Annam round Hue, and the six provinces round Saigon annexed by France in 1862 and later—which had not previously formed part of the ancient Yuehnam or An-nam as known to China,—that is, simply Tonquin. The principle involved is the same as that when in 36 B.C. China made use of Samarcand in order to break up the Hun power, and in 648 A. D. made use of Tibet to break up the Indian power. Of course, the six provinces of the Nan-ki or "South" must be Siam's reward for assisting us to drive the French out of the Peh-K'i or "North,"—that is, Tonquin; the Hue or central part of Annam is called the "Tso" and "Yu K'i," i.e. the "Right" and "Left Regions."

The Emperor's reply, whilst admitting the P'eng's proposal was good strategy, expressed a fear that Siam was too much under the control of England, since Singapore and Malacca had been annexed by that power. Siam no longer sent tribute to China and would therefore not be likely simply for the *beau jeu* of China to run her head against powerful France. Moreover, the family or local sympathy existing between the Siamese dynasty and friend Cheng Kwan-ying hardly suggests that Siam would move armies at his behest. Then, again, Singapore and Saigon are essentially trade resorts, and traders are always keener on making money for themselves than on raising funds for public war, especially as the French have now taken twenty years good root

in Saigon; and even supposing China had ships and guns fit to attack, in any case, Siam could do nothing alone against France. Certainly there is no love lost between England and France, but they are in the same boat, and, if England saw Siam assisting China with troops, she would probably grow nasty, and possibly end by annexing the whole Meum valley. P'eng Yu-lin, adds the Emperor, seems to have borrowed most of his arguments from Wei Yuan's suggestions as applied by him in his book "Wars of the Manchu Dynasty" to English aggressions, and in

matters of war, it will certainly not do to risk disaster by trusting to irresponsible theories. If these ideas get into the newspapers great damage will be done, for, as even P'eng himself suggests, it is "easier said than done". However, Cheng Kwan-ying can be attached to the Canton staff at once by wire, and the two Superintendents of Trade can state their views upon the whole matter to the Throne. (The above amusing confidential report and decree seem to have been published by accident in the Tung-hwa Luh for 1874-1908).

Improving the Lot of the Miners

By S. Y. CHU

A CASUAL glance over an old book, many realistic but sometimes awe-describing underground life, with inspiring illustrations, will convince any one of the dangers that confront the "Soldier of the Deep" as M. Simonin called the Miners. Granted that the days of the swinging bucket, with its human load perched dangerously on the edge and hanging on to the spinning rope, as it went down the shaft, are over; the fool-hardy collier with the open paraffin lamp, picking non-chalantly under a threatening mass of coal is a thing of the past; none the less it is true that the mining industry seems to have the Lion's share of all the industrial hazards. This is perhaps largely an inherent characteristic of the industry, and not entirely due to any comparative laxity of safety regulations. In fact, some of the best managed mines in this country have such elaborate systems for personal and community welfare that can compare favorably with any other industry.

The systematic organization of safety and welfare work on the part of mine operators, however, is of comparative recent growth, and is practically forced on the companies after appalling losses of human life. The coal miners especially have contributed heavily to the toll in gruesome catastrophies, before active steps were taken by both the various governments and the mine owners to prevent a recurrence of such accidents. The series of collier explosions in Great Britain between 1860 and 1870 rudely awakened the British Government and a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the causes of the accidents. Among other things accomplished may be mentioned the invention of the safety lamp by Sir Humphrey Davy. In the United States, the

explosion at the Mononah Mine, and the Darr Mine, in 1907 were unequalled in frightfulness in the whole history of mining in this country. The effect was immediate and mine engineers as well as legislators began to regulate more closely the underground operations of collieries. The question of air-coursing, under ground humidity, the nature of coal dust and the division into panels began to attract attention.

Still more recently the "Safety First" movement gripped the entire nation, and all mining men appreciate the full value of safety and welfare work as tending to raise the *morale* among the workers and promote better relations between employers and employed. It is now generally conceded that safety and welfare work is not mere overhead, or unavoidable philanthropy; it is necessary so as to prevent labor discontent, reduce labor turn-over, promote an *esprit de corps* among the workmen, therefore their efficiency.

Activities of a Modern Mining Company.

Let's consider how a modern mining community is taken care of by the company officials. First of all the proverbial ugliness of the mining towns has disappeared in the most progressive ones. The Negaunee Mines of the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Co. has even gone as far as to employ a regular landscape artist at a high salary to beautify the grounds, and the cleanliness around these plants and the general appearance of the town may put many a city park to shame where the public persistently decorate the grounds with newspapers, crumbs of bread and everything incompatible with the scenery. While this may be an extreme case, yet it is

not unusual in the West to find mining towns of neat appearance.

Much has also been done in the way of erecting sanitary dry houses where the tired men can indulge in a refreshing shower and emerge from the plant without losing any of his self-respect as a well-dressed citizen.

Of course the working places are made as safe as possible. A well organized Safety Committee, or department is usually maintained. Daily inspections of working places or machinery are conducted. The foremen and bosses are trained in first-aid and rescue work and they are responsible for the enforcement of Safety regulations. First-aid are given to all cases of injury no matter how slight to prevent septic cases.

The human element in the risks are not overlooked. The Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Co. has established night schools to train their employees in the safe and efficient handling of their work. The results were satisfactory from every point of view. Better work and safer plants are thus possible.

To promote contentment in the men, their leisure hours must also be looked after. It must be remembered that life in a mining town at best is singularly monotonous. The *raison d'être* of the town is the mine. In mining town gossip, even prohibition cannot hold the interest against what happened to Joe on the 33rd level. The value of the ore-body chiefly determines the location, so it happens that the mining town is usually inconvenience itself. Who will go then but those interested in mining? It takes all kinds of people to make the world, but very few species will make up a mining community. Is it any wonder that the miner is not easily satisfied? The modern company tries to alleviate this condition by maintaining wholesome sporting facilities, recreation halls and playgrounds. The expense has been justified by results as shown by the reduction of labor turnover in N. J. Zinc Co. since the installation of the social service department.

I might go on enumerating other

phases of activity, but suffice it to say that the Modern Mining Co. will do almost any thing to make the town a cheerful place to live in.

Work by the Federal and State Governments.

In spite of the broadcast information by the national safety organization, there are still men, either unscrupulous, or ignorant, who will not pay any attention to safety and welfare work. Here comes in the iron hand of the State governments. In all coal mining states, the mine inspector is the *bête noire* of the lazy bosses, and the code of laws they are made to observe is voluminous indeed. While the metal-mining states have not kept pace with the coal-mining states, government regulations and inspection is also making progress.

In this connection, the work of the Bureau of Mines is most commendable. The Bureau was created as a result of the 1907 disasters, when hundreds of lives were lost. Among its activities may be mentioned the investigation of causes of mining accidents, perfection of safety equipments and devices, investigation on explosives, dissemination of knowledge on safety matters, and the training of men in first aid and rescue work. The last phase deserves special attention. All told, the Bureau maintains 8 safety stations and 11 safety cars which travel among mining districts, giving intensive training to the miners. Up to August 20, it was recorded that more than 100,000 men were trained by the Bureau in modern first-aid and rescue methods.

Results of the Safety Movement.

If statistics do not lie, the safety movement has already shown its worth. According to the Bureau of Mines reports, fatalities in collieries in '07 totaled 3242 or 6.19 per 1000, 300-day workers, the rate gradually decreased till in '18 there were 2580 killed or 3.94 per 1000 300-day workers. In mineral mines, the rate was 4.45 in '11 and 3.51 in '18. In quarries the rate slightly declined

from 2.23 in '11 to 2.11 in '18. Reports from private companies, such as the N. J. Zinc Co. are equally illuminating as to the effectiveness of safety work.

While the safety work in this country is encouraging it still leaves ground for improvement. Comparative statistics shows that European countries are ahead in the matter of accident prevention. Compared with other industries, the mineral industry every year exacts a greater toll of lives proportionally. In '16, there were 184,844 accidents in Pennsylvania, out of which number the mining industry claimed no less than 51,833. This disproportionality, however, is partly accounted for by the higher percentage of illiterate foreigners in the collieries.

To sum up let me say first of all, safety and welfare work is not charity. It pays amply in dollars and cents. Industrial stability can only be reached when labor is efficient, intelligent and contented. Accidents, illness and turnover are sources of waste in industry.

Secondly, mining accidents, as well as any other kind, are largely preventable. Their occurrence is an evidence

of improper methods, equipments, faulty management or ignorant labor.

Thirdly, all production is dependent on two factors, labor and machinery; the former very usually the more significant in point of cost. A modern engineer must be able to marshal manpower efficiently as well as engine power. Training and guidance of labor is a responsibility on the part of engineer or employer, which cannot be neglected.

Finally the usual but necessary sighs over conditions in China. For all I know, the miners are treated more or less ilke slaves. Labor, almost consisting the only element in the production, is the least cared for. Large companies often keep an over supply of officials whose only connection with the business is perhaps the pay-envelope, yet not a cent is spent to improve labor. It is largely due to circumstances but perhaps a stringent set of mining regulations in regard to compensation and inspection and wide spread knowledge of the profitable nature of welfare work will greatly alter the situation.

MARCH OF EVENTS AT HOME

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AT HOME

IN spite of the strained political situation at home, no spectacular changes have been reported up to the present. Early in January it was reported that General Wu Pei-fu was moving large bodies of troops north from Hupeh, and he also wired the military governor of Chihli, Shantung, Honan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Kiangsu, Chekiang and Szechwan to join his opposition to the Liang administration. It was also reported that on January 15 he sent an ultimatum to the Peking government giving Mr. Liang three days in which to resign. With the backing of General Chang Tso-lin, Mr. Liang replied he would not resign under any circumstances, within three, five or seven days. Later General Wu reiterated his opposition, but Liang remained firm in his determination not to be forced to resign. At any rate General Wu's ultimatum was to have been effective on January 18, but no action has been taken so far. An associated press dispatch of January 18, says that General Chang Tso-lin has ordered the withdrawal of his troops from Peking to Mukden, indicating that fear of trouble from General Wu is allayed.

On January 23, however, came the rather unexpected announcement that President Hsu Shih-chang had granted a leave of absence to Premier Liang Shih-yi and appointed Dr. W. W. Yen, the Foreign Minister, as acting premier. The belief is generally expressed that the President will be obliged finally to accept Mr. Liang's resignation on account of the pressure of General Wu. Peking reports under date of January 28, announced that Liang tendered his resignation but that it was not accepted. According to later reports Mr. Liang and several of his Ministers are still on "sick" leave, refusing to resign but insisting that the President must either dismiss them or recall them to office. The President is evidently in a serious

dilemma on account of the pressure brought against him by the rival forces of General Wu Pei-fu and General Chang Tso-lin. His hesitation is probably offending both. However, actual military operations are not likely at present as neither force is prepared to fight until spring. Therefore the situation is virtually deadlocked.

GOVERNMENT IN FINANCIAL STRAITS.

The Peking government has been trying for some time to arrange a \$90,000,000 loan from the four power consortium with the salt surplus as security, but up to the present moment the effort has not been successful. In the meantime it has accepted a loan from Chinese and Japanese bankers of 96,000,000 silver dollars. The issue price is 84, the interest 8 per cent. and the loan is redeemable in seven years. The security given is the salt surplus. Chinese bankers are to furnish 75 per cent. of the money and the Japanese 25 per cent.

The Governments' New Year financial settlement was very inadequate to its needs. Its sole resources are the proceeds of an issue of treasury notes, underwritten by two government banks, with the salt revenue surplus as security. The issue nominally would yield 14,000,000 taels, but an advance in the discount rate and the refunding of small bank loans has reduced the prospective available funds to 6,000,000 taels with which to meet the enormous total of back salaries due government employees.

After the governments' issuance of its notes the smaller banks were unable to raise the amount, and merely credited the government with fixed deposits. For this reason thousands of government employees were paid only with promises, and foreign employees with worthless checks. The treasury notes are already discounted at 40 per cent.

Earlier in the month seven warships of the Chinese Navy left Shanghai for Shiherhwei, near Yangchow, Kiangsu,

the commanders announcing their intention of collecting the salt duties there to obtain money with which to buy food for their sailors. The crews of the vessels have not received their wages for the last six months, and their officers asserted before sailing that their action was necessary to prevent the starvation of their men. Shihherwei is the point at which salt is transhipped from the region north of the Yangtse River valley.

Formal notice of their intention was served by the naval commanders upon the President and Cabinet. Their statement seeks to assure foreign interests whose loans are secured by the salt revenues that the war craft will take only enough money from the salt duties to pay the overdue wages turning over the balance to the government.

RAISE FUNDS TO PURCHASE SHANTUNG RAILROAD.

A nation wide movement to raise funds to purchase the Shantung railway has begun. The leaders of the movement in Peking have presented to the presidential office a recommendation that a domestic loan of 30,000,000 yen should be raised, the security being the Peking-Mukden, the Peking-Hankow, the Peking-Suiyuan, and the Tientsin-Pukow railways.

PEACE IN WEST CHINA.

An official dispatch states that peace has been signed between Szechwan and the provinces of Hunan and Hupeh.

NEW CONSTITUTION IN HUNAN.

A new constitution has been written for the province of Hunan. It came into force on January 1, and the inauguration ceremony was invested with all the *éclat* that Changsha could command. The constitution is said to be a very clear document. It is the result of much cogitation on the part of the best brains that Hunan has.

RUSSO-MONGOL TREATY.

It is reported from Moscow via Riga that a Russo-Mongolian agreement has been concluded. The parties agree to

mutual recognition, undertake not to tolerate the presence of any organizations hostile to the other and guarantee the most favoured nation treatment.

A trade agreement will also shortly be concluded, the Bolsheviks hoping to secure large quantities of food from Mongolia.

GROWTH OF DRUG TRAFFIC IN MANCHURIA.

The International Anti-Opium Association, Peking, is receiving reports from the big cities in Manchuria showing a great recrudescence in the use of morphia and cocaine which exceeds the early opium days when no restrictions were placed on their use or sale. In Mukden and South Manchuria generally the sale of Morphia is principally in the hands of the Japanese druggists and pedlers. The latter are initiating the villagers in large numbers in the use of drugs. As drugs are cheaper than the opium they are preferred.

Jehol opium is being sold at \$2 per ounce for the cheaper and \$4 for the better quality. This low cost is attributed to the conception of opium brought in by a gang of smugglers from Siberia and North Manchuria. This gang is said to consist of Russians, Japanese, Chinese, Greeks, Caucassians, Turks, and non-descripts of other nationalities, to the number of about 1,000. They are said to have in their pay minor customs, railway and police officials all along the line of traffic, so that it is rarely that one of them is arrested. Associated with this gang are foreign women who travel between Changchun and Peking carrying morphia on their persons. These women retail the "snow" to the frequenters of the places where they reside.

Officers of the Anti-Opium Association say that it is virtually impossible to check the trade on account of the attitude of the Chinese government which has refused to move in the matter. The association points to the fact that in 1920 a list of Japanese shops alleged to be selling addictive drugs promiscuously was printed in one of the news-

papers. It is said that not one of these places has been closed, but that instead their number has increased. Anti-Opium Association workers openly charge that a percentage of profit from the drug traffic finds its way into official pockets.

Officers of the association say that they are eagerly awaiting the visit to China of the Opium Commission of the League of Nations, whose investigations are expected to result in a curtailment of the drug business.

INCREASING EXPORT OF RUGS TO U. S.

There has been a steadily increase in the export of carpets and rugs from China, and the United States particularly has made much heavier purchases. According to figures from the Chinese Maritime Customs, American buying accounted in 1920 for all but a small part of the purchases. Reckoned in haikwan or customs taels, which were quoted at \$1.14 in the closing quarter of 1920, the United States took 1,033,067 of the total of 1,424,237 Chinese carpets and rugs destined for this country were valued at only 134,057 taels in 1918, and 294,833 taels in 1919.

Only in recent years have Chinese rugs and carpets been shipped abroad and, at first, they were confined to antique makes. The present exporting business is almost entirely in the hands of local foreign export houses. The rugs are manufactured only by native

Chinese who, with the exception of one firm in Peking, do not carry on correspondence in English and are, consequently, unable to deal direct with foreigners.

HUNGER CONDITIONS IN CHINA.

The International Famine Relief Committee has made an investigation into the famine condition in China due to the overflowing of the Yellow river and the Whai River last fall. The following table shows the provinces affected and the number of destitute in each.

Kiangsu	3,000,000
Anhwei	3,000,000
Shantung	2,800,000
Hunan	1,500,000
Chekiang	1,200,000
Hupeh	1,500,000
Honan	1,500,000
Shensi	1,000,000
Total	15,500,000

Floods in the two river basins caused the greatest destitution last fall, and a large district is still under water. Reports from Shantung say that the ice in the Hwangho is breaking the dikes and that the land is flooded again. The temperature is down to zero and the formation of ice makes the rescue of people driven to the house tops extremely difficult. It is also hard to find enough men to help in the perilous work.

L. S. LOH.

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TIEN TSIN: 27, Victoria Road PEKIN: Wagon-Lits Hotel

YOKOHAMA: 73, Settlement KOBE: 31-B, Akashi-machi

MANILA: 36 Escolta

CALCUTTA, INDIA: BANKSHALL ST.

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA: ATLAS BLDG., SPRING ST.

ATLANTA, GA.
29 Luckie St.

BALTIMORE, MD.
19 E. Baltimore, St.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
4 N. 19th St.

BOSTON, MASS.
48 Franklin St.

BUFFALO, N. Y.
Main & Erie Sts.

CHICAGO, ILL.
32 N. Dearborn St.

CINCINNATI, O.
4th & Race Sts.

CLEVELAND, O.
3048 E. 9th St.

DALLAS, TEXAS
1709 Live Oak St.

DENVER, COLO.
1648 Stout St.

DETROIT, MICH.
35 W. Fort St.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.
32 S. Meridian St.

KANSAS CITY, MO.
1125 McGee St.

LOS ANGELES, CAL.
752 S. Broadway

MEMPHIS, TENN.
124 N. Court

MILWAUKEE, WIS.
366 Broadway

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN
619 Marquette Ave.

MONTREAL, CAN.
231 St. James St.

NEWARK, N. J.
876 Broad St.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.
707 Gravier St. (St. Charles Hotel Bldg.)

NEW YORK CITY
65 Broadway
118 W. 39th St.
18 Chatham Square
2121 Broadway
17 W. 23rd St.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.
148 S. Broad St.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.
809 Liberty Ave.

PORTLAND, ORE.
6th & Oak Sts.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH
26 W. Second S. St.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.
Market St. at Second

SEATTLE, WASH.
804 Third Ave.

ST. LOUIS, MO.
9th & Locust Sts.

TORONTO, CAN.
72 Bay St.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
1328 F. St. N. W.

WINNIPEG, CAN.
233 Fort St.

CLUB NEWS

BALTIMORE

Chinese New Year! How many of us have allowed that occasion to pass by without even the knowledge of its occurrence, not to say the benefit of its celebration? Thrown in the midst of this constant hustling of an American "melting pot," the observance of our national festivals seems to be of little or no consequence.

But the conservative Baltimore Club, largely due to its dutiful President, Dr. C. E. Lim, had the pleasure of a social gathering on Chinese New Year's Day, January 27th, at the Johns Hopkins Club. It was a very pleasant *ensemble* in the nature of a general "get together." We had the pleasure of initiating into our Club that day the following new arrivals: Mr. H. A. King of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Dr. and Mrs. J. H. Liu of the Peking Union Medical College, Mr. S. Y. Liu of the Porcelain Enamel Manufacturing Co. of Baltimore and Dr. Y. K. Wang of Peking.

Requests have, now and again, been made to the Club for its members to speak on various Chinese topics before certain local American civic, advertising or philanthropic societies. Hitherto, we have been represented mostly by our male members on such occasions, but as we have quite a creditable number of female members, we propose to have the latter address our American friends when appropriate occasions present themselves again in the future.

S. H. LIN.

B. U. & TUFTS COLLEGE

Our Boston University and Tufts College Chinese Students Club held a most unique meeting and dinner party at the Chong Hing Restaurant, Boston, on Wednesday, November 23, 1921 at the appointed time, 6.30 P. M.

After partaking of the delicious food prepared by expert chefs, President T.

L. Hsi gave a few remarks concerning the club's activities. Thereupon, he started the ball rolling and each member in turn initiating him or herself by self-introduction which was a brief biography of past, present and future status. Following we adjourned to Cambridge to attend the Harvard Chinese Students Club's Social.

The success of our dinner party can be attributed to the hearty cooperation of every club member and, last but, not least, to the able committee:—Misses Ruth Ho and Sarah Huong and Messrs. K. C. Liu and T. H. Liang.

On New Year's Day, Dr. Marshall L. Perrin of Boston University invited the members of our club to his home in Wellesley Hills where we spent a most delightful afternoon.

Mr. Marsh read a chapter of his book "Jungleland" which is soon to be published. It is certainly well worth reading. Mr. Yeh of Bates College, recited Victor Hugo's "Death Penalty."

While delicious refreshments were served, we enjoyed a happy exchange of greetings with one another. January 1, 1922 shall long be remembered by the members of the B. U. and Tufts College Chinese Students Club.

On Saturday evening, February 4th, we had another club dinner at the Chong Hing Restaurant, Boston. Although strange things are happening everywhere, yet the strangest things are happening in our B. U. and T-U-F-T-S College C. S. C. For, you can note the popularity and activities of the fair sex.

President T. L. Hsi conducted the business part of the meeting, which was followed by general discussion. Then we partook of the delicious dinner, meanwhile enjoying a social chat with one another. At its conclusion we all joined in playing some of the familiar educational games until it was time to adjourn.

M. CHEN.

DETROIT

It has been the custom of the club to give a banquet in honor of its graduates. This year W. K. Chu, Chester Toy, and Teung Toy joined the role of the graduates. The occasion was made more memorable in that the old Chinese New Year fell on the same day. We were very fortunate in having Mr. Samuel Young as our host. The evening was made more brilliant not only by the delicious dishes but also by speeches, college songs, and yells.

At the regular election meeting of the club the following were elected officers for the semester:

Jennie Moy, President; Francis Leong, Vice-President; James Moy, Recording Secretary; Bong Lum, Chinese Secretary; Katie Moy, Corresponding Secretary; Wing Toy, Treasurer; Gerald Moy, Sergeant-at-arms.

KATIE MOY.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.

The Chinese Students' Club of Grand Rapids, Mich., was organized on May 14th, 1921. It includes Grand Rapids, Holland and some other neighboring cities in the State of Michigan. We have seven members, namely Messrs. Chung P. Lum, L. S. Lum, B. H. Chin, C. S. Wong, Paul Y. J. Lum of Grand Rapids; Mr. K. K. Wong, formerly of Ohio State University, now at Hope College, and Mr. F. C. Wu. We have a new student Miss R. T. C. Chen who arrived at Hope College last September.

The officers for 1921-1922 are Mr. Ching P. Lum, President; Mr. B. H. Chin, Vice-president; Mr. F. C. Wu, Secretary; and Mr. C. S. Wong, Treasurer.

F. C. WU.

IOWA STATE

An election of new officers for the second semester of the academic year was held at our last meeting. Those elected are: Mr. Eddie K. W. Lum, president; Miss Ngai-Chen Shih, vice-president; Mr. Li Tung Yuan, secretary; Mr. Edward Zecha, treasurer; Miss Deh-fong Djou, Mr. William

Lauw Zecha and Mr. Tao Chiang, executive councillors.

In order to help defray a part of the expenses for work done by the Chinese students in behalf of China at the Washington Conference, our club made a contribution to both the Chinese Students' Committee on Washington Conference and the Chinese Students' Alliance.

At the mid-year Convocation of the University of Iowa on January 30, two members of our club were candidates for degrees. Mr. T. M. Lau, our former president, received his B.A. and Mr. Liang Yi Ho his M.S. in Chemistry. Mr. T. M. Lau has left for Chicago where he will take up some special work in Banking and Business. To him we wish the best of luck. Mr. Liang Yi Ho is still with us, working for his Ph.D.

This semester, we welcome a new member, Mr. Horace T. C. Tu, Mr. Tu received his B. A. degree last summer from Cedar Falls College, Ia., and is now taking up post-graduate work in Education at this University.

The new headquarters of our club is now at 104 South Gilbert St., Iowa City, Iowa.

EDDIE LUM.

MILWAUKEE

We have a Four Corner Club in Milwaukee consisting of twenty two different nations. All the members of C. S. C. of Milwaukee are members of the Four Corner Club, which is conducted under the Students' Secretary of Y. M. C. A.

Let me tell you how hospitably the Americans in this city have treated us.

During the Christmas our American school mates all went home leaving those far away from home. But we are not lonesome. The members of the Four Corner Club as well as of the C. S. C. were invited at a Christmas dinner and entertainment by the Junior Association of Commerce in the Elizabethan room of the Athletic Club. Among the larger groups were 11 from Sweden, 10 from Philippines, and 8 from China.

Miss Thehna McCurdy entertained us with an oriental dance, assisted by Miss Elsa Hahn. Other entertainers were Miss Browning and Miss Ann Stef-fel. Mr. H. B. Mortimer, president of the association, made an address of wel-come.

KAI YEN MA.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

Since the last summer there have been two Chinese Students at the George Peabody College for Teachers of Nash-ville, Tenn. Both are taking graduate work and both are graduates of Soo-chow University. The former is a mem-ber of the class of 1914 in Arts. They are Messrs. Benjamin C. M. Bau and Peter S. T. Shih. Mr. Bau is specializ-ing in Agriculture and Mr. Shih is majoring in Elementary Education.

Besides these two students there are two other Chinese, thus making the total number of four. They are medical doctors, one at the Vanderbilt Hospital and the other in the City Hospital. Both are doing excellent work and are very popular in their respective places. Now and then these four meet and have a good time.

There is not a club here, consequently no club news; but these words show that there are four Chinese in this cor-ner of the world.

PETER S. T. SHIH.

OHIO STATE

The Annual Banquet of the Club was held on December 23 in Mrs. Harrison's with Dr. and Mrs. Withrow, Dr. and Mrs. Houston and Dr. Speer as our honorable guests. A program consist-ing of speeches and music was conduct-ed after the dinner. In this connection, we don't fail to thank our guests includ-ing Misses Henrietta and Josephine for their hearty co-operation with the hosts in making the occasion a success. While we realize the kind help of Mrs. Harri-son and of Mrs. Watson, we must not neglect to mention Mr. T. C. Liu to whom every participant in the banquet ought to be indebted for the banquet arrangements. Addresses delivered in

the serious and humorous tone and music, vocal and instrumental, delight-ed everybody.

Never before in the history of the club was Christmas better enjoyed by its members than last year. Through the untiring efforts of Mr. Joseph Park of the University Y. M. C. A., most of our members were ushered into the real American homes.

Dr. Withrow's discussion meetings in which different phases of industrial op-portunities in China were scrutinized, attracted a large audience. The last meeting was led by Mr. Y. L. Pun who gave a brief survey of the resources of the Kwangsi province and the talk last-ed about an hour. After a brief dis-cussion of the topic in question, came the election of the new officers for the following semester and the result was: Mr. T. H. Fang, President; Mr. Y. T. Loo, Vice-president; Mr. C. Y. Pang, Secretary; Mr. C. S. Chu, Treasurer-manager.

C. C. YUAN.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE

The great rush of the departure of the old semester and the reception of the new one is over. We are again as-suming our mode of a college life:

This year the Chinese New Year Day came in on a Saturday. The celebra-tion of the Chinese New Year is there-fore to be first mentioned. We had a grand time together in the Main Build-ing on the campus. Never before had we had the opportunity to observe the days of our Chinese traditional festi-ivity, and this is the first of the kind. Sumptuous dinners was served accord-ing to the Chinese way and we all seemed to enjoy immensely. After din-ner we were sitting around the fire and talking about home affairs. We had certainly created a very home like air and every one of us was well soothed and enchanted. Many of our friends were remembered.

On the eve of January 31st, Mr. Wil-liam T. H. Ho, our club chairman, re-ceived his degree of Bachelor of Science in agriculture. Mr. Ho is to remain

here for the rest of the year taking up his research work in plant pathology. He, however, expects to leave us for a certain western university where he may do extension work or may assist in teaching next year. While Mr. Edwin Y. S. Hwa, our club treasurer will be through with his undergraduate work in the coming June. We hope some new comers will be here to take their places.

On the evening of February 4th, we were invited to Prof. and Mrs. Crockett's home. This was the second social gathering of our club members this semester. We were kindly and educationally entertained with wonderful lantern-slide pictures and various refreshments.

OLIVER S. MARK.

PHILADELPHIA

The election for the club officers took place on the 1st of February. The result was as follows:

President, Pin Chu; Vice-president, H. S. Chow; Secretary, Elmer C. Ling; Treasurer, K. N. Li; Business Manager, S. T. Chow.

Friday, January 20th, was made memorable as the eleventh Chinese Night given in honor of our American friends. The program consisted chiefly of vocal and musical selections. One of the most interesting features was the recital rendered by the children from the city. Dancing and refreshments concluded the most enjoyable evening.

At their third preliminary meeting held on January 28th, the members of the Chinese Students Banking Club decided upon various new activities for the year, the first being a banquet to be given at the beginning of March to celebrate the inception of the new club.

We are very glad to welcome into our midst Mr. Roland L. Fang from New York. This in spite of the departure of Mr. C. T. Chow accompanied by his bride, the new semester finds the number of Chinese Students in the Quaker City remaining at the same old mark of 58.

ELMER C. LING.

SEATTLE, WASH.

Miss Jessie Arkermann delivered a speech before the Seattle Business Women's Club on the topic "China and the Chinese at Close Range." Our students were invited as guests of the Club and we all appreciated her right ideas and interpretation of China to the American audience.

The regular meeting of the Winter Quarter was called for Jan. 11, 1922 at Commerce Hall, Room 215. N. S. Tsoi presided. Several announcements were made with regard to many club activities to be carried on. The resignation of Rose Law Yow was accepted and Toby Chen was elected as Vice-president to succeed her by a plurality vote. A social party was decided to be given in honor of the C.S.C. of the State of Washington to be given within this month. Toby Chen as Chairman and Paul Cheng, Frank Wong and Elsie Wong are on the Committee who will make arrangements for the party. We owe thanks to Mrs. Weage who has kindly allowed her home to be used for several club social meetings and a letter was sent to her expressing our gratitude.

The first meeting of the International Open Forum at the University of Washington was held at Denny Hall on Jan. 11 under the auspices of our Club and the University "Y". Dr. Chas. F. Hubbard, a missionary returned from Peking, delivered a lecture on "China and its Crisis".

Our students are gradually becoming interested in athletics. Two Chinese basket-ball teams in this city have been organized in good shape. We had a mid-winter mixer managed by Paul Cheng and all sports certainly enjoyed a dandy time. We are challenged by the Filipino lately and the score running was 6-16 in the latter's favor; however, the boys have shown up nicely.

We had a group picture taken at Philosophy Hall. Thirty members were shown on the roll at the beginning of the year.

An informal social was held at the University Methodist Church on Jan.

28 and students of the State Club were invited as our guests. We want to have better understanding, fellowship and cooperation with all. The folks attending enjoyed a good time in games, short stunts, music and Chinese refreshments. It happened to be the Chinese New Year Season and we were able to enjoy the typical home product from town.

Admiral Ting-kan Tsai, on his way home via Seattle, gave a speech before the China Club of Seattle at a formal dinner. He spoke on the subject, "The Result of the Disarmament Conference."

JOSEPH TUCK.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

A regular monthly meeting of the Chinese Students' Club of the University of Southern California was held on January 13, and the election of officers for the coming semester took place, the result being as follows: President, Miss Elizabeth Chan; Vice-President, Miss Lillie Leung; English Secretary, P. W. W. Wong; Chinese Secretary, D. L. Dzu; Treasurer, Peter Soo-Hoo; and Sergeant-at-arms, Richard Yang. The club ought to be congratulated for having elected as its president and vice-president two fair co-eds, both seniors of our college. With their strong leadership and able administration, the club is looking forward to a successful year.

In connection with our work for the Washington Conference, one of our most active members, Mr. C. C. Lee was sent to raise money among the Chinese merchants in the near-by towns. Through his strenuous efforts, a large sum of several hundred dollars was raised for this patriotic undertaking.

P. W. W. WONG.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

With the holiday season have come to us four new students. Our Chinese Students' Club in Springfield now numbers twelve.

Our last regular business meeting was called by the president on the

evening of Dec. 3, 1921. After the regular business transactions, there was a little social party in which time was enjoyably spent.

On Dec. 23, 1921 the club gave a Christmas party for our members and some of our American friends. About 25 people were present. Games were enjoyed under the direction of our Social Chairman Mr. Thomas Suvoong, and a few speeches were given by members and guests. It was a very successful affair.

On Dec. 6, 1921 we were fortunate to have with us, Dr. Z. T. Yui and Mr. Wen Shih Tsin a member of our Delegation to the Washington Conference. Besides conferring with us as a club, Mr. Wen addressed the students at the Springfield College, and in the evening both were guests of honor with Dr. John R. Mott at a testimonial dinner at the Hotel Kimball.

ELIZABETH LUM.

UTAH AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

There are only two Chinese students in this mountainous part of the country. The duet had the pleasure to hear Dr. Charles Edmunds, President of the Canton Christain College (Ling-nam). He spent a few days in Salt Lake City where he gave speeches and illustrated lectures. On January 17th he came to Logan and gave a speech at the Lyceum on "Dynamic China" dealing with our civilizations and our progress. This is the first speech on China that the Utahns ever heard and it paves the way to a clearer understanding.

The programme I am carrying out is: (1) to stimulate the interest of the Utahns and a clearer understanding, to do this I offer \$50 to the college for a best essay on friendship between the two countries; (2) to clarify misunderstandings by giving out a booklet containing all necessary materials; (3) to give illustrated lectures bought from Shanghai: all these are at my own expense.

This club welcomes and is desirous to co-operate with any other clubs, any work that may promote a better under-

standing between the two countries, especially the average people who have only known things that do not represent China.

K. L. LUNG.

YALE

On January 28 the Club held a special meeting in honor of Professor

Latourette who was about to depart on an important mission to China. Professor Latourette spoke briefly upon the conferences which he was planning to attend in China. He was followed by Dr. Lamb of the Divinity School who gave a fine extemporaneous oration befitting the occasion.

A. Y. KWAI.

PERSONAL NOTES

Jui-heng Liu, M.D. '13 Harvard, formerly connected with the Red Cross General Hospital at Shanghai, later appointed Associate of Surgery at the Peking Union Medical College since the reorganization of that college under the Rockefeller Foundation, is now in Baltimore pursuing post-graduate studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

W. K. Lim, M.D., a member of the staff of the Jefferson Clinic, Detroit, is returning home to visit his parents and to make a survey of the medical situation in China. He did a very creditable work when he read his original paper entitled "Roentgenological Studies in Injected Kidneys" before the American Roentgen Ray Society in Washington, D. C. last September.

Mr. Tennyson Tan has been elected to Alpha Pi Zeta, the honorary Political Science fraternity of the University of California.

Mr. K. S. Jue and Miss Emma Tomwye, both recent graduates of the University of California, were married shortly after their graduation last semester. They are at present making their home in San Francisco. Mr. Jue is manager of an export and import company.

Another wedding of interest which took place recently was that of Ngui Wing Mah, Ph.D., (California) and Miss Bertha Hosang, B.A., (McGill). Mrs. Mah is one of our most brilliant and popular members. She holds first prize records in both essay and oratorical contests among our students. Dr. Mah is at present in charge of the Bureau of International Relations,

University of California, and has also been appointed Lecturer in Political Science at the same institution.

Mr. Y. Lewis Mason, has now joined the Exporters' Co-Operative Company, 2 Rector Street, New York City, as Manager of the Chinese Department. He has secured from the said company, a 25 per cent. discount for transportation of the students' personal belongings. Mr. Mason is taking courses in New York University.

After a trip back from China, N. S. Tsoi has joined the University of Washington again and is devoting part of his time with the China Industrial Corporation at Seattle.

C. Zee and P. C. Kwok have graduated from the College of Business Administration, University of Washington. The former is returning home while the latter is going to join Columbia for some advanced work.

Chai-lan Yu, Associate Editor of Chinese Students' Monthly and Quarterly, received his Ph.D. degree in Chemistry from Columbia University on January 19, 1922. He has been assistant in Bio-chemistry, Columbia University. His dissertation is on "Quantitative Determination of Arachidic and Lignoceric Acids."

Mr. M. H. Chou, M.S. Wisconsin, once Research Chemist of Burgess Chemical Laboratories, lately Secretary and Manager of Chemical Department of the Great China Corporation, is *en route* to China with his bride, per S. S. Wenatche. He has been appointed Sales Manager of Ta Hu Cement Company, Wusih, China.

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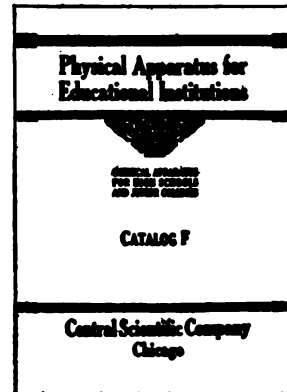
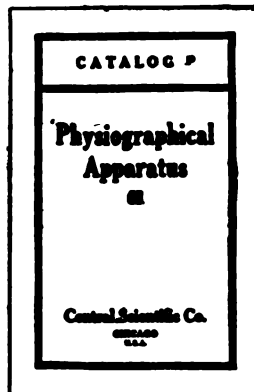
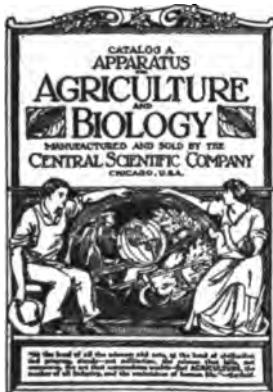
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CORRESPONDENCE

REFLECTION ON THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

To the Editor of the Monthly:

I am flattered by your invitation to contribute an article to the CHINESE STUDENTS MONTHLY for February, but exceedingly regret that the press of my ordinary duties debar me from that pleasure. I am the sorrier because I am filled with every genuine interest in the cause which the MONTHLY so efficiently promotes. Like the overwhelming majority of Americans, I have watched the progress of China's cause at the Washington Conference with unqualified sympathy; and with them, too, I regret that for many reasons, temporarily insurmountable, the cause did not prosper in every direction as thoroughly as was hoped. I do believe, however, that a tangible start has been made in the right direction. From that start there can hardly be any turning back. The road mapped out must and will lead eventually to the goal of China's desires. The hand of the marauder—of whatever nationality—has been stayed. International burglary forever has ceased to be a tolerated and approved pastime in China and at China's expense. The daylight has been turned on. There are robberies sometimes even in daylight, but they are not as easy to perpetrate as thefts in the night. I rejoice to feel that China's night, in the sense of international spoliation, is gone, and that day has come for her, and come to stay.

Americans believe, I think, China's

delegation of Yankee-bred representatives—Sze, Koo and Wang—rendered yeoman service for their country here. They could not break down stonewalls. They did, it seems to me, everything that literally, was humanly possible. Their fight for Shantung was brilliantly stubborn, and, as results have shown, in the main effective. Less tenacious men than China's Big Three would have succumbed to Japanese pressure.

My own emotions anent the Conference, as I view it in retrospect, are centered in the hope that we Americans will not rush to the conclusion that the Conference brought forth the millennium. It was not convened for that purpose, and that purpose was not achieved. The Conference did not "abolish war." It went far toward ridding this naughty world of ours of many of the most insidious and even most imminent causes of war. It arrested the bankrupting competition in construction of the costliest armament—capital ships. But the Conference did not, because it could not, obliterate those imponderabilia in the world which, I fear, long will exist and which call insistently upon sane and sagacious nations to keep a sharp sword and dry powder where both can be used quickly and expeditiously in case of emergency.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

Frederic William Wile,

"Public Ledger"

Philadelphia, January 31, 1922.



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BOOK REVIEW

My Chinese Marriage. By M. T. F. New York: Duffield & Co., 1921, \$1.75.

We have read so many books on the custom and the daily life of the Chinese people, written by foreigners, and often become disappointed when we find the authors trying to explain or interpret these things. We do not blame them because we realize that these things are indeed very difficult for foreigners to understand, still more so to interpret. There are, however, some books, written by foreign missionaries who have lived amongst the natives for a number of years and who speak their language, which give some more true accounts of these things, but it is still to be regretted that these accounts are only confined to the conditions existing among the people who are within the reach of the foreign missionaries.

For the first time we find a book which tells the true and inside story of the custom and daily life of the Chinese people, both the modern and old, well-to-do and rich classes. The author of "My Chinese Marriage" is an American woman, highly educated, brought up by a conservative Scotch family in a Western town. For personal reasons the names of her own family and others and the real name of her husband are shielded. She went to China and lived with her husband in Shanghai for some time, where she had the opportunity to know the modern ways and manners of the people, the life of foreign returned students, and the new current of thoughts.

Later she went with her husband to his family in South China, where she found the old custom of the rich class prevailing. Taken as the first daughter-in-law, favored by the Chinese mother, the author was given special opportunity to know and see things which other foreigners find no way to learn. Living amongst the people and

being considered as one of them, naturally she had the privilege to inquire into every detail of their actual daily life.

The book is divided into four parts, which formed a series of articles published in the *Asia Magazine* before they were put in book form. The first part is "In America", the second, "In Shanghai", the third, "First Daughter-in law", and the fourth, "The Eternal Hills".

The first part relates the story of the antecedent and beginning of the author's marriage to "Chan-king", a college mate of hers; and how they were married in spite of the prejudice on the part of her relatives and friends, although not on the part of her parents, and of the disapproval of his family in China, which resulted into the disruption of his financial support and correspondence from home. It would be, therefore, quite a surprise for those who have just finished reading the first part of this book to note on the front page the inscription "To my Chinese father and mother with the gratitude and affection of their American daughter this book is dedicated". Just how she gained the favor of his mother and how his mother changed her attitude from disapproval to welcome, which seemed at the beginning of their marriage to be impossible, the remaining three parts narrate with intense interest.

Intermarriage is indeed a great problem, there being a great many difficulties to be overcome and differences to be adjusted. Unless all the difficulties can be overcome and difference adjusted, the fear of an unhappy union is quite logical. But usually objections to intermarriage are raised rather by the prejudice than by the fear. The fear may be overcome, the prejudice will remain unchanged. In this case, however, even the prejudice was over-

come. The devotion to each other throughout their life and the harmony with which they lived in both her and his parents' homes are no better evidences to prove the Kipling poem to the contrary, and to show that, if each is open-minded and unprejudiced towards the things of the other, not only the conflict can be avoided, but better results may be produced by the adjustment of their differences. The same is true with the world civilizations. If men are not prejudiced against one another's civilization, but are open-minded and willing to make adjustments, there is no reason why a better civilization is impossible. The author teaches the world a good lesson when she says: "Had my husband been less considerate, less sincere and loyal, had his family been less kindly and broad-minded, had I myself been capricious and wilful or unable to adapt myself to surroundings, I might every day have plumbed the depth of misery".

It must be made clear that this book is by no means purported to advocate intermarriage. The author has re-

peatedly emphasized this point. "I decided," she states, "that no rules could be made about intermarriage. It was an individual problem, as indeed all marriage must be". Still this book might be passed without due notice which it deserves, because of its title, which suggests and is apt to raise prejudice of many both of the American and the Chinese. But I am sure that those broad-minded and intelligent enough to acquire the knowledge of all things will take advantage of the information given in this book relating the real custom of the Chinese people, which is indeed difficult to obtain in books published in English, and which serves very well to correct many wrong impressions and misunderstandings created in this country by various misrepresentations. Just for the sake of this true information, I recommend this book to all those who desire to know the real Chinese people and their real custom. I especially refer this book to the fiction-writers, film-makers and play-producers in this country.

J. S. Tow

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTS

Proceedings of the Washington Conference

A DIGEST

I. PLENARY SESSIONS.

Fifth Plenary Session, February 1, 1922.

Resolutions regarding the withdrawal of foreign post offices and troops, from China, the Open Door, Railways, the reduction of military forces, radio stations and the publicity of treaties were reported by the Chairman.

The contents of the Naval, and Shantung Treaties were also made known.

Sixth Plenary Session, February 4, 1922.

American, Chinese and Japanese declarations on the Twenty-One Demands were made and a general survey of the Conference was given by the Chairman and the heads of delegations.

The Shantung Treaty between China and Japan was signed the same afternoon at the Pan-American Union Building in the presence of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour.

Seventh Plenary Session, February 6, 1922.

The signing of the Nine Power Treaty relating to China, the Nine Power Chinese Tariff Treaty, the Five Power Naval and War Time Weapons Treaties and the Amendment to the Four Power Pact.

II. SESSIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON PACIFIC AND FAR EASTERN QUESTIONS.

January 16, 18th Meeting.

The question of Chinese Customs Duties was discussed.

January 17, 19th Meeting.

The Question of Open Door was discussed.

January 18, 20th Meeting.

The discussion of Open Door was continued.

January 19, 21st Meeting.

The question of Chinese railway rates was discussed.

January 20, 22nd Meeting.

The question of existing commitments in China was discussed.

January 21, 23rd Meeting.

The discussion on existing commitments was continued.

January 23, 24th Meeting.

A tribute to Viscount Bryce. The question of the withdrawal of Japanese from Siberia was discussed.

January 24, 25th Meeting.

American declaration regarding Siberia.

January 25, 26th Meeting.

The question of radio stations was discussed.

January 27, 27th Meeting.

The discussion of radio stations in China was continued.

January 31, 28th Meeting.

The question of arms embargo was discussed.

February 1, 29th Meeting.

The shipment of arms to China and the deposit of customs revenue were discussed.

February 2, 30th Meeting.

The question of the Chinese Eastern Railway was discussed. Japanese statement regarding the Twenty-One Demands.

February 3, 31st Meeting.

Chinese and American statements regarding the Twenty-One Demands.

On the same day the Committee adjourned sine die.

Proceedings of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions

(Continued from Last Issue)

January 16, 1922.

The eighteenth meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held this afternoon, January 16, 1922, at 3.30 o'clock in the Pan-American Building.

The CHAIRMAN (MR. HUGHES) said that before proceeding with the further order of business they would entertain a report of the Drafting Committee in relation to the matter of customs in China. Mr. Root then presented resolutions which after discussion and amendment were adopted as follows:

AGREEMENT ON THE REVISION OF THE CHINESE TARIFF.

With a view to providing additional revenue to meet the needs of the Chinese Government, the Powers represented at this Conference, namely the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China,

France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, and Portugal agree:

That the customs schedule of duties on imports into China adopted by the Tariff Revision Commission at Shanghai on December 19, 1918, shall forthwith be revised so that the rates of duty shall be equivalent to 5 per cent. effective, as provided for in the several commercial treaties to which China is a party.

A Revision Commission shall meet at Shanghai, at the earliest practicable date, to effect this revision forthwith and on the general lines of the last revision.

This Commission shall be composed of representatives of the Powers above named and of representatives of any additional Powers having Governments at present recognized by the Powers represented at this Conference and who have treaties with China providing for a tariff on imports and exports

not to exceed 5 per cent. *ad valorem* and who desire to participate therein.

The revision shall proceed as rapidly as possible with a view to its completion within four months from the date of the adoption of this resolution by the Conference on the Limitation of Armament and Pacific and Far Eastern Questions.

The revised tariff shall become effective as soon as possible but not earlier than two months after its publication by the Revision Commission.

The Government of the United States, as convener of the present Conference, is requested forthwith to communicate the terms of this resolution to the Governments of Powers not represented at this Conference but who participated in the Revision of 1918, aforesaid.

AGREEMENT REGARDING REVISION OF CHINESE CUSTOMS DUTIES.

With a view to increasing the revenues of the Chinese Government, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, and Portugal agree:

I. That immediate steps be taken through a Special Conference to be composed of representatives of the Contracting Powers, and other Powers which adhere to this Convention, to prepare the way for the speedy abolition of *likin* and for the fulfillment of the other conditions laid down in Article VIII. of the Treaty of September 5, 1902, between Great Britain and China, in Articles IV. and V. of the Treaty of October 8, 1903, between the United States and China, and in Article I. of the Supplementary Treaty of October 8, 1903, between Japan and China with a view to levying the surtaxes provided in those articles.

The Special Conference shall meet in China within three months after the date of the ratification of this Convention on a day and at a place to be designated by the Chinese Government.

II. The Special Conference shall consider the interim provisions to be applied prior to the abolition of *likin* and the fulfillment of the other conditions laid down in the articles of the treaties above mentioned; and it shall authorize the levying of a surtax on dutiable imports as from such date, for such purposes, and subject to such conditions as it may determine.

The surtax shall be at a uniform rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* except in the case of certain articles of luxury which, in the opinion of the Special Conference, can bear a greater increase without unduly impeding trade, and upon which the total surtax shall not exceed five per cent.

III. That following the immediate revision of the customs schedule of duties on imports into China as provided for in a reso-

lution adopted by the representatives of all Powers signatory to this Convention at a Plenary Session of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament held in the City of Washington on the . . . day of January, Nineteen Twenty-two, there shall be a further revision to take effect at the expiration of four years following the completion of the aforesaid revision, in order to ensure that the customs duties shall correspond to the *ad valorem* rates fixed by the Special Conference herein provided for.

That following this revision there shall be periodical revisions of the customs schedule of duties on imports into China every seven years for the same purpose, in lieu of the decennial revision authorized by existing treaties with China.

That in order to prevent delay, such periodical revisions shall be effected in accordance with rules to be settled by the Special Conference mentioned in Article I. herein.

IV. That in all matters relating to customs duties there shall be effective equality of treatment and of opportunity for all Powers parties to this Convention.

V. That the principle of uniformity in the rates of customs duties levied at all the land and maritime frontiers of China is hereby recognized; that the Special Conference above provided for shall make arrangements to give practical effect to this principle; and it is authorized to make equitable adjustments in those cases in which the customs privilege to be abolished was granted in return for some local economic advantage.

In the meantime, any increase in the rates of customs duties resulting from tariff revision or any surtax hereafter imposed, in pursuance of the present Convention, shall be levied at a uniform rate *ad valorem* at all land and maritime frontiers of China.

VI. That the charge for transit passes shall be at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* until the arrangements contemplated in Article I. herein come into force.

VII. That the Powers not signatory to this Convention having governments at present recognized by the Powers represented at this Conference, but whose present tariffs with China provide for a tariff on imports and exports not to exceed 5 per cent. *ad valorem* shall be invited to adhere to the present Convention, and upon such adherence by all of them this Convention shall override all provisions of treaties between China and the respective Contracting Powers which are inconsistent with its terms.

That the United States Government, as convener of the present Conference, undertakes to make the necessary communications for this purpose and to inform the Governments of the Contracting Powers of the replies received.

VIII. Ratification clause of usual form.

SEPARATE RESOLUTION.

That the Government of the United States, as convener of the present Conference, be requested to communicate forthwith the terms of the agreement arrived at with regard to the Chinese tariff to the Governments of the Powers concerned as stated in this Agreement, with a view to obtaining their adherence to the Agreement as soon as possible.

There then followed a discussion of the next question on the agenda, namely, the open door in China, which was not completed when the committee adjourned to meet January 17, 1922, at 3.30 P. M.

January 17, 1922.

Eighteenth meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions, January 16, 1922 (*continued*).

After the adoption of the resolutions regarding the revision of the Chinese tariff and customs duties the Chairman (Mr. Hughes), suggested that the Committee proceed to the next topic upon the American Agenda, *i. e.*, "the Open Door"—or equality of commercial and industrial opportunity. The Chairman said that this subject had an intimate connection with the topic which immediately followed it, namely, concessions or preferential economic privileges. The Committee might possibly make unnecessary the discussion at length of particular details in dealing with these subjects, if it were to adopt, by agreement of the Powers represented, a statement of principle in amplification of the so-called "Open Door" principle. The Committee had already resolved that it was the firm intention of the Powers here represented to use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China. It was manifest that the granting of special concessions of a monopolistic or preferential character, or which secured a general superiority of rights for one Power to the exclusion of equal opportunity for other Powers, was in opposition to the maintenance and application of this principle of equal opportunity. In order that this matter might be brought before the Committee for discussion with a view to the adoption, if possible, of a statement a little more in detail than the general statement already adopted, he ventured to present for consideration a Resolution which he did not mean to recommend in its precise phrasing necessarily, but simply as something concrete for consideration.

THE CHAIRMAN then read the following:

"DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE OPEN DOOR.

"With a view to applying more effectually

the principle of the open door or equality of opportunity for the trade and industry of all nations, The Powers represented in this conference agree not to seek or to support their nationals in asserting any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of the territories of China, or which might seek to create any such monopoly or preference as would exclude other nationals from undertaking any legitimate trade or industry or from participating with the Chinese Government in any category of public enterprise—it being understood that this agreement is not to be construed as to prohibit the acquisition of such properties or rights as may be necessary to the conduct of a particular commercial or industrial undertaking."

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES said:

"I should like to say, first, that we accept and are in the most hearty agreement with the purpose of this resolution. There are, however, one or two points, principally drafting points, on which I would like to initiate some discussion.

"The first point is this. As the proposed resolution stands, it applies to China, or rather to the Chinese Government and through it to Chinese nationals. At least, I read it so. I do not suppose that that was the intention, because that would have the effect of putting Chinese merchants or traders—"

THE CHAIRMAN (interposing): "That is not the intention."

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES: "That is not the intention?"

THE CHAIRMAN: "No. That is not the intention."

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES: "I understand. I am really dealing with a pure drafting point then which it is not necessary to pursue further at this moment.

"The next point of more than drafting importance, which I venture to bring forward for discussion is one which really arises at the end of the draft resolution. I call attention to the words 'it being understood that the agreement is not to be so construed as to prohibit the acquisition of such properties or rights as may be necessary to the conduct of a particular commercial or industrial undertaking.'

"I venture to suggest that unless some machinery be provided, serious difficulty may arise in future out of such a proviso as that. Obviously there must be certain relaxations of the central principle of the resolution that is recognized in the resolution itself; but how much relaxation is to be allowed, and how are we to define the amount of relaxation to be allowed, so that there may not be international discussion without

end over the interpretation of this clause? It occurs to me that it may not be beyond the range of possibility to apply some quite simple machinery in the way of a court of reference to which such matters could be submitted.

"That is an important matter, I think, with regard to these proposals.

"The next point I wish to raise is rather small. It is again in connection with the last part of the resolution. I quite understand that it is not desirable, it is not desired, and it would be unfortunate if it were done, that this resolution should be loaded with details, but we have such things as patent rights, trade marks, copyrights, etc., to provide for in any agreement. We also have such things as mining permits. Those have to be looked after, and I think are not covered by the wording of the resolution as it stands at the moment.

"The other points I have to raise on this resolution I think are all in the nature of drafting amendments and perhaps it would be better for me not to take them up at this time unless it is proposed to complete consideration of this matter today."

The Chairman said that, with respect to the important questions raised by Sir Auckland Geddes, he did not think that they presented any points about which there would be disagreement. In the first place, the *in-be* disagreement. In the first place, the intention, of course, was not to interfere with the appropriate relations between China and her own nationals. In two or three of the Resolutions, adopted by the Committee, which were manifestly intended to state the attitude and agreement of the Powers other than China, the words "other than China" had been inserted. The same could easily be done in the present case.

The point that cases might arise which would require diplomatic interchanges and possibly give rise to differences of view with respect to the application of the terms of the agreement, was common to many of the propositions which had been adopted. Without venturing at the moment to suggest anything definite, it might be found, before the labors of the Conference were finished, that it would be advantageous to provide some sort of machinery for the purpose of dealing with questions which might arise with regard to the application of the principles to which the Powers represented on the Committee had given adherence.

That, however, was not a matter which had embarrassed the Committee in dealing with the propositions heretofore advanced; for example, those very broad provisions of the Resolution, already adopted, respecting the sovereignty, the independence and territorial integrity of China, and the statement which related to the Open Door itself. It was evident that, in the application of these

principles, there might easily be transactions which would give rise to different points of view and as to which it would be highly desirable that there should be opportunity for consultations, for an interchange of views, and for efforts to reach a clear understanding.

The main point of this Resolution was this: That the Powers agreeing to it would not undertake for themselves or their nationals to establish in regions of China a general superiority of rights. Of course, anything the Committee did would be interpreted in the light of history, and he assumed that it might be difficult (although he was not desirous to press this particular form of expression upon the Delegates) to find a form which would more clearly give the idea of what had interfered with the application of the Open Door principle. In other words, there was a great difference between a particular enterprise, a particular undertaking of commerce or industry, and the assertion, or the endeavor to obtain a position from which it could be asserted that one Power, or its nationals, had a general superiority of right in any region of China.

With regard to the point that patents, trade marks, copyrights, and mining permits represented a phase of monopolistic endeavor, *quod hoc*, was of course well taken; but he assumed that it was certainly within the intention and, he would suppose, within the form of expression, that those particular rights would be embraced in the particular commercial or industrial undertaking with which it was not the purpose of this agreement to interfere. For example, if it were proposed that there should be an opportunity to obtain patent rights or copyrights such as inventors or authors enjoyed in this country, or other countries, the fact that any inventor or author had that opportunity and when he made use of it according to the law, obtained to that extent a monopoly, was not in any true sense an exclusion of anybody else who had the same opportunity with respect to the same sort of enterprise, under the same rules which were generally applicable. But if it were said that in any particular province or region of China no one should obtain patents except the nationals of a particular Power or that no one should enjoy the opportunity to have this or that sort of enterprise save one Power or its nationals then a situation would be created involving an assertion of an economic preference or superiority of privilege which would be utterly inconsistent with the Open Door principle. He granted the difficulty of stating that precisely. Any improvement that could be suggested would be welcome. The main point was that, when it came to dealing with this question of concessions and monopolies and preferential economic privileges, a clear understanding should, if possible, be arrived at by this Con-

ference which would promote the friendly relations which existed between the Powers represented and the spirit of friendly co-operation which had so happily been in evidence.

MR. BALFOUR said:

"Mr. Chairman, I cannot help thinking that the British Delegation has approached the discussion of this proposal from a somewhat different standpoint from that which you have just explained. We had thought that the principles on which you have so eloquently dwelt were already completely accepted. We understood that there was no representative of any Power around this table who thought that the old practice of 'Spheres of Influence' was either advocated by any Government or would be tolerable to this Conference. So far as the British Government is concerned we have, in the most formal manner, publicly announced that we regarded this practice as utterly inappropriate to the existing situation and we think that the phraseology used in the earlier part of this resolution admirably expresses the view that that system has not only gone, but has gone forever, and is now explicitly condemned. The words 'general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region' are words happily designed, as I think, to describe the system of Spheres of Influence; and the repudiation of that system is as clear and unmistakable as we could possibly desire. But we had supposed that all this had been already discussed and decided. Sir Auckland Geddes, therefore, devoted himself to dealing not with these generalities—he thought them beside our present purpose—but to seeing how they would effect the actual, practical development of industrial and economic effort in China.

"As regards most industrial enterprises, no difficulty arises. The difficulty only arises when you come to that kind of enterprise which inevitably involves a monopolistic flavor, for example, a railway. Nobody is going to give money to build a railway if another railway is going to be built parallel to it at five miles distant. Here, therefore, there must be a monopoly; no doubt of a very limited kind, but still a monopoly. Again no one is going to set up a telephone system or a telegraph system, if another telegraph or telephone system in the same area, serving precisely the same demand, is to be set up by a rival company. Of course there are many enterprises of this character. As I understand it, the words at the end of your resolution are intended to deal with such situations, and I have no doubt that, in many cases, they do so deal. But the point is, do they deal with all of them? And do they deal with them in such manner as to prevent international disputes? It was to this and cognate subjects that Sir Auckland Geddes in the main addressed himself. He

did not dwell on the principle which is expressed with such lucidity and vigor in the first part of the resolution; for on this we are all agreed. But on its practical application some further consideration does seem necessary; and I doubt not will be accorded."

THE CHAIRMAN remarked that the hour was late and he did not know that the Committee could go much further in the discussion of this matter. He would say merely one word. He quite appreciated what Mr. Balfour had said, while the Committee was discussing Spheres of Influence, regarding the attitude of the British Government, and nothing could be more gratifying than the assumption that all the Powers represented on the Committee were clearly of the view that that practice was entirely abandoned. The fact was, however, that the Committee had not adopted any Resolution which with any definiteness related to that subject or to the matters which were embraced in it. This resolution only dealt with that phase of the matter which had relation to the Open Door and the equality of opportunity; and his thought in bringing this before the Committee for discussion was that the Committee could greatly aid the maintenance of the general principles which had been laid down, if it indicated a little more definitely its understanding upon this point.

He quite agreed as to the importance of making a full reservation with regard to particular enterprises the conduct of which was not inconsistent with the maintenance of the principle, and would like very much to have the matter of possible machinery further discussed. He thought, as he had said a moment before, that it would be very helpful if the Committee could have some kind of arrangement by which in this matter and in others it could avoid controversies, or at least have some way of practically settling them.

At this point, the meeting adjourned until January 17, 1922, at 3.30 P. M.

January 17, 1922

The Nineteenth meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions met this afternoon, January 17th, 1922, at 3.30 o'clock, in the Pan-American Building, and continued the discussion begun the day before on the subject of the Open Door in China.

THE CHAIRMAN, MR. HUGHES, said that the previous day he had taken the liberty of proposing a resolution for the purpose of stating a little more definitely the principle of the Open Door or equality of opportunity in China. Without reviewing what took place at that time, it was sufficient to say that in the light of the suggestions then made, and after consultation with experts of the Delegations who had special familiarity

with conditions in China and with the history of the application of the Open Door principle, a resolution along the lines of that previously suggested was now presented. In order that the points which it made might be suitably emphasized, he asked permission to read it, as follows:

THE OPEN DOOR IN CHINA.

(Revised Draft of Resolution.)

I. With a view to applying more effectually the principles of the Open Door or equality of opportunity in China for the trade and industry of all nations, the Powers other than China represented at this Conference agree:

(a) Not to seek or to support their nationals in seeking any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China;

(b) Not to seek or to support their nationals in seeking any such monopoly or preference as would deprive other nationals of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China or of participating with the Chinese Government or with any Provincial Government in any category of public enterprise, or which by reason of its scope, duration or geographical extent is calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity.

It is understood that this agreement is not to be so construed as to prohibit the acquisition of such properties or rights as may be necessary to the conduct of a particular commercial, industrial or financial undertaking or to the encouragement of invention and research.

II. The Chinese Government takes note of the above agreement and declares its intention of being guided by the same principles in dealing with applications for economic rights and privileges from Governments and nationals of all foreign countries whether parties to that agreement or not.

III. The Powers including China represented at this Conference agree in principle to the establishment in China of a Board of Reference to which any question arising on the above Agreement and Declaration may be referred for investigation and report.

(A detailed scheme for the constitution of the Board shall be framed by the Special Conference referred to in Article I. of the Convention on Chinese Customs Duties.)

IV. The Powers including China represented at this Conference agree that any provisions of an existing concession which appear inconsistent with those of another concession or with the principles of the above Agreement or Declaration may be submitted

by the parties concerned to the Board of Reference when established for the purpose of endeavoring to arrive at a satisfactory adjustment on equitable terms.

THE CHAIRMAN said that the declaration in the first Article was intended to state with such precision as the subject admitted what the Open Door principle was understood to be. Of course there was little use in merely referring to equality of opportunity and the so-called Open Door if there was not a fairly clear appreciation of the nature of the agreement. It was impossible to foresee all contingencies. It would be inadvisable to attempt to state them in minute detail. That, however, did not mean the principle could not be stated more definitely than hitherto it had been stated.

The resolution in the third Article undertook to deal with the creation of machinery for the purpose of resolving questions in a sensible, practical way. It did not constitute a board with authority to decide; it did not establish any instrumentality with anything in the nature of powers, the exercise of which would be in derogation of the sovereignty or the freedom of any State; but it did provide machinery for examination of facts or, as the resolution said, for investigation and report.

A general declaration, even with this definiteness with respect to the Open Door principle, would leave much to be desired—(and the Chairman was indebted to the suggestions made the previous day in this respect)—if the matter were left to the ordinary instrumentalities of diplomatic intercourse. The board representing the Powers, in the sense that inquiry and report should be made, would furnish the facility for elucidating the facts without impairment of anybody's position in the light of those facts. Such elucidation of the facts would very likely itself lead to an agreement, at least it would very much aid in the endeavor to reach an agreement. Then, again, in the final paragraph, provision was made for inquiry and report, and for efforts at adjustment, where it appeared that there were conflicting claims.

THE CHAIRMAN said he would not undertake to review matters which had recently been the subject of diplomatic representations with regard to rights in China; they were familiar to the representatives of the governments concerned. It was highly desirable, if this Conference were to be made all it should be in removing causes of possible controversies, that these practical business questions should be dealt with in a practical, business way—that is, through some mechanism for examination of the nature of the conflict, if there was a conflict, between claims. The reports would, of course, bind no one. Nations would in no way part with their right to maintain what they conceived

to be their interests. Nationals would in no way be impaired in what they thought were their rights under any concessions they might have, but they would at least avoid an unnecessary dispute to the extent that such a dispute would not be favored by lack of opportunity for a general consideration, through an appropriate body, of the merits of the particular case.

He submitted this matter not, of course, with the desire to present anything that was intended to be limited to a precise form of expression, but with the hope that the principle sought to be expressed might have support.

SENATOR SCHANZER begged the Chairman to furnish him certain explanations concerning Article I. of the Resolutions especially in regard to the spirit of points (a) and (b) of that article.

THE CHAIRMAN said it would give him pleasure to answer as best he could the questions which had been raised by Senator Schanzer.

The two clauses, (a) and (b), were of course consistent. It was intended that they should be consistent, and carry an application of the general principle. There was, however, a distinction between them. Clause (a) was not limited to the mere seeking of a concession which might be in the nature of a monopoly or preference with respect to a particular sphere of enterprise; it had a wider range. It took into account the facts with which all were familiar in connection with the recent history of China. It provided that the Powers other than China represented at the Conference should not seek, nor support their nationals in seeking, any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China. That was not limited to the question of a particular concession or enterprise, but it had the purpose of precluding the efforts by which, in a designated region, one Power or the nationals of that Power might have a superior position with respect to enterprises broadly. It had direct relation to what has been known in the past as spheres of interest which might be stated to be spheres of exclusion of other interests. In other words, it negated the endeavor to secure not a particular concession or grant, or the facility for conducting a particular enterprise, whatever the scope of that enterprise might be, but a status with respect to a designated region which would give general superiority or opportunity, and thus conflict with the Open Door principle.

Now, the second clause, paragraph (b), dealt with cases which did not rise to the dignity of an endeavor to obtain a general superiority of rights with respect to development in a designated region, but with the

more limited, yet still objectionable, endeavor to obtain such a monopoly or preference as would deprive nationals of other Powers of the right to undertake legitimate trade or industry in China or of participating with the Chinese Government or with any provincial government in any category of public enterprise which, by reason of its scope, duration or geographical extent, was calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity.

That was to be read in connection with the concluding clause of the first section of the resolution, that it was not to be so construed as to prohibit the acquisition of such properties or rights as might be necessary to the conduct of a particular commercial, industrial or financial undertaking or to the encouragement of invention and research. That was to say, paragraph (b) sought to preclude efforts by which monopolies or preferences would exclude other nationals from legitimate opportunity; it did not intend to prevent particular enterprises, commercial, industrial or financial, which did not have that unfair exclusiveness which would make them inconsistent with the Open Door principle.

It would therefore be seen, he thought, that there was a point in each of these paragraphs, the one relating to a general superiority of rights with respect to development in designated regions, the other relating to particular concessions which had a monopolistic or preferential character which by reason of that character infringed the Open Door principle. Neither of these provisions would be entirely satisfactory without the other as its complement.

SENATOR SCHANZER thanked the Chairman for the explanations which he had furnished concerning the first paragraph of the resolution. These explanations were fully sufficient to make clear the spirit of the American proposals.

In the name of the Italian delegation he declared that, in accordance with the ideas which they had supported since the first meeting of the Far Eastern Committee, they agreed with the spirit of the American proposal for it tended to enforce the application of the principle of the Open Door. They wished that all nations should have equal rights and facilities to aid in the progress of China, and for this reason they accepted in principle the proposal which had been put forward.

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES said that they had had an opportunity of studying the resolution that had been introduced that day, and he would like to say a very few words with regard to it.

Yesterday he had had the honor to bring before the Committee what he was inclined to think were some deficiencies in the resolution as it was originally drafted, such as the point dealing with the relation of China

there would be inquiries with respect to action that had been taken, supposedly, or stated to be, in contravention of the principle. Of course, the sovereign powers here represented were not going in any way to bind themselves with regard to unknown contingencies, which might fetter the proper freedom of their actions; but if there was a facility at hand which could take the matter for examination and report as to the facts, it might be supposed that the Powers who believed in this principle, who desired to have it fairly and continuously applied, would desire to avail themselves of that facility and would court the examination of the matter by a commission composed of their own representatives. In other words, the reference, he assumed, would be by governments for the purpose of using this method of obtaining information and advice, which would not be of an *ex parte* character but in which all those who might be interested in the matter would have opportunity to present their facts.

He repeated that there was nothing coercive about it. It would have been futile to consider any sort of coercive arrangement. This, like everything else, ultimately depended upon the good faith of governments in applying the principles which they professed. But with the most sincere intent there would doubtless arise situations of a more or less ambiguous character, where in entire good faith different positions might be possible, and as to which it was important that there should be some opportunity for fair consideration and report. This promised that result. In further answer to Mr. Sarraut's suggestion he wished to say this, that the more difficulty experienced in defining with precision a particular legitimate enterprise with which there was no desire to interfere, the more important it was that there should be some way of bringing out the facts and securing an impartial report as to cases of an equivocal character. In other words, instead of attempting the impossible, a super-refined definition which would attempt all the different categories, there would exist the machinery which would enable the Powers to deal with those cases of which it was impossible to form a judgment by a precise definition.

Mr. Sarraut had spoken of the last paragraph, with respect to its application to existing concessions. Personally the Chairman saw no objection to the paragraph in its relation to existing concessions. It spoke of an existing concession, and he understood that meant that in point of time, now or hereafter, if there should be a question regarding an existing concession and its conflict with some other concession, there would be an opportunity to see what the conflict amounted to, what the merits of it might be, and to endeavor to obtain an adjustment. Now, what was the harm in that? No Pow-

er, or party, was compelled to submit anything. If it was referred, no Power was bound by the report. It was merely information and advice. Suppose there was an existing concession and another concession was deemed to conflict with it? What was to be done about it? What did they do now about it? Notes were written; answers were received, grounds were stated; objections were advanced in reply to those grounds, and these literary efforts went on for an indefinite time with no results. And why were there no results? Sometimes because there was no adequate machinery to obtain results.

The Chairman saw no reason why, if it was valuable, it should be said that "We will have its benefits as to concessions that exist next year but we will not have the benefit of it as to concessions that exist now." If it was a good thing with regard to a conflict of concessions for the year 1925, he thought it was a good thing with regard to a conflict of concessions, in the same way, in the year 1922.

Mr. SARRAUT said that he was perfectly satisfied by the explanations given by Mr. Hughes, with regard to the first two questions put by him. However, he feared that the changes proposed for Article IV. might give rise to certain abuses. It was to be feared, in fact, that any contract might be questioned by the mere fact that a new contract had been granted on the same subject, possibly in bad faith, with the sole object of having a ground for contest. Of course, the present Government of China could not be suspected of taking any such steps; but the Government might change. Moreover, there was mention in the first article of concessions granted by the Provincial Governments. Everyone knew that there were now several provincial governments which might be tempted to evade the central authority and which might purposely seek complications by questioning existing rights.

THE CHAIRMAN said he was very much gratified at Mr. Sarraut's acquiescence in the provisions of the resolution in the first three articles and that Mr. Sarraut had found satisfactory the explanation which he had endeavored to give upon those points.

With respect to Article IV, Mr. Sarraut's suggestions were very important and he thought they should receive the most careful consideration. He had thought the reference to existing concessions would not have quite the effect which Mr. Sarraut seemed to anticipate. In other words, if there was an existing concession and another concession was made which was inconsistent with it, he should suppose it more likely that the attack would be made upon the latter concession than upon the former, and that instead of being regarded as a facility for attacks upon existing rights, the provision would have the effect of providing an opportunity

for inquiry, consideration and explanation.

If a concession, whether it had been granted in the past or should be granted in the future, was inconsistent with the principles of this declaration, then, of course, it did invite scrutiny. There was no reason whatever for not approaching, with absolute frankness, the consideration of this question. If there was a challenge of any existing concession on the ground that it conflicted with the principles which all had asserted, what injury could result from an inquiry, the result of which bound no one; which could not derogate from any right; which could not affect any legitimate position; and which could invalidate nothing, but simply threw a flood of light upon conditions.

The point to which he thought Mr. Sarraut's observations applied with the greatest force was not with respect to a concession that might be found to be inconsistent with the principles stated, but to the case of a concession which would appear to be inconsistent with the provisions of another concession. Whether that case should be embraced in the resolution was a matter for the judgment of the delegates. If there were such conflict there would be difficulties in the carrying out of the concessions. There would certainly be controversies that would arise from the conflict. The question was whether it was not desirable to have some means at hand for an examination of the facts, always on the supposition that governments dealing with the Government of China intended to be entirely fair with China, and, in their dealings, to regard each other's legitimate rights and opportunities, and to seek an amicable and fair adjustment of all difficulties that might arise.

It should also be observed that in paragraph IV., as distinguished from paragraph III., it was the parties who were to submit their questions to the board of reference. There was no compulsion upon the parties; they did not have to submit if they did not want to; there could be no impairment of any legitimate vested rights. Still, there was a facility to which, in case of conflict, they could resort in order to bring out the facts and to aid, through conciliation and examination, in bringing about, if possible, an adjustment. It was thought that would be an advantage. Still, if there was objection to that, he was entirely willing to have the paragraph modified so that the words "with those of another concession or" should be omitted, and the paragraph limited to the case where a concession appeared inconsistent with the principles of the agreement. He assumed that referred to the agreement or declaration relating to the Open Door, and that, with that change, it would be taken to mean that the parties that were interested in the concession and those who were interested in the maintenance of the Open Door principle which was deemed to be affected in

its application by the concession would be privileged to submit the matter to the board of reference.

MR. SARRAUT felt that the explanations given by Mr. Hughes with regard to the Fourth Article were of such a nature as to confirm his fears that existing rights might be compromised.

This would mean the introduction here, in this new sort of legislation which the Committee was attempting to establish, of principles which until now had not been admitted to a recognized legal status. He meant the principle of retroactivity and the principle of revision; retroactivity, because already existing concessions, some of them of long standing, might be attacked before the proposed Board. It was true that, according to Mr. Hughes' explanation, there was no question of an obligatory jurisdiction; but everyone hoped that its moral authority would be great; and in that case there would be serious inconvenience for the various parties interested if they refused to submit to investigation. Nevertheless, there was no moral force which would oblige companies with established positions to submit their cases to a new examination.

Mr. Sarraut felt that a general revision of all existing contracts was in no way justified. It was therefore necessary that the text of Article IV. leave no doubt as to this point. He stated that he could not give a definite decision at the present moment, and that a more leisurely examination of the text of Article IV. was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN said that so far as the discussion had proceeded, it seemed that the first three articles of the resolution had met with approval. He of course did not refer to any delegation that had not spoken. The Fourth Article of the resolution did present a distinct matter, and could be dealt with as such. He then asked if the Committee desired at this time to deal with the first three articles.

BARON DE CARTIER said that in his opinion there was a slight obscurity in the wording of Paragraph (b), Article I. The reference to "provincial Government", he felt, might possibly be taken as a reflection on the completeness of the authority of the Central Government of China; and for this reason a wording should be found conveying the same idea and yet omitting the word "provincial", to which he objected.

THE CHAIRMAN said that, of course, this was intended to refer to those transactions which have to do with political sub-divisions, not in any sense to any opposition to the Central Government. There were matters which had exclusive relation to provincial governments. There were categories of public enterprise which were under the supervision of provincial governments with respect to which the nationals of the interested Powers might have concern, and it was

rather difficult, in carrying out the principles under discussion, to take no cognizance of that sphere of local activity which might have a very important relation to the Open Door.

SIR ROBERT BORDEN suggested that perhaps "provincial authority" might be substituted.

BARON DE CARTIER said he preferred that.

THE CHAIRMAN agreed.

BARON DE CARTIER said he did not like the word "provincial", but that "local authorities" would be agreeable.

This phrase was substituted for "provincial government."

BARON SHIDEHARA stated that so far as he had been able to examine the draft he found himself in accord with the general principles embodied in it. In view, however, of the great importance of the subject he desired to be given a little more time to study it before any action were taken on the draft.

The meeting then adjourned until January 18, 1922, at 11 o'clock A. M.

January 18, 1922.

The Twentieth Meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held this morning, January 18, 1922, at 11 o'clock in the Pan-American Building.

THE CHAIRMAN (MR. HUGHES) suggested that the Committee continue the discussion of the proposed resolution in regard to the Open Door in China.

BARON SHIDEHARA said that, with reference to Section III. of the draft Resolution, it appeared that the constitution of the Board of Reference was to be framed by the special Conference on Chinese Customs Duties. He knew that it was premature at this moment to discuss details of such organization but he would like to form a general idea of what that Board of Reference would be. Judging by the nature of the questions to be dealt with Baron Shidehara presumed that each of the nine governments would have to appoint, as members of the Board, some of their ablest and broadest minded jurists, upon whose judgment their own and the other interested governments could rely. As the Board of Reference was to be of a permanent nature these jurists would either have to stay in China indefinitely or they would have to be sent to China each time questions within the competence of the Board came up for consideration and examination. Apart from the question of expense to the nine governments for the maintenance of the Board, it had occurred to Baron Shidehara that it might be difficult, from a practical standpoint, for these governments to spare able and first-rate jurists who would accept the post in question under these conditions. If jurists of such qualification could not be spared, the consequence would only be disappointing. He thought perhaps this practical side of the question

had already been considered by the Chairman and he would be happy if the Chairman would inform the Committee of his views in regard to it.

SIR AUOKLAND GEDDES said: "Mr. Chairman, this question of the board of reference raised by Baron Shidehara is one which we had thought over, before I ventured to suggest, two days ago, that some form of machinery be established. The idea that we had in mind about this machinery was something of this sort: That the actual board of reference should be composed of jurists, but that it would not be necessary for all the Powers' representatives to attend all the meetings of the board. We conceived of this machinery somewhat in this way: that every Power should nominate to a panel, jurists of eminence and distinction, and that from that panel there should be drawn two, three, four, whatever number was required, to form the board which is actually to consider any special case that was brought before it. For example, it occurred to us that it might be possible for justices at Shanghai or Hongkong to be on the panel of the board of reference as the British representatives. If an occasion in which Britain was concerned arose, or one in which under the adopted scheme a British justice would sit upon the Board of Reference one of these distinguished jurists would be called to take his turn on the board. I think that possibly a scheme worked out by the conference which is to be responsible for its preparation might follow some such lines as these.

There would be this panel of jurists and it might be arranged that any inquiry should be dealt with by a small board, say with a representative of each of the countries concerned, with perhaps a neutral chairman selected from the panel. It seems to me that in some such way without great expense, without keeping eminent and distinguished jurists in China for long periods, during which they might have nothing or perhaps little to do, we would be able to get some such machinery set up in a cheap, simple, and effective way.

These are ideas that had passed through my mind before I made public the suggestion that there might be some machinery devised. I do not know whether my ideas agree with those of any of the other delegates at this Conference, but as a preliminary indication of one way in which the Board of Referees might be created I am sure there are numerous equally good if not better plans possible. I merely wish to make it plain that there is no insuperable difficulty attaching to the proposal which you have brought before us.

Before I sit down there is one other thing in this resolution that I think it might be well to say a few words about. Already the question has been raised as to whether this resolution, if it be adopted and become operative, would exclude from all action such a

body as a consortium, and I would like to have recorded upon the minutes these words:

"Of course, it is clearly understood that there is nothing in this resolution which affects, one way or the other, the existing international consortium or any other form of voluntary co-operation among private financial or industrial groups in different countries, which may join together in a manner not involving monopoly or infringement of the principles recognized by the Conference in order to furnish China with some essential service most efficiently and economically to be provided by united effort."

BARON SHIDEHARA said that, so far as the British Empire was concerned, there seemed to be, as Sir Auckland Geddes had just explained, no practical difficulty to carrying out the plan for the constitution of the Board of Reference, but Baron Shidehara thought that there might be difficulties as concerned some of the other interested Powers. It was not his intention to raise any objections to the organization of the Board; he simply desired to point out the difficulties to be expected.

THE CHAIRMAN said that it was provided in Article III. of the proposed resolution that the detailed scheme for the constitution of the Board should be framed by the special conference to which Article I. of the covenant on Chinese customs duties referred.

He assumed that that special conference would give the closest consideration to the questions which had been raised by Baron Shidehara, and other questions that would relate to the constitution of the Board. He felt, however, that such matters would not present insuperable difficulties. It would require close attention to avoid unnecessary inconvenience, but as Sir Auckland Geddes had pointed out, there could be immediately suggested some measures of a practical sort by which the object could be attained.

The Chairman wished to say, in order to avoid any possible misapprehension, that Sir Auckland Geddes' statement with regard to the consortium was in entire accord with the views which the American Delegation entertained. The resolution was not in any way intended to interfere with the operation of the consortium, which in its provision for co-operative effort would not in any way infringe the principles adopted by the Conference.

The Chairman then asked if the Committee desired to proceed with the discussion of the resolution.

BARON SHIDEHARA asked if he might be permitted to make a few remarks in regard to Section Four. One point had already been raised by the French Delegation, but he did not know what plans of revision the French Delegation had in mind. He was glad to say, the Chairman had very properly remarked the previous day, that the principle of "the Open Door" was not a new invention; it had

been adopted and confirmed in various treaties and arrangements; but it must be noted that the principle had undergone considerable changes, in its application, since it had originally been initiated by Secretary Hay in 1898. It was then limited in its scope, both as concerned its subject matter and the area of Chinese territory to which it applied; it simply provided, in substance, that none of the Powers having spheres of influence or Leased Territories in China should interfere with Treaty ports or with vested rights or exercise any discrimination in the collection of customs duties or railroad or harbor charges. The principles formulated in the draft Resolution was of an entirely different scope from the policy of "the Open Door," as conceived in 1898-99; the draft Resolution gave, in a certain sense, a new definition to that policy.

It seemed natural, therefore, that this new definition should not have any retroactive force. According to Section IV., it appeared as if the concessions already granted by China would be subject to examination in the light of this new agreement. If that were the case, it seemed probable that this agreement would affect private parties unfairly and Baron Shidehara would therefore like to suggest that the wording of Section IV. be changed somewhat in order to meet this situation. His suggestion would take the form that Section IV. be changed to read as follows:

"IV. The Powers including China represented at this Conference agree that if any provisions of a concession which may hereafter be granted by China appear inconsistent with those of another concession or with the principles of the above Agreement or Declaration they may be submitted by the parties concerned to the Board of Reference when established for the purpose of endeavoring to arrive at a satisfactory adjustment on equitable terms."

THE CHAIRMAN said that he was gratified at what he understood to be the appreciation by Baron Shidehara of the purpose and scope of the Open Door policy, certainly as at present understood. In view of what Baron Shidehara had said with regard to the original scope of that policy, the Chairman hoped the delegates would permit him to refer to some of the international documents bearing upon that subject.

It was quite true that in the original statement of the policy by Secretary Hay there were specific points mentioned. It was also true that the bearing of those points and the intent of the policy were very clearly presented. The general purpose in view and the real meaning of the Open Door policy were indicated in the communications addressed to the several governments under instructions from Secretary Hay.

THE CHAIRMAN then read the communication of Mr. Choate, Ambassador to the Court

of St. James, to Lord Salisbury at London, September 22, 1899, upon this point, as follows:

"He (the President) understands it to be the settled policy and purpose of Great Britain not to use any privileges which may be granted to it in China as a means of excluding any commercial rivals, and that freedom of trade for it in that Empire means freedom of trade for all the world alike. Her Majesty's Government, while conceding by formal agreements with Germany and Russia the possession of 'spheres of influence or interest' in China, in which they are to enjoy especial rights and privileges, particularly in respect to railroads and mining enterprises, has at the same time sought to maintain what is commonly called the 'open-door' policy, to secure to the commerce and navigation of all nations equality of treatment within such 'spheres.' The maintenance of this policy is alike urgently demanded by the commercial communities of our two nations, as it is justly held by them to be the only one which will improve existing conditions, enable them to maintain their positions in the markets of China, and extend their future operations.

"While the Government of the United States will in no way commit itself to any recognition of the exclusive rights of any power within or control over any portion of the Chinese Empire, under such agreements as have been recently made, it can not conceal its apprehension that there is danger of complications arising between the treaty powers which may imperil the rights insured to the United States by its treaties with China.

"It is the sincere desire of my Government that the interests of its citizens may not be prejudiced through exclusive treatment by any of the controlling powers within their respective 'spheres of interests' in China, and it hopes to retain there an open market for all the world's commerce, remove dangerous sources of international irritation and thereby hasten united action of the powers at Peking to promote administrative reforms so greatly needed for strengthening the Imperial Government and maintaining the integrity of China, in which it believes the whole western world is alike concerned."

The Chairman, continuing, said that it was for that purpose that Secretary Hay instructed the ambassadors and ministers of the United States to obtain, if agreeable to other Powers, declarations with respect to the treatment of foreign trade and commerce, especially from those Powers claiming Spheres of Interest in China. Lord Salisbury replied to Mr. Choate to the effect that he would consult with his colleagues, and added, in his communication of September 29, 1899:

"In the meantime I may assure Your Excellency that the policy consistently advo-

cated by this country is one of securing equal opportunity for the subjects and citizens of all nations in regard to commercial enterprise in China, and from this policy Her Majesty's Government have no intention or desire to depart."

Later, Lord Salisbury wrote:

"I have much pleasure in informing Your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to make a declaration in the sense desired by your Government in regard to the leased territory of Wei-hei-Wei and all territory in China which may hereafter be acquired by Great Britain by lease or otherwise, and all spheres of interest now held or that may hereafter be held by her in China, provided that a similar declaration is made by other Powers concerned."

On December 16, 1899, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs addressed a communication to the American Ambassador at Paris in which he said:

"... The declarations which I made in the Chamber on the 24th of November last, and which I have had occasion to recall to you since then, show clearly the sentiments of the Government of the Republic. It desires throughout the whole of China and, with the quite natural reservation that all the Powers interested give an assurance of their willingness to act likewise, is ready to apply in the territories which are leased to it, equal treatment to the citizens and subjects of all nations, especially in the matter of customs duties and navigation dues, as well as transportation tariffs on railways."

THE CHAIRMAN then said that the representatives of the United States communicated to all the governments concerned in the same sense in which Mr. Choate communicated with Lord Salisbury in what had already been read. And in his reply to this, on December 26, 1899, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs stated to the American Minister:

"I have the happy duty of assuring Your Excellency that the Imperial Government will have no hesitation to give their assent to so just and fair a proposal of the United States, provided that all the other Powers concerned shall accept the same."

The Italian Government stated, through the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, in his note of January 7, 1900:

"... I take pleasure in saying that the Government of the King adheres willingly to the proposals set forth in said note of December 9th . . ."

While it was quite true, the Chairman continued, that Secretary Hay had presented in his proposals certain definite points, yet having received these replies, Secretary Hay in his instructions of March 20, 1900, to the representatives of the United States of America accredited to the six governments consulted, summed up the matter as follows:

"The Government having accepted the declaration suggested by the United States concerning foreign trade in China, the terms of which I transmitted to you in my instruction No. of, and like action having been taken by all the various Powers having leased territory or so-called 'spheres of interest' in the Chinese Empire, as shown by the notes which I herewith transmit to you, you will please inform the Government to which you are accredited that the condition originally attached to its acceptance—that all other Powers concerned should likewise accept the proposals of the United States—having been complied with, this Government will therefore consider the assent given to it by as final and definitive.

"You will also transmit to the Minister for Foreign Affairs copies of the present enclosures, and by the same occasion convey to him the expression of the sincere gratification which the President feels at the successful termination of these negotiations, in which he sees proof of the friendly spirit which animates the various Powers interested in the untrammelled development of commerce and industry in the Chinese Empire, and a source of vast benefit to the whole commercial world."

It was therefore quite manifest, the Chairman said, that while Secretary Hay presented certain definite points in the proposal he made, he made it clear what was the scope and purpose of the policy that he advocated.

THE CHAIRMAN added that on October 16, 1900, an agreement relating to China was concluded between Germany and Great Britain in which it was stated that her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Imperial German Government being desirous to maintain their interest in China and their rights under existing treaties had agreed to observe the following principles in regard to their mutual policy in China:

"1. It is a matter of joint and permanent international interest that the ports on the rivers and littoral of China should remain free and open to trade and to every other legitimate form of economic activity for the nationals of all countries without distinction; and the two Governments agree on their part to uphold the same for all Chinese territory as far as they can exercise influence.

"2. Her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Imperial German Government will not, on their part, make use of the present complication to obtain for themselves any territorial advantages in Chinese dominions, and will direct their policy towards maintaining undiminished the territorial condition of the Chinese Empire. . . ."

The two Governments agreed to communicate their agreement to the other Powers interested, and especially to Austria, Hungary, France, Italy, Japan, Russia and the United

States of America and to invite them to accept the principles recorded in it. That was done and their assent received. M. Delcassé on behalf of the French Government said, October 31, 1900:

"The Government of the Republic has long manifested its desire to see China opened to the economic activity of the whole world; hence the emphatic adherence that it gave, in the month of December last, to a proposal of the Government of the United States prompted by the same preoccupation. Its feeling in that regard has not been changed."

The Italian Government said on October 22, 1900:

". . . Having taken His Majesty's orders, I am today in a position to inform Your Excellency that the Italian Government, recognizing in the Anglo-German Agreement those same principles which rule their own policy in China, do not hesitate to give their adhesion thereto. . . ."

The Japanese Government said October 29, 1900, after formal acknowledgment of the note:

". . . At the same time, in further compliance with Lord Salisbury's instructions, you requested me to inform you whether the Imperial Japanese Government are inclined to accept the principles recorded in said Agreement.

"The Imperial Government, having received assurances from the contracting Powers to the effect that in adhering to the Agreement in question, they will be placed in relation to such Agreement in the same position they would have occupied if they had been a signatory instead of an adhering State, do not hesitate to formally declare that they adhere to the said Agreement, and accept the principles embodied therein."

It would be noted, the Chairman said, that those principles as stated in the first article of the agreement between Germany and Great Britain, were that it was a matter of joint and permanent international interest that the ports on the rivers and littoral of China should remain free and open to trade and every other legitimate form of economic activity for the nationals of all countries without distinction.

Further, in 1908, there was an exchange of notes between the Government of the United States of America and the Japanese Government in which, after appropriate recitals as to the importance of a frank exchange of views as to the aim, policy and intention of the two governments, it was said under date of November 30th, 1908:

"1. It is the wish of the two Governments to encourage the free and peaceful development of their commerce on the Pacific Ocean.

"2. The policy of both Governments, uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies, is directed to the maintenance of the existing status quo in the region above mentioned and to the defense of the principle of equal op-

portunity for commerce and industry in China.

"3. They are accordingly firmly resolved reciprocally to respect the territorial possessions belonging to each other in said region.

"4. They are also determined to preserve the common interest of all powers in China by supporting by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire.

"5. Should any event occur threatening the status quo as above described or the principle of equal opportunity as above defined, it remains for the two Governments to communicate with each other in order to arrive at an understanding as to what measures they may consider it useful to take. . . ."

THE CHAIRMAN added that these notes were exchanged between Mr. Root as Secretary of State, and Baron Takahira as Ambassador of Japan. In the light of these reiterated statements, which could hardly be regarded as ambiguous, the Chairman could not assume that the statement of principles recorded in the resolution before the Committee was a new statement. He rather regarded it as a more definite and precise statement of the principle that had long been admitted, and to which the Powers concerned had given their unqualified adherence for twenty years.

In saying this, he did not wish at all to detract from the force of the statement made by Baron Shidehara, as the Chairman understood it, that is, in the complete acceptance of the principle as it was here formulated. He did not desire to deal with the question which was discussed, so far as he was concerned, yesterday, with respect to the true construction and application of Article IV. He wished simply to say that he believed that this resolution in its first article stated a principle which had been operative all through the period he had named, and had been binding upon the governments concerned, and that it was important that at this time they should have a reaffirmation of that principle—a statement of it with increased definiteness, and should devise, so far as might be practicable, some machinery for giving it effective application.

SIR ROBERT BORDEN said that the principal difficulties in connection with this resolution appeared to have arisen over the Fourth Article. He was of opinion that the Powers concerned could act with equal effect if the Fourth Article were omitted altogether. Under that Article there could be no effective action except with the consent of the parties concerned. If the Fourth Article were omitted it would still be open to the Powers, if they saw fit, to give the like consent and to utilize for the determination or investigation of any relevant question the Board of Reference to be established under Article Three.

He offered that as a suggestion which might help perhaps to bring them to an understanding and conclusion.

There was one other observation which he would like to make. He could hardly bring himself to agree that the Board of Reference, when constituted, should be composed of jurists. It should rather be composed of persons having a knowledge of economic conditions, a knowledge of the conditions of China and the trade of China. With all due respect to the profession of which he was a humble member it might be passed over with advantage in this connection and other persons might be selected who could accomplish the task with perhaps even a higher degree of knowledge and capacity than could be expected from members of the bar for such a purpose.

MR. SZE asked the indulgence of the Committee, on behalf of the Chinese Delegation, to be permitted to add one or two words to the discussion. Mr. Sze said he first desired to thank the Chairman for his very clear and well drawn draft resolution, and for the very lucid explanation which had accompanied his presentation of it. Mr. Sze felt equally grateful for the illuminating debate which had taken place in the Committee in regard to it. The fact that the subject of "the Open Door" had occupied nearly three whole sessions of the Committee showed that the importance of this principle had not been diminished by the passage of years.

He supposed that the Committee would first like to know China's position in regard to the draft resolution. In regard to this he thought he could do nothing better than to refer to the second of the proposals presented by the Chinese Delegation on November 16th, namely: "China, being in full accord with the principle of the Open Door or equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations having treaty relations with China, is prepared to accept and apply it in all parts of the Chinese Republic without exception." In this proposal the position of the Chinese Delegation was put very simply and clearly and he did not believe there was any use in his taking up the Committee's time by offering any further explanation of it.

He desired, however, to say one word in regard to "the Open Door." The rendering of that expression into Chinese, some years ago, had given rise to some doubt in the minds of those who only read Chinese. He would therefore like to state that "the Open Door" did not mean the opening up of all parts of China to foreign trade, commerce and industry; he only said this because of the misapprehension in the matter which had existed in China.

In regard to Article I b, his esteemed colleague, Baron de Cartier, had suggested on the previous day that the words "Provincial Government" be changed to "local author-

ity." The procedure at present observed in China by the central government with reference to concessions given by provincial authorities, he stated, would remain the same irrespective of which phrase was used, and this practice was too well known to need further elucidation.

In regard to Article III, he wondered whether it would not be better to eliminate the words "in principle". If the Committee reached an agreement it was probable that it would be on something definite. He only made this as a suggestion in the belief that it would make the paragraph more clear.

He had remarked a few minutes before on the great importance of the principle of "the Open Door", which had also been dealt with in the third of the "Root Resolutions" as follows:

"To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China."

The Committee would note that in this Resolution, which had been accepted by all the Powers represented at the table, that the words "establishing and maintaining" were used. His knowledge of English was limited but he thought that the two words had different meanings, *to establish* meaning to create and *to maintain* meaning to *continue in operation*; taken together these two undertakings could mean nothing else than the bringing into existence of a regime under which the principles of the Open Door could be effectually applied. It therefore seemed that Section IV. of the draft resolution could safely be adopted. Questions in regard to concessions had arisen in the past and would doubtless arise in the future. If questions should arise in the future it would be better, as the Chairman had remarked, that the negotiations among the Powers should not be confined to diplomatic notes; it would do no harm to either party in such a dispute to have it referred to a friendly body such as was provided for in Section IV. for adjustment.

THE CHAIRMAN stated that a proposal had been made by Baron Shidehara for an amendment to Article IV, and a further proposal by Sir Robert Borden for the omission of Article IV. In order that they might proceed, without of course desiring to limit discussion, as rapidly as possible, he asked whether they desired to indicate their preference with respect to Sir Robert Borden's suggestion as to the omission of Article IV.

MR. SARBAUT suggested that Sir Robert Borden's proposal be voted on first.

THE CHAIRMAN answered that that had been the intention of his suggestion, and he was asking for an expression of views before bringing the matter to a vote.

BARON SHIDEHARA stated that Japan was in favor of eliminating Article IV.

THE CHAIRMAN said that it seemed to him that in view of the expressions which had been made and the fact that Article III gave a full opportunity for dealing with all these matters which might appropriately be the concern of the respective governments it possibly would induce agreement if they omitted Article IV. in accordance with Sir Robert Borden's suggestion. That seemed to be agreeable to the Japanese Government and to the French Government, and he was asking informally the views of others before proceeding to take the vote.

SENATOR SCHANZEE agreed.

THE CHAIRMAN continued with a suggestion that it might be better, to withdraw Article IV. from the resolution. If any delegate desired to press it separately for consideration, of course, opportunity would be given; but in order to facilitate discussion and bring the matter to an agreement if possible, Article IV. might now be withdrawn and the three articles of the resolution be presented for consideration and action. He asked if the delegates were ready to vote upon the three articles.

MR. HANIHARA said that under Section III. of the draft Resolution the constitution of the Board of Reference would, of course, be subject to the approval of the respective Governments. He would think that some specific instruction to the Special Conference would be necessary in connection with the constitution of the Board. He asked whether the Chairman had in mind anything in regard to this point—whether he thought that this Conference might do it or that some one government might be asked to do it.

THE CHAIRMAN said that the purpose of Article III. of the resolution was to set forth the function in general terms of the proposed board and to provide an arrangement through which it might be constituted. It would be constituted under this arrangement at a special conference at which there would be representatives of all the contracting Powers. He assumed that each Power would instruct its representative with respect to its general ideas of the manner in which such a board should be constituted. He supposed the representatives of the Powers would gather together and exchange their views. Their conclusions would be reported to their governments and in the usual way, out of such comparison of views and under instructions from their governments and subject to the final approval of their governments a scheme would emerge which would carry out the intent of the resolution.

It would hardly seem to be practicable in this Conference to undertake that work, because it was of a very special and detailed character. On the other hand, as he read the resolution, there was no doubt as to the purpose in view and the general scope of the proposition.

BARON SHIDEHARA said that if he correctly

remembered Mr. Balfour's remarks of the previous day, the latter had pointed out that there were certain concessions which carried with them rights of the nature of monopoly, to a limited extent. He said that it was his understanding that these rights would be protected under the last paragraph of Article I. He desired to know if this view were correct.

THE CHAIRMAN said that, as he understood it, the concluding paragraph of Article I. of the resolution was intended to protect the particular commercial, industrial or financial undertakings which might be prosecuted consistently with the maintenance of the general principle which was stated in paragraphs (a) and (b). Paragraph (b) referred to such undertakings which, by reason of their scope, duration or geographical extent, were calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity. As he had explained the day before, they were dealing with the Open Door; an avenue to opportunity; an avenue to legitimate enterprise; and not with obstacles to legitimate enterprise; and all that was embraced in the various undertakings which, to the extent of the particular rights essential to their prosecution, of course monopolized a special line of endeavor in a concrete or particular case, were amply protected by the last clause of the First Article. The purpose was, however, to safeguard the principle, so that under the guise of particular undertakings there should not be any assertion of a general superiority of right, or a monopoly or preference which would be in conflict with the principles to which we adhere.

BARON DE CARTIER asked if, in view of the proposed withdrawal of Article IV, whether there would be any change in the declaration made by Sir Auckland Geddes?

THE CHAIRMAN asked if the reference to the consortium was meant.

BARON DE CARTIER having confirmed this, the Chairman continued, saying that the reference made was to the consortium and the adoption of this resolution would in no way interfere with the activities of the consortium, which, for the purpose of helpful co-operation, were entirely consistent with the principles declared.

THE CHAIRMAN added that there were two verbal amendments: one at the last meeting suggested by the Belgian Ambassador, that in place of the words "provincial government" in paragraph (b) of Article I. should be inserted the words "local authority". He understood that that amendment was adopted with the consent of all.

The other amendment was the one suggested at the present meeting with respect to Article III., and that was the omission of the words "in principle."

He added that he would like to say a word with reference to that. There were many

cases in which the use of the words "in principle", which had the sanction of abundant usage, might be taken to detract from the force of any specific statement embodying the principle. He said that in this particular case, however, the whole statement was a statement of a principle. In other words, there was no attempt to prescribe details, and his own opinion was that whether the words "in principle" were in or out, the article meant exactly the same; so with the permission of Mr. Sze and that understanding, in order to avoid unnecessary discussion, he would suggest putting the three articles to a vote with the one amendment of the insertion of "local authority" in place of "provincial government".

THE CHAIRMAN enquired if the Committee were ready to vote, and announced that the United States Government assented.

BELGIUM assented.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE assented.

Mr. Sze said that when it was proposed that Section IV. should be withdrawn, he understood from the remarks of the Chairman that this did not in any way limit the right of any Delegation to bring up the substance of this section at a later time in some other form or connection.

The Chairman said that Mr. Sze's understanding was correct.

Mr. Sze said that with this reservation he would vote "yes".

THE CHAIRMAN said that Article IV. had been withdrawn in the interest of proceeding to an agreement upon the articles which apparently the Committee was ready to adopt. Any delegation was at liberty to bring forward Article IV. in substance or in any other way it might desire.

The remaining Delegations all assented.

THE CHAIRMAN declared that the three articles were unanimously adopted as follows:

"THE OPEN DOOR IN CHINA"

(Revised Draft of Resolution.)

"I. With a view to applying more effectually the principles of the Open Door or equality of opportunity in China for the trade and industry of all nations, the Powers other than China represented at this Conference agree:

"(a) Not to seek or to support their nationals in seeking any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China;

"(b) Not to seek or to support their nationals in seeking any such monopoly or preference as would deprive other nationals of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China or of participating with the Chinese Government or with any local authority in any category of pub-

lic enterprise, or which by reason of its scope, duration or geographical extent is calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity.

"It is understood that this agreement is not to be so construed as to prohibit the acquisition of such properties or rights as may be necessary to the conduct of a particular commercial, industrial or financial undertaking to the encouragement of invention and research.

"II. The Chinese Government takes note of the above agreement and declares its intention of being guided by the same principles in dealing with applications for economic rights and privileges from Governments and nationals of all foreign countries whether parties to that agreement or not.

"III. The Powers including China represented at this Conference agree in principle to the establishment in China of a Board of Reference to which any question arising on the above Agreement and Declaration may be referred for investigation and report. (A detailed scheme for the constitution of the Board shall be framed by the Special Conference referred to in Article I. of the Convention on Chinese Customs Duties.)"

THE CHAIRMAN then suggested that, if it were desired by any delegate at this time to bring forward Article IV., it could be dealt with at once.

MR. SZE said that in view of the fact that time was limited, he asked the Chairman to extend the right just mentioned by him of bringing up the substance of Section IV. at a later time.

THE CHAIRMAN assented.

THE CHAIRMAN said that there was one subject which might possibly be dealt with in the short time left before adjournment. With the reservation which had been made, the Committee would approach as the next subject on the American Agenda the matter of railways in China, including the specific matter of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

He added that he did not intend to review the history of that enterprise. He assumed that it was familiar to all, and that each Delegate had before him or at his command the documentary history of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The members of the Committee were probably conversant with the problems before them in relation to the proper and efficient management of that important line of communication. These problems concerned finance, the form of management and efficiency of management. So far as the United States of America was concerned, there was but one interest and that was that the railroad should be maintained as an artery of commerce, with free opportunity to all and unfair discrimination against none.

He stated that the United States Government had no interest whatever in the own-

ership and had no desire to secure control. They wished merely to do anything within their power to promote the proper conduct of that road, as one of the greatest instrumentalities of commerce in the East.

The subject was so difficult, there were so many different angles that had to be carefully considered, and the project and the relations of both Russia and China to it were such that he did not think, speaking for himself personally, that the matter could profitably be discussed in the committee at this time. It seemed to him that such a discussion would almost necessarily involve a detailed consideration of history and of documents and interests without dealing with the point of the immediate requirements by reason of the existing conditions in that part of the East.

THE CHAIRMAN therefore suggested that a sub-committee of experts be appointed, drawn from technical advisers of the various Delegations, or with such representatives of the Powers as might be deemed fitting by each, to consider at once whether there was anything that could be done at this Conference which would aid in promoting the efficiency of that railroad and its proper management. His thought would be that these experts would be already familiar with the history of the road; they would know all about the exigency which the Committee had to meet, and they could by interchange of views bring before the Committee, if anything was practicable, something concrete far more readily than could be developed in a discussion now. This, of course, would not preclude any discussion later in the light of such report as the sub-committee might make.

THE CHAIRMAN asked whether that suggestion met with the approval of the delegates.

MR. HANIHARA said that, according to the Chairman's suggestion, all the nine Powers were to be represented on this Sub-Committee of Experts. He did not wish to enter into any argument on the subject but it seemed to him that some of the nine Powers were not interested in the Chinese Eastern Railway. He brought up this point only because he wished to facilitate matters.

THE CHAIRMAN said that he was quite conscious of the fact brought out by Mr. Hanihara, but he thought that none should be excluded from the opportunity to give the Committee the aid of their suggestions. The situation was a very difficult one, and if they could generate any thought that would be helpful he believed the Committee as a whole would be indebted to them.

The suggestion was unanimously adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN said that before adjourning an opportunity would be given to offer resolutions relating to the subject of railroads, which might be circulated and be the subject of consideration at the next meeting.

BABON SHIDEHARA said there was a ques-

tion he wished to raise in connection with the matters discussed relating to the "Open Door". He then made the following statement:

"The Japanese Delegation understands that one of the primary objects which the present Conference on Far Eastern questions has in view is to promote the general welfare of the Chinese people and, at the same time, of all nations interested in China. For the realization of that desirable end, nothing is of greater importance than the development and utilization of the unlimited natural resources of China.

"It is agreed on all sides that China is a country with immense potentialities. She is richly endowed by nature with arable soil, with mines and with raw materials of various kinds. But those natural resources are of little practical value, so long as they remain undeveloped and unutilized. In order to make full use of them, it seems essential that China shall open her own door to foreign capital and to foreign trade and enterprise.

"Touching on this subject, Dr. Sze, on behalf of the Chinese Delegation, made an important statement at the Full Committee on November 16, declaring that 'China wishes to make her vast natural resources available to all people who need them.' That statement evidently represents the wisdom and foresight of China, and the Japanese Delegation is confident that the principle which it enunciated will be carried out to its full extent.

"It is to be hoped that, in the application of that principle, China may be disposed to extend to foreigners, as far as possible, the opportunity of co-operation in the development and utilization of China's natural resources. Any spontaneous declaration by China of her policy in that direction will be received with much gratification by Japan and also, no doubt, by all other nations interested in China. Resolutions which have hitherto been accepted by this Committee have been uniformly guided by the spirit of self-denial and self-sacrifice on the part of foreign Powers in favor of China. The Japanese Delegation trusts that China, on her part, will not be unwilling to formulate a policy which will prove of considerable benefit, no less to China herself than to all nations."

THE CHAIRMAN asked whether it was desired at that time to present resolutions which might be distributed, on the subject of railways in China?

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES said that there was a resolution which he would like to introduce the following day or at the next meeting, dealing with the question centering on the railways in China.

The very important question of the Open Door had been dealt with that morning, and from the door the avenue leading in was

becoming more and more an avenue of railroads. It was, he believed, to the common interest of all countries that there should be equality of treatment for the trade and commerce of all nations upon these railways, so he ventured to bring before the committee the following resolution, which in the first part takes the form of a statement by China, and in the second part the form of an agreeing or adhering statement by the other powers:

"The Chinese Government declares that throughout the whole of the railways in China, it will not exercise or permit any discrimination whatever, direct or indirect, in respect of charges or of facilities on the ground of the nationality of passengers or the countries from which or to which they are proceeding, or the origin or ownership of goods or the country from which or to which they are consigned, or the nationality or ownership of the ship or other means of conveying such passengers or goods before or after their transport on the Chinese Railways.

"The other Powers represented at this Conference take note of the above declaration and make a corresponding declaration in respect of any of the aforesaid railways over which they or their nationals are in a position to exercise any control in virtue of any concession, special agreement or otherwise.

"Any question arising under this declaration may be referred by the Powers concerned to the Board of Reference, when established, for consideration and report."

Sir Auckland Geddes continued that he would like to add two or three words, to say that he was aware that it was the existing practice of the Chinese Government not to exercise or permit any discrimination on the railways under their control and that he thought that it was the best practice of railway policy in all the countries.

He then stated that, with the permission of the Chairman, the British Delegation would move the resolution on the following day.

THE CHAIRMAN said that the resolution would be circulated and presented for discussion at the next meeting.

The Chairman added that it was manifest that the development of railways in China was a subject most intimately and directly associated with the prosperity of the country, and that it might be possible that, in showing interest in the future development of China, the Conference might desire to indicate a general policy as to railway operation in the future. To bring the matter before the Conference, merely for the purpose of indicating an attitude and point of view and general policy, he would present the following resolution for consideration:

"The Powers represented in this Conference record their hope that to the utmost de-

gree consistent with legitimate existing rights, the future development of railways in China shall be so conducted as to enable the Chinese Government to effect the unification of railways into a railway system under Chinese control, with such foreign financial and technical co-operation as may prove necessary in the interests of that system."

THE CHAIRMAN then stated that the resolution would be circulated and presented for discussion after the resolution proposed by Sir Auckland Geddes has been dealt with.

BARON SHIDEHARA asked whether his proposal might be considered later if the Chinese Delegation were not prepared to discuss it that day.

THE CHAIRMAN said that he presumed that the matter presented by Baron Shidehara would be regarded as before the Committee, that there would be full opportunity for the Chinese Delegation at another meeting to present views upon the question, and that the question, which was a very important one, would have full consideration by the Committee and could be discussed by the Japanese Delegates and others as might be desired.

The Committee then adjourned until the following morning, January 19, 1922, at 11 o'clock.

The Sub-Committee on Far Eastern Railways constituted at today's meeting is composed of:

For the United States of America—Mr. D. C. Poole;

For Belgium—Mr. Lemaire de Warzee;

For the British Empire—Mr. M. W. Lampson;

For China—Dr. Hawklng Yen;

For France—M. Kammerer;

For Italy—Count Emilio Pagliano;

For Japan—Mr. Matsudaira;

For The Netherlands—Mr. de Kat Angelino;

For Portugal—Captain E. de Vasconcellos.

January 19, 1922.

The twenty-first meeting meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held this morning, January 19, 1922, at 11 o'clock, in the Pan-American Building.

THE CHAIRMAN (MR. HUGHES) said that the Committee would consider the resolution offered by Sir Auckland Geddes with relation to railways in China. The resolution was before the Committee in text, he believed, and provided broadly against discrimination and for the reference of questions which might arise to the Board of Reference. He assumed that it was not necessary to read it.

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES said that the resolution which he had the honor to lay before the Committee was, as he had stated the day before, rather unusual in its form. In consequence, he did not move it simply as cir-

culated. What he moved was "That it is desirable that a provision to the following effect be in the convention on the Open Door in China"; and then the text as it stood.

On looking over this resolution carefully, and having had the advantage of criticism from some of the delegates present, he had to suggest that words be inserted in the text as circulated, in the second line, so that it should read:

"The Chinese Government declares that, throughout the whole of the railways in China, it will not exercise, or permit, any unfair discrimination of any kind. In particular there shall be no discrimination whatever, direct or indirect, in respect of charges or facilities . . ." and so on.

In moving this resolution, the British Empire Delegation were, of course, animated by the desire to make the Open Door policy effective. They believed that a resolution in this sense, if adopted and approved by the Powers, would go far to make the Open Door a reality.

He wished to add there was no suggestion whatever that China's government policy with regard to the railways had included any policy of discrimination on any ground. He wished to make that quite clear, and therefore repeated what he had said yesterday.

The British Empire Delegation believed that if there were somebody—they suggested the Board of Reference—before which claims or appeals could be taken, there would grow up, rapidly and effectively, a policy of absolute fairness and equality with regard to all transportation facilities on the railways throughout China.

They considered that the Board of Reference, which they had proposed in connection with the general policy of the Open Door, would be the most satisfactory, the most natural, and the most convenient body before which to have these cases, if any should arise, of alleged discrimination investigated and definitely settled. Accordingly he had the honor to move: "That it is desirable that a provision to the following effect be in the Convention on the Open Door in China." Then followed the text, with the small amendments he had already brought to the notice of the Committee.

MR. SZE said that the Chinese Delegation had noted with great interest the proposal made by Sir Auckland Geddes. In regard to the first paragraph he desired to say that it had always been the policy of the Chinese Government—a policy that was well-known and the whole idea of which was to develop foreign trade—to welcome foreign shippers or passengers and to afford them equal treatment, and he wished to add that there had never been a single complaint by any shipper of unfair treatment or discrimination. This policy had proved to be the best policy

and it was still the wish of the Chinese Government to foster foreign trade.

He noted that while the Chinese Government made a certain declaration in the Resolution, the other Powers made a similar declaration.

In regard to the Third Paragraph he hoped that there would be no occasion to resort to it as all the Powers represented on the Committee were anxious that trade in the Far East should be on a fair and equitable basis; occasions might, however, arise when it would prove useful. He suggested one small amendment, namely, the insertion of the words "any of" before "powers".

He wished to mention in this connection, in order that any possible future misunderstanding might be avoided, that, in giving assent to the First Paragraph of the Resolution China reserved to herself the sole right to classify the rates on any of her railways.

THE CHAIRMAN said he understood that there was nothing in this resolution which affected the authority to classify rates.

MR. SZE said that he wished to avoid any question arising in the future and to assure the continuance of the right of the Chinese Government to classify railway rates.

THE CHAIRMAN explained that it was understood to be the sense of this resolution that there was no impairment whatever of the power of China to classify rates, subject simply to the qualification,—with the explanation that it was not suggested on the basis that China had hitherto acted in a discriminating way,—that there should be no unfair discrimination of any kind and particularly no discrimination on the basis stated in the resolution.

BARON SHIDEHARA enquired if it was understood that the classification of freight rates should not be made in such a way as to entail any discrimination for or against different Governments or their nationals.

THE CHAIRMAN answered that it was understood that the classification of rates would not be made in such a way as to permit any unfair discrimination of any kind or, in particular, any discrimination, directly or indirectly, on the ground of the nationality of the passengers, the country to which they were proceeding, or the origin or ownership of goods or the country from which or to which they were consigned, or the nationality or ownership of the ship, etc., as stated in the resolution.

He then asked for further discussion on the resolution.

BARON SHIDEHARA stated that the Japanese Delegation cordially shared in this Resolution; that it was entirely in line with the principle of the open door in China that was accepted at the previous meeting. The wording, he thought, was admirable. It gave the Japanese Delegation great pleasure to accept the Resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN then put the question to vote and the resolution was unanimously adopted as follows:

"The Chinese Government declares that throughout the whole of the railways in China, it will not exercise or permit any unfair discrimination of any kind. In particular there shall be no discrimination whatever, direct or indirect, in respect of charges or of facilities on the ground of the nationality of passengers or the countries from which or to which they are proceeding, or the origin or ownership of goods or the country from which or to which they are consigned, or the nationality or ownership of the ship or other means of conveying such passengers or goods before or after their transport on the Chinese Railways.

"The other Powers represented at this Conference take note of the above declaration and make a corresponding declaration in respect of any of the aforesaid railways over which they or their nationals are in a position to exercise any control in virtue of any concession, special agreement or otherwise.

"Any question arising under this declaration may be referred by any of the Powers concerned to the Board of Reference, when established, for consideration and report."

THE CHAIRMAN then read the next resolution which was presented for action, as follows:

"The Powers represented in this Conference record their hope that, to the utmost degree consistent with legitimate existing rights, the future development of railways in China shall be so conducted as to enable the Chinese Government to effect the unification of railways into a railway system under Chinese control, with such foreign financial and technical co-operation as may prove necessary in the interests of that system."

This resolution was indicative, he said, of a general policy to aid in the maintenance of a strong and stable administration in China, and of suitable control of the facilities essential to such an administration and to the prosperity of the people. Of course, it did not suggest the slightest interference with any legitimate existing rights.

MR. SZE stated with reference to the Resolution now before the Committee he wished to state the position of the Chinese Delegation, and he would therefore read the following statement:

"The Chinese Delegation notes with sympathetic appreciation the expression of the hope of the Powers that the existing and future railways of China may be unified under the control and operation of the Chinese Government with such foreign financial and technical assistance as may be needed. It is our intention as speedily as possible to bring about this result. It is our purpose to develop existing and future railways in accordance with a general programme

that will meet the economic, industrial and commercial requirements of China. It will be our policy to obtain such foreign financial and technical assistance as may be needed from the Powers in accordance with the principles of the open door or equal opportunity; and the friendly support of these Powers will be asked for the effort of the Chinese Government to bring all the railways of China, now existing or to be built, under its effective and unified control and operation."

In regard to the wording of the Resolution they had no suggestions to offer; but they had one suggestion which would in no way change the meaning of the Resolution and was made only with the desire to facilitate its rendering into the Chinese language, namely, that the word "co-operation" in the next to the last line should be changed to "assistance". He hoped that this change would be agreeable to the Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN said that was quite agreeable, and that the amendment was accepted. He then asked if there was a desire for further discussion. Since there was not, the Committee proceeded to vote on the resolution, and it was unanimously adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN then asked if any sub-committee was ready to report, or if any of the matters which had been referred were ready for submission to the Committee. He had been informed by the Secretary-General that the Committee of experts designated to act in relation to the matter of the Chinese Eastern Railway were to have a meeting late that afternoon. Awaiting that report, the Committee might proceed to the next topic upon the agenda: the Status of Existing Commitments in relation to China.

THE CHAIRMAN said that it would be of service if they had a very clear understanding, when the Conference ended, of the commitments which were claimed to exist with respect to China. It would be of great aid if it should be understood that the Powers represented at the Conference had full knowledge of all commitments which might thereafter be asserted, or said to exist, and opportunity was now afforded for presentation of these commitments, and for any discussion such presentation might suggest.

Mr. Koo said that he wished to make a few observations with reference to the status of existing commitments in regard to China. It was known to his colleagues that the commitments entered into by China were very numerous, and this fact made it not only desirable but necessary that all the Powers represented on the Committee should know the exact situation not only in which China stood but the situation in which the Powers related to those commitments stood.

He had three suggestions to make, the first of which was that all the Powers who had any claim or claims on China should make them known; it was desirable, in the opin-

ion of the Chinese Delegation, that the principle of publicity should be applied to the international commitments with reference to China. It was not necessary for him to dwell upon the principle of publicity with regard to international agreements; one of the points adopted by all the Powers participating in the Peace Conference at Paris, as a basis of discussion and settlement, was that of open covenants. It was no more necessary to recall that Article 18 of the Covenant of the League of Nations provided that all international engagements should be registered and that, were they not so registered, they should be considered invalid. He referred to these points only in order to show that the general consensus of opinion regarded the principle of publicity for international engagements as a sound and useful one. There were particularly urgent grounds for observing the principle in regard to China. When to the fact of the existence of such a large number of commitments in regard to China was added the fact that many of these commitments were entered into under very uncertain circumstances—in some cases claims had been based on the letters or the verbal statements of a single Chinese official, sometimes not even of the Central Government,—the necessity would readily be seen for clearing up the question of exactly where China and the Treaty Powers stood.

So long as any international engagement was kept secret, it was bound to give rise either to speculation or suspicion. If nothing was known concerning it, the situation would not be less unsatisfactory since other Powers might unwittingly adopt policies which ran counter to such secret engagements. If it was merely suspected that a commitment existed, the other Powers were likely to adopt policies with a view to counteracting the apprehended effect of such secret agreement on their own interests.

From still another point of view it was very desirable that the international commitments of and relating to China should be known, for without such knowledge it would be difficult for China either to satisfy claims based upon such engagements, or to contest them if she deemed them unfounded. Besides, the formulation by China of any sound economic or fiscal policy would require a full knowledge on her part of the number and character of the claims which other Powers desired to advance against her. Mr. Koo thought this was true for the Powers also; unless they knew the nature and scope of all the engagements concerning China, they would not, for example, seek new enterprises or new fields of investment without running the risk of clashing with the Powers, parties, to such secret engagements.

So far as China was concerned, she was ready, in accordance with the principle of publicity for international engagements, to

place before the Committee the text of any commitment to which she was a party. In fact the Chinese Delegation would be glad to furnish any information, in this connection, which any of their colleagues desired. In making this statement he hoped that the other Delegations would reciprocate by furnishing the Chinese Delegation with such information as it desired regarding agreements which had been entered into by them concerning China, and claims which their governments might desire to make on her.

Mr. Koo added that, so far as the Chinese Delegation was aware, the only engagement China had entered into, concerning which others had at times manifested some desire to know the exact nature, was the Treaty of 1896 with Russia, known as the Li-Lobanoff Treaty. If any of the members of the Committee desired to be made fully conversant with the terms thereof, Mr. Koo said he would be glad to submit them.

The next point he desired to discuss was that the validity of these commitments should be determined. While it was desirable to examine the whole class of existing commitments, he would refer particularly to those that had their origin in doubtful circumstances. As he had stated earlier, many were based solely on letters or the verbal assent of individual officials not duly authorized. In one case there was a claim for territorial concessions which, moreover, was pressed simply because a Chinese official who received a letter embodying the claim was impressed with the unreasonableness of the claim and refrained from replying. Mr. Koo felt, therefore, that it was very desirable, in order to clear up the status of all existing commitments, that the Committee should try to determine which were valid, especially in the case of those based on uncertain and often nebulous claims.

The third point Mr. Koo wished to suggest was that, after the validity of the existing commitments or claims was determined, steps should be taken to harmonize them with one another and with the principles adopted by the Committee. It was well known that there were claims and commitments which might each have equal validity *per se* but which might conflict with each other. To prevent controversies it would be highly desirable for all parties concerned, those claiming a commitment as well as the Chinese Government, that all the conflicting features of these commitments should be removed. Mr. Koo remarked that it had been said this might introduce a new principle, that of retroactivity. That might be so; but the practical fact that engagements existed which conflicted with each other should not be overlooked, and there could be no doubt that those conflicting claims should be adjusted and settled, in a manner equitable and satisfactory to all concerned.

It might also be said that this would be opening the door to new disputes, on the ground that a future concession might trespass on rights already existing. He did not lend great weight to that argument, because if an existing commitment were sound and just, it would have nothing to fear. The course proposed would give the opportunity to strengthen its position and confirm its validity. If those were merely left on one side, the conflicts between them would not be removed and the way for future disputes would remain open. Therefore, some steps should be taken to solve the conflicting terms between commitments now existing. He therefore submitted those three suggestions for the consideration of the Committee, and would be most happy to hear any observation which his colleagues might wish to make on them.

THE CHAIRMAN said that the Committee had listened with great interest to the important statements of Mr. Koo. The Chairman supposed that nothing they could do would promote to a greater degree friendly relations in the future, with respect to matters in which China and interests in China were involved, than a full disclosure of all the commitments relied upon by the Powers represented at the Conference. He would suggest for their consideration that the Powers represented prepare and file with the Secretary-General of the Conference lists of all the treaties and engagements with China upon which they relied.

He was glad to note the offer of Mr. Koo to present to the Conference the contents of the engagement with Russia to which he had referred, and he trusted that Mr. Koo would fully disclose what that engagement was.

He thought it would be to the advantage of the Conference that whatever was lacking in the way of information in respect to commitments relating to China should now be supplied. This in itself he thought, would largely, if not entirely, take care of the nebulous claims to which Mr. Koo had referred. In other words, a valid claim could be stated and its basis could be set forth; if it were too nebulous to be listed, and at the same time it was understood that all engagements were listed, he doubted if, in the future, there would be any basis for pressing it. Further, the question of validity really had relation to something that could be defined, and in respect to which an argument as to validity or invalidity could be conducted. A mere nebulous assertion of some right, without any basis at all except conversations or suggestions, would hardly create an opportunity for serious argument.

The point was, he said, that the Powers at the Conference should thenceforth know, in the interest of their cordial relations, all that any of the Powers had to say with respect to their rights. That disclosure could

affect no actual right adversely; on the contrary it would tend to support every legitimate claim. Questions that were in doubt would not be in any more doubt because they were frankly stated. He would say that great progress could be made at the Conference if they would resolve to present the commitments upon which they relied, list them, and give them to the Secretary-General. Matters of conflict, of course, presented phases of claims of right on either side, which naturally would have to be adjusted in a manner satisfactory to those who believed that they had rights. That presented the case of a controversy and the question as to the appropriate means of settling controversies.

His suggestion would be that, instead of discussing all such matters at once, or at least having a discussion which would not be definitely related to a particular topic at a particular time, the Committee should first take up the matter of listing the various commitments upon which the nations relied in respect of China. As preliminary to that he trusted that he might, with their consent, invite the disclosure which Mr. Koo stated that he was ready to make.

Mr. Koo declared that, in compliance with the request of the Chairman, the Chinese Delegation would be glad to lay before the Committee the terms of the Russo-Chinese Alliance, as soon as a copy was made for submission. He wished to add, however, that the said treaty was signed in the year 1896 and was to remain in force for only fifteen years, so that its term had already expired.

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES said that the British Empire were fully prepared to publish all the commitments which they had with China; fully prepared to published everything they relied on. In fact, the vast majority of them were already published. He was not, however, sure that he understood Mr. Koo correctly. Did he wish all the treaties of peace and commerce between Britain and China to be reissued and republished? Those were known to the whole world. It would be quite possible to prepare such a list, and if it were considered desirable there was no difficulty about doing it. However it would take a little time.

The British Empire Delegation had prepared a list of all the minor commitments embodied in instruments of less importance than the great treaties which existed between them and China. These they were prepared to publish, or to give to the Secretary-General, or in any other way to make available to the whole world. They believed that they were all already known to anyone who took the trouble to look for them. The vast majority of them, at all events, had been published in that most valuable work by Mr. MacMurray.

In saying that they were willing to pub-

lish all these commitments at once, it was not possible to guarantee that the list that they had at hand was exhaustive; and he suggested informally that, after there had been publication of a list of these documents, a certain time interval be allowed for others which might have been overlooked to be added to the list. It was possible that the mere fact of publication was quite likely to bring to attention something that had been for the moment overlooked.

With that proviso, and dealing purely with the suggestion of publication, and to repeat what he had already said, the fullest publicity fell in exactly with the desire of the British Empire Delegation in this matter of their relations with China.

THE CHAIRMAN said that the statement made by Sir Auckland Geddes was most gratifying. It was, of course, not desired that in this matter there should be any unnecessary inconvenience. Possibly it would meet with the approval of the Committee if it were arranged that, in all cases where treaties or engagements were set forth in Mr. MacMurray's compilation, it would be sufficient merely to refer to that compilation, with a reference to the place where the treaty or engagement might be found. That would greatly simplify the preparation of such a list.

BARON SHIDEHARA said that he would like a clear understanding on one point. It would not be difficult to give a full list of commitments and agreements to which the Japanese Government itself was a party. The question of Chinese obligations to individuals or firms, however, to which the government itself was not a party, was an entirely different matter; it would be very difficult indeed for any government to ascertain the precise nature and terms of such contracts and to make a list of them. He assumed, therefore, that the Chairman's statement referred only to those agreements and claims to which foreign governments themselves were parties.

THE CHAIRMAN said that it was, of course, not supposed that governments would be under any obligation to list commitments in which they had no interest and of which they had no knowledge. In enterprises not wholly or strictly governmental, however, there were sometimes important features which involved government concessions. The question of degree was important. There were some matters which were not directly governmental engagements which were of a very serious character as affecting the interests of nations or their nationals. One illustration was that of the Chinese Eastern Railway. It might be regarded as a concern which was provided for by a particular organization and which was not, in its organization, technically a governmental affair. It would be very important, however, to be advised of the matter, if anything of that sort

were projected which did not happen to be known.

He thought that this should be dealt with in a practical way. The point was that they should go forth from this Conference with full knowledge of what the nations therein represented relied upon in relation to commitments in connection with China. His suggestion would be, subject to discussion, that the governments should list the engagements in which they had an interest, which were made by them or on their behalf, or to which they were related, or of which they had knowledge.

JONKHEER BERLAERTS VAN BLOKLAND suggested that besides reference to the valuable work of Mr. MacMurray as proposed by the Chairman it should also be permitted to refer to other well-known compilations such as Mayers, Herstlett, and the collections of treaties published by the Chinese Maritime Customs.

THE CHAIRMAN said that the suggestion was, of course, eminently appropriate. He supposed that any available compilation which had been published could be referred to in the interest of convenience.

MR. SARRAUT said that as regards treaties and commitments between France and China, everything had been published; that all the documents could be found in Mr. MacMurray's compilation or in the book published about France by Martens, or in the collection of treaties and agreements published by the administration of the Chinese Customs. Therefore all was known as far as France was concerned. If, in the compiling of the list, any matter should have been overlooked, as China must know herself to what documents she may have affixed her signature, he saw no objection for his part to the Chinese Delegation completing the list if they were willing to do so.

THE CHAIRMAN said that, if it were agreeable to the delegates, it could be provided that, within a time deemed to be satisfactory, lists could be filed with the Secretary General, and a time should be allowed for completion and comparison with the facts available to the Chinese Government; so that, within some fixed period, the Secretary-General of the Conference would be able to advise the Powers represented of these complete lists.

The Powers here represented could now resolve that, except as stated in the lists thus completed, that there were no engagements relating to China upon which the Powers severally relied.

VISCOUNT D'ALTE inquired if it were necessary, in the Chairman's view, to list also those local engagements entered into by Colonial authorities and Chinese authorities, or if he had reference only to treaties.

THE CHAIRMAN said it was not desired, of course, that this should be an unnecessary burden; on the other hand, however, it was

most important that the commitments be known. He supposed the more informal they were, the more important it was that the information be given. The larger engagements, which had been known for years, of course, could be referred to by a mere reference to a page in a compilation. But if there was any undertaking which was to be asserted against China or which related to China, in favor of a Power or its nationals, the Committee would desire to know what it was.

With regard to the question raised by the Portuguese Minister, the Chairman thought that, in view of the changes that had taken place in China and of present conditions, it would be highly desirable that any commitment, whether with the central government or with the local authorities or governments, should be known.

He understood, from what had been said by their British, French and Japanese colleagues, that it was not going to be a matter of very great difficulty to list these engagements. The important thing was that the Powers at the Conference should know that all was known, that is, that they should have a complete statement which, giving abundant time for its verification, should be regarded as a final statement with respect to the commitments as to China. He hoped, therefore, that there would be no limitation which would allow any commitment to be ignored on the ground that it was local or informal, or not reduced to the form of a treaty, relating to China, or some political subdivision of China.

MR. KOO said that on this question of the commitments, he hoped he understood correctly that in making out a list of these commitments, not only those to which China is a party, but also others between Powers concerning China, should be included.

THE CHAIRMAN said that it was intended to include everything affecting China. He continued that, with the permission of the Committee and taking the sense of what had been done during the morning, a proposed resolution would probably be circulated later in the day for consideration, so that the discussion could be directed to a precise point.

Thereupon the committee adjourned until Friday, January 20th, 1922, at 3.30 P. M.

January 20, 1922.

The twenty-second meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held this afternoon, January 20, 1922, at 3.30 o'clock in the Pan-American Building.

THE CHAIRMAN (MR. HUGHES) called the meeting to order, and asked if any committee was ready to report.

SENATOR UNDERWOOD said that when the report of the Committee on the Customs

Tariff in China came before the full Committee there was a recommendation that a resolution be passed in reference to the disbandment of certain military forces in China. It was referred back to the Sub-Committee with the request that the resolution be presented. He had drafted a resolution which had met with the approval of the members of the Sub-Committee, but there was a slight modification of it that the Chinese Delegation desired, which he thought would meet with the approval of the delegates. He said he would read the resolution as originally prepared and then the modification. He first read the resolution:

"WHEREAS, the Powers attending this Conference have been deeply impressed with the severe drain on the public revenue of China through the maintenance of excessive military forces in various parts of the country, most of which are controlled by the military chiefs of the provinces,

"And whereas, the continued maintenance of these forces appears to be mainly responsible for China's present unsettled political conditions,

"And whereas, it is felt that large and prompt reductions of these forces will not only advance the cause of China's political unity and economic development but will hasten her financial rehabilitation;

"Therefore, without any intention to interfere in the internal problems of China, but animated by the sincere desire to see China develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government alike in her own interest and in the general interest of trade;

"And being inspired by the spirit of this Conference whose aim is to reduce, through the limitation of armament, the enormous disbursements which manifestly constitute the greater part of the encumbrance upon enterprise and national prosperity;

"It is resolved: That this Conference express to China the earnest hope that immediate and effective steps may be taken by the Chinese Government to reduce the aforesaid military forces and expenditures."

It had been suggested, Senator Underwood said, by the Chinese Delegation, that instead of the first paragraph, the following paragraph should be substituted:

"Whereas, the Powers attending this Conference have been deeply impressed with the severe drain on the public revenues of China through the maintenance in various parts of the country of military forces, excepting military forces of the provinces without coordination"—

The rest of the resolution was to be unchanged.

He pointed out that the substance of the paragraph was not changed, and suggested

the adoption of the resolution with the amendment as suggested by China:

SIR ROBERT BORDEN said:

"The resolution now presented was inspired by a sincere and earnest desire to aid the purpose of the Chinese people in establishing stable government and in freeing the country from the incubus of excessive militarism. The appointment of Military Governors for the provinces which was initiated shortly after the inception of the Republic by the then President, Yuan Shi Kai, has had an unfortunate effect and operation since his death. The power of these Governors has increased to such an extent that the Central Government at Peking exercises very little control over a large part of the country. In fact the Military Governors have become military dictators within their respective provinces or spheres of influence; they recruit and maintain their own armies; they form combinations among themselves and struggle for ascendancy and at intervals they dictate the personnel and policy of the Central Government. That Government possesses very little authority in comparison with the power of the Military Governors and is only recognized by the latter in so far as it suits their interests. This system has continued in force for several years although it is entirely alien to the habits and traditions of the Chinese people. Up to the present there has been an unfortunate lack of such organizing capacity as would establish a strong and stable central government and bring the country once more under its effective direction and control. For such a purpose the provision of great revenues or the placing of large funds at the disposal of a weak administration is not of itself effective. So long as the Military Governors retain their present dominating authority and influence such financial resources would probably be absorbed to a very great extent by these military chiefs instead of being employed to cut down their power.

"Exact accuracy in any statistics of military forces and expenditure in China at the present time cannot be expected; but reasonable estimates place the total number of men under arms at not less than one million; at least the payroll probably includes that number. It is confidently asserted that more than half of the total revenues of the country are employed in the upkeep of these forces. They have not been raised for the defense of the country against outside aggression; on the contrary they are really maintained for the purpose of civil war and when on active service they are fighting against their own countrymen enlisted under the banner of some other military chieftain. In one province which is said to be exceptionally well governed by a man who devotes his whole attention to the welfare and prosperity of his district,

a considerable military force maintained as a necessity to his prestige is made to do duty in the construction of excellent roads. In that province the progress and advancement of the people are said to be quite remarkable and they give an illustration of what the Chinese people may accomplish under good government.

"The forces enlisted under the various military chieftains are said to regard their military duties as entirely occupational and it is believed that they would be quite ready to accept employment in the construction of railways, highways, and otherwise, provided the arrears in their pay were made good.

"The weakness, and indeed the impotency, of the central government, so far as a great portion of the country is concerned, must necessarily be a matter of concern to the other Powers. The Chinese people have developed a high civilization which, in some of its characteristics, affords a notable lesson to the nations of the West. They have behind them centuries of splendid tradition, a great development of art and of literature. At present they are passing through a period of transition from the autocratic rule of an ancient dynasty to the development of advanced democratic institutions. There is no occasion for surprise that, under these circumstances, the conditions to which I have alluded should have arisen. It might rather have been anticipated that the disorders and the instability would have been more pronounced. But among all the tumult and the fluctuations attending the development of democracy in China, the attachment of the people to the soil and their untiring industry have remained unchanged. One might adapt the words of a well-known quotation:

"They hear the legions thunder past,
Then plunge in toil again."

"Notwithstanding the present conditions, let no one fear for the future of the Chinese people. It has sometimes been thought that they would be absorbed by other nations. In my judgment they are more likely to absorb than to be absorbed. The mere passive resistance of that vast nation of four hundred millions is powerful to protect it. Out of the present disorders will eventually arise a permanent system of stable government and China will take her deserved and well-recognized place among the great Powers of the world. This cannot be accomplished for China by any other nation or group of nations. External beneficent influences may aid, but in the end the Chinese people must work out their own political salvation; there is abundant reason to believe that they can and will accomplish this. In the meantime it is the duty of other nations, and that duty has been exemplified in the work of this Conference, to lend a

helping hand wherever that may be possible to remove hampering restrictions as soon as practicable and to give every assistance and encouragement for the political regeneration of this illustrious people."

Mr. Koo said that, with reference to the subject of the resolution which Senator Underwood had presented to the Committee, the views of the Chinese Delegation had been stated at a previous meeting, when it was brought up for consideration. He and his colleagues had no new observations to offer. As the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Chinese Tariff had stated, an amendment had been suggested which was merely a change of form without modifying the original draft of the resolution; this amendment had been suggested by the Chinese Delegation only to meet the difficulties brought up by one of the Delegation.

With regard to Sir Robert Borden's remarks, Mr. Koo wished to express in the name of the Chinese Delegation a deep appreciation of the spirit animating them. Sir Robert Borden's serene faith in the Chinese people and in the future of China only confirmed the understanding of the Chinese Delegation of his familiarity with the sentiments of the people of China.

THE CHAIRMAN then asked the Committee whether, having heard the report of the Sub-Committee recommending the adoption of this resolution and the clear and admirable statement made by Sir Robert Borden, relating to conditions in China, setting forth the reasons for the adoption of the resolution, they were ready to proceed to act. The resolution, he said, was in the form which had been circulated, with the exception of the first paragraph of the recital, and that had been amended to read as follows:

"Whereas the Powers attending this Conference have been deeply impressed with the severe drain on the public revenue of China through the maintenance in various parts of the country of military forces, excessive in number and controlled by the military chiefs of the provinces without co-ordination."

The resolution, as thus amended, was unanimously adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN said that the next matter that might be considered by the Committee was the resolution, copies of which had been distributed, concerning publicity with respect to matters affecting the political and other international obligations of China, and of the several Powers in relation to China. This resolution had been prepared by technical advisers, and was intended to present, for the consideration of the Committee, the matters which were to some extent discussed at the last meeting.

He then read the proposed resolution, as follows:

**DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE TABLING
OF EXISTING COMMITMENTS.**

The Powers represented in this Conference, considering it desirable that there should hereafter be full publicity with respect to all matters affecting the political and other international obligations of China and of the several Powers in relation to China, are agreed as follows:

1. The several Powers will at their earliest convenience file with the Secretariat-General of the Conference for transmission to the participating Powers a list of all treaties, conventions, exchange of notes, or other international agreements which they may have with China, or with any other Power or Powers in relation to China, which they deem to be still in force and upon which they may desire to rely. In each case, citations will be given to any official or other publication in which an authoritative text of the documents may be found. In any case in which the document may not have been published, a copy of the text (in its original language or languages) will be filed with the Secretariat-General of the Conference.

Every Treaty or other international agreement of the character indicated shall hereafter be notified to the Powers here represented within sixty (60) days of its conclusion.

2. The several Powers will file with the Secretariat-General of the Conference at their earliest convenience for transmission to the participating Powers a list, as nearly complete as may be possible, of all those contracts between their nationals, of the one part, and the Chinese Government or any of its administrative subdivisions, of the other part, on which their respective governments propose to rely, which involve any concession, franchise, option or preference with respect to railway construction, mining, forestry, navigation, river conservancy, harbor works, reclamation, electrical communications, or other public works or public services, or for the sale of arms or ammunition, or which involve either a lien upon any of the public revenues or properties of the Chinese Central Government or of the several Provinces, or a financial obligation on the part of that Government or of the Provinces exceeding one million dollars silver (Pelyang \$1,000,000). There shall be, in the case of each document so listed, either a citation to a published text, or a copy of the text itself.

Every contract of the character indicated shall hereafter be notified to the Powers here represented within sixty (60) days of its conclusion.

BARON SHIDEHARA thought that the general idea of this resolution would no doubt be of great value to all concerned; but the practical side of the matter must also be

considered. The texts of a great many treaties and other international agreements between Japan and China were in the Japanese and Chinese language. They had been published from time to time in the Official Gazette of the Japanese Government, but no authentic translation had as yet been made. Mr. MacMurray's book contained translations of most of these documents, but these could not be regarded as authorities or official. So far as the Japanese Delegation was concerned, therefore, they could only give citations from MacMurray or any other compilation in English or French on the understanding that these translations were in no way to be regarded as authoritative.

In the second place, Baron Shidehara continued, the Japanese Delegates here had a general knowledge of the important contracts concluded between Japanese nationals and the Chinese Government or local authorities coming under the head of Article II. of the draft resolution, but they had not at hand the full text of these contracts, nor was there any legal means of compelling individual firms or corporations to produce the texts of these contracts; hence practically the execution of Article II. seemed to require an act of legislation, so far as Japan was concerned, to compel each firm or corporation to notify the Japanese Government whenever such a contract was completed. Without such legal sanction it was impossible to undertake that all contracts should be notified to the Powers within sixty days of their conclusion. Baron Shidehara said he would like to know the views of the Committee on this subject.

THE CHAIRMAN said that he understood that there were two points presented. The first was in relation to the first article of the resolution. It was said that the translations found in MacMurray's and other compilations might not be accurate and the Japanese Government did not desire, in referring to the page of the compilation, to have the translation regarded as authentic. He supposed that in any case in which the attention of the Japanese Government had been directed to a mis-translation it would not be averse to calling attention thereto in connection with the reference. But, of course, it was not desired that there should be any unnecessary inconvenience, and in case that at any time it were found that there was some error in the published translation he supposed that an immediate correction could be made. He saw no reason why the reference to translations should not be subject to any correction that might be found necessary.

The second point related to the second paragraph of the resolution, and was in substance that the Japanese Government might not be fully advised of the contracts of the character described between their nationals

and the Chinese Government or its administrative divisions. There were certain qualifications in the resolution itself with respect to the contract to be disclosed; they were to be contracts on which the respective governments proposed to rely; they were contracts which involved features in which the governments had some interest or on which they desired to place reliance. That is to say, he assumed that they were contracts which were in accord with some national policy which it was desired to support. The other qualification was that the list should be as nearly complete as might be possible. When he suggested the substance of the resolution on the previous day, he took the liberty of saying that it was to include contracts either between the Governments, or in which the Governments had an interest, or of which they had knowledge. Of course it was not intended that a Government should be charged with the duty of putting in the list a contract to which it was not a party, in which it did not have an interest, and of which it had no knowledge.

He assumed that in providing the list, it would be tantamount to an assurance that the Government had made it as complete as possible. He did not think there would be found anything impracticable in this plan when carried out with the purpose indicated, namely, to have governments in good faith state what they knew with regard to contracts of the class described.

There was, however, a different situation in connection with the second paragraph of Article II.; at least, he wished to suggest the point to the Committee, that it might be considered. Of course, when the plan was adopted, it would be generally known. Now, what were the contracts to which the Second Article applied? They were concessions, franchises, options, or preferences with respect to railway construction, mining, forestry, navigation, river conservation, harbor works, reclamations, electrical communications, or other public works or public services, or for the sale of arms or munitions, or which involved either liens upon any of the public revenues or properties of the Chinese central government or of the several provinces, or financial obligations on the part of that government or of the provinces exceeding one million dollars silver. They were contracts or concessions of the character described, between the nationals of a Government on one part and the Chinese Government or any of its administrative subdivisions on the other. In other words, from the Chinese side it was a government contract; it was a government contract in relation to these classes of works of a very important character. Of course, with the information that this policy had been adopted, which could hardly fail to come to the attention of any

concern seeking a concession or contract of this sort from the Chinese Government or its political subdivisions, he supposed that it might well be understood that the governments of the nationals concerned would be informed, if it were to be expected that they would later diplomatically support the undertaking. Also, as had just been pointed out to him, there was a further point that should be mentioned; the government whose nationals were concerned, as well as the other governments represented at this Conference, would be at once informed by China of the making of the contract. So he felt that, so far as the future was concerned, their Japanese colleagues would not be in any danger of being taken by surprise.

BABON SHIDEHARA said that perhaps he had not made his meaning entirely clear. There might be some contracts of the nature specified in Article II. of which the Japanese Government had at present no knowledge but with regard to which questions might later arise. If these contracts were legitimate, the Japanese Government would have to support them. According to this Article each Power would be required to supply a list of these contracts as nearly complete as possible. The Japanese Government would do everything in its power to supply such a list, but it could not guarantee that this would be complete. He also wished to call attention to the fact that the first paragraph of Article II. specified that the several Powers were to file with the Secretary-General of the Conference at their earliest convenience, for transmission to the participating Powers a list, *as nearly complete as might be possible*, of all those contracts between their nationals, etc., while the second paragraph of this same Article did not contain such a limitation.

MR. BALFOUR said that the two resolutions that the Chairman had placed before the Committee although, of course, they were closely allied in subject matter, really dealt with different points. All the discussion so far, he thought had taken place at the initiative of the Japanese Delegation upon the second resolution, and nothing had been said upon the first. Perhaps it would be convenient, as the Committee had begun with the second resolution, that they should finish with that resolution, and therefore, although he had something he would like to say to his colleagues on the first resolution, he would not say it until the discussion on the second resolution had terminated.

On the second resolution he would observe only this. The Chairman had stated, Mr. Balfour thought, with irresistible force, that China must make herself a party to this general arrangement, as he was sure China would be quite ready to do; but if that was to be the understanding, he thought it was an understanding that should be embodied

in the document itself and that the Committee should explicitly throw upon China as well as upon the other Powers the obligation of taking its fair share in this effort towards publicity, which would do so much, he felt, in the future, to purify the whole of these commercial or semi-commercial transactions.

Mr. Balfour asked if he might make one further observation on this second paragraph. It aimed at giving publicity to every transaction which was over a million dollars in amount. He believed the ordinary practice of the British Legation in Peking and of British subjects was that these last should notify the Legation or the foreign office of all transactions of the kind they were dealing with. Although there was no written law upon the subject, he imagined that a British national who did *not* inform the British Legation that he was making a contract would not expect that Legation to give him any diplomatic support should any question on it arise thereafter. Mr. Balfour said he would like to ask whether that wholesome rule ought to require that publicity be given to the terms of relatively small transactions. He took it that a million dollars, when great contractors were being dealt with, and a great government, counted among the smaller transactions of commerce, and was it not a fact that commercial men did not always wish to have the precise terms of their contracts known?—not necessarily because there was anything discreditable about them, or anything of which they might be in the least ashamed, but because they might conceivably involve some information with regard to the prices at which they were prepared to transact business which might be inconvenient in the conduct of their affairs.

Mr. Balfour hoped that, with regard to this second paragraph—and this observation applied also to the first—the Committee would add two provisions to this whole contract. One he had already referred to. He thought the Committee should throw upon China her fair share of the legitimate obligation; and he felt something more should be done; he felt that, as had been done in many previous cases, nations not represented around this table should be asked if they would agree to the final form in which this document might be embodied. He had no doubt that that was the intention of the American Delegation. He thought it should be put in black and white; and he did not doubt that that accorded with their general policy.

Mr. Balfour said that he had one or two things to say upon the first question, but he reserved those, if he might, until a later time.

THE CHAIRMAN said that it was the intention that China should, of course, take her share in this obligation, and that should

be expressed. He was advised by the drafters that this was the intention of the draft in the words "Powers attending this Conference". But when the language was examined closely, it was found to relate, in the first paragraph, to agreements which the Powers might have with China or with other Powers in relation to China. It should be specifically stated that this duty of communication was a duty which was to be discharged by China as well as by any other Power concerned; of course, the assumption of that obligation by China—and he had no doubt that it would be readily assumed—would give an important guarantee, so far as the acquisition of the information was concerned, because it would always be the government of China, or a political subdivision of China, that would be concerned in the contracts in question.

With respect to the point that this might involve transactions that were relatively small, it would be observed that they were transactions of the class enumerated in the resolution and that their character was such as to make it important that the transactions should be known. They concerned what were commonly called public services or public utilities. It might be that, under this resolution as drafted, the last clause:

"or which involve either a lien upon any of the public revenues or properties of the Chinese central government or of the several provinces, or a financial obligation on the part of that government or of the provinces exceeding one million dollars silver", would bring into the purview of the article other contracts than those of the nature of public services or public utilities. It might, he added, perhaps be sufficient in such cases, that the nature of the contract should be indicated, and the text be supplied only upon request. However, the matter was submitted for discussion. His own thought was that whatever was a governmental transaction of the sort described on the part of China or its subdivisions should be known, and in some way provision should be made to that effect.

The point with regard to China's obligation might be met in this way: the suggestion had been made to him, which he was glad to present for the consideration of the Conference, that a third paragraph be added to cover the point in these words:

"III. The Chinese Government undertakes to notify promptly, in the manner laid down in this agreement, every Treaty, Agreement or Contract of the character indicated herein which has been, or may hereafter be, concluded by that Government, or by any Local Authority in China with any foreign Power or the nationals of any foreign Power, whether a party to this Agreement or not, so far as the information is in its possession."

He supposed the first and second para-

graphs should have, after the words "The several Powers", the addition of the words "other than China", so that they would read: "I. The several Powers, other than China, will, at their earliest convenience, . . ."

"II. The several Powers, other than China, will file with the Secretariat-General . . .",

and then the third paragraph as recommended—the assumption of the duty by China. He added that it was quite in accord with the intention of the American Delegation that the adherence of other Powers should be asked.

BARON DE CARTIER asked whether it was intended to set a time limit during which the agreement would remain in force.

THE CHAIRMAN answered that until it was changed by consent of all the Signatory Powers, it would continue indefinitely.

MR. BALFOUR said there was a very small point, but he thought it was of some importance. He asked the Committee to turn to page two, the words "on which their respective governments propose to rely." Those words were repeated from the first paragraph. In the first paragraph that was clearly appropriate, because the first paragraph related to contracts between governments, and therefore it was right to use those words. He was not quite sure that he saw their significance in the second paragraph. This paragraph dealt with contracts between companies or individuals and the Chinese Government. Now, it was rather hard to ask the government of which contractors were the nationals to decide beforehand that they always meant to support the contractor. In fact, he was not quite sure that he knew exactly what the meaning of the words "on which their respective governments propose to rely" was in relation to a private contract. If a man made a contract to build a certain section of railway, this was on the face of it a legitimate transaction and his government would probably support him. But why should his government be required to insist upon it even if it was a legitimate contract? He was not sure but what it would be better to omit the words.

THE CHAIRMAN asked whether Mr. Balfour would suggest an amendment.

MR. BALFOUR said he would just omit those words.

BARON SHIDEHARA said that if the new Article suggested by the Chairman were adopted, he did not understand why it was necessary to maintain Article 2. The Chinese Government being party to these contracts, it would be in the best possible position to know of their existence; and if it undertook to supply the information, it would not be necessary for the other Governments to repeat the same information.

MR. HANIHARA said that as stated by

Baron Shidehara, the Japanese Delegation was in entire accord with the general purposes of the resolution, but, as regards the proper form which the latter should take, there were, he believed, several points which might require careful consideration. While disclaiming any desire to delay the progress of the Conference, he asked whether it would be agreeable to the Chair to give time for further study and consideration of the resolution. He had himself only received the draft in question just before he had entered the Committee Room, and had had no time to consult with his colleagues. This in no way precluded their entire agreement, but for his own part he would appreciate the opportunity to familiarize himself with the matter. This appeared to be one of considerable importance to Japanese interests, and, without any idea of keeping commercial transactions secret, there were certain points affecting private contracts which must be duly considered.

THE CHAIRMAN said that perhaps it would suit the convenience of the Committee if the resolution with the third article that had been proposed were to be distributed. In that amended form the resolution would be presented for consideration. If the delegates, considering this draft during the interval before the next meeting, reached the conclusion that amendments were desired, they should formulate the amendments so that they might be proposed and dealt with. Most of the questions that had been considered were questions relating to the substance of the matter and he thought should be considered by the full committee.

One amendment suggested by Mr. Balfour was the omission of the words in the second article "on which their respective governments propose to rely."

Another amendment which had not been formulated but which apparently would meet with acceptance was that the provision should be made for adherence by other Powers.

The question might be considered as to whether the proposed agreement on the part of China in the third paragraph would answer the purpose entirely. He supposed that there would be no reason for putting the whole obligation upon China. He supposed that the other Powers, if they were advised of the agreements, could easily give the required notice; of course, they would not be expected to give notice, as he had already said, of what they did not know. Also, as suggested by Mr. Balfour, this dealt with agreements with local governments. It would be desirable that full information should come from all the sources available.

JONKHEER BEELEAERTS VAN BLOKLAND remarked that in the second paragraphs of Articles I. and II., it was not specified upon whom rested the obligation to make the com-

munication, nor was it said by means of what body the Powers were to be notified. That body could certainly not be the Secretariat-General of the Conference, as the paragraphs referred to concern future documents and the Secretariat-General seemed to be destined to disappear with the Conference itself.

THE CHAIRMAN said that their colleague of the Netherlands was quite right in his construction of the proposed article. The provision for filing with the Secretariat-General was simply with reference to the immediate filing, as soon as might be done, of existing treaties and conventions. The second paragraph had relation to future action, treaties and agreements, made after the Conference had adjourned. The purpose, of course, was that the several Powers were to be charged with the duty of notification; but that could be more clearly expressed.

The Committee then adjourned until Saturday, January 21, 1922, at 11 o'clock A. M.

January 21, 1922.

The twenty-third meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held this morning, January 21, 1922, at 11 o'clock in the Pan-American Building.

After discussion which was chiefly concerned with the text of the various articles of the resolution relating to the filing and publicity of contracts it was adopted in the following form:

"The Powers represented in this Conference, considering it desirable that there should hereafter be full publicity with respect to all matters affecting the political and other international obligations of China and of the several Powers in relation to China, are agreed as follows:

"I. The several Powers other than China will at their earliest convenience file with the Secretariat-General of the Conference for transmission to the participating Powers, a list of all treaties, conventions, exchange of notes, or other international agreements which they may have with China, or with any other Power or Powers in relation to China, which they deem to be still in force and upon which they may desire to rely. In each case, citations will be given to any official or other publication in which an authoritative text of the documents may be found. In any case in which the document may not have been published, a copy of the text (in its original language or languages) will be filed with the Secretariat-General of the Conference.

"Every Treaty or other international agreement of the character described which may be concluded hereafter shall be notified by the Governments concerned within sixty (60) days of its conclusion to the Powers who are signatories of or adherents to this agreement.

"III. The several Powers other than China will file with the Secretariat-General of the Conference at their earliest convenience for transmission to the participating Powers a list, as nearly complete as may be possible, of all those contracts between their nationals, of the one part, and the Chinese Government or any of its administrative subdivisions or local authorities, of the other part, which involves any concession, franchise, option or preference with respect to railway construction, mining, forestry, navigation, river conservancy, harbor works, reclamation, electrical communications, or other public works or public services, or for the sale of arms or ammunition, or which involve a lien upon any of the public revenues or properties of the Chinese Government or of any of its administrative subdivisions. There shall be, in the case of each document so listed, either a citation to a published text, or a copy of the text itself.

"Every contract of the public character described which may be concluded hereafter shall be notified by the Governments concerned within sixty (60) days after the receipt of information of its conclusion to the Powers who are signatories of or adherents to this agreement.

"III. The Chinese Government agrees to notify in the conditions laid down in this agreement every treaty agreement or contract of the character indicated herein which has been or may hereafter be concluded by that Government or by any local authority in China with any foreign Power or the nationals of any foreign Power whether party to this agreement or not, so far as the information in its possession.

"IV. The Governments of Powers having treaty relations with China, which are not represented at the present Conference, shall be invited to adhere to this agreement. The United States Government, as convener of the Conference, undertakes to communicate this agreement to the Governments of the said Powers, with a view to obtaining their adherence thereto as soon as possible."

The following additional resolution offered by Mr. Root was adopted:

"Resolved, that the Signatory Powers will not support any agreements by their respective nationals with each other designed to create Spheres of Influence or to provide for the enjoyment of exclusive opportunities in designated parts of Chinese territory."

The Committee then adjourned until January 23, 1922, at 11 o'clock A. M.

January 23, 1922.

The twenty-fourth meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held Monday morning, January 23, 1922, at 11 o'clock in the Pan-American Union Building.

THE CHAIRMAN (MR. HUGHES) said it was fitting they should pause in their delibera-

tions to express the grief that they all felt at the news of the death of Viscount Bryce. His passing away was not only a serious loss to statesmanship, but it deprives the world of one of its great leaders and benefactors, because of his vision of democratic possibilities, his liberal spirit and the constant example in his character and attainments of the finest culture of his period. Especially was his loss keenly felt by the American people. He had long been the mentor of their youth. No one understood their institutions better; no one had more faithfully interpreted them to the American people; no one had more keenly appreciated the difficulties in their workings; no one had pointed out with greater accuracy the needs for improvement.

There was not, in any college in the United States, a class of young men desirous to understand the institutions of their country, he said who had not been at the feet of Lord Bryce, learning of the spirit of democracy as exemplified in the United States, of the special character of the work of the fathers in making liberty under law possible, and of the dangers which constantly beset us because of the extreme uncertainty that always attends the development of popular government.

He could not trust himself to speak of his personal friendship, his charm, the stimulus that he had felt in his companionship; nor would he, at this time, attempt to make an adequate tribute to his memory. It was a sad loss; and in this Conference, devoted to the interests of peace, they were attempting, with what measure might be found practicable, to make progress towards the goal toward which Lord Bryce had been striving during his whole life.

THE CHAIRMAN then asked Mr. Root to speak in honor of Lord Bryce's memory.

Mr. Root said that he contributed his word of appreciation and regard at the death of Lord Bryce from the standpoint of personal friendship and affection and of public gratitude and regard. He died in the fulness of years, in the midst of activity of body and mind, after a career of the greatest usefulness amidst the respect, admiration and affection of the people among whom he lived.

A little over sixty years had passed since, as a youth just out of the university, he had published his work on the *Holy Roman Empire*; and but last year he had published a great work, the fruits of immense labor and research, upon *Modern Democracies*. And until his death he had been actually engaged, at eighty-four years of age, in the beginnings of a new work, upon the *Life and Times of Justinian*.

Mr. Root thought that Lord Bryce brought to bear most unusual qualities upon the most serious and difficult problem of the time—the problem with which this Com-

mittee themselves were dealing. He had great learning, wide and varied experience, the intellectual penetration for which his people, the people of Scotland, had always been distinguished, infinite capacity for taking trouble, and a genuine, sympathetic interest with all people everywhere in the world who were trying to secure better conditions through government. Thus he came to have the best understanding of the different modes of thought and feeling among the peoples of different countries of any man whom Mr. Root had ever met. He did not simply expect that friendship should be made and friendly intercourse carried on with the people of other countries, through an acceptance of the mode of thought and feeling of his own native country, but he studied, sympathetically, the traditions, the customs, the necessary postulates of other civilizations and other lands and other experiences; so that his sympathy with the modes of thought, the feelings, the prejudices of the people of other countries made really friendly intercourse between him and them possible. It was that which enabled him to write the very great book upon *The American Commonwealth* to which the Chairman had referred. Lord Bryce went himself, personally, all over the world, to try to get correct ideas about other peoples, to get a correct judgment; he talked with all kinds and conditions of men in all countries in order to get a right understanding; and he had the deepest sympathy with all of the troubles and struggles of all of the people in the countries where he went; and he had, beyond all other men of their time, or at any time, Mr. Root thought, illustrated the true process of true international friendship.

He thought Lord Bryce had built his life into the growth of the great community of nations as an influence which would last long after his name was forgotten and long after those present had all passed away.

Mr. JUSSEBRAND said: "Mr. Chairman, happening to be, with my colleague of Portugal, one of the few diplomats accredited to the United States who had the honor of having Lord Bryce as a colleague, I beg to tell you how sincerely I concur in the very able words which have fallen from the lips of the present Secretary of State and the former Secretary of State, Mr. Root.

"It was my privilege to know Lord Bryce many years; it was indeed an education to know him. His knowledge was universal. I remember that upon the occasion of the publication of the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* I asked him whether he had subscribed; his reply was 'What's the use?' I answered 'True for you, since you are sure to know practically all there is in it.'

"He had a wonderful personal charm, gifted with a broad optimism, a great faith in

the future, and faith in the people of this earth. That faith came from his knowledge of the world, past and present, his acquaintance with the various nations. Himself a man of heart, he was able to discover, even sometimes under the most unattractive outside, the gold nugget which is always to be found in the heart of a true man, even among the less advanced nations. This explains how he could live so long, ever at work, never disheartened, always keeping his face toward the future.

"At the beginning of the war, when I was trying, in rather difficult circumstances, to join my post, I met him in London and saw his eyes full of tears. He had the saddest misgiving, not as to the eventual issue of the war, but about the evils which the war would bring to the people of the wide world, for whom his great heart felt such sympathy. He was almost in despair, though he still thought that possibly some means would be found to avoid the catastrophe, because a man of heart, as he was, would hope even against hope. Men of his type are rare, and the catastrophe did happen.

"Then, with wonderful energy and an indomitable spirit, he defended the good cause, and when his book on the German way of conducting the war was published, even the Germans had to give it recognition, and to understand that when a sentence was rendered by Lord Bryce there was no appeal.

"He was in full sympathy with what we are trying to do in this Conference. The future will say what this will have been; the tree will be judged by its fruit. Lord Bryce followed with the keenest interest our efforts in favor of an idea ever dear to him throughout his long life, namely, to increase in the world the effective feeling of good will among nations, foster the spirit of liberty and cordiality between honest men and people animated by honest purposes. We all hope to realize such ideals, and that our endeavors shall not have been made in vain.

MR. BALFOUR said he thought it was not unfitting that the senior member of the British Empire Delegation, and probably the man who had known Lord Bryce the greatest number of years, should say something before this touching ceremony was brought to a conclusion.

Lord Bryce was a scholar, a traveler, an historian, a politician, a diplomat; and in all those great spheres of activity he was himself a master. It was well to note that each of those spheres of activity affected the other. If Lord Bryce was one of the greatest political writers of his day, it was because he knew politics not merely as a scholar, not merely as a traveler, not merely as an historian, not merely as a politician, not merely as a diplomat; but because he

studied the political activities of mankind from all those points of view. Each reinforced the other, each added its quota to the admirable result which had been so well described by the Chairman, by Mr. Root and by Mr. Jusserand.

He need say no more. Those in the room who knew him would admit all that could be said in his praise as a writer, as a publicist, as a diplomat, and as a politician. They would add with unanimous voice that he was also one of the most delightful characters and one of the most sympathetic observers and thinkers which their age had produced. He had died in the fullness of life and under the best of circumstances, in the middle of his activities, with this great list of successes and accomplished deeds. Which of those present could hope for a better ending?

Mr. Balfour asked to make one further observation. Doubtless both on this side of the Atlantic and the other there would be many tributes paid to the memory of this great man; but he was convinced that no tribute that could be paid to him would equal in Lord Bryce's estimation that which was being paid in this historic gathering. His praises had been proclaimed by the most distinguished citizens of the country where some of his greatest work was accomplished, and which had been the theme of his greatest writings. They had spoken in the hearing of one of the most important conferences of the peoples that had ever taken place in any country. Those who had taken part in it were the most competent judges of his memory. They included statesmen like the Chairman, men of the world-wide authority of Mr. Root, the French Ambassador, who, to all the qualifications conferred by long experience as a colleague of Lord Bryce and warm affection for his person, added that of a knowledge of the English language, literature and history which Lord Bryce himself could not excel and which was the envy of every Englishman. While these were the speakers, who were the hearers? They were the representatives of nine great Powers drawn from all quarters of the globe. That they should desire to do Lord Bryce honor, that they should welcome such an occasion as the present, and that his claims on our gratitude and affection should have been so admirably expressed by such great authorities would, Mr. Balfour was convinced, could Lord Bryce have foreseen it, have given him greater satisfaction than any of the many honors which the civilized world had delighted to pay him.

He begged to thank the Chairman for the course he had taken.

The Committee had before it the report of the Sub-Committee of Technical Advisers on the Chinese Eastern Railway, which it

was decided to refer to a Sub-Committee of Delegates composed as follows:

- For the United States, Mr. Root;
- For Belgium, Baron de Cartier.
- For the British Empire, Sir Auckland Geddes;
- For China, Mr. Koo;
- For France, M. Sarraut;
- For Italy, Senator Albertini;
- For Japan, Mr. Hanihara;
- For The Netherlands, Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland;
- For Portugal, Captain Vasconcellos.

THE CHAIRMAN (MR. HUGHES) then said that as other matters in regard to China were, for the time being postponed, the next subject on the agenda was Siberia.

BARON SHIDEHARA said that, if the discussion on the Siberian problem was to be proceeded with, it might be of interest for the Committee to know exactly the intentions and aims of Japan in regard to Siberia, and, with the permission of the Chairman and of the Committee, he would make a concise statement in this respect.

He then read as follows:

The Military expedition of Japan to Siberia was originally undertaken in common accord and in co-operation with the United States in 1918. It was primarily intended to render assistance to the Czecho-Slovak troops who in their homeward journey across Siberia from European Russia, found themselves in grave and pressing danger at the hands of hostile forces under German command. The Japanese and American expeditionary forces together with other allied troops fought their way from Vladivostock far into the region of the Amur and the Trans-Baikal Provinces to protect the railway lines which afforded the sole means of transportation of the Czecho-Slovak troops from the interior of Siberia to the port of Vladivostock. Difficulties which the Allied forces had to encounter in their operations in the severe cold winter of Siberia were immense.

In January, 1920, the United States decided to terminate its military undertaking in Siberia, and ordered the withdrawal of its forces. For some time thereafter, Japanese troops continued alone to carry out the duty of guarding several points along the Trans-Siberian Railways in fulfillment of Inter-Allied arrangements, and of affording facilities to the returning Czecho-Slovaks.

The last column of Czecho-Slovak troops safely embarked from Vladivostock in September, 1920. Ever since then, Japan has been looking forward to an early moment for the withdrawal of her troops from Siberia. The maintenance of such troops in a foreign land is for her a costly and thankless undertaking, and she will be only too happy to be relieved of such responsi-

bility. In fact, the evacuation of the Trans-Baikal and the Amur Provinces was already completed in 1920. The only region which now remains to be evacuated is a southern portion of the Maritime Province around Vladivostock and Nikolok.

It will be appreciated that for Japan the question of the withdrawal of troops from Siberia is not quite as simple as it was for other Allied Powers. In the first place, there is a considerable number of Japanese residents who had lawfully and under guarantees of treaty established themselves in Siberia long before the Bolshevik eruption, and were there entirely welcomed. In 1917, prior to the Joint American-Japanese military enterprise, the number of such residents was already no less than 9,717. In the actual situation prevailing there, those Japanese residents can hardly be expected to look for the protection of their lives and property to any other authorities than Japanese troops. Whatever districts those troops have evacuated in the past have fallen into disorder, and practically all Japanese residents have had precipitately to withdraw, to seek for their personal safety. In so withdrawing, they have been obliged to leave behind large portions of their property, abandoned and unprotected, and their homes and places of business have been destroyed. While the hardships and losses thus caused the Japanese in the Trans-Baikal and the Amur provinces, have been serious enough, more extensive damages are likely to follow from the evacuation of Vladivostock in which a larger number of Japanese have always been resident and a greater amount of Japanese capital invested.

There is another difficulty by which Japan is faced in proceeding to the recall of her troops from the Maritime Province. Due to geographical propinquity, the general situation in the districts around Vladivostock and Kikolsk is bound to affect the security of Korean frontier. In particular, it is known that these districts have long been the base of Korean conspiracies against Japan. Those hostile Koreans, joining hands with lawless elements in Russia, attempted in 1920 to invade Korea through the Chinese territory of Chientao. They set fire to the Japanese Consulate at Hunchon, and committed indiscriminate acts of murder and pillage. At the present time, they are under the effective control of Japanese troops stationed in the Maritime Province, but they will no doubt renew the attempt to penetrate into Korea at the first favorable opportunity that may present itself.

Having regard to those considerations, the Japanese Government have felt bound to exercise precaution in carrying out the contemplated evacuation of the Maritime Province. Should they take hasty action without adequate provision for the future they would be delinquent in their duty of

affording protection to a large number of their nationals resident in the districts in question and of maintaining order and security in Korea.

It should be made clear that no part of the Maritime Province is under Japan's military occupation. Japanese troops are still stationed in the southern portion of that Province, but they have not set up any civil or military administration to displace local authorities. Their activity is confined to measures of self-protection against the menace to their own safety and to the safety of their country and nationals. They are not in occupation of those districts any more than American or other Allied troops could be said to have been in occupation of the places in which they were formerly stationed.

The Japanese Government are anxious to see an orderly and stable authority speedily re-established in the Far Eastern possessions of Russia. It was in this spirit that they manifested a keen interest in the patriotic but ill-fated struggle of Admiral Kolchak. They have shown readiness to lend their good offices for prompting the reconciliation of various political groups in Eastern Siberia. But they have carefully refrained from supporting one faction against another. It will be recalled, for instance, that they withheld all assistance from General Rozanov against the revolutionary movements which led to his overthrow in January, 1920. They maintained an attitude of strict neutrality, and refused to interfere in these movements, which it would have been quite easy for them to suppress, if they had so desired.

In relation to this policy of non-intervention, it may be useful to refer briefly to the past relations between the Japanese authorities and Ataman Semenoff, which seem to have been a source of popular misgiving and speculation. It will be remembered that the growing rapprochement between the Germans and the Bolshevik Government in Russia in the early part of 1918 naturally gave rise to apprehension in the Allied countries that a considerable quantity of munitions supplied by those countries and stored in Vladivostock might be removed by the Bolsheviks to European Russia, for the use of the Germans. Ataman Semenoff was then in Siberia and was organizing a movement to check such Bolshevik activities and to preserve order and stability in that region. It was in this situation that Japan, as well as some of the Allies, began to give support to the Cossack Chief. After a few months, such support by the other Powers was discontinued. But the Japanese were reluctant to abandon their friend, whose efforts in the Allied cause they had originally encouraged; and they maintained for some time their connection with Ataman Semenoff. They had however no intention

whatever of interfering in the domestic affairs of Russia, and when it was found that the assistance rendered to the Ataman was likely to complicate the internal situation in Siberia, they terminated all relations with him and no support of any kind has since been extended to him by the Japanese authorities.

The Japanese Government are now seriously considering plans which would justify them in carrying out their decision of the complete withdrawal of Japanese troops from the Maritime Province, with reasonable precaution for the security of Japanese residents and of the Korean frontier regions. It is for this purpose that negotiations were opened some time ago at Dairen between the Japanese representatives and the agents of the Chita Government.

Those negotiations at Dairen are in no way intended to secure for Japan any right or advantage of an exclusive nature. They have been solely actuated by a desire to adjust some of the more pressing questions with which Japan is confronted in relation to Siberia. They have essentially in view the conclusion of provisional commercial arrangements, the removal of the existing menace to the security of Japan and to the lives and property of Japanese residents in Eastern Siberia, the provision of guarantees for the freedom of lawful undertakings in that region and the prohibition of Bolshevik propaganda over the Siberian border. Should adequate provisions be arranged on the line indicated, the Japanese Government will at once proceed to the complete withdrawal of Japanese troops from the Maritime Province.

The occupation of certain points in the Russian Province of Sakhalin is wholly different, both in nature and in origin, from the stationing of troops in the Maritime Province. History affords few instances similar to the incident of 1920 at Nikolaevsk, where more than seven hundred Japanese, including women and children, as well as the duly recognized Japanese Consul and his family and his official staff were cruelly tortured and massacred. No nation worthy of respect will possibly remain forbearing under such a strain of provocation. Nor was it possible for the Japanese Government to disregard the just popular indignation aroused in Japan by the incident. Under the actual condition of things, Japan found no alternative but to occupy, as a measure of reprisal, certain points in the Russian Province of Sakhalin in which the outrage was committed, pending the establishment in Russia of a responsible authority with whom she can communicate in order to obtain due satisfaction.

Nothing is further from the thought of the Japanese Government than to take advantage of the present helpless conditions of Russia for prosecuting selfish designs.

Japan recalls with deep gratitude and appreciation the brilliant role which Russia played in the interest of civilization during the earlier stage of the Great War. The Japanese people have shown and will continue to show every sympathetic interest in the efforts of patriotic Russians aspiring to the unity and rehabilitation of their country. The military occupation of the Russian Province of Sakhalin is only a temporary measure, and will naturally come to an end as soon as a satisfactory settlement of the question shall have been arranged with an orderly Russian Government.

In conclusion, the Japanese Delegation is authorized to declare that it is the fixed and settled policy of Japan to respect the territorial integrity of Russia, and to observe the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of that country, as well as the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in every part of the Russian possessions.

The Committee then adjourned until January 24, 1922, at 11 A. M.

January 24, 1922.

The twenty-fifth meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held Tuesday morning, January 24th, 1922, at 11 o'clock in the Pan-American Building.

THE CHAIRMAN (MR. HUGHES) made the following statement:

The American Delegation has heard the statement by Baron Shidehara and has taken note of the assurances given on behalf of the Japanese Government with respect to the withdrawal of Japanese troops from the Maritime Province of Siberia and from the Province of Sakhalin. The American Delegation has also noted the assurance of Japan by her authorized spokesman that it is her fixed and settled policy to respect the territorial integrity of Russia, and to observe the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of that country, as well as the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in every part of the Russian possessions.

These assurances are taken to mean that Japan does not seek, through her military operation in Siberia, to impair the rights of the Russian people in any respect, or to obtain any unfair commercial advantages, or to absorb for her own use the Siberian fisheries, or to set up an exclusive exploitation either of the resources of Sakhalin or of the Maritime Province.

As Baron Shidehara pointed out, the military expedition of Japan to Siberia was originally undertaken in common accord and in co-operation with the United States. It will be recalled that public assurances were given at the outset by both Govern-

ments of a firm intention to respect the territorial integrity of Russia and to abstain from all interference in Russian internal politics. In view of the reference by Baron Shidehara to the participation of the American Government in the expedition of 1918, I should like to place upon our records for transmission to the Conference the purposes which were then clearly stated by both Governments.

The American Government set forth its aims and policies publicly in July, 1918. The purposes of the expedition were said to be, first, to help the Czecho-Slovaks consolidate their forces; second, to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves might be willing to accept assistance; and, third, to guard the military stores at Vladivostock.

The American Government opposed the idea of military intervention, but regarded military action as admissible at the time solely for the purpose of helping the Czecho-Slovaks consolidate their forces and get into successful co-operation with their Slavic kinsmen, and to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves might be willing to accept assistance. It was stated that the American Government proposed to ask all associated in this course of action to unite in assuring the people of Russia in the most public and solemn manner that none of the governments uniting in action either in Siberia or in northern Russia contemplated any interference of any kind with the political sovereignty of Russia, any intervention in her internal affairs, or any impairment of her territorial integrity either now or hereafter, but that each of the Associated Powers had the single object of affording such aid as should be acceptable, to the Russian people in their endeavor to regain control of their own affairs, their own territory and their own destiny.

What I have just stated is found in the public statement of the American Government at that time.

The Japanese Government, with the same purpose, set forth its position in a statement published by the Japanese Government on August 2, 1918, in which it was said:

"The Japanese Government, being anxious to fall in with the desires of the American Government and also to act in harmony with the Allies in this expedition, have decided to proceed at once to dispatch suitable forces for the proposed mission. A certain number of troops will be sent forthwith to Vladivostock. In adopting this course, the Japanese Government remain unshaken in their constant desire to promote relations of enduring friendship with Russia and the Russian people, and reaffirm their avowed policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia and of abstaining from all interference in her internal politics. They fur-

ther declare that, upon the realization of the projects above indicated, they will immediately withdraw all Japanese troops from Russian territory and will leave wholly unimpaired the sovereignty of Russia in all its phases, whether political or military."

The United States of America withdrew its troops from Siberia in the spring of 1920, because it considered that the original purposes of the expedition had either been accomplished or would no longer be subserved by continued military activity in Siberia. The American Government then ceased to be a party to the expedition, but it remained a close observer of events in Eastern Siberia, and has had an extended diplomatic correspondence upon this subject with the Government of Japan.

It must be frankly avowed that this correspondence has not always disclosed an identity of views between the two Governments. The United States has not been unmindful of the direct exposure of Japan to Bolshevism in Siberia and the special problems which the conditions existing there have created for the Japanese Government, but it has been strongly disposed to the belief that the public assurances given by the two governments at the inception of the joint expedition nevertheless required the complete withdrawal of Japanese troops from all Russian territory—if not immediately after the departure of the Czecho-Slovak troops, then within a reasonable time.

As to the occupation of Sakhalin in reprisal for the massacre of the Japanese at Nikolalevsk, the United States was not impressed by the serious character of that catastrophe; but, having in mind the conditions accepted by both governments at the outset of the joint expedition, of which the Nikolalevsk massacre must be considered an incident, it has regretted that Japan should deem necessary the occupation of Russian territory as a means of assuring a suitable adjustment with a future Russian Government.

The general position of the American Government was set forth in a communication to Japan of May 31, 1921. In that communication appears the following statement:

"The Government of the United States would be untrue to the spirit of co-operation which led it, in the summer of 1918, upon an understanding with the Government of Japan to dispatch troops to Siberia, if it neglected to point out that, in its view, continued occupation of the strategic centers in Eastern Siberia—involving the indefinite possession of the port of Vladivostock, the stationing of troops at Habarovsk, Nikolalevsk, De Castries, Mago, Sophieak and other important points, the seizure of the Russian portion of Sakhalin, and the establishment of a civil administration, which inevitably lends itself to misconcep-

tion and antagonism—tends rather to increase than to allay the unrest and disorder in that region.

"The military occupation"—I am still reading from the note of May 31, 1921—"the military occupation in reprisal for the Nikolalevsk affair is not fundamentally a question of the validity of procedure under the recognized rules of international law."

The note goes on to say that "the issue presented is that of the scrupulous fulfillment of the assurances given to the Russian people, which were a matter of frank exchanges and of apparently complete understanding between the Government of the United States and of Japan. These assurances were intended by the Government of the United States to convey to the people of Russia a promise on the part of the two Governments not to use the joint expedition, or any incidents which might arise out of it, as an occasion to occupy territory, even temporarily, or to assume any military or administrative control over the people of Siberia."

Further, in the same note, the American Government stated its position as follows:

"In view of its conviction that the course followed by the Government of Japan brings into question the very definite understanding concluded at the time troops were sent to Siberia, the Government of the United States must in candor explain its position and say to the Japanese Government that the Government of the United States can neither now nor hereafter recognize as valid any claims or titles arising out of the present occupation and control, and that it cannot acquiesce in any action taken by the Government of Japan which might impair existing treaty rights or the political or territorial integrity of Russia.

"The Government of Japan will appreciate that, in expressing its views, the Government of the United States has no desire to impute to the Government of Japan motives or purposes other than those which have heretofore been so frankly avowed. The purpose of this Government is to inform the Japanese Government of its own conviction that, in the present time of disorder in Russia, it is more than ever the duty of those who look forward to the tranquilization of the Russian people, and a restoration of normal conditions among them, to avoid all action which might keep alive their antagonism and distrust towards outside political agencies. Now, especially, it is incumbent upon the friends of Russia to hold aloof from the domestic contentions of the Russian people, to be scrupulous to avoid inflicting what might appear to them a vicarious penalty for sporadic acts of lawlessness, and above all to abstain from even the temporary and conditional impairment by any foreign Power of the territorial status which, for them as for other peoples, is a matter

of deep and sensitive national feeling transcending perhaps even the issues at stake among themselves."

To that American note the Japanese Government replied in July, 1921, setting forth in substance what Baron Shidehara has now stated to this Committee, pointing out the conditions under which Japan had taken the action to which reference was made, and giving the assurances, which have here been reiterated, with respect to its intention and policy.

While the discussion of these matters has been attended with the friendliest feeling, it has naturally been the constant and earnest hope of the American Government—and of Japan as well, I am sure—that this occasion for divergence of views between the two Governments might be removed with the least possible delay. It has been with a feeling of special gratification, therefore, that the American Delegation has listened to the assurances given by their Japanese colleague, and it is with the greatest friendliness that they reiterate the hope that Japan will find it possible to carry out within the near future her expressed intention of terminating finally the Siberian expedition and of restoring Sakhalin to the Russian people.

My suggestion would be, if it is not desired otherwise by the delegates, that the statement made on behalf of the Japanese Government by Baron Shidehara, and the one that I have made setting forth the position of the American Government, which is as stated in its communication of May 31, 1921, which I have read, should be communicated to the Conference for the purpose of being spread upon its records.

THE CHAIRMAN (continuing). I suggest the adoption of the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the statements by the Japanese and American Delegations in respect to the presence of foreign troops in Siberia be reported to the Conference at its next plenary session to be spread upon its records."

THE CHAIRMAN asked if there was a desire to discuss the resolution. There being no discussion, a vote was taken.

The United States of America assented.

Belgium assented.

The British Empire assented.

China assented.

When France was called, M. SARRAUT addressed the Committee as follows:

He said he gave his full and unreserved adhesion to this resolution. Whilst he was giving this unreserved adhesion, he liked to remember that France was the oldest ally, perhaps, of Russia, and in this respect it was with a particular feeling of gratification that he would state that he had listened with great pleasure to the exchange of views that had just taken place

before the Committee between the representatives of the United States and Japan. The French Government would hear with the same feelings the formal assurance given by Japan about the intention of Baron Shidehara's Government concerning Siberia, and Japan's desire to withdraw her troops from Russia as soon as possible, and its firm intention not to interfere in the domestic affairs of Russia, its firm purpose to respect the principle of unity and also the integrity of Russia.

France had full trust in Japan, who had always proved a loyal and truthful friend, and it was quite certain that this assurance would be carried out, and France accepted this with all the more pleasure because it was exactly the program of the French Government which was laid out in 1918 and which led them to interfere in Siberia under the same conditions set out so exactly by the Secretary of State of the United States. And here he could not fail to restate quite clearly France's intention, like that of her Allies, to respect the integrity of Russia, and to have the integrity of Russia respected and not to interfere in her internal policy.

France remained faithful to the friendship of Russia, which she could not forget, and she also entertained feelings of gratitude to the Russian people, as she did to her other Allies. Russia had been her friend of the first hour, and she was loyal, she had stuck to her word until the Russian Government was betrayed in the way with which those present were familiar. France also remained faithful to the hope that the day would come when through the channel of a normal and regular government great Russia would be able to go ahead and fulfill her destiny. Then it would be good for her to find unimpaired the patrimony that had been kept for her by the honesty and loyalty of her allies. It was with this feeling that the French Delegation with great pleasure concurred in the adoption of the present resolution.

Italy assented.

Japan assented.

The Netherlands assented.

Portugal assented.

THE CHAIRMAN said that he had received from the Chinese Delegation a telegraphic summary of the secret treaty of alliance between China and Russia concluded in May, 1896, which had been received by the Chinese Delegation from Peking. The Chinese Delegation added that they would send a copy of the full text of the treaty as soon as it was received.

The telegraphic summary of the treaty between China and Russia of May, 1896, in French and in English, was submitted to the committee for the purpose of being reported to the Conference. He then read the English summary, as follows:

TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN
CHINA AND RUSSIA—MAY, 1896.
(Translation)

Article I. The High Contracting Parties engage to support each other reciprocally by all the land and sea forces at any aggression directed by Japan against Russian territory in Eastern Asia, China or Korea.

Article II. No treaty of peace with an adverse party can be concluded by either of them without the consent of the other.

Article III. During military operations all Chinese ports shall be open to Russian vessels.

Article IV. The Chinese Government consents to the construction of a railway across the Provinces of Amur and Kirin in the direction of Vladivostock. The construction and exploitation of this railway shall be accorded to the Russo-Chinese Bank. The contract shall be concluded between the Chinese Minister at St. Petersburg and the Russo-Chinese Bank.

Article V. In time of war Russia shall have free use of the railway for the transport and provisioning of her troops. In time of peace Russia shall have the same right for the transit of her troops and provisions.

Article VI. The present treaty shall come into force from the day on which the contract stipulated in Article IV. shall have been confirmed. It shall have force for fifteen years.

THE CHAIRMAN asked if any Committee was ready to report or any resolution ready for presentation.

MR. BALFOUR said:

"As you have asked, Mr. President, whether there is any resolution ready, I venture to present one on a subject already familiar to my colleagues and on which I think there is practical unanimity among them. It relates to the embargo upon exportation and sale of arms to China. The motives for this resolution are familiar to all of us. The condition of China at this moment has been the subject of discussion, nay, more than that, it has been the subject of a formal resolution by this Conference, and we are all aware that great numbers of troops are enrolled in that country, not under the control of the central government, but under control of local administrators, who set themselves up in many cases as rivals of the central authority.

"It has long been felt that to a country in that condition it was a very cruel kindness to permit the import of arms from abroad, and this general proposition obtains peculiar importance from the fact that the termination of the world war left unemployed, unused and unsold vast quantities of ammunition and instruments of warfare.

The subject has been one of negotiation and agreement between the Powers already, but those who are in a position best to understand the circumstances hold that we should strengthen the hands of all their governments if we passed a resolution somewhat in the terms of that which I have the honor now to read. I will have copies in the hands of all my colleagues in a moment or two. It is so simple a matter that perhaps if I now read it they will gain all the information that they desire:

"The United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, and Portugal, affirm their intention to refrain themselves and to restrain their nationals from exporting to China arms, munitions of war, or material destined exclusively for their manufacture, until the establishment of a government whose authority is recognized throughout the whole country.

"2. Each of the above Powers will forthwith take such additional steps as may be necessary to make the above restrictions immediately binding upon all its nationals.

"3. The scope of this resolution includes all concessions, settlements, and leased territories in China.

"4. The United States of America will invite the adherence to this resolution of the other Powers in treaty relations with China."

"I do not think I need add anything to the obvious meaning of this resolution. Its object is obvious, I think, to all; and this object will evidently be impossible of attainment if the resolution is not acted upon by all the Powers concerned. We cannot ask particular Powers who have large munitions of war at their disposal and who have the power of manufacturing large additional amounts, to compel their citizens to refrain from a profitable trade unless other Powers are prepared to act upon a similar self-denying ordinance. This is the reason which makes it essential not only that some such resolution should be passed, but that it should be acted upon by all the Powers who are in a position to supply arms to China."

THE CHAIRMAN stated that, having heard the resolution, opportunity would be given for discussion.

BARON DE CARTIER said that he supposed this resolution applied only to arms and munitions of war and was not meant to prevent the importation of shotguns and blasting materials.

MR. BALFOUR stated, in reply to the inquiry of Baron de Cartier, that a reference to the text would show that it covered "munitions of war."

BARON DE CARTIER observed that he now had a copy before him and saw that munitions other than those of war were not included, and that the exportation of shotguns, blasting materials, etc., could continue. That made it all right.

THE CHAIRMAN stated that he assumed that the context indicated the purpose quite clearly, and asked if there were further discussion.

MR. SZE said that he had just read a copy of the resolution presented by Mr. Balfour, and he wished to say a word or two based on his first reaction to it. In the first place, he desired to know whether he was right in concluding that, in presenting this resolution, Mr. Balfour had no other aim than to help China; the same aim, in fact, as had animated the resolution presented by the Sub-Committee on Chinese Revenue over which his friend Senator Underwood had presided.

He wished to remind the Committee that the importation into China of arms and material for their manufacture (even of arms and munitions for the purposes mentioned by Baron de Cartier) was not permitted except under license of the Chinese Government. The Chinese Government and the Chinese people hoped for internal tranquility in China at an early date and a return to a strong and united central government which he was positive the genius of the Chinese people and their experience of 4,000 years made them capable of evolving.

In closing his remarks, Mr. Sze again expressed the hope that assumption of the motive underlying the resolution was correct.

MR. BALFOUR said: "My Chinese colleague has made an appeal to me, as to whether the motive underlying this resolution is that of aiding China to obtain for herself—and in no other way can it be obtained—a strong and stable government.

"I can assure him that, so far as the British Empire Delegation is concerned, that is our motive and our sole motive. Nor is there anything new in the general policy expressed in this resolution. As far back as May 5, 1919, the doyen of the diplomatic body at Peking made the following notification to the Chinese Government—which is almost exactly in the terms of the first paragraph of this resolution. It ran as follows:

"The Governments of Great Britain, Portugal, the United States, Russia, Brazil, France and Japan have agreed effectively to restrain their subjects and citizens from exporting to or importing into China arms and munitions of war and material destined exclusively for their manufacture until the establishment of a government whose authority is recognized throughout the whole country, and also to prohibit, during the above period, delivery of arms and munitions for which contracts have already been made but not executed."

"The general motive underlying the resolution which is now before us was, therefore most clearly expressed two years ago. In that motive there is no change. There

have been some slight changes of machinery and of wording, but the general policy is now what it was, and it is designed and devised purely in the interest of China herself."

SENATOR SCHANZER said: "In the name of the Italian Delegation I can only say that we are in sympathy with the Resolution presented by Mr. Balfour, but we are not ready today to act upon it. The Italian Government has signed the Convention of Ste. Germain and is ready to bring it before the Italian Parliament for ratification. Nevertheless, I am not at the present time able to state whether the Italian Government, in the absence of an international agreement approved by the Italian Parliament, is allowed by the actual legislation to impose the necessary restrictions on this commerce. For this reason we must ask our Government for instructions before we can accept the formal engagements which the resolution implies."

MR. BALFOUR said: "May I call the attention of my Italian colleague, Mr. Schanzer, to the fact that Italy acceded to the resolution which I just read out, that is to say, the resolution of May 5, 1919, with a reservation which I will now read:

"Italy also acceded but with the important reservation that all contracts already concluded by Italians, or to be concluded by them before all the Powers had signified their assent to the resolution, should be excluded."

"That was two years ago, and I suppose that state of things may be regarded as having come to an end and that the resolution now has no special value for the Italian Government. On the broad question I understand that the Italian Government have already given their consent."

SENATOR SCHANZER said that he thanked Mr. Balfour for his explanation which confirmed the suitability of his own declarations. The reservations which Mr. Balfour had just read must, however, also be examined from the point of view of their scope and duration in connection with the proposed resolution. For this reason the Italian Delegation must ask instructions from the Italian Government.

MR. LODGE said: Mr. Chairman, we have a law in the United States which has been on the statute books for some time which gives special powers to the President to stop, in his discretion, all export of arms to any American country. That statute has been amended by including China, that is, we give to the President the power in his discretion, to stop shipments of arms or munitions of war to China. This bill, which was a Senate bill, contained an amendment to that effect, which passed the House, and I moved to concur in the amendments of the House last week, and I take it that the

bill has now been signed and has become a law.

"I mention this because the United States already gives the President the power which is asked for in these resolutions, which are I think very wise and should be adopted."

JONKHEER BEELAERTS VAN BLOKLAND said that while heartily endorsing the spirit underlying the resolution he must express doubt as to the legal aspect of this matter in relation to the laws of Holland. The resolution had rather unexpectedly been laid before the Committee and there had been no opportunity for the other delegations to study the subject. He was therefore unaware of the attitude of his Government; he did not understand whether or not his Government was a party to the resolution presented by the Dean of the Diplomatic Body at Peking.

MR. BALFOUR begged to interrupt Mr. Beelaerts to say that he had read the list of countries which were represented and that he might have added that The Netherlands, Denmark and Belgium subsequently adhered to this arrangement. Therefore subsequently, though not at the time, The Netherlands did agree to the resolution.

JONKHEER BEELAERTS continued that from the further information advanced by Mr. Balfour it was clear to him that The Netherlands Minister at Peking did not at the time feel authorized to adhere to the resolution without referring the matter to The Hague. Jonkheer Beelaerts thought it would also be necessary for him to consult his Government before acting upon the proposal.

Continuing, he drew attention to a difference in wording between the Peking resolution, referring both to exportation from the various countries and importation into China, and the resolution now before the Committee which mentioned only the exportation to China and consequently did not reach as far as the Peking resolution.

BARON SHIDEHARA said there was one minor point on which he would like to obtain a certain amount of explanation. Article III. provided that "The scope of this Resolution includes . . . Leased Territories." This seemed to imply—if he construed it correctly—that, for instance, the sending of arms from Japan to Port Arthur was to be prohibited. If this was in fact the meaning, he did not quite see the reason for it. Japan could easily take efficient measures to restrict the re-export of arms, etc., from her leased territory to other parts of China, but so long as Japan was in occupation of Port Arthur it would be impossible for her to undertake restriction of the despatch of arms thither.

MR. BALFOUR said: "I am not at all certain that there ought not to be an amendment to meet the point made by my colleague from the United States and to bring

this paragraph into exact or close conformity with the resolution in 1919. The 1919 resolution dealt with restraining their subjects from exporting to or importing into China arms or ammunition. I am not at all sure that ought not to be put in.

"The United States Delegation tell me now that that is not possible under the United States law at present. It is possible under the British system, but it is not possible under the United States system. I see little use putting it in, then.

"As regards the point raised by my Japanese colleague, I do not imagine that the sending of arms from Japan to the armed forces of Japan in Port Arthur would come under this at all. I may have misunderstood his meaning, but I thought his meaning was that he was afraid this would preclude the Japanese Government from supplying their own troops in Port Arthur with arms and ammunition.

"That certainly is not the intention, and I am informed that it would not be the effect. I quite agree that if it was the effect, then some modification of the wording would be necessary in order to remove what would obviously be a patent error in the drafting. I think, however, he may rest easy on that point. Precisely the same thing would, of course, affect the British Government, in so far as the leased territory in Kowloon is concerned; and I do not feel uneasy about it.

"Mr. Chairman, I understand that one or two of my colleagues around the table desire instructions from their governments about this. I also think that, after the discussions which have taken place, and after the suggestions that have been made, it would be possible for this to be brought forward with no change of substance or intention, but with some improvements of form; and so I would propose—I do not know exactly the form in which it should be put—but I would propose that it might be better to adjourn this discussion until instructions are received from the governments whose representatives have to seek them. Therefore, if I might be permitted—I do not know whether it would be very regular—but if I might be permitted to have the wording of the resolution examined, in the light of the discussion which has taken place today, I might bring it forward at the next opportunity when the subject is raised, in a little improved and amended form."

THE CHAIRMAN said that he presumed that the general purpose of the resolution was sufficiently understood to enable the delegations, which were not advised of the opinions of their governments, to seek instructions. The resolution would, then, be retained in the hands of the British Empire Delegation until they saw fit to bring it forward, in the same or amended form. Meanwhile he assumed that the Delegations

would seek authority so as to be able to deal with it when it was again presented and he called attention to Mr. Balfour's request that he be advised by the Delegations who were going to seek instructions from their governments when such instructions were received.

The Chairman said that the next subject on the agenda was that of Mandated Islands; and in the statement of the agenda there was added, after that title, the words "Unless questions earlier settled." The reference was intended to be to islands under mandate in the Pacific Ocean. Since this statement of suggested agenda had been distributed, the American Government and the Japanese Government had reached an agreement with regard to the islands in the Pacific north of the Equator, to which Japan had received a mandate in which four of the five Principal Allied and Associated Powers concurred. The United States of America had not assented to that mandate, and there had been questions open for consideration, especially with respect to the Island of Yap and also with regard to (the) other mandated islands.

The Chairman said that the chiefs of the Delegations had already been informed that the negotiations which took place between the Japanese Government and the American Government had resulted in a satisfactory agreement, which remained to be set forth in an appropriate convention.

That being the case, there was no occasion for the Conference to deal with the matter of the mandated islands north of the Equator in the Pacific Ocean, save, of course, that the terms of the agreement between the Japanese Government and the American Government would be suitably notified to the Conference. So far as the islands in the Pacific Ocean south of the Equator were concerned, with respect to which there were other mandates to which the United States of America had not as yet assented, it was assumed that the matters in question might appropriately be the subject of discussion between Great Britain and the United States. He said that he believed that there was no occasion to bring that matter before the Committee.

The Chairman then said that the next subject on the agenda was that of Electrical Communications in the Pacific. This subject had several aspects. One related to the former German cables in the Pacific. These cables had passed to the Five Principal Allied and Associated Powers. At a recent meeting of the heads of the Delegations of the Five Principal Allied and Associated Powers it had been stated that the Japanese Government and the American Government had reached a provisional agreement with respect to the disposition of the former German cables in the Pacific Ocean. That agreement, of course, was subject to

the approval of the other Allied Powers, and also subject to the approval of other parties interested, in so far as their interests might appear. It therefore did not appear that the question need occupy the attention of the Committee.

With respect to the broader question of electrical communications in the Pacific, aside from the disposition of the former German cables, the opportunity was now provided for any proposals which the Delegations might desire to submit.

Mr. Root said that, under this head of the agenda, perhaps the Committee ought to return to the consideration of the resolutions presented by Mr. Viviani.

The Committee would remember that it had adopted a series of resolutions regarding wireless stations in China, provisions rather specific and narrow and not undertaking to deal with the general subject in a broad way. Those resolutions were subject to certain reservations. There had been a reservation by Japan regarding wireless stations. It had been supposed that it would probably be disposed of by a settlement in the Shantung conversations. On the same day M. Viviani had presented a series of resolutions which went into the subject of wireless in a broader and more thorough way and practically covered the entire draft of the narrow resolutions that had been approved by the committee, and called for a reconsideration of the whole subject.

Those resolutions of M. Viviani had been subject to considerable discussion, and the general feeling of the committee had seemed to be in favor of passing them to the long-suffering and patient drafting committee. At the close of the discussion, however, instead of doing what everybody appeared to have agreed to, namely, sending them to the drafting committee, he found a provision in the minutes that the matter was to stand over to allow for further discussion by Japan and China. Not having noticed that, he called a meeting some time after, several weeks after, of the drafting committee, to take up the subjects, and the drafting committee entered upon the consideration of it. Mr. Hanhara stated his recollection of what had happened and upon examining the minutes it appeared that his recollection was correct and Mr. Root's was wrong, and accordingly the drafting committee had no jurisdiction over the subject and the matter stood for discussion in this committee, and the responsibility for disposing of it rested upon the committee.

Mr. Root supposed that discussion by Japan and China upon the subject of these resolutions would be the next step that it would be necessary for the committee to take. He then read the draft of the motion relating to the organization of radio communications in China, submitted by Mr. Vivi-

ana, December 7th, 1921, and which had already been distributed, as follows:

"DRAFT OF A MOTION RELATING TO THE ORGANIZATION OF RADIO COMMUNICATIONS IN CHINA."

"WHEREAS.

"Competition in the establishment and operation of wireless stations in China, far from bringing about the creation of the necessary radio communications between China and the other countries, has on the contrary produced results the reverse of those aimed at, the Powers represented at the Washington Conference consider that this competition should give way to co-operation under the control of the Government of China.

"Therefore, it is decided that a Committee be formed including representatives of the interested countries and of China to draw up practical recommendations in accordance with which this co-operation shall be accomplished in conformity with the following principles:

"(1) The purpose of the co-operation should not be to favor certain interests at the expense of others but to enable China to obtain radio communications established and operated as much in its own interest as in that of the public of all countries and to avoid the waste of capital, of staff, of material and of wave-lengths.

"(2) To this end China should be enabled to possess, as soon as possible, radio stations with all the latent technical improvements that can be contributed by the various companies of the countries which are concerned in the improvement of radio communications with China.

"(3) Radio communications within the Chinese territory shall be subject to the Chinese laws and the external radio communications (between China and other countries) shall be regulated by the international Conventions governing such matters.

"(4) The Governments of the Powers mentioned in the preamble shall give no support to any company or to any person who does not conform to the above principles as well as to the practical rules prescribed in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee.

SUPPLEMENTARY SUGGESTION.

"(5) The rates charged for radio communications shall never be higher than the rates for communications by wire or by cable for equivalent distances and government and press messages shall benefit by a reduction of at least 50 per cent."

Mr. Root then said that he understood this resolution was before the Committee for consideration and discussion.

The Chairman said that he supposed that the substance of this proposal should be discussed in the Committee, unless, of course,

there were matters for technical consideration which should be taken up otherwise. Before the matter was referred, if it should be referred to the Drafting Committee, in order to put the sense of the Committee into appropriate form, it would seem important that the sense of the Committee should be taken.

Mr. Root then said, for the purpose of bringing the matter a little nearer to the point, that the result of examination and extended conversations with experts and consideration of Mr. Viviani's resolutions had brought him to this conclusion that the views expressed by M. Viviani were, in the main, views with which the Committee should agree, and with which he, Mr. Root, certainly agreed very fully. M. Viviani's paper, however, was based upon a decision of a grave question of policy which primarily and fundamentally, should be determined by the Government of China and upon which the Committee ought not to express an opinion without very thorough and full consideration and discussion, or without a knowledge of the subject which it seemed to him to be impracticable for the Conference to acquire. The question lay between building up an electrical wireless system in China upon the principle of free competition, or building it up upon the principle of co-operation or consortium. The far-reaching consequences of the adoption of either one of those principles manifestly might be such that the Committee ought not to declare themselves without a much better understanding of those consequences than Mr. Root felt that he personally possessed. That was quite apart from the proposition that China ought to make the determination as to what methods she should follow. One method, that of competition, was the method that existed in the United States today; another method, that of controlled co-operation, was the method that existed in many other countries. China ought to determine which she would follow; then the Powers represented ought to help her in that course; but he did not think that the Committee was in a position to decide now.

With that view, he had prepared for submission to the drafting committee a resolution which responded to M. Viviani's motion for appointment of a committee or commission, but which, instead of undertaking to decide the fundamental question of policy in advance of the consideration of the commission, left that to be one of the things to be determined from the report of the commission. He asked to be permitted to read the resolution as it was drafted:

"RESOLUTION REGARDING WIRELESS."

"The United States of America, Belgium, British Empire, China, France, Italy, Ja-

pan, The Netherlands, and Portugal, desiring to avoid controversies regarding electrical communication facilities and services in China, and between China and other countries, and particularly over concessions or contracts in China relating thereto, and desiring to promote the further development of the internal and external electrical communication facilities and services of China in such a manner as to conform to the public policy of China and to produce the greatest possible benefit, have agreed:

"That a commission be constituted at once by the appointment of one member on the part of each government represented in the present conference; that the said commission shall inquire into existing concessions, contracts, treaties, and loans relating to electrical communications in China and between China and other countries, the adequacy of present services, and the need for additional services, and shall confer with the Chinese Government upon the policy and purposes of that government in respect of such communications, and upon the available and expedient methods of reconciling the actions of other Powers and the nationals thereof to such policy, and shall report thereon to the several Powers represented in the commission as soon as possible, but not later than the time set for the next meeting to be called in accordance with the provisions of the International Telegraph Conventions of 1875, and the next meeting to be called in accordance with the provisions of the International Radio-Telegraph Convention of 1912.

"Said Commission shall take into consideration and report upon the matters contained in the resolution offered in the Committee on Far Eastern Affairs on the 7th of December, 1921, by M. Viviani, in behalf of the French Delegation."

THE CHAIRMAN said that the resolution was before the Committee for discussion.

MR. SARBAUT stated that his personal preference would be that the discussion might be adjourned until the following morning.

THE CHAIRMAN said that if it was agreeable to the Committee an adjournment would be taken until Wednesday morning at 11 o'clock, and that this resolution would be distributed at once and taken up as the first order of business on that day.

There was no objection, and accordingly the committee adjourned until Wednesday, January 25, 1922, at 11 o'clock A. M.

January 25, 1922.

The twenty-sixth meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held this morning, January 25, 1922, at 11 A. M. in the Pan-American Building.

THE CHAIRMAN (MR. HUGHES) stated that the Committee had before it the resolutions in regard to electrical communications.

MR. SZE read the following statement:

"I hope I have made it clear on a previous occasion that wireless stations not owned and operated by the Chinese Government, at present found in China, should, at the earliest possible moment, by negotiation with owners, be handed over to the operation and control of the Chinese Government. To state it clearly, I may say that the continuance of such radio stations under foreign operation as now exist in China, without its express consent is only a matter of sufferance upon the part of China, and that their existence and continuance can be legalized only when the foreign nations concerned have obtained from the Chinese Government its formal consent thereto.

"It is known to the world that in China wire telegraphy is a Government monopoly, and it will be a logical development to this Government monopoly that the Government should establish and maintain all wireless communications within the territory of China as a Government monopoly. The two systems of communication must co-operate and in order that this co-operation may be harmonious, and efficient, it is necessary that both should be owned, controlled and operated by the Government.

"The nature of international wireless communication makes international co-operation highly desirable. This co-operation is needed in order that several stations of different nationality may not interfere with each other's wave lengths, and that unnecessarily high powered stations may not be established, or at improper places, and that suitable arrangements may be made for the distribution by wire telegraph or otherwise within the individual states of the wireless messages when received. Therefore, this important subject of international wireless communication is a matter which should be the subject of discussion looking toward co-operation between all stations concerned. While I do not pretend to be an expert on wireless communications, it seems to me that so important an international question should be dealt with as a whole, and not by taking China as a single unit for international discussion. As this Conference has been called—and its work has proved—for the purpose of assisting China by the removal of existing limitations on her sovereign rights, I am inclined to think that the public might have misapprehension should any such commission be appointed to deal with even if only to discuss and report on such a subject, which is manifestly China's own and sole problem. My honored friend, Senator Root, has truly remarked that it is a 'grave question of policy, which primarily and fundamentally should be determined by the Government of China.' Senator Root had also remarked yesterday that the question of competition or controlled co-operation are not uniform in practice in

all countries. In view of this fact, and the importance of the whole subject of wireless communications, China, while determining for herself, wishes to have time to consider carefully the practices of other countries, before deciding for herself which course to follow.

"The Chinese Government will be glad to co-operate with other Powers with a view to arriving at common policies applicable to all Governments and mutually beneficial to all, with regard to radio communications between herself and those Powers, and, for this purpose, to participate in a conference or other joint action for the determination of general principles and methods to be recommended to all the Governments concerned whereby this general matter may be mutually regulated in a manner similar to that by which international postal interests are harmonized and promoted."

Mr. Roor said that he had just been asked to explicate the situation, and he hoped it would not get so complicated as the wireless situation in China.

The situation, as he understood it, was this. Mr. Viviani had introduced a resolution covering the whole ground of wireless operations in China, with a statement of several very unquestionable principles, but based upon a determination that the system should be changed from competition to co-operation. That series of resolutions had been somewhat discussed in the Committee and then it had stood over, particularly on the request of Japan and China, for further discussion. In bringing it up the day before, he had suggested a resolution which would to some degree accomplish what Mr. Viviani had proposed, but which would call for a report by the Commission that he had suggested, to the governments, instead of to this Conference, as he felt that this was rather a foreign office question than a Conference question and could not properly be considered in the Conference.

Since the day before a number of experts in wireless had been drafting what seemed to him to be an improvement on the suggestion that he had made, and that paper had been distributed and was in the hands of the Delegates. That was the paper headed January 25, 1922. He thought that was a better disposition of the subject than in the paper he had suggested the previous day. The Chairman suggested he should read this alternative suggestion for the disposition of the subject presented by Mr. Viviani's proposal, which was before the Committee. He then read as follows:

The United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, and Portugal, desiring to avoid controversies regarding electrical communication facilities and services in China, and between China and other

countries, and particularly over concessions or contracts in China relating thereto, and desiring to promote the further development of the internal and external electrical communication facilities and services of China, and taking note of the general policy of the Government of China to own and operate electrical communication services within its territory, have agreed:

(1) That the provisions set forth in the resolution concerning the Open Door shall apply to electrical communications in China and between China and other countries.

(2) That in any case where, in the general interest, the rescission of an existing monopoly or preferential privilege in respect to electrical communications in China, or between China and other countries, is deemed desirable, the Powers whose interests are affected stand ready to use their good offices, if requested by China, to bring about such rescission.

(3) That no radio stations shall be erected or operated on Chinese territory without the authorization of the government of China and, as to any existing unauthorized station, the right of the Government of China either to order its removal or to take it over upon payment of fair and reasonable compensation is expressly recognized.

(4) That without the express consent of the Government of China no additional radio stations shall be erected in the legation quarter at Peking, in settlements, in concessions, in leased territories, in railway areas or in other special areas; nor shall the power of existing stations in any such areas be increased; nor shall such stations carry on ordinary commercial working.

(5) That such radio stations as are authorized by the Government of China, whether by treaty or concession, shall comply with the terms of such authorization, and with the provisions of the International Radio-Telegraph Convention or any modification thereof; and, where the stations are authorized to conduct commercial services, such services shall be available on like terms to the nationals of every country.

(6) That any Power or the nationals of any Power operating radio stations in the territory of China, or in the special areas indicated heretofore, shall confer with the government of China for the purpose of seeking a common understanding with a view to avoiding interference, subject to any general international arrangement which may hereafter be agreed to.

(7) That the electrical communication services between China and other countries may develop in a proper and orderly manner and in accord with the policy of China, the Powers stand ready to exchange views either generally or severally as occasion may arise.

The resolution adopted by the Committee on December 7 was reconsidered and that resolution together with Mr. Viviani's resolution and Mr. Root's resolution which were before the Committee yesterday, as well as Mr. Root's resolution read today, together with suggested amendments were referred to the Sub-Committee on Draft for consideration and report.

The Committee then adjourned until tomorrow, January 26, 1922, at 11 A. M.

January 27, 1922.

The twenty-seventh meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held this afternoon, January 27, 1922, at 3.30 o'clock, in the Pan-American Building.

THE CHAIRMAN (MR. HUGHES) called the meeting to order, and said that the Committee would hear the report of the Sub-Committee on Drafting in relation to the matter of electrical communications in China.

MR. ROOT said that the Sub-Committee on Drafting reported back to the full Committee the resolution adopted on the 7th of December, 1921, and recommended a re-adoption without change.

At the same time he was instructed to lay before the Committee a declaration in the following words:

DECLARATION CONCERNING THE RESOLUTION ON RADIO STATIONS IN CHINA OF DECEMBER 7, 1921.

The Powers other than China declare that nothing in paragraphs 3 or 4 of the Resolution of 7th of December, 1921, is to be deemed to be an expression of opinion by the Conference as to whether the stations referred to therein are or are not authorized by China.

They further give notice that the result of any discussion arising under paragraph 4 must, if it is not to be subject to objection by them, conform with the principles of the Open Door or equality of opportunity approved by the Conference.

He asked that this declaration be spread upon the minutes of the Committee and moved the re-adoption of the Resolution of December 7th, which he assumed it was not necessary to read.

THE CHAIRMAN addressed the Committee and said they had heard the report of the Drafting Committee. The recommendation was that the full Committee re-adopt the resolution which had been adopted December 7th, 1921, by the Conference, without change. It was unnecessary again to read this resolution, he said.

As there was no discussion, a vote was taken, and the resolution was unanimously re-adopted, as follows:

RESOLUTION REGARDING RADIO STATIONS IN CHINA.

The representatives of the Powers hereinafter named participating in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions in the Conference on the Limitation of Armament—to wit: The United States of America, Belgium, The British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands and Portugal,

Have Resolved:

1. That all radio stations in China the international protocol of September 7, 1901, or in fact maintained in the grounds of any of the foreign legations in China, shall be limited in their use to sending and receiving government messages and shall not receive or send commercial or personal or unofficial messages, including press matter: Provided, however, that in case all other telegraphic communication is interrupted, then, upon official notification accompanied by proof of such interruption to the Chinese Ministry of Communications, such stations may afford temporary facilities for commercial, personal or unofficial messages, including press matter, until the Chinese Government has given notice of the termination of the interruption.

2. All radio stations operated within the territory of China by a foreign government or the citizens or subjects thereof under treaties or concessions of the Government of China, shall limit the messages sent and received by the terms of the treaties or concessions under which the respective stations are maintained;

3. In case there be any radio station maintained in the territory of China by a foreign government or citizens or subjects thereof without the authority of the Chinese Government, such station and all the plant, apparatus and material thereof shall be transferred to and taken over by the Government of China, to be operated under the direction of the Chinese Ministry of Communications upon fair and full compensation to the owners for the value of the installation, as soon as the Chinese Ministry of Communications is prepared to operate the same effectively for the general public benefit;

4. If any questions shall arise as to the radio stations in leased territories, in the South Manchurian Railway Zone or in the French Concession at Shanghai, they shall be regarded as matters for discussion between the Chinese Government and the Government concerned;

5. The owners or managers of all radio stations maintained in the territory of China by foreign powers or citizens or subjects thereof shall confer with the Chinese Ministry of Communications for the purpose

of seeking a common arrangement to avoid interference in the use of wave lengths by wireless stations in China, subject to such general arrangements as may be made by an international conference convened for the revision of the rules established by the International Radio Telegraph Convention signed at London, July 5, 1912.

THE CHAIRMAN, continuing, said the Sub-Committee reported the declaration just read by Mr. Root with the request that it be spread upon the records as the sense of the Committee.

As there was no desire for discussion, a vote was taken, and the proposal was unanimously adopted.

MR. SZE said that he wished to say a word or two with reference to China's policy with regard to radio communication and the position of China on the status of wireless stations now existing in China without China's consent. He had read a statement on that question at the last meeting of the Committee, so that he would not take more time today than to read a declaration. The declaration just read by the Chairman was on the part of the eight Powers. The one he would now read was on the part of China and should be spread upon the records of the Committee in the same way as the other. He read as follows:

The Chinese Delegation takes this occasion formally to declare that the Chinese Government does not recognize or concede the right of any foreign Power or of the nationals thereof to install or operate, without its express consent, radio stations in legation grounds, settlements, concessions, leased territories, railway areas or other similar areas.

Mr. Sze said that the declaration was so clear it was not necessary for him to add any explanation.

After a short discussion, which was not concluded, on the question of arms embargo, the meeting adjourned until January 30th, 1922, at 11 o'clock A. M.

January 31, 1922.

The twenty-eighth meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held this afternoon, January 31, 1922, at five o'clock in the Pan-American Building. A Sub-Committee was appointed composed of the heads of Delegations and their experts to draft the Treaty in regard to Pacific and Far Eastern Questions. The resolution in regard to the embargo on arms was then taken up but was not concluded when the Committee adjourned to meet February 1st, 1922, at 4.30 P. M.

February 1, 1922.

The twenty-ninth meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held this afternoon, February 1st, 1922,

at five o'clock in the Pan-American Building.

The shipment of arms to China and the deposit of customs revenue were discussed, and the Committee adjourned until February 2, 1922, at 3.30 P. M.

February 2, 1922.

The thirtieth meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held this afternoon, February 2, 1922, in the Pan-American Building, at four o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN (MR. HUGHES) said that before proceeding with the regular order, he would state that a meeting had been held of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider the proposed treaties relating to China, and a form of treaty had been tentatively approved, with the purpose of having it put into print and distributed.

He then asked for a report from the Committee on the Chinese Eastern Railway.

MR. ROOT said that the full Committee had referred to the special Committee on the Chinese Eastern Railway a report of the technical Sub-Committee which had been wrestling with the subject of that railway for some time. This special Committee now reported back that report of the Technical Sub-Committee, together with the observations and reservations made in behalf of the Chinese Delegation by Dr. Hawking Yen.

The Technical Sub-Committee report, after giving the recent history of the road, had stated the conclusion that funds would be obtainable only if suitable conditions were established for the economical operation of the railway, and the funds to be expended under adequate supervision. It had recommended replacing the present so-called Interallied Committee by a Finance Committee "which shall exercise general financial control over the operation of the railroad." It had recommended also that there should be a new force of police or gendarmerie to be under the control of the Finance Committee.

Dr. Yen had stated in substance that he could not give his assent to the infringement upon the sovereignty of China which would be involved in putting the finance and the protection of the road under the control of an Interallied Finance Committee.

The Sub-Committee of delegates, for which Mr. Root was reporting, had had before it both the report of the Technical Committee and many drafts of resolutions aimed at avoiding the impasse caused by the objection interposed by Dr. Yen to the conclusions of the Technical Committee.

None of those drafts had seemed to the generality of the Committee of delegates to make any improvement of the situation. They all had been in the form of amendments of the Interallied Agreement of 1919, which had been regarded by common con-

sent and general statement as being still in force and effect.

The Committee of delegates now wished to report unanimously the following resolution:

Resolved, That the preservation of the Chinese Eastern Railway for those in interest requires that better protection be given to the Railway and the persons engaged in its operation and use; a more careful selection of personnel to secure efficiency of service, and a more economical use of funds to prevent waste of the property.

That the subject should immediately be dealt with through the proper diplomatic channels.

At the same time all Powers other than China, that is to say, the United States, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, and Portugal had united in the following reservation:

The Powers other than China in agreeing to the resolution regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway, reserve the right to insist hereafter upon the responsibility of China for performance or non-performance of the obligations towards the foreign stockholders, bondholders and creditors of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company which the Powers deem to result from the contracts under which the railroad was built and the action of China thereunder and the obligations which they deem to be in the nature of a trust resulting from the exercise of power by the Chinese Government over the possession and administration of the railroad.

THE CHAIRMAN then said the question was on the first resolution, in which he understood China participated. He said he would put that to a vote separately, as the other resolution related to Powers other than China.

MR. KOO addressed the Committee. He stated that he rose to say a few words for the purpose of elucidating the views of the Chinese Delegation on this important question. As the Chinese Delegation viewed it, this Chinese Eastern Railway question, so far as the other Powers were concerned, had arisen out of the inter-allied agreement of 1919 to which China was a party and to which five other Powers around the table were also parties.

There were several considerations guiding the Chinese Delegation in dealing with this question. In the first place, as the inter-allied agreement provided for supervision over the operation of the whole trans-Siberian system, including the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Delegation felt that perhaps it might give rise to misgivings in China if this one particular railway should be singled out for separate treatment. In the second place, the chief value of the Chinese Eastern Railway lay in the fact that it constituted a link in the communi-

cation between Europe on the one side and the Pacific Ocean on the other, and therefore any arrangement concerning the Chinese Eastern Railway would be of limited value if that arrangement did not include the Trans-Siberian Railway which connects with Europe and the Usuri Railway which assures its access to the sea. In the third place, he said this railroad ran through Chinese territory in its entirety and the sovereign rights of China must be safeguarded.

He would not enter into the origin and the nature of the railway company, he said, or into the relations between the railway company on the one side and the Chinese Government on the other. Those points were clearly set forth in the various agreements which China made with Russia and also with the Russo-Asiatic Bank, which controlled and owned all the stock in the railway company.

On the basis of those three considerations—namely, that the Chinese Eastern Railway could not be singled out for separate treatment under the inter-allied agreement of 1919; that any arrangement would be of little value so far as the Eastern Railway was concerned, unless the same arrangement applied to the Usuri Railway, which assured exit to the sea; and, that no arrangement should be made which would be inconsistent with the right of China as a territorial sovereign whose vital interests were involved. On the basis of those three considerations, the representative of the Chinese Delegation first on the Expert Committee and later Mr. Koo himself on the Sub-Committee, tried to collaborate with the other members of the Committees, with a view to finding a practical working arrangement, and at one stage of their labor Mr. Koo said he was encouraged to think that they had almost reached an agreement, because he and Mr. Kammerer appointed by the chairman of the Sub-Committee to work out a working basis succeeded in producing a draft which it subsequently laid before the Sub-Committee; but it was found that certain modifications in the opinion of other Delegations were necessary, which modifications, in the view of the Chinese Delegation, could not be reconciled with those considerations which Mr. Koo had stated; and in view of those complicated difficulties the Sub-Committee had arrived at the conclusion which had been laid before this Committee by Senator Root.

MR. KOO further stated that in the second resolution the Powers other than China proposed to make a reservation of their right to insist hereafter on the responsibility of China for the performance or non-performance of the obligations, etc., and that in doing so the Powers were of course perfectly within their rights, and it was not for him to make any comment. He wished

merely to make a few observations on the views of China concerning her relations with the railway. In the first place, as regards the legal position of the railway, that was, of course, expressly defined in the agreements between China and Russia and between China and the railway, and the Russo-Asiatic Bank, and later with the railway company, and whatever changes have taken place in the internal organization of the railway have been effected by due process, reference having been made some times to the most recent contract (October 2, 1920) entered into between the Chinese Government and also the Russo-Asiatic Bank. Mr. Koo said that he knew it was not the desire of the Committee, nor was it his own desire, to discuss the question of the contract, but that he merely referred to that as a matter of information, in saying that that contract was entered into by the Chinese Government with the bank after having satisfied itself that the bank represented all the stockholders and owned all the shares, this fact having been certified through the French Government.

As regards the extent of the trust which China had assumed, that trust could only apply to the functions which formerly were exercised by the Russian Government under the agreements with China, and which were now exercised by China as a provisional measure, because of the absence of a recognized Russian Government for the time being. To that extent, of course, China assumed, so to speak, the responsibility of the Russian Government in its relation with the railroad company.

Speaking of the practical situation, Mr. Koo said that of course there was room for improvement, undoubtedly, on the Chinese Eastern Railway, as there was room for improvement, he supposed, on every railway in the world; but he thought that the difficulties that beset the Chinese Government had been very great; the political revolution in Russia, with its consequent disorganization, having injected problems which were not expected at all, in this railway area, Russian workmen having time and again gone on strike, and the Red and White forces having struggled for control of the line. He thought it unnecessary to go into details further than to recall to the minds of his colleagues on the Committee the extraordinary steps taken in 1920 by General Horvath as Director General of this railway, to declare himself supreme dictator in this railway area, investing himself, according to his proclamation, with governmental powers.

Mr. Koo further stated that in every instance so far, if the testimony of the foreign press could be trusted, the Chinese authorities had handled the critical situation to the best of their ability, and so far had relieved the communities in the railway

area of anxiety and of apprehension. The Chinese Government, in accordance with the terms of the original contract with the Russian Government had been providing protection for the railway and for the persons in its service to the very best of its ability, and if it had been found, in the opinion of some of the Powers, that that protection had not been adequate, the inadequacy really had been due more to the difficulties which were consequent upon the political disorganization in Russia, and not really due to any lack of determination on the part of China fully to discharge her obligation. In fact, thanks to the protection thus given, the Chinese Eastern Railway was still in operation while some of the other railways in the Trans-Siberian system were in very unsatisfactory condition. Therefore, he desired to express the hope that the committee, in considering this second resolution, would be good enough to bear in mind the observations which he had been permitted to make at this time.

THE CHAIRMAN then said the question was on the adoption of the resolution.

A vote was taken and the resolution was unanimously adopted.

A vote was then taken on the above reservation and it was unanimously adopted, China not voting.

The Chairman then said that he understood that the next subject to be brought up was the matter which had been generally called the "21 demands", and he believed an opportunity had been reserved for the Japanese Delegation to speak upon that subject.

BARON SHIDEHARA read the following statement:

"At a previous session of this Committee, the Chinese Delegation presented a statement urging that the Sino-Japanese Treaties and Notes of 1915 be reconsidered and cancelled. The Japanese Delegation, while appreciating the difficult position of the Chinese Delegation, does not feel at liberty to concur in the procedure now resorted to by China with a view to cancellation of international engagements which she entered into as a free sovereign nation.

"It is presumed that the Chinese Delegation has no intention of calling in question the legal validity of the compacts of 1915, which were formally signed and sealed by the duly authorized representatives of the two Governments, and for which the exchange of ratifications was effected in conformity with established international usages. The insistence by China on the cancellation of those instruments would in itself indicate that she shares the view that the compacts actually remain in force and will continue to be effective, unless and until they are cancelled.

"It is evident that no nation can have given ready consent to cessions of its ter-

ritorial or other rights of importance. If it should once be recognized that rights solemnly granted by treaty may be revoked at any time on the ground that they were conceded against the spontaneous will of the grantor, an exceedingly dangerous precedent will be established, with far-reaching consequences upon the stability, of the existing international relations in Asia, in Europe and everywhere.

"The statement of the Chinese Delegation under review declares that China accepted the Japanese demands in 1915, hoping that a day would come when she should have the opportunity of bringing them up for reconsideration and cancellation. It is, however, difficult to understand the meaning of this assertion. It cannot be the intention of the Chinese Delegation to intimate that China may conclude a treaty, with any thought in mind of breaking it at the first opportunity.

"The Chinese Delegation maintains that the Treaties and Notes in question are derogatory to the principles adopted by the Conference with regard to China's sovereignty and independence. It has, however, been held by the Conference on more than one occasion that concessions made by China *ex contractu*, in the exercise of her own sovereign rights, cannot be regarded as inconsistent with her sovereignty and independence.

"It should also be pointed out that the term 'Twenty-One Demands', often used to denote the Treaties and Notes of 1915, is inaccurate and grossly misleading. It may give rise to an erroneous impression that the whole original proposals of Japan had been pressed by Japan and accepted *in toto* by China. As a matter of fact, not only "Group V." but also several other matters contained in Japan's first proposals were eliminated entirely or modified considerably in deference to the wishes of the Chinese Government, when the final formula was presented to China for acceptance. Official records published by the two Governments relating to those negotiations will further show that the most important terms of the Treaties and Notes, as signed, had already been virtually agreed to by the Chinese negotiators before the delivery of the ultimatum, which then seemed to the Japanese Government the only way of bringing the protracted negotiations to a speedy close.

"The Japanese Delegation cannot bring itself to the conclusion that any useful purpose will be served by research and re-examination at this Conference of old grievances which one of the nations represented here may have against another. It will be more in line with the high aim of the Conference to look forward to the future with hope and with confidence.

"Having in view, however, the changes which have taken place in the situation

since the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese Treaties and Notes of 1915, the Japanese Delegation is happy to avail itself of the present occasion to make the following declaration:

"1. Japan is ready to throw open to the joint activity of the international Financial Consortium recently organized, the right of option granted exclusively in favor of Japanese capital, with regard, first, to loans for the construction of railways in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, and second, to loans to be secured on taxes in that region; it being understood that nothing in the present declaration shall be held to imply any modification or annulment of the understanding recorded in the officially announced notes and memoranda which were exchanged among the Governments of the countries represented in the Consortium and also among the national financial groups composing the Consortium, in relation to the scope of the joint activity of that organization.

"2. Japan has no intention of insisting on her preferential right under the Sino-Japanese arrangements in question concerning the engagement by China of Japanese advisers or instructors on political, financial, military or police matters in South Manchuria.

"3. Japan is further ready to withdraw the reservation which she made in proceeding to the signature of the Sino-Japanese Treaties and Notes of 1915, to the effect that Group V. of the original proposals of the Japanese Government would be postponed for future negotiations.

"It would be needless to add that all matters relating to Shantung contained in those Treaties and Notes have now been definitely adjusted and disposed of.

"In coming to this decision, which I have had the honor to announce, Japan has been guided by a spirit of fairness and moderation, having always in view China's sovereign rights and the principle of equal opportunity."

MR. WANG said the Chinese Delegation could not accept the position advanced by Baron Shidehara, that the mere fact that the Chinese asked for an abrogation of the treaties would imply that they recognized their validity. As a matter of fact, the Chinese Government and people had always regarded these agreements as peculiar in themselves, owing to the circumstances under which they had been negotiated. The Chinese Government and people had always considered the state of things arising under these treaties as a *de facto* situation, without any legal recognition on the part of China.

He listened with great attention to the declarations of Baron Shidehara on the three points mentioned in his statement; but as

the statement was a very important one, Mr. Wang wished to reserve his right to make a detailed reply.

THE CHAIRMAN asked if he understood that the Chinese Delegation desired to make response at the next meeting.

MR. WANG answered yes, and the Chairman in view of that, suggested that the discussion on this matter might be postponed until the next meeting, if that course was agreeable to the Delegates.

BARON SHIDEHARA stated that it would be remembered that some days before he had ventured to make a certain suggestion in regard to the development and utilization of China's natural resources, and that on that occasion the Chinese Delegation stated that they would be able to announce the position of the Chinese government on a later occasion; and that he would like to know if the Chinese Delegation was now ready to give any announcement of the policy of China on this very important question.

Mr. Sze said the statement that he had the honor to make before on the subject he thought was so clear and in such simple language that he wondered whether there was anything more he could usefully add, but animated by the desire, as he was always animated, to meet the views of his Japanese friends, with the permission of the Committee he said he would read a reply. He then read as follows:

"At the meeting of this Committee on January 18th, Baron Shidehara on behalf of the Japanese Delegation, expressed a hope that China might be disposed to extend to foreigners, as far as possible, the opportunity of co-operation in the development and utilization of China's natural resources, and added that any spontaneous declaration of her policy in that direction would be received with much gratification.

"The Chinese Government, conscious of the mutual advantage which foreign trade brings, has hitherto pursued an established policy to promote its development. Of this trade, products of nature of course form an important part. In view of this fact, as well as of the requirements of her large and increasing population, and the growing needs of her industries, China, on her part, has been steadily encouraging the development of her natural resources, not only by permitting, under her laws the participation of foreign capital, but also by other practical means at her disposal. Thus in affording facilities and fixing rates for the transportation on all her railways of such products of nature as well as of other articles of merchandise, she has always followed and observed the principle of strict equality of treatment between all foreign shippers. Thanks to this liberal policy, raw material and food supplies in China—as my colleague Dr. Koo stated before this Committee on a previous occasion with reference to Manchuria, and it is equally true

of other parts of China—are today accessible to all nations, on fair terms and through the normal operation of the economic law of supply and demand.

"The Chinese Government does not at present contemplate any departure from this mutually beneficial course of action. Consistent with the vital interests of the Chinese nation and the security of its economic life, China will continue, on her own accord, to invite co-operation of foreign capital and skill in the development of her natural resources.

"The Chinese Delegation, animated by the same spirit of self-denial and self-sacrifice which Baron Shidehara was good enough to assure the Chinese Delegation had uniformly guided the foreign powers here represented in the resolutions hitherto adopted by the Committee in favor of China, has no hesitation to make the foregoing statement. It is all the more glad to make it, because it feels confident that the Japanese Delegation, in expressing the hope for a voluntary declaration of policy on China's part in regard to the development and utilization of her natural resources, was not seeking any special consideration for Japan on this subject or for the foreign Powers as a whole, but merely wished to be assured that China was disposed to extend the opportunity of co-operation to foreigners on the same terms as are accorded by nations of the world equally favored by nature in the possession of rich natural resources."

THE CHAIRMAN asked if there were any subject which any Delegation desired to have noted, so that it could be brought up. He merely wished to avoid any surprises the next day and be able to arrange for concluding their work.

MR. SZE addressed the Committee and stated that the Chinese Delegation would cordially welcome a statement from the French Delegation with reference to the question of leased territory. He said that he understood the statement of the French Delegation the other day was not conclusive and he understood the French Delegation was going to give the Chinese Delegation the benefit of a further statement.

MR. SARRAUT said he wished to recall the fact that France had been the first to offer to restore her leased territory—Kwangchowwan—to China. Mr. Viviani, at the meeting of the Committee of December 4th, had indicated in the most precise manner, the conditions under which this restitution would take place, namely that all the other Powers having leased territories should restore them to China *pari passu*. The French Government still had the same intention and, even if the condition stated had not been fulfilled, France was willing to arrange directly with the Chinese Government the conditions under which, and the time when, the restitution shall become effective.

MR. SZE stated that he wished to say a

word in fairness to Mr. Balfour. In his reply to Mr. Balfour's kind offer yesterday he had called it a spontaneous offer because he had not given Mr. Balfour any notice beforehand and it was a very pleasant surprise to the Chinese Delegation. That was the reason why he had not approached the French Delegation, and the reason he brought the subject up now was because the Chairman has asked whether there was any matter still left undone, and the thought naturally occurred to his mind that it might be possible to have some similar statement from the French Delegation on the same line that Mr. Balfour was good enough to make spontaneously.

As he had said yesterday, the Chinese had aspirations and yearnings along the line indicated and he would be glad if all the conditions referred to by M. Viviani might be fulfilled. All of them had not been entirely fulfilled, but still they had been fulfilled to a great extent. He wished to urge his French colleagues if they could see their way to modify the conditions and return the leased territory, it would be appreciated by the Chinese people and it would not only be beneficial to China but beneficial to France and to the other Powers, and he hoped that Mr. Sarraut might find it possible in the session tomorrow to be able to gratify the yearnings of the Chinese Delegation and the Chinese people.

The Committee then adjourned until February 3rd, 1922, at 3 P. M.

February 3, 1922.

The thirty-first meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held on Friday afternoon, February 3, 1922, at 3 o'clock in the Pan-American Building, Mr. Hughes in the Chair.

The Committee discussed and adopted the text of the Treaty designed to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to promote intercourse between China and the other Powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity; the text of the Resolution establishing a Board of Reference to which questions arising in connection with the aforesaid Treaty shall be referred; and the text of the Chinese Customs Treaty.

In reply to the statement made yesterday by Baron Shidehara concerning the Sino-Japanese Treaties and exchange of Notes of May 25, 1915, Dr. Wang said:

"The Chinese Delegation has taken note of the statement of Baron Shidehara made at yesterday's session of the Committee with reference to the Sino-Japanese Treaties and notes of May 25, 1915.

"The Chinese Delegation learns with satisfaction that Japan is now ready to throw open to the joint activity of the banking interests of other Powers the right of option

granted exclusively in favor of Japanese capital with regard, first, to loans for the construction of railways in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, and second, to loans secured on taxes in that region; and that Japan has no intention of insisting upon a preferential right concerning the engagement by China of Japanese advisers or instructors on political, financial, military or police matters in South Manchuria; also that Japan now withdraws the reservation which she made to the effect that Group V. of her original demands upon China should be postponed for future negotiation.

"The Chinese Delegation greatly regrets that the Government of Japan should not have been led to renounce the other claims predicated upon the Treaties and Notes of 1915.

"The Japanese Delegation expressed the opinion that abrogation of these agreements would constitute 'an exceedingly dangerous precedent'; 'with far-reaching consequences upon the stability of the existing international relations in Asia, in Europe and everywhere.'

"The Chinese Delegation has the honor to say that a still more dangerous precedent will be established with consequences upon the stability of international relations which cannot be estimated, if, without rebuke or protest from other Powers, one nation can obtain from a friendly, but in a military sense, weaker neighbor, and under circumstances such as attended the negotiation and signing of the Treaties of 1915, valuable concessions which were not in satisfaction of pending controversies and for which no *quid pro quo* was offered. These treaties and notes stand out, indeed, unique in the annals of international relations. History records scarcely another instance in which demands of such a serious character, as those which Japan presented to China in 1915, have, without even pretense of provocation, been suddenly presented by one nation to another nation, with which it was at the time in friendly relations.

"No apprehension need be entertained that the abrogation of the agreements of 1915 will serve as a precedent for the annulment of other agreements since it is, confidently hoped that the future will furnish no such similar occurrence.

"So exceptional were the conditions under which the agreements of 1915 were negotiated, the Government of the United States felt justified in referring to them in the identic note of May 13, 1915, which it sent to the Chinese and Japanese Governments. The note began with the statement that 'in view of the circumstances which have taken place and which are now pending between the Government of China and the Government of Japan and of the agreements which have been reached as the result thereof, the Government of the United States has

the honor to notify the Government of the Chinese Republic (Japan) that it cannot recognize any agreement or undertaking which has been entered into between the Government of China and Japan impairing the treaty rights of the United States and its citizens in China, the political or territorial integrity of the Republic of China, or the international policy relative to China commonly known as the Open Door Policy.'

"Conscious of her obligations to the other Powers, the Chinese Government, immediately after signing the agreements, published a formal statement protesting against the agreements which she had been compelled to sign, and disclaiming responsibility for consequent violations of treaty rights of the other Powers. In the statement thus issued, the Chinese Government declared that although they were 'constrained to comply in full with the terms of the (Japanese) ultimatum,' they nevertheless 'disclaim any desire to associate themselves with any revision which may be thus effected, of the various conventions and agreements concluded between the other Powers in respect of the maintenance of China's territorial independence and integrity, the preservation of the *status quo*, and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China.'

"Because of the essential injustice of these provisions, the Chinese Delegation, acting in behalf of the Chinese Government and of the Chinese people, has felt itself in duty bound to present to this Conference, representing the Powers with substantial interests in the Far East, the question as to equity and justice of these agreements and therefore as to their fundamental validity.

"If Japan is disposed to rely solely upon a claim as to the technical or juristic validity of the agreements of 1915, as having been actually signed in due form by the two Governments, it may be said that so far as this Conference is concerned, the contention is largely irrelevant, for this gathering of the representatives of the nine Powers has not had for its purpose the maintenance of the legal *status quo*. Upon the contrary, the purpose has been, if possible, to bring about such changes in existing conditions upon the Pacific and in the Far East as might be expected to promote that enduring friendship among the nations of which the President of the United States spoke in his letter of invitation to the Powers to participate in this Conference.

"For the following reasons, therefore, the Chinese Delegation is of the opinion that the Sino-Japanese Treaties and Exchange of Notes of May 25, 1915, should form the subject of impartial examination with a view of their abrogation:

"1. In exchange for the concessions de-

manded of China, Japan offered no *quid pro quo*. The benefits derived from the agreements were wholly unilateral.

"2. The agreements, in important respects, are in violation of treaties between China and the other powers.

"3. The agreements are inconsistent with the principles relating to China which have been adopted by the Conference.

"4. The agreements have engendered constant misunderstandings between China and Japan, and, if not abrogated, will necessarily tend, in the future, to disturb friendly relations between the two countries, and will thus constitute an obstacle in the way of realizing the purpose for the attainment of which this Conference was convened. As to this, the Chinese Delegation, by way of conclusion, can, perhaps, do no better than quote from a Resolution introduced in the Japanese Parliament, in June, 1915, by Mr. Hara, later Premier of Japan, a Resolution which received the support of some one hundred and thirty of the members of the Parliament.

"THE RESOLUTION reads:

"Resolved, That the negotiations carried on with China by the present Government have been inappropriate in every respect; that they are detrimental to the amicable relationship between the two countries, and provocative of suspicions on the part of the Powers; that they have the effect of lowering the prestige of the Japanese Empire; and that, while far from capable of establishing the foundation of peace in the Far East, they will form the source of future trouble.'

"The foregoing declaration has been made in order that the Chinese Government may have upon record the view which it takes, and will continue to take, regarding the Sino-Japanese Treaties and Exchange of Notes of May 25, 1915."

THE CHAIRMAN said: "The important statement made by Baron Shidehara on behalf of the Japanese Government makes it appropriate that I should refer to the position of the Government of the United States as it was set forth in identical notes addressed by that Government to the Chinese Government and to the Japanese Government on May 13, 1915.

"The note to the Chinese Government was as follows:

"In view of the circumstances of the negotiations which have taken place and which are now pending between the Government of China and the Government of Japan and of the agreements which have been reached as a result thereof, the Government of the United States has the honor to notify the Government of the Chinese Republic that it cannot recognize any agreement or undertaking which has been entered into or which may be entered into between the

Governments of China and Japan impairing the treaty rights of the United States and its citizens in China, the political or territorial integrity of the Republic of China, or the international policy relative to China commonly known as the Open Door Policy.

"An identical note has been transmitted to the Imperial Japanese Government."

"That statement was in accord with the historic policy of the United States in its relation to China, and its position as thus stated has been, and still is, consistently maintained.

"It has been gratifying to learn that the matters concerning Shantung, which formed the substance of Group I. of the original demands, and were the subject of the Treaty and exchange of notes with respect to the Province of Shantung, have been settled to the mutual satisfaction of the two parties by negotiations conducted collaterally with this Conference, as reported to the Plenary Session on February 1st.

"It is also gratifying to be advised by the statement made by Baron Shidehara on behalf of the Japanese Government, that Japan is now ready to withdraw the reservation which she made, in proceeding to the signature of the treaties and notes of 1915, to the effect that Group 5 of the original proposals of the Japanese Government—namely those concerning the employment of influential Japanese as political, financial and military advisers; land for schools and hospitals; certain railways in South China; the supply of arms, and the right of preaching—would be postponed for future negotiations. This definite withdrawal of the outstanding questions under Group 5 removes what has been an occasion for considerable apprehension on the part alike of China and of foreign nations which felt that the renewal of these demands could not but prejudice the principles of the Integrity of China and of the Open Door.

"With respect to the Treaty and the notes concerning South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, Baron Shidehara has made the reassuring statement that Japan has no intention of insisting on a preferential right concerning the engagements by China of Japanese advisers or instructors on political, financial, military or police matters in South Manchuria.

"Baron Shidehara has likewise indicated the readiness of Japan not to insist upon the right of option granted exclusively in favor of Japanese capital with regard, first, to loans for the construction of railways in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia; and, second, with regard to loans secured on the taxes of these regions; but that Japan will throw them open to the joint activity of the International Financial Consortium recently organized.

"As to this, I may say that it is doubtless the fact that any enterprise of the character

contemplated, which may be undertaken in these regions by foreign capital, would in all probability be undertaken by the Consortium. But it should be observed that existing treaties would leave the opportunity for such enterprises open on terms of equality to the citizens of all nations. It can scarcely be assumed that this general right of the Treaty Powers in China can be effectively restricted to the nationals of those countries which are participants in the work of the Consortium, or that any of the Governments which have taken part in the organization of the Consortium would feel themselves to be in a position to deny all rights in the matter to any save the members of their respective national groups in that organization. I therefore trust that it is in this sense that we may properly interpret the Japanese Government's declaration of willingness to relinquish its claim under the 1915 treaties to any exclusive position with respect to railway construction and to financial operations secured upon local revenues, in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia.

"It is further to be pointed out that by Article II., III. and IV. of the Treaty of May 25, 1915, with respect to South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, the Chinese Government granted to Japanese subjects the right to lease land for building purposes, for trade and manufacture, and for agricultural purposes in South Manchuria, and to engage in any kind of business and manufacture there, and to enter into joint undertakings with Chinese citizens in agriculture and similar industries in Eastern Inner Mongolia.

"With respect to this grant, the Government of the United States will, of course, regard it as not intended to be exclusive, and, as in the past, will claim from the Chinese Government for American citizens the benefits accruing to them by virtue of the most favored nation clauses in the treaties between the United States and China.

"I may pause here to remark that the question of the validity of the treaties as between Japan and China is distinct from the question of the treaty rights of the United States under its treaties with China; these rights have been emphasized and consistently asserted by the United States.

"In this, as in all matters similarly affecting the general right of its citizens to engage in commercial and industrial enterprises in China, it has been the traditional policy of the American Government to insist upon the doctrine of equality for the nationals of all countries, and this policy, together with the other policies mentioned in the note of May 13, 1915, which I have quoted, are consistently maintained by this Government. I may say that it is with especial pleasure that the Government of

the United States finds itself now engaged in the act of reaffirming and defining, and, I hope that I may add, revitalizing by the proposed Nine-Power Treaty, these policies with respect to China."

The Chairman asked whether any further discussion of these matters was desired. There being no further discussion, the Chairman said that it would be in order to propose that the statements made by Baron Shidehara, by Chief Justice Wang, and by himself, should be reported to the Plenary Session and spread upon the records of the Conference.

Mr. Koo stated that his colleagues and he himself desired to endorse the Chairman's suggestion that all of the statements on this

very important question should be spread upon the records of the Conference, it being understood, of course, that the Chinese Delegation reserved their right to seek a solution, on all future appropriate occasions, concerning those portions of the treaties and notes of 1915 which did not appear to have been expressly relinquished by the Japanese Government.

THE CHAIRMAN: "Of course, it is understood that the rights of all Powers are reserved with respect to the matters mentioned by Mr. Koo."

The resolution proposed by the Chairman was unanimously adopted.

The Committee adjourned *sine die*.

Conversations Between the Chinese and Japanese Delegates on Shantung

January 16, 1922.

The twenty-seventh meeting of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates was held in the Governing Board Room of the Pan-American Union Building at 10.30 o'clock this morning.

An understanding was reached as to the transfer to China by Japan of the administration of the former leased territory of Kiaochow. The question of the mines was taken up and will be continued at the next meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 1 P. M. until 10.30 tomorrow morning, January 17, 1922.

January 17, 1922.

The twenty-eighth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates took place at 10.30 o'clock this morning in the Governing Board Room of the Pan-American Union Building.

The question of mines was discussed and the meeting adjourned at 1 P. M. until 10.30 A. M. Wednesday, January 18, 1922.

January 18, 1922.

The twenty-ninth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates took place at four o'clock in the afternoon of January 18, 1922, in the Governing Board Room of the Pan-American Union Building.

An agreement was reached on the question of the mines and the meeting took an adjournment at 5.30 P. M. until 3.30 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

January 19, 1922.

The Chinese and Japanese Delegates had their thirtieth meeting at four o'clock this

afternoon, January 19, 1922, in the Governing Board Room of the Pan-American Building.

Understandings have been reached on the questions of the former German cables between Tsingtao and Chefoo and between Tsingtao and Shanghai as well as of the wireless stations at Tsinanfu and Tsingtao.

The meeting adjourned at 6.30 o'clock until 11 o'clock Saturday morning, January 21.

January 23, 1922.

The thirty-first meeting of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates relative to Shantung took place in the Governing Board Room of the Pan-American Union Building at 3.30 o'clock this afternoon. The question of salt industry was taken up and an agreement was reached.

The meeting adjourned at 6.30 P. M. until tomorrow afternoon at 3.30 o'clock.

January 24, 1922.

The thirty-second meeting between the Chinese and Japanese Delegates relative to Shantung took place in the Governing Board Room of the Pan-American Building today, at 3.30 o'clock in the afternoon.

The question of land belonging to the Chinese nationals and certain claims were taken up and the discussion will be continued at the next meeting. The meeting adjourned at 6 P. M. until 3.30 o'clock Thursday afternoon, January 26, 1922.

January 26, 1922.

At the thirty-third meeting of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates relative to Shan-

tung, held in the Pan-American Building at 4 o'clock this afternoon, some minor matters were brought up and concluded. A drafting committee relative to the Shantung question will meet at 10.30 o'clock Saturday morning, January 28, 1922.

January 30, 1922.

At the thirty-fourth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates relative to the Shantung question held at 3 P. M. in the Pan-American Union Building the two delegations resumed the discussion of the question of Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway, and will continue it at 10 A. M., Tuesday, January 31, 1922. Today's meeting adjourned at 9.45 P. M.

January 31, 1922.

The thirty-fifth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates relative to the

Shantung question was held in the Pan-American Union Building at 10 o'clock this morning. An agreement has been reached on all essential points in regard to the question of the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway and on certain other questions. The two delegations will meet again at 5 o'clock this afternoon for the purpose of drafting. The meeting adjourned at 12 o'clock.

January 31, 1922.

At the thirty-sixth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese Delegates relative to the Shantung Question held at 5 o'clock Tuesday afternoon, January 31, 1922, in the Pan-American Building, the drafting of agreements was undertaken and will be completed at the next meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 9.30 P. M.

The Nine Power Treaty

The United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands and Portugal:

Desiring to adopt a policy designed to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to promote intercourse between China and the other Powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity;

Have resolved to conclude a treaty for that purpose and to that end have appointed as their respective Plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America:

Charles Evans Hughes,
Henry Cabot Lodge,
Oscar W. Underwood,
Elihu Root,
citizens of the United States;

His Majesty the King of the Belgians:

Baron de Cartier de Marchienne, Commander of the Order of Leopold and of the Order of the Crown, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Washington;

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India:

The Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour, O. M., M. P., Lord President of His Privy Council;
The Right Honourable Baron Lee of Fareham, G. B. E., K. C. B., First Lord of His Admiralty,

The Right Honourable Sir Auckland Campbell Geddes, K. C. B., His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America;

and

for the Dominion of Canada:

The Right Honourable Sir Robert Laird Borden, G. C. M. G., K. C.;

for the Commonwealth of Australia:

Senator the Right Honourable George Foster Pearce, Minister for Home and Territories;

for the Dominion of New Zealand:

The Honourable Sir John William Salmond, K. C., Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand;

for the union of South Africa:

The Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour, O. M., M. P.;

for India:

The Right Honourable Valingman Sankaranarayana Srinivasa Sastri, Member of the Indian Council of State.

The President of the Republic of China:

Mr. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington;

Mr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at London;

Mr. Chung-Hui Wang, former Minister of Justice.

The President of the French Republic:

Mr. Albert Sarraut, Deputy, Minister

of the Colonies;

Mr. Jules J. Jusserand, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, Grand Cross of the National Order of the Legion of Honour;

His Majesty the King of Italy:

The Honourable Carlo Schanzer, Senator of the Kingdom;

The Honourable Vittorio Rolandi Ricci, Senator of the Kingdom, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Washington.

The Honourable Luigi Albertini, Senator of the Kingdom;

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan:

Baron Tomosaburo Kato, Minister for the Navy, Junii, a member of the First Class of the Imperial Order of the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun with the Paulownia Flower; Baron Kijuro Shidehara, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Washington, Joshii, a member of the First Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun;

Mr. Masanao Hanihara, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jushii, a member of the Second Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun;

Her Majesty the Queen of The Netherlands

Jonkheer Frans Beelaerts van Blokland, Her Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;

Jonkheer Willem Hendrik de Beaufort, Minister Plenipotentiary, Chargé d'Affaires at Washington;

The President of the Portuguese Republic:

Mr. José Francisco de Horta Machado da Franca, Viscount d'Alte, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington;

Mr. Ernesto Julio de Carvalho e Vasconcelos, Captain of the Portuguese Navy, Technical Director of the Colonial Office.

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I.

The Contracting Powers, other than China, agree:

(1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China;

(2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government;

(3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity

for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China;

(4) To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

ARTICLE II.

The Contracting Powers agree not to enter into any treaty, agreement, arrangement, or understanding, either with one another, or, individually, or collectively, with any Power or Powers, which would infringe or impair the principles stated in Article I.

ARTICLE III.

With a view to applying more effectually the principles of the Open Door or equality of opportunity in China for the trade and industry of all nations, the Contracting Powers, other than China, agree that they will not seek, nor support their respective nationals in seeking—

(a) any arrangement which might purport to establish in favour of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China:

(b) any such monopoly or preference as would deprive the nationals of any other Power of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China, or of participating with the Chinese Government, or with any local authority, in any category of public enterprise, or which by reason of its scope, duration or geographical extent is calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity.

It is understood that the foregoing stipulations of this Article are not to be so construed as to prohibit the acquisition of such properties or rights as may be necessary to the conduct of a particular commercial, industrial, or financial undertaking or to the encouragement of invention and research.

China undertakes to be guided by the principles stated in the foregoing stipulations of this Article in dealing with applications for economic rights and privileges from Governments and nationals of all foreign countries, whether parties to the present Treaty or not.

ARTICLE IV.

The Contracting Powers agree not to support any agreements by their respective nationals with each other designed to create Spheres of Influence or to provide for the enjoyment of mutually exclusive opportunities in designated parts of Chinese territory.

ARTICLE V.

China agrees that, throughout the whole of the railways in China, she will not exercise or permit unfair discrimination of any kind. In particular there shall be no discrimination whatever, direct or indirect, in respect of charges or of facilities on the ground of the nationality of passengers or the countries from which or to which they are proceeding, or the origin or ownership of goods or the country from which or to which they are consigned, or the nationality or ownership of the ship or other means of conveying such passengers or goods before or after their transport on the Chinese Railways.

The Contracting Powers, other than China, assume a corresponding obligation in respect of any of the aforesaid railways over which they or their nationals are in a position to exercise any control in virtue of any concession, special agreement or otherwise.

ARTICLE VI.

The Contracting Powers, other than China, agree fully to respect China's rights as a neutral in time of war to which China is not a party; and China declares that when she is a neutral she will observe the obligations of neutrality.

ARTICLE VII.

The Contracting Powers agree that, whenever a situation arises which in the opinion of any one of them involves the application of the stipulations of the present Treaty, and renders desirable discussion of such application, there shall be full and frank communication between the Contracting Powers concerned.

ARTICLE VIII.

Powers not signatory to the present Treaty, which have Governments recognized by the Signatory Powers and which have treaty relations with China, shall be invited to adhere to the present Treaty. To this end the Government of the United States will make the necessary communications to non-signatory Powers and will inform the Contracting Powers of the replies received.

Adherence by any Power shall become effective on receipt of notice thereof by the Government of the United States.

ARTICLE IX.

The present Treaty shall be ratified by the Contracting Powers in accordance with their respective constitutional methods and shall take effect on the date of the deposit of all the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington as soon as possible. The Government of the United States will transmit to the other Contracting Powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

The present Treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the other Contracting Powers.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at the City of Washington the Sixth day of February One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-Two.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES	[L. S.]
HENRY CABOT LODGE	[L. S.]
OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD	[L. S.]
ELIHU ROOT	[L. S.]
BARON DE CASTEL DE MARCHIENNE	[L. S.]
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR	[L. S.]
LEE OF FAREHAM.	[L. S.]
A. C. GEDDES	[L. S.]
R. L. BORDEN.	[L. S.]
G. F. PRABCE	[L. S.]
JOHN W. SALMOND	[L. S.]
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR	[L. S.]
V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI	[L. S.]
[L. S.] SAO-KE ALFRED SZE.	
[L. S.] VIKYUIN WELLINGTON KOO	
[L. S.] CHUNG-HUI WANG	
[L. S.] A. SARRAUT	
[L. S.] JUSSEKAND	
[L. S.] CARLO SCHANZER	
[L. S.] V. ROLANDI RIOCI	
[L. S.] LUIGI ALBERTINI	
T. KATO	[L. S.]
K. SHIDEHARA	[L. S.]
M. HANIHARA	[L. S.]
BEELAERTS VAN BLOKLAND	[L. S.]
W. DE BEAUFORT	[L. S.]
ALTE	[L. S.]
ERNESTO DE VASCONCELLOS	[L. S.]

The Nine Power Treaty Relative to Chinese Tariff

The United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands and Portugal:

With a view to increasing the revenues of the Chinese Government, have resolved to conclude a treaty relating to the revision of the Chinese customs tariff and cog-

nate matters, and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America:

Charles Evans Hughes,
Henry Cabot Lodge,

Oscar W. Underwood,
Elihu Root,
citizens of the United States;

His Majesty the King of the Belgians:
Baron de Cartier de Marchienne, Com-
mander of the Order of Leopold and
of the Order of the Crown, His
Ambassador Extraordinary and
Plenipotentiary at Washington;

His Majesty the King of the United King-
dom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the
British Dominions beyond the Seas, Em-
peror of India:

The Right Honourable Arthur James
Balfour, O. M., M. P., Lord Presi-
dent of His Privy Council;

The Right Honourable Baron Lee of
Fareham, G. B. E., K. C. B., First
Lord of His Admiralty;

The Right Honourable Sir Auckland
Campbell Geddes, K. C. B., His Am-
bassador Extraordinary and Pleni-
potentiary to the United States of
America;

and

for the Dominion of Canada:

The Right Honourable Sir Robert
Laird Borden, G. C. M. G., K. C.;

for the Commonwealth of Australia:

Senator the Right Honourable George
Foster Pearce, Minister for Home
and Territories;

for the Dominion of New Zealand:

The Honourable Sir John William
Salmond, K. C., Judge of the Su-
preme Court of New Zealand;

for the Union of South Africa:

The Right Honourable Arthur James
Balfour, O. M., M. P.;

for India:

The Right Honourable Valingman
Sankaranarayana Srinivasa Sastri,
Member of the Indian Council of
State;

The President of the Republic of China:

Mr. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, Envoy Extra-
ordinary and Minister Plenipoten-
tiary at Washington;

Mr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Envoy Ex-
traordinary and Minister Pleni-
potentiary at London;

Mr. Chung-Hui Wang, former Min-
ister of Justice;

The President of the French Republic:

Mr. Albert Sarraut, Deputy, Minister
of the Colonies;

Mr. Jules J. Jusserand, Ambassador
Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
to the United States of America,
Grand Cross of the National Order
of the Legion of Honour;

His Majesty the King of Italy:

The Honourable Carlo Schanzer, Sen-
ator of the Kingdom;

The Honourable Vittorio Rolandi
Ricci, Senator of the Kingdom, His
Ambassador Extraordinary and
Plenipotentiary at Washington.

The Honourable Luigi Albertini, Sen-
ator of the Kingdom;

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan:

Baron Tomosaburo Kato, Minister for
the Navy, Junii, a member of the
First Class of the Imperial Order
of the Grand Cordon of the Rising
Sun with the Paulownia Flower;

Baron Kijuro Shidehara, His Amba-
sador Extraordinary and Pleni-
potentiary at Washington, Joshii, a
member of the First Class of the
Imperial Order of the Rising Sun;

Mr. Masanao Hanihara, Vice Minister
for Foreign Affairs, Jushii, a mem-
ber of the Second Class of the Im-
perial Order of the Rising Sun;

Her Majesty the Queen of The Nether-
lands:

Jonkheer Frans Beelaerts van Blok-
land, Her Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary;

Jonkheer Willem Hendrik de Beau-
fort, Minister Plenipotentiary,
Chargé d'Affaires at Washington;

The President of the Portuguese Republic:

Mr. José Francisco de Horta Machado
da Franca, Viscount d'Alte, Envoy
Extraordinary and Minister Pleni-
potentiary at Washington;

Mr. Ernesto Julio de Carvalho e Vas-
concelos, Captain of the Portuguese
Navy, Technical Director of the
Colonial Office;

Who having communicated to each other
their full powers, found to be in good and
due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I.

The representatives of the contracting
Powers having adopted, on the fourth day
of February, 1922, in the City of Washing-
ton, a Resolution, which is appended as an
Annex to this Article, with respect to the
revision of Chinese Customs duties, for the
purpose of making such duties equivalent
to an effective 5 per centum *ad valorem*, in
accordance with existing treaties concluded
by China with other nations, the Contract-
ing Powers hereby confirm the said Resolu-
tion and undertake to accept the tariff rates
fixed as a result of such revision. The said
tariff rates shall become effective as soon as
possible, but not earlier than two months
after publication thereof.

ANNEX.

With a view to providing additional revenue to meet the needs of the Chinese Government, the Powers represented at this Conference, namely the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, and Portugal agree:

That the customs schedule of duties on imports into China adopted by the Tariff Revision Commission at Shanghai on December 19, 1918, shall forthwith be revised so that the rates of duty shall be equivalent to 5 per cent. effective, as provided for in the several commercial treaties to which China is a party.

A Revision Commission shall meet at Shanghai, at the earliest practicable date, to effect this revision forthwith and on the general lines of the last revision.

This Commission shall be composed of representatives of the Powers above named and of representatives of any additional Powers having Governments at present recognized by the Powers represented at this Conference and who have treaties with China providing for a tariff on imports and exports not to exceed 5 per cent. *ad valorem* and who desire to participate therein.

The revision shall proceed as rapidly as possible with a view to its completion within four months from the date of the adoption of this Resolution by the Conference on the Limitation of Armament and Pacific and Far Eastern Questions.

The revised tariff shall become effective as soon as possible but not earlier than two months after its publication by the Revision Commission.

The Government of the United States, as convener of the present Conference, is requested forthwith to communicate the terms of this Resolution to the Governments of Powers not represented at this Conference but who participated in the Revision of 1918, aforesaid.

ARTICLE II.

Immediate steps shall be taken, through a Special Conference, to prepare the way for the speedy abolition of *likin* and for the fulfillment of the other conditions laid down in Article VIII. of the Treaty of September 5th, 1902, between Great Britain and China, in Articles IV. and V. of the Treaty of October 8th, 1903, between the United States and China, and in Article I. of the Supplementary Treaty of October 8th, 1903, between Japan and China, with a view to levying the surtaxes provided for in those articles.

The Special Conference shall be composed of representatives of the Signatory Powers, and of such other Powers as may desire to participate and may adhere to the present Treaty, in accordance with the provis-

ions of Article VIII., in sufficient time to allow their representatives to take part. It shall meet in China within three months after the coming into force of the present Treaty, on a day and at a place to be designated by the Chinese Government.

ARTICLE III.

The Special Conference provided for in Article II. shall consider the interim provisions to be applied prior to the abolition of *likin* and the fulfillment of the other conditions laid down in the articles of the treaties mentioned in Article II.; and it shall authorize the levying of a surtax on dutiable imports as from such date, for such purposes, and subject to such conditions as it may determine.

The surtax shall be at a uniform rate of 2½ per centum *ad valorem*, provided, that in case of certain articles of luxury which, in the opinion of the Special Conference, can bear a greater increase without unduly impeding trade, the total surtax may be increased but may not exceed 5 per centum *ad valorem*.

ARTICLE IV.

Following the immediate revision of the customs schedule of duties on imports into China, mentioned in Article I., there shall be a further revision thereof to take effect at the expiration of four years following the completion of the aforesaid immediate revision, in order to ensure that the customs duties shall correspond to the *ad valorem* rates fixed by the Special Conference provided for in Article II.

Following this further revision there shall be, for the same purpose, periodical revisions of the customs schedule of duties on imports into China every seven years, in lieu of the decennial revision authorized by existing treaties with China.

In order to prevent delay, any revision made in pursuance of this Article shall be effected in accordance with rules to be prescribed by the Special Conference provided for in Article II.

ARTICLE V.

In all matters relating to customs duties there shall be effective equality of treatment and of opportunity for all the Contracting Powers.

ARTICLE VI.

The principle of uniformity in the rates of customs duties levied at all the land and maritime frontiers of China is hereby recognized. The Special Conference provided for in Article II. shall make arrangements to give practical effect to this principle; and it is authorized to make equitable ad-

justments in those cases in which a customs privilege to be abolished was granted in return for some local economic advantage.

In the meantime, any increase in the rates of customs duties resulting from tariff revision, or any surtax hereafter imposed in pursuance of the present Treaty, shall be levied at a uniform rate *ad valorem* at all land and maritime frontiers of China.

ARTICLE VII.

The charge for transit passes shall be at the rate of 2½ per centum *ad valorem* until the arrangements provided for by Article II. come into force.

ARTICLE VIII.

Powers not signatory to the present Treaty whose Governments are at present recognized by the Signatory Powers, and whose present treaties with China provide for a tariff on imports and exports not to exceed 5 per centum *ad valorem*, shall be invited to adhere to the present Treaty.

The Government of the United States undertakes to make the necessary communications for this purpose and to inform the Governments of the Contracting Powers of the replies received. Adherence by any Power shall become effective on receipt of notice thereof by the Government of the United States.

ARTICLE IX.

The provisions of the present Treaty shall override all stipulations of treaties between China and the respective Contracting Powers which are inconsistent therewith, other than stipulations according most favored nation treatment.

ARTICLE X.

The present Treaty shall be ratified by the Contracting Powers in accordance with their respective constitutional methods and shall take effect on the date of the deposit

of all the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington as soon as possible. The Government of the United States will transmit to the other Contracting Powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratification.

The present Treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the other Contracting Powers.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at the City of Washington the sixth day of February, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-two.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES	[L. S.]
HENRY CABOT LODGE	[L. S.]
OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD	[L. S.]
ELIHU ROOT	[L. S.]
BARON DE CARTIER DE MARCHIENNE	[L. S.]

[L. S.] ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR

[L. S.] LEE OF FAREHAM.

[L. S.] A. C. GEDDES

[L. S.] R. L. BORDEN.

[L. S.] G. F. PEABOE

[L. S.] JOHN W. SALMOND

[L. S.] ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR

[L. S.] V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

SAO-KE ALFRED SZE. [L. S.]

V. K. WELLINGTON KOO [L. S.]

CHUNG-HUI WANG [L. S.]

A SARRAUT [L. S.]

JUSSERAND [L. S.]

CARLO SCHANZER [L. S.]

V. ROLANDI RIGOLI [L. S.]

LUIGI ALBERTINI [L. S.]

[L. S.] T. KATO

[L. S.] K. SHIDEHARA

[L. S.] M. HANIHARA

[L. S.] BELLAERTS VAN BLOKLAND

[L. S.] W. DE BEAUFORT

[L. S.] ALTE

[L. S.] ERNESTO DE VASCONCELLOS

The Shantung Treaty

TREATY FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS RELATIVE TO SHANTUNG.

China and Japan, being equally animated by a sincere desire to settle amicably and in accordance with their common interest out-

standing questions relative to Shantung, have resolved to conclude a treaty for the settlement of such questions, and have to that end named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

His Excellency the President of the Chinese Republic:

Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;
 Vikiuin Wellington Koo, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary; and
 Chung-Hui Wang, Former Minister of Justice;

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan:
 Baron Tomosaburo Kato, Minister of the Navy;
 Baron Kijuro Shidehara, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; and
 Masanao Hanihara, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs;

Who, having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

SECTION I.

RESTORATION OF THE FORMER GERMAN LEASED TERRITORY OF KIAOCHOW.

ARTICLE I.

Japan shall restore to China the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow.

ARTICLE II.

The Government of the Chinese Republic and the Government of Japan shall each appoint three Commissioners to form a Joint Commission, with powers to make and carry out detailed arrangements relating to the transfer of the administration of the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow and to the transfer of public properties in the said Territory and to settle other matters likewise requiring adjustment.

For such purposes, the Joint Commission shall meet immediately upon the coming into force of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE III.

The transfer of the administration of the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow and the transfer of public properties in the said Territory, as well as the adjustment of other matters under the preceding Article, shall be completed as soon as possible, and, in any case, not later than six months from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE IV.

The Government of Japan undertakes to hand over to the Government of the Chinese Republic upon the transfer to China of the administration of the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow, such archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and other documents in the possession of Japan, or

certified copies thereof, as may be necessary for the transfer of the administration, as well as those that may be useful for the subsequent administration of China of the said Territory and of the Fifty Kilometre Zone around Kiaochow Bay.

SECTION II.

TRANSFER OF PUBLIC PROPERTIES.

ARTICLE V.

The Government of Japan undertakes to transfer to the Government of the Chinese Republic all public properties including land, buildings, works or establishments in the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow, whether formerly possessed by the German authorities, or purchased or constructed by the Japanese authorities during the period of the Japanese administration of the said Territory, except those indicated in Article VII. of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE VI.

In the transfer of public properties under the preceding Article, no compensation will be claimed from the Government of the Chinese Republic: Provided, however, that for those purchased or constructed by the Japanese authorities, and also for the improvements on or additions to those formerly possessed by the German authorities, the Government of the Chinese Republic shall refund a fair and equitable proportion of the expenses actually incurred by the Government of Japan, having regard to the principles of depreciation and continuing value.

ARTICLE VII.

Such public properties in the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow as are required for the Japanese Consulate to be established in Tsingtao shall be retained by the Government of Japan, and those required more especially for the benefit of the Japanese community, including public schools, shrines and cemeteries, shall be left in the hands of the said community.

ARTICLE VIII.

Details of the matters referred to in the preceding three Articles shall be arranged by the Joint Commission provided for in Article II. of the present Treaty.

SECTION III.

WITHDRAWAL OF JAPANESE TROOPS.

ARTICLE IX.

The Japanese troops, including gendarmes, now stationed along the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway and its branches, shall be withdrawn as soon as the Chinese police or

military force shall have been sent to take over the protection of the Railway.

ARTICLE X.

The disposition of the Chinese police or military force and the withdrawal of the Japanese troops under the preceding Article may be effected in sections.

The date of the completion of such process for each section shall be arranged in advance between the competent authorities of China and Japan.

The entire withdrawal of such Japanese troops shall be effected within three months, if possible, and, in any case, not later than six months, from the date of the signature of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE XI.

The Japanese garrison at Tsingtao shall be completely withdrawn simultaneously, if possible, with the transfer to China of the administration of the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow, and, in any case, not later than thirty days from the date of such transfer.

SECTION IV.

MARITIME CUSTOMS AT TSINGTAO.

ARTICLE XII.

The Custom House of Tsingtao shall be made an integral part of the Chinese Maritime Customs upon the coming into force of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE XIII.

The Provisional Agreement of August 6, 1915, between China and Japan, relating to the reopening of the Office of the Chinese Maritime Customs at Tsingtao shall cease to be effective upon the coming into force of the present Treaty.

SECTION V.

TSINGTAO-TSINANFU RAILWAY.

ARTICLE XIV.

Japan shall transfer to China the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway and its branches, together with all other properties appurtenant thereto, including wharves, warehouses and other similar properties.

ARTICLE XV.

China undertakes to reimburse to Japan the actual value of all the Railway properties mentioned in the preceding Article.

The actual value to be so reimbursed shall consist of the sum of fifty-three million four hundred and six thousand, one hundred and forty-one (53,406,141) gold Marks (which is

the assessed value of such portion of the said properties as was left behind by the Germans), or its equivalent, plus the amount which Japan, during her administration of the Railway, has actually expended for permanent improvements on or additions to the said properties, less a suitable allowance for depreciation.

It is understood that no charge will be made with respect to the wharves, warehouses and other similar properties mentioned in the preceding Article, except for such permanent improvements on or additions to them as may have been made by Japan, during her administration of the Railway, less a suitable allowance for depreciation.

ARTICLE XVI.

The Government of the Chinese Republic and the Government of Japan shall each appoint three Commissioners to form a Joint Railway Commission, with powers to appraise the actual value of the Railway properties on the basis defined in the preceding Article, and to arrange the transfer of the said properties.

ARTICLE XVII.

The transfer of all the Railway properties under Article XIV of the present Treaty shall be completed as soon as possible, and, in any case, not later than nine months from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE XVIII.

To effect the reimbursement under Article XV. of the present Treaty, China shall deliver to Japan simultaneously with the completion of the transfer of the Railway properties, Chinese Government Treasury Notes, secured on the properties and revenues of the Railway, and running for a period of fifteen years, but redeemable, whether in whole or in part, at the option of China, at the end of five years from the date of the delivery of the said Treasury Notes, or at any time thereafter upon six months' previous notice.

ARTICLE XIX.

Pending the redemption of the said Treasury Notes under the preceding Article, the Government of the Chinese Republic will select and appoint, for so long a period as any part of the said Treasury Notes shall remain unredeemed, a Japanese subject to be Traffic Manager, and another Japanese subject to be Chief Accountant jointly with the Chinese Chief Accountant and with coordinate functions.

These officials shall be under the direction,

control and supervision of the Chinese Managing Director, and removable for cause.

ARTICLE XX.

Financial details of a technical character relating to the said Treasury Notes, not provided for in this Section, shall be determined in common accord between the Chinese and Japanese authorities as soon as possible, and, in any case, not later than six months from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty.

SECTION VI.

EXTENSIONS OF THE TSINGTAO-TSINANFU RAILWAY.

ARTICLE XXI.

The concessions relating to the two extensions of the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway, namely, the Tsinanfu-Shunteh and the Kao-mi-Hsuechowfu lines, shall be made open to the common activity of an international financial group, on terms to be arranged between the Government of the Chinese Republic and the said group.

SECTION VII.

MINES.

ARTICLE XXII.

The mines of Tsechwan, Fangtze and Chinlingchen, for which the mining rights were formerly granted by China to Germany, shall be handed over to a company to be formed under a special charter of the Government of the Chinese Republic, in which the amount of Japanese capital shall not exceed that of Chinese capital.

The mode and terms of such arrangement shall be determined by the Joint Commission provided for in Article II. of the present Treaty.

SECTION VIII.

OPENING OF THE FORMER GERMAN LEASED TERRITORY OF KIAOCHOW.

ARTICLE XXIII.

The Government of Japan declares that it will not seek the establishment of an exclusive Japanese settlement, or of an international settlement, in the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow.

The Government of the Chinese Republic, on its part, declares that the entire area of the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow will be opened to foreign trade, and that foreign nationals will be permitted freely to reside and to carry on commerce, industry and other lawful pursuits within such area.

ARTICLE XXIV.

The Government of the Chinese Republic further declares that vested rights, lawfully

and equitably acquired by foreign nationals in the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow, whether under the German régime or during the period of the Japanese administration, will be respected.

All questions relating to the status or validity of such vested rights acquired by Japanese subjects or Japanese companies shall be adjusted by the Joint Commission provided for in Article II. of the present Treaty.

SECTION IX.

SALT INDUSTRY.

ARTICLE XXV.

Whereas the salt industry is a Government monopoly in China, it is agreed that the interests of Japanese subjects or Japanese companies actually engaged in the said industry along the coast of Kiaochow Bay shall be purchased by the Government of the Chinese Republic for fair compensation, and that the exportation to Japan of a quantity of salt produced by such industry along the said coast is to be permitted on reasonable terms.

Arrangements for the above purposes, including the transfer of the said interests to the Government of the Chinese Republic, shall be made by the Joint Commission provided for in Article II. of the present Treaty. They shall be completed as soon as possible, and, in any case, not later than six months from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty.

SECTION X.

SUBMARINE CABLES.

ARTICLE XXVI.

The Government of Japan declares that all the rights, title and privileges concerning the former German submarine cables between Tsingtao and Chefoo and between Tsingtao and Shanghai are vested in China, with the exception of those portions of the said two cables which have been utilized by the Government of Japan for the laying of a cable between Tsingtao and Sasebo; it being understood that the question relating to the landing and operation at Tsingtao of the said Tsingtao-Sasebo cable shall be adjusted by the Joint Commission provided for in Article II. of the present Treaty, subject to the terms of the existing contracts to which China is a party.

SECTION XI.

WIRELESS STATIONS.

ARTICLE XXVII.

The Government of Japan undertakes to transfer to the Government of the Chinese Republic the Japanese wireless stations at

Tsingtao and Tsinanfu for fair compensation for the value of these stations, upon the withdrawal of the Japanese troops at the said two places, respectively.

Details of such transfer and compensation shall be arranged by the Joint Commission provided for in Article II. of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The present Treaty (including the Annex thereto) shall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Peking as soon as possible, and not later than four months from the date of its signature.

It shall come into force from the date of the exchange of ratifications.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty in duplicate, in the English language, and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at the City of Washington this fourth day of February, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-Two.

ANNEX.

I.

RENUNCIATION OF PREFERENTIAL RIGHTS.

The Government of Japan declares that it renounces all preferential rights with respect to foreign assistance in persons, capital and material stipulated in the Treaty of March 6, 1898, between China and Germany.

II.

TRANSFER OF PUBLIC PROPERTIES.

It is understood that public properties to be transferred to the Government of the Chinese Republic under Article V. of the present Treaty include (1) all public works, such as roads, water works, parks, drainage and sanitary equipment, and (2) all public enterprises such as those relating to telephone, electric light, stockyard and laundry.

The Government of the Chinese Republic declares that in the management and maintenance of public works to be so transferred to the Government of the Chinese Republic, the foreign community in the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow shall have fair representation.

The Government of the Chinese Republic further declares that, upon taking over the telephone enterprise in the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow, it will give due consideration to the requests from the foreign community in the said Territory for such extensions and improvements in the telephone enterprise as may be reasonably required by the general interests of the public.

With respect to public enterprises relating to electric light, stockyard and laundry, the Government of the Chinese Republic, upon taking them over, shall re-transfer them to the Chinese municipal authorities of Tsingtao, which shall, in turn, cause commercial companies to be formed under Chinese laws for the management and working of the said enterprises, subject to municipal regulation and supervision.

III.

MARITIME CUSTOMS AT TSINGTAO.

The Government of the Chinese Republic declares that it will instruct the Inspector General of the Chinese Maritime Customs (1) to permit Japanese traders in the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow to communicate in the Japanese language with the Custom House of Tsingtao; and (2) to give consideration, within the limits of the established service regulations of the Chinese Maritime Customs, to the diverse needs of the trade of Tsingtao, in the selection of a suitable staff for the said Custom House.

IV.

TSINGTAO-TSINANFU RAILWAY.

Should the Joint Railway Commission provided for in Article XVI. of the present Treaty fail to reach an agreement on any matter within its competence, the point or points at issue shall be taken up by the Government of the Chinese Republic and the Government of Japan for discussion and adjustment by means of diplomacy.

In the determination of such point or points, the Government of the Chinese Republic and the Government of Japan shall, if necessary, obtain recommendations of experts of a third Power or Powers who shall be designated in common accord between the two Governments.

V.

CHEFOO-WEIHSEIN RAILWAY.

The Government of Japan will not claim that the option for financing the Chefoo-Weihsien Railway should be made open to the common activity of the International Financial Consortium, provided that the said Railway is to be constructed with Chinese capital.

VI.

OPENING OF THE FORMER GERMAN LEASED TERRITORY OF KIAOCHOW.

The Government of the Chinese Republic declares that, pending the enactment and general application of laws regulating the

system of local self-government in China, the Chinese local authorities will ascertain the views of the foreign residents in the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow in such municipal matters as may directly affect their welfare and interests.

FOR CHINA:
 SAO-KE ALFRED SZE [L. s.]
 V. K. WELLINGTON KOO [L. s.]
 CHUNG-HUI WANG [L. s.]
 FOR JAPAN:
 T. KATO [L. s.]
 K. SHIDEHARA [L. s.]
 M. HANIHARA [L. s.]

Supplementary Stipulations to the Four Power Treaty

The United States of America, the British Empire, France and Japan have, through their respective Plenipotentiaries, agreed upon the following stipulations supplementary to the Quadruple Treaty signed at Washington on December 13, 1921:

The term "insular possessions and insular dominions" used in the aforesaid Treaty shall, in its application to Japan, include only Karafuto (or the Southern portion of the island of Sakhalin), Formosa and the Pescadores and the islands under the mandate of Japan.

The present agreement shall have the same force and effect as the said Treaty to which it is supplementary.

The provision of Article IV. of the aforesaid Treaty of December 13, 1921, relating to ratification shall be applicable to the present Agreement, which in French and English shall remain deposited in the Archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to each of the other Contracting Powers.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Agreement.

Done at the City of Washington, the sixth day of February, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-Two.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES [L. s.]
 HENRY CABOT LODGE [L. s.]
 OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD [L. s.]

[L. s.] ELIHU ROOT
 [L. s.] ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR
 [L. s.] LEE OF FAREHAM.
 [L. s.] A. C. GEDDES
 [L. s.] R. L. BORDEN.
 [L. s.] G. F. PEARCE
 [L. s.] JOHN W. SALMOND
 [L. s.] ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR
 [L. s.] V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

A. SARRAUT [L. s.]
 JUSSERAND [L. s.]
 T. KATO [L. s.]
 K. SHIDEHARA [L. s.]
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THE
CHINESE
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MONTHLY

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 Tribute to Washington and Lincoln TING-KAN TSAI
Agreed Terms of Understanding Relative to Shantung.

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Man-Made Lightning

FRANKLIN removed some of the mystery. But only recently has science really explained the electrical phenomena of the thunderstorm.

Dr. C. P. Steinmetz expounds this theory. Raindrops retain on their surfaces electrical charges, given off by the sun and other incandescent bodies. In falling, raindrops combine, but their surfaces do not increase in proportion. Hence, the electrical pressure grows rapidly. Finally it reaches the limit the air can stand and the lightning flash results.

And now we have artificial lightning. One million volts of electricity—approximately one fiftieth of the voltage in a lightning flash—have been sent successfully over a transmission line in the General Engineering Laboratory of the General Electric Company. This is nearly five times the voltage ever before placed on a transmission line.

Much valuable knowledge of high voltage phenomena—essential for extending long distance transmission—was acquired from these tests. Engineers now see the potential power in remote mountain streams serving in industries hundreds of miles away.

Man-made lightning was the result of ungrudging and patient experimentation by the same engineers who first sent 15,000 volts over a long distance thirty years ago.

“Keeping everlastingly at it brings success.” It is difficult to forecast what the results of the next thirty years may be.

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MR. ROBERT LANSING
FORMERLY SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES



DR. W. W. WILLOUGHBY

**PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS
UNIVERSITY, SOMETIME CONSTITUTIONAL ADVISER TO
THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT**



THE CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY



TELLY H. KOO, *Editor-in-Chief*

P. C. HSIEH, *General Manager*



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The Senate and The Treaties

THE late Viscount Bryce in his study of the American Constitution, made the following criticism relating to the conduct of foreign affairs in the United States:¹

"The provision made for the conduct of foreign affairs has been charged with inefficiency because, while the function of negotiating with foreign countries is left to the Executive, the confirmation of executive action and the approval of treaties rest with one branch of the legislature, the Federal Senate. The result of this division of powers is, that, though the President can in practice so handle foreign relations as to manoeuvre or precipitate the nation into hostilities, he can not conclude a binding agreement with any other country. He can bring about war, but he can not make

peace. The benefits of a well-conducted negotiation may be lost because the Senate may refuse to approve, and a deadlock may result, involving the loss of a treaty on which infinite pains have been spent. Foreign nations find this situation embarrassing. They may bargain and compromise, and make one concession after another, and yet discover at last that all their efforts have been wasted."

It is amusing to recall that when President Wilson led the United States to side with the Allies in their war against Germany, he seemed to be omnipotent, but when he attempted to sign the Treaty of Peace with the Allies he appeared absolutely powerless. And now it seems as if the labours of the Washington Conference were in immi-

¹ James Bryce: "The Study of American History," pp. 60-61.

nent danger. The veteran statesmen of Europe, inspired by their experience of American obstinacy, willingly responded to the call of a country who desired to prove to the world the ways and methods of a new diplomacy. They came to see whether America could do what, in the opinion of the Americans, Europe had failed to accomplish. If the Senate should eventually reject the treaties made by the Disarmament Conference, Europe would certainly have good reason to smile grimly over the irresponsible criticism with which the United States overwhelmed Europe since 1919.

The Four Power Treaty has been in the Senate for sometime, but the protracted debates did not lead to anywhere near a definite conclusion either for or against. To visit the Senate nowadays is an amusement. Trivial arguments interposed with grotesque jokes made the audience as gay as one could find only in the best theatres of the City. While it would be unfair to a man like Senator Underwood to say that American diplomacy is mixed up with domestic politics, one can not escape the impression that there is a good deal of politics in American diplomacy. There is a tendency to lay more stress on the number of votes that one could marshal than to weigh carefully the merits or demerits of the Treaty itself. To some of Senator Underwood's partners who share his devotion to the party but without the slightest degree of his vision and insight, the issue is not at all a diplomatic or international question. It is a Democratic retaliation. They dislike the provisions of the Treaty; they dislike the way in which the Treaty was brought about; they dislike above all, the authors of the Treaty and particularly one of them. That arch enemy of the League of Nations spared no efforts to defeat Wilson's Peace Treaty, and now he has his day! They smiled at the old man not without vengeance. To that class of Senators the Treaty is a game. To them nothing could yield more pleasure, nothing could give more sat-

isfaction than to play the return match well.

But among the Republicans themselves there are the so-called "irreconcilables", the atheists in American politics. Their creed is, of course, American isolation. Washington told his countrymen not to involve in entangling alliances, and the irreconcilables certainly worship their ancestor more ardently than most of the ultra-conservative Chinese. We do not blame them for their resentment against any association with the British and the Japanese. But there are other considerations in a pragmatic diplomacy than merely to keep a clean record. The question at present is not whether the United States should or should not cooperate with other powers; it is whether such co-operation will result in the greatest happiness both for herself and for others. It would be ridiculous if the opposition to the Versailles Treaty was based on the fact that the Treaty was concluded in France and that the representatives of the United States had to attach their signatures on the same paper with the delegates of other powers. The Senate's stand on the Treaties of the Conference should be guided by their merits, not by their superficial connection with other powers.

As this issue goes to the press, the fate of the Four Power Treaty is still hung in the balance. What effect the defeat of this Treaty will have on the rest of the agreements is yet to be seen. Suffice it to point out that the reduction of Armament could not be enforced without a settlement of the underlying Pacific issues. The Treaties concluded by the Conference are interlocking in purpose and effect.

Public sentiment is strongly in favor of unqualified ratification. If the proposals of co-operation were rejected this time, it would mean that the United States would never work together with other nations in behalf of common objects. The prestige of America is at stake. Who would willingly enter into further negotiations

with the United States if the results of such conferences could not be assured of their confirmation? The rejection of Treaties would not only mean a serious blow to the Republican party. It would make another Washington Conference out of question; it would make Washington the center of mockery. The very meaning of the Conference is contradictory to isolation.

It is possible that the pressure of public opinion will be strong enough to convert the opposition. But public opinion is a clumsy asset. Should therefore, the Treaty be eventually

turned down, then either the President has to make an appeal to the country or the Secretary of State has to resign "on the theory that the Senate was making it impossible for the United States to do business in an international way." No treaties will be possible unless the Chief Executive and the Secretary of State could be free from the undue interference of the Senate. But we are reverting to the fundamental question of constitution. America has not yet found out a way whereby treaties could be confirmed or rejected according to the will of the people.

The Returned Student

MR. PEPPER launches a relentless attack on the returned students.

His facts are true; his charges undeniable. Hitherto that class of self-complacent intellectual aristocracy had been accorded undue esteem. One who studies carefully the cultural tendencies in China at the close of the last century will instantly notice the great gap that separates China's aloofness and her rapid Westernization. Twenty years ago a returned student from Japan occupied a higher social status than an ordinary student at home; today a returned student from Europe and America has a preferential claim to higher position over a returned student from Japan. In the days of old, people had to go through many years of tedious training before he could pass his civil examinations. Today a student who stays in a foreign country for a couple of years thinks he could revolutionize the whole world. The mere fact of going abroad is itself a certificate of a higher education and an assurance for better pay. The returned student has been overrated; that accounts for all the trouble. Excessive esteem inspires excessive confidence; excessive confidence leads to degeneration. It must be taken as a sign of

hope that of late men are beginning to find out that the returned students have never been and are not likely going to be the saviours of their country.

This change of psychology is most imperative. The trouble with the returned students is their too rapid naturalization of ideals. Sophisticated in Western superficialities, they return without bringing back their indigenous soul. Their faith in the new is too weak to prevent them from falling into the vices of the old. One contends that the Westernization of China will go on even without the returned students. Professor Dewey, for instance, thinks that the subservient type of Chinese is the product of missionary education. This class of students is first saturated with American conceptions and a few years' study in America transform them into perfect Americans. There is, of course, a good deal of truth in this argument. Missionary education, while claiming due credits, has not at all been ideal. It is true that missionaries in China represent not modern Christianity but mediaeval scholasticism. And instead of imparting the best culture of the West, their dogmatic theology serves only to cripple liberal movements. It is also true that

in their schools they have only transplanted American curriculum and methods of government, "and that instead of turning out graduates who could become leaders in developing the industries of China on an independent Chinese basis, they had turned out men who when they went into industry took subordinate positions in foreign managed industries, because of their training especially in the English language." It is also true that the Chinese members of the faculty of these missionary institutions are never put on the same plane of salary, social dignity and importance as the foreigners. Happily the missionary schools are gradually coming to realize that, for the best interests of America and China, a change is necessary.

Mr. Russell entertains a too high opinion of Chinese civilization and he is bitterly criticized. A moderate import of American culture—if that word can be properly used—is not necessarily undesirable and a real patriot does not need to, like Mr. Eugene Chen, take issue with the Editor of *The North China Herald*. But it is unwise either for the American missionaries or for the Chinese themselves to get intoxicated in everything American. A Chinese is a Chinese; the Americans at home would not place an ardent admirer of Americanism on a higher plane in their conception of humanity.

Fortunately for China, there is a new class of students who "have no thought of westernized China, a China which repeats and imitates Europe and America. They want Western knowledge and Western methods which they themselves can independently employ to develop and sustain a China which is itself and not a copy of something else. They are touchingly grateful to any for

eigner who gives anything which can be construed as aid in this process. They are profoundly resentful of all efforts which condescendingly hold up Western institutions, political, religious, educational, as models to be humbly accepted and submissively repeated. They are acutely aware that the spirit of imitation at the expense of initiative and independence of thought has been the chief cause of China's retrogression, and they do not propose to shift the model; they intend to transform the spirit." It is premature at present to accept without reservation this rosy picture of the Renaissance students, but there is yet time for them to justify themselves. Upon their success depends the intellectual course of the nation. Our hope is that they may not lose their way in the maze of freedom.

Over and above the territorial and administrative integrity China needs intellectual independence. Independent thinking is the mother of all sciences and inventions.² It does not mean the entire discarding of the old, nor the indiscriminating condemnation of the new. It may be the combination of the spirit of both, but never the implicit subserviency to either. It does not mean aloofness; nor does it mean Bolshevism in thought. It means a balanced appreciation of the old with a discriminating assimilation of the new. This change of mental attitude must take place among the returned students as well as those who are now educating the Chinese. Political and economic freedom constitute the sovereignty of a nation, intellectual freedom marks her greatness.

² See the little volume by Prof. Bury, "*The History of the Freedom of Thought*."

The Arms Embargo

IN one of the drafting committee meetings of the Washington Conference, Mr. Root cleverly—and not

without a humorous sense of irony—remarked "that it might be found out later that China had invented the wire-

less telegraphy three thousand years ago." If China did not invent wireless telegraphy the theory that she invented the gunpowder has been generally accepted. Curiously enough she did not find out that she was being outwitted in her invention until she had gone through several crushing defeats. And now the inventor of gunpowder has to rely upon imported ammunitions for perpetuating her inter-cine wars.

Perry's gunboat taught the Japanese a lesson and within fifty years Japan was able to demonstrate that blasting materials were going to be the cornerstone of Japanese civilization. Captain Elliot's gunboat however produced quite a different impression on China and almost sixty years after the Opium War the Boxers still treasured their primitive weapons.

Unable to withstand foreign aggression, China turned around and succumbed to Western influence. If foreign munitions of warfare were not formidable enough for national defense they were at least efficient enough to start a revolution. The vicissitudes in the short history of the Chinese Republic indicated unmistakably how Young China had fully utilized, although for a wrong purpose, the best product that the West could boast of. Revolutions became the order of the day; armed bandits infested the remote interior while assassins virtually ruled the treaty ports. At Washington, the Conference on the Limitation of Armament paid scanty attention to the greatest potentially impotent army of the Chinese beyond recommending her to cut down her unnecessary military expenses. At home, however, its grasp was felt everywhere. It is not too much to say that foreign loans and arms were two of the main sources of China's internal troubles.

In 1919 the governments of Great Britain, Portugal, the United States, Russia, Brazil, France and Japan agreed to restrain effectively their subjects from exporting to or importing into China arms and munitions of war until the establishment of a govern-

ment whose authority was recognized throughout the country and to forbid the delivery of arms and munitions for which contracts have already been made but not executed. Needless to say that the merchants of certain countries owing to contracts which they legitimately entered into with the central and provincial authorities, went on with their trade.

At the twenty-second meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions, Senator Underwood presented to his colleagues in connection with the increase of tariff a resolution recommending that immediate and effective steps might be taken by the Chinese Government to reduce the military forces and expenditures with the hope to advance China's political unity and economic development. The fact that China was dominated by a few military chieftains seemed to be fairly well known to all the delegates attending the Conference and the disinterested friends of China expressed a sincere desire to see China free herself from the incubus of militarism.

Mr. Balfour (now Sir Arthur) proposed at the twenty-fifth meeting of the same Committee that the governments represented at the Conference should undertake to refrain their respective nationals from exporting to China arms until the establishment of a stable government recognized throughout the country. In presenting the resolution, Mr. Balfour said:

"It had long been felt that to a country in that (disturbed) condition it was a very *cruel kindness* to permit the import of arms from abroad and this general proposition obtained peculiar importance from the fact that the termination of the World War left unemployed, unused, and unsold, vast quantities of ammunition and instruments of warfare."

This resolution, partly due to the obstructions of the Italian and Japanese delegates and partly due to the general desire to conclude the proceedings of the committee, was withdrawn and

the matter left to the ordinary workings of the diplomatic negotiations.

In accordance with a joint resolution approved by the Congress on January 31, 1922, President Harding issued a proclamation which made exportation of arms to countries where the United States enjoys extra-territorial rights unlawful. Amongst other things, the President said:

"I have found that there exist in China such conditions of domestic violence which are or may be promoted by the use of arms or munitions of war procured from the United States . . . and I do hereby admonish all citizens of the United States and every person to abstain from violation of the provision of the joint resolution . . . and I do hereby warn them that all violation of such provisions will be rigorously prosecuted."

The task of reorganizing a government could not, as Sir Robert Borden rightly pointed out, be accomplished for China by any other nation or group of nations. They would not if they could. It was the duty of other nations to lend China a helping hand in nega-

tively restraining from supplying fuel for China's domestic fire. The United States has now taken the lead.

If the other powers who attended the Washington Conference would remain faithful to their pledges, there is reason to believe that they would soon take definite action. Single action would not do China any good. Other powers who are interested in China's civil troubles might simply take over America's business. "If any one power was going to exercise the right of exporting arms into China, it was quite useless for any government to prevent its own subjects either from manufacturing or from exporting arms to China."

But we must not be too strict with others. The Central Government will pass lightly over the Conference's recommendation for the reduction of military forces. To actually disband China's disorderly forces is a task altogether too difficult, not to say impossible, for the Central Government to undertake. The present state of affairs will, therefore, continue until—well, the cautious hesitate to predict.

Should There Be Further Conferences?

IT is generally believed that while China did not get at Washington all that she expected, the Conference did blaze a new path for Oriental diplomacy. In a letter to the Editor, Mr. Bryan said amongst other things:

"While China did not secure at the Conference all that she desired, she gained more than any other nation in material benefits. This was because she had suffered more at the hands of other nations. She ought to be greatly encouraged by the increased recognition accorded her government and her people. That which has been done is only a forerunner of that which is yet to come. The world will soon con-

cede everything necessary to give to China the place she has won among the great nations. It is especially gratifying to the United States to render every possible assistance to our sister Republic—the first republic of the Orient."

Pending the detailed execution of the agreements reached at the Conference, China's greatest gain at Washington was that she was better recognized and understood. It will be most conducive to the interests of China as well as the powers if, as Mr. Bryan happily predicted, what was done at Washington would serve as a forerunner of that which is yet to come. Of the ten principles presented by the Chinese

delegates to the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions, the last one proposed that "future conferences should be held to discuss questions relating to the Far East as a basis for determining common policies of the signatory powers in relation thereto." Somehow or other this point was ignored by the Conference which adjourned without providing instruments to insure the improvement of further relations in that part of the world.

Oriental diplomacy in the nineteenth century was marked by secrecy and intrigue. The Western powers bargained with the court at Peking for commercial or territorial privileges either through their resident diplomats or through special commissioners. As soon as the secret term were known, the other powers would simply copy the tactics and follow the same procedure in order to keep up the balance of power. The series of concessions in 1898 furnished a most ludicrous example. There was no co-operation among the powers; each looked for her own advantages.

The Washington Conference was convened with the hope to revolutionize

international dealings in the Far East. That similar conferences should be summoned from time to time, not necessarily in Washington of course, was evident to every one. Such conferences become all the more imperative at present inasmuch as most of the labours of the Washington gathering was left to the various commissions. To see that the commissions discharged their duties faithfully and harmoniously and to compose differences that are bound to crop up, further conferences seem to be highly desirable.

New diplomacy requires a new procedure. Isolation is just as impossible in China as it is in America. The growing activities of commerce and trade are gradually making nationalism a thing of the past. A conference that will meet from time to time, a conference in which China will not only be the object of discussion, but will attend as a sovereign participant, a conference which will allow free exchange of views and free discussion of common policies to be pursued in China will go a long way towards insuring tranquility in the Far East.

The Returned Students

BY NATHANIEL PEFFER

I HAVE been asked to write a short article for this magazine and I do so reluctantly, for there is only one thing I can say to Chinese students in America; the most important thing, I believe, that any American living in China can say to Chinese studying in America, a most unpleasant thing. It is that I hope that they will be as unlike as possible that which experience makes me fear they will be.

Once I should not have thought it remotely possible that there could be any subject pertaining to China on which I could find myself in agreement with Mr. J. O. P. Bland. And I do not believe there is more than one. But from what I have seen in China in the last five years, I find myself reluctantly driven to the conclusion that the foreign-educated Chinese as a class are a sorry representation of their race and a poor product of their opportunity. Now that I am back in America and have seen something of the Chinese students here, I find myself profoundly irritated by their glibness, their vocal patriotism, their mental thinness and, above all, their self-complacency; and I believe it worth while to remind them that they are suspect and that the burden on them is to prove that they are not guilty.

Since I have referred to Mr. Bland, let me make this clear. I am not against "New" China or "Young" China. I am not a believer in a monarchial restoration. That would be, I believe, the crowning calamity of these doleful years. Nor am I among those foreigners who either out of stupidity or imaginative paralysis or sentimentality lament any change in China. I am ardently for change as any Cantonese Kuo Min T'ang sopho-

more. But I have not seen any change produced by returned students—any change under the surface.

I have had rather intimate contacts with a wide circle of foreign educated Chinese. When I first went to China my associations naturally were exclusively with them. And I was as enthralled as any American with the phenomenon of these "new voices of awakened China." Since then I have gone through successive stages of disillusionment until now, next to the official class, the mandarins, that class for which I have least respect is the returned student class. As my admiration for the "inarticulate" masses of China has steadily risen until I believe them the racial equals of any people in the world, so has my regard for the over-articulate foreign-educated declined. I realize that I am now on the uncertain ground of generalization—I take it I need not say there are exceptions. Some of the finest-spirited men I have met of any race are American-educated Chinese. And they are most frequently the least conspicuous, the least adept in the tricks of publicity and the arts of success.

I am not writing this by way of scolding. I am doing so because I do not think the Chinese students here realize the responsibility that rests on them; from the tone of most of those I have seen since my return and their attitude during the Washington Conference, I am sure they do not. Let me call a few facts to their attention. Let me remind them of the record at home of some of their predecessors. They talk freely and severely here now of "corrupt officials". Do they know how many of the returned students are among those corrupt officials, among

the worst of them? Do they realize how many Chinese students who, having similarly prated easily here in America, went back to China, fluttered tamely against conditions that confronted them at home, held out a fleeting while against temptation, compromised first a little, then a lot, went finally into official life and now are playing the same old mandarin game as it is played by those who never saw a foreign institution, are tainted with the age-old mandarin taint? Go over the roster of returned students. Check off the names of Peking officialdom. How many of those students are now in the Peking yamens, holding concurrently three jobs, four jobs, five jobs, doing little in any of them except wait for their salaries—and maybe squeeze? Examine some of the most callous betrayals in recent years, and see what part returned students have played in them. Take Yuan Shih-k'ai's monarchy movement alone. And how much that is more than imitation Westernism is to their credit? Take the student movement of 1919. I happen to know a great deal of the inner history of that. I was in Shanghai in a responsible editorial capacity at the time. I had daily dealings with the Shanghai leaders of that movement. I can testify from experience that nearly all that was achieved in that fine resurgence is creditable to the younger boys and girls who had never been out of China. The foreign-educated jostled for the limelight, issued signed state-

ments to the press, made speeches to each other—and did nothing. The impulse that fired the movement may have sprung from the inspiration of the previous efforts of a few brilliant foreign-educated leaders, the exceptions of whom I speak, but the work in the ranks was the work not of the foreign-educated.

I do not want to seem self-righteous. I know how fiery is the test through which must pass a student after he goes back to China. I know the frustrations he meets and the temptations in his path, the insuperable obstacles laid in his way if he would cut a place for himself. I know how sturdy a soul it takes to make the self-abnegations, the renunciations required of a Chinese who would go into public life and hold fast to his principles. But, with all charity in judging, there is yet an indictment to be laid against the great majority of returned students. They succumbed too easily. A little greater humility, therefore, on the part of those Chinese now here is only fitting. It ill behooves them to be arrogant or complacent. It is easy now to talk much, to cry "mai kuo", to make demonstrations. But it takes more than crying "mai kuo" to make a patriot. It would be better to wait until they have gone home themselves, until their own test comes, to see how they meet that test and whether they shall go the way of those that preceded them. On the record thus far the assumption is against them. The burden of proof is on them.

The Washington Conference and the Future

By ROBERT LANSING

THE Washington Conference has come to an end and the result of its deliberations may be, in a general way, estimated from the standpoint of Chinese interests. It is too early, however, to give more than a tentative opinion as to what the Conference accomplished since the practical value to China depends in no small measure on the spirit and good faith in which the agreements and declared policies are carried out. Final judgment must, therefore, be reserved for the present and the developments under the new order of things must be watched and studied before such judgment is rendered.

In spite of this reserved judgment as to the exact measure of benefit obtained, it can be said that the Chinese delegation to the Conference achieved a signal victory in securing from the represented powers the declarations that they did secure as to the future policies of those powers in regard to China, and also in obtaining the return by Japan of the Shantung railway and the former German leased territory and rights in Shantung Province. They secured these declarations and this restoration of China's sovereignty over Shantung by their skill as negotiators, by their clear presentation of the just rights of China, and by their firmness, which amounted almost to stubbornness, in insisting that those rights should be formally acknowledged and respected by other nations.

Success was at the outset jeopardized by the hostile attitude of the Cantonese faction in declining to be represented on the delegation, by criti-

cisms, which presumably emanated from that source, impugning the patriotism and motives of the Chinese delegates, and by constant assertions that they did not represent all China but rather a Government which, it was insinuated, was dominated by Japanese influence. The consequence of these criticisms and assertions was that the delegations of other powers represented in the Conference gained the impression, which persisted throughout the negotiations, that a political instability existed in the Republic which made doubtful the ability of any Chinese Government to perform fully its international obligations and caused the representatives of the powers to hesitate to remove from China all the shackles which had been imposed upon her by treaties and agreements in the past and which deprived her of complete sovereignty.

Furthermore this hostile propaganda impelled certain Chinese citizens residing in the United States to make impossible demands upon the delegates and to stage demonstrations against them for failure to comply with these extravagant demands. The participants in this movement were either possessed of immature minds and of incomplete knowledge of the diplomatic situation, or else they belonged to the Cantonese faction which seemingly sought, regardless of consequences, to discredit the Chinese delegates appointed by the Peking Government. In any event the effect was to increase the doubts of the delegates of other countries as to the strength and capacity of the Government at Peking.

In spite of these serious handicaps the Chinese delegation succeeded, after three months of arduous and protracted negotiation, in securing much that they sought. Their patience and firmness in these vexatious circumstances are ample proofs of their statesmanship, their loyalty and their self-sacrificing spirit. If they did not obtain all that they desired and all that China might rightfully have claimed, if they were unable to remove some of the disabilities which have so long impaired the full and free exercise of China's sovereignty, the responsibility does not lie with them but with those who maliciously attempted to discredit the delegates and their Government at Washington and to arouse, for their own selfish ends, Chinese sentiment against them in the United States as well as in China. There can be no question about this. It should always be remembered of these critics and agitators that they were so unpatriotic as to put political advantage and factional quarrels above the interests of their country showing even a willingness to tear down China's political and economic independence provided that their opponents perished in the ruins.

As a friend of the Republic of China and of its people I regret that provision was not made by the Washington Conference for another conference on the Far East in two or three years. There ought to be, in these days of rapid international changes, periodic conferences dealing with particular regions and limited in representation to countries having political or economic interests in those regions. The policies agreed upon at a conference could be intelligently reviewed by a succeeding conference from the standpoint of their application and usefulness. Disputes as to the interpretation of international declarations could be settled and the necessity of modifying or extending a policy to meet new and unforeseen conditions could be considered. We need periodic regional con-

ferences of this sort and they would be of peculiar benefit to China in view of the present transition-period in her political system and of an industrial and economic development that is bound to affect and be affected by her relations with foreign nations.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that enlightened statesmanship will take the steps necessary to institute a series of international conferences of this nature, and that the satisfactory results of the Washington Conference in regard to the Far East will not be allowed to grow obsolete or inoperative through lack of frequent interchange of views by the interested powers assembled to confer concerning the application of the principles and the policies which have been declared.

The successes, which the Chinese delegation gained at Washington, must not be lost or lessened by the manner in which the measures adopted are executed. The way to prevent such an untoward occurrence is by watchfulness on the part of the governments which united in the adoption of these measures and by openly criticizing the conduct of any power which neglects putting the adopted measures into effect. This can be most efficiently accomplished, as I have said, through the agency of an international conference similar to the one which has just ended its sessions at Washington. The perpetuation of the conference idea and the institution of the practice of holding frequent international councils to consider the state of affairs in the Far East should be, in my judgment, the avowed policy of China, and Chinese statesmen should devote their energies and exert their influence to win the acceptance and putting into effect of that policy by all powers interested in that quarter of the globe. It is the surest and best way, if it is not the only way, to reap the full benefits of the negotiations so ably and so successfully conducted by Minister Sze, Dr. Koo and Chief Justice Wang.

Philosophy as a Function of Modern Life.*

By GREGORY D. WALCOTT.

Professor of Philosophy, Hamline University.

THREE years ago I had the pleasure of addressing you, or at any rate an audience greatly resembling you, on the topic "What is Philosophy?" I covered a rather wide field at that time. Two years ago I presented the same address with some slight modifications before The Forum at Tsing Hua College, and in consequence, since this is the custom there, it was published in the *Journal* of that institution and circulated rather widely in the academic circles of China. Several months later I met a professor from Peiyang University of Tientsin, and when he learned my name he recalled the article and laughingly said, "You didn't leave out very much from that address". "No", I replied, "I didn't intend to." But you can see at once the predicament I find myself in this evening, when I attempt to speak to you along a somewhat similar line. I left myself on that former occasion, which I hope was as pleasant for you as for me, almost nothing more to say. I told you, or tried to tell you, all about philosophy, and yet here I am facing you to-night with an equally ambitious topic staring at me from my manuscript, and with a difficult problem to solve. How can I tell you anything more about philosophy than I told you then, and if I can't, why am I here at all? Then, too, can I assume that you remember all that I said on that occasion? I do not flatter myself that I was so skillful in the presentation of my subject then that no slight phase of my thought has since escaped you, al-

though I am ready to admit, without flattery, that you have retained all that you judiciously selected from my more or less hasty sketch of the most outstanding features of philosophy. But if you have not retained it all, how can I proceed this evening to tell you about the function of philosophy without beginning all over again, so that you may have vividly in mind, right up to date, the essentials of this thing which we are pleased to term philosophy? But if I should attempt that, I couldn't present this other address, which in spite of the wide-ranging character of the former one, does have some things in it that I did not tell you about then? I think you must see my predicament, but I hope, too, that you will accept at its face value what I just intimated in regard to the new material that this address contains, even if, here and there, some of the expressions I used then should recur and you should recognize them as what you gleaned at that time. I am making this explanation because I should feel very much chagrined, if at the close you should think, because of certain stray expressions, that I had given you just what I presented three years ago, as you, too, would feel chagrined, if at the end I should inform you that I had simply repeated what is now three years old. There will be in what we have before us, not a few more or less stereotyped phrases which might suggest the old,

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but I assure you, and I hope you will believe me a man of my word, there is a great deal before us that is quite different from what I regaled you with in 1917. And now we are ready for the discussion itself, but where shall we begin?

Several years ago I first ran upon a little quotation from the *Fliegende Blätter*, given in Thomson's *Introduction to Science*, which pleased me very much. There we are told that "Ein Professor ist ein Mensch der anderer Meinung ist". "A professor is a man who is of a different opinion". I suspect that if some of you were called upon to develop this topic, which still looms like a mountain upon our intellectual horizon, you would in the most natural and sensible manner begin at the beginning, tell all about philosophy, or at least present what you might deem essential for the occasion, then advance confidently to a definition of function, proceed vigorously to an exposition of modern life, discuss in detail the relations of these various *dissecta membra* to one another, and then with a grand flourish of oratory you would marshal your serried legions of thought in a cumulative and overwhelming *finale*. But, as you no doubt have already guessed, I intend to exercise my professorial prerogative and begin at the other end. Remember, as I have remarked, your method would be the really sensible one, but since I am a professor and more particularly a philosopher, I am not supposed to have sense, so I can follow my own sweet will, no matter whither it may lead. We have, then, before us, as the first stadium of our journey, "Modern Life". What is it, and how is it concerned with philosophy or philosophy with it?

It is a curious thing and perfectly obvious, although perhaps we have not all reflected seriously upon it, that there is really nothing from a temporal point of view but what is strictly modern. We speak very glibly about yesterday and to-morrow, we recount

the events of former years and industriously plan each for himself his future, but when we analyze carefully we are confronted with the eternal present. Now is indeed the accepted time. Yesterday never was and to-morrow will never be. What we call yesterday is only a to-day which has been but has ceased to be, and to-morrow when it comes is a to-day, just like any other day. We speak of the ancients with patronizing superiority, but they too had their to-days and pointed farther back to the men of olden times, who in turn did likewise, and, indeed, *ad infinitum*. Or, to turn the thought around, all men live in what to them is modern time. They live, move, and have their being in it. Aristotle, who for most of us is decidedly ancient, quoted that saying, "Birds of a feather flock together", but referred it to the ancients. As for himself, he was strictly modern, living in the only time there was for him. Not infrequently we poke fun at the men of the Middle Ages, because they were so queer, but they were strictly modern from one point of view, the most up-to-date people the world had ever seen. Indeed, those of just a single earlier generation we often regard as extremely antiquated, although there never were any more modern than they, when they were disporting themselves in the sunshine of their to-day.

But while time thus telescopes into the present, if we are thoughtful overmuch, and all our ordinary temporal barriers tend to disappear, there are real distinctions which we should make, but which we not infrequently ignore when we attempt to grapple with such a topic as the one we have before us this evening. "Yes, we are modern", is our thought. "We are the most advanced, the most progressive people upon whom the sun ever shone. Search us and try us and see if there be any ancient way to which we are addicted, that we may eliminate it with one fell swoop. This is the first quarter of the twentieth century. There never were

others such as we. We", to use a German expression, "are *'an der Spite'*" or colloquially, "we are it". But the question that I am raising right here is, "Are we *all* modern, who are of this really modern period?" There is a chronological modernness and a qualitative modernness, and oftentimes, too, the former thinks itself the latter, while the latter does not always recognize itself for what it is, nor distinguish itself from the former. What I mean I can best bring out by reference to things political.

Hobhouse, who is professor of sociology in the University of London, discusses in a brilliant manner, as it seems to me, in his work on *Morals in Evolution*, the significant aspects of political control, or we might, perhaps, say the State, on each of the main planes of social development with which we are all familiar. On the plane of savagery, he maintains, the binding principle is blood relationship, while among barbarians the principle which holds people together in more or less effective units is authority, and not infrequently the authority of the conqueror. This held over, too, on the plane of ancient civilizations, such as the Egyptian and Babylonian, but more particularly the Assyrian, or in general among the so-called "oriental despotisms". Among the Athenians, however, a different principle was made basal in the State, the principle, indeed, of citizenship. According to this conception of the State, the various officials were properly regarded as the servants of the people, while the people in a true sense constituted the State and were on an equality before the law, and in their rights, duties, and privileges, in so far as no one trespassed upon what was equally his neighbor's. You see at once, of course, the earmarks here of democracy, and it is this conception, in the main, which Hobhouse maintains underlies the modern State, in so far as it is modern. The experiment made by the Athenians in their comparatively small city-state has been

made the basis of the modern State on a large scale, in so far as it is modern. But how different this is from the fundamental principle of certain States which were flourishing apparently like the "green bay-tree" before the Great War must be evident at once to all. They were chronologically modern but not qualitatively such.

The same is true of an almost indefinite number of phases or departments of our so-called modern life. There is practically nothing that stands out single and alone, except bachelors, perhaps, and they really constitute a class by themselves. We are continually grouping individuals, and classifying all sorts and phases of this thing which we call in general "modern life", but every such aspect, event, or individual may be only chronologically modern and not qualitatively such at all. Even philosophy does not escape. There is a great deal of philosophy to-day which is as old as Plato and Aristotle, while other types, perhaps we may say, are merely in the bud. This does not mean that the old is necessarily useless, whether philosophy or any other aspect of our present day life. Not infrequently I speak of them as vermiform appendices, but I usually hasten to add that they may not be quite so functionless as that anatomical organ is sometimes declared to be. None the less, for clarity in our own thinking, especially when we wish to appraise our modern life as a whole, we would do well to distinguish between what is qualitatively a part of our complex modern life, and what is simply a hold-over from the past.

But this isn't all that I wish to suggest in regard to the to-day which we are pleased to call our own and the discussion which is still awaiting us. Modern life may be viewed either concretely, or from the angle of our thought-life. There are the actual human beings who make up the population of any community, and, indeed, of the country as a whole. There is our complex, bustling, industrial, agricul-

tural, financial, economic life, which necessarily fills so large a part of our thought and action, and is so insistently concrete, while there is also our political life, amazingly complex and real, recently becoming feminized and gaining headway with every speech delivered by one or another of the presidential aspirants in our quadrennial spasm, to say nothing of the babel of voices that greet us on religious and ethical themes and the so-called cultural activities which approach infinity in their number and variety. All this is concrete and real and well deserving of our consideration when philosophy is the burden of our discourse. What part does philosophy play in all this, or is it a Muse apart, wrapping itself about with the garments of its own exclusiveness, unheeding, and in consequence unheeded by, earth's toiling millions?

I am reminded here of a remark made by a psychology colleague in another State about two years ago when the pinch of hunger began to be felt throughout the land. "Philosophers", he said, and of course he included philosophy too, "I regard as the most useless beings on the face of the earth. If the food shortage becomes more pronounced, to such an extent, indeed, that it will be necessary to kill off some of the people, I hope they begin with the philosophers". Truly a pious wish! Of course, I was in China at the time, in a land flowing with milk and honey, for a consideration, and could not have been affected by such a philosophical holocaust, but the thought expressed was startling in the extreme, and perhaps was responsible for the address which is now making its appeal for your favor.

But there is, also, the thought-life in our modern world, richer, perhaps, at any rate more complex, than ever before in the history of the world. I do not care to analyze it in detail. What of the history, science, poetry, and literature in a rather narrow, but more popular sense? Does philosophy

play any part in all that vast domain, and, if so, what and how? This, too, may be either chronologically modern, or qualitatively such. Several years ago I heard of a history of the Church which was said to be out of date when it came from the press. The principle of interpretation and method of study were such that, although it was a modern expression of the printer's art, it really belonged among the tomes of a century ago or more.

But let me gather up, now, some of the results of these several analyses and discussions that I may show at once the direction which the main line of my discourse is to take, lest you doubt the integrity of my thought and perhaps agree with the psychologist referred to a moment ago.

There is a vital relation, as it seems to me, which philosophy sustains to life, to our modern life, and, indeed, to what is concrete as well as to that which is of the nature of literature itself. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he", and we might add interpretatively, so does he act. We note the outward act and judge accordingly, but oftentimes we fail to appraise properly the thought which lay back of the act. For many reasons I should prefer to deal with the concrete aspects of our modern life, following out in detail the sequences of philosophic thought in the actual life that we live, but I suspect that I shall do better, if I deal more extensively with the thought side, touching here and there what is more concrete, and leave you to make applications of the main drift of my thought, as opportunity may afford and inclination may prompt you. With this, then, all too hasty glance at modern life by itself, let us turn to the part that philosophy actually plays within its limits.

The philosopher, I suspect, is more often contrasted with the scientist than with any other individual. The scientist's work is so patent, he himself is so much in evidence, and the results of his labors are so immediately

enjoyed by all that our modern world is ringing with his praise. We all know, of course, what the astronomer does. He turns his telescope upon the heavens at night, and not infrequently during the day, and so determines our calendar for us with mathematical exactness. He indicates for us the seasons, the phases of the moon, and when we may expect high and low tide, a matter of no little consequence, provided we live beside the "loud-sounding sea", to use an Homeric expression. The physicist, too, we know all about, or think we do. He spends his time in the midst of his laboratory, surrounded by weights and springs, electric bells, dynamos, mercury tubes, balopticons, and an almost endless list of devices shining with burnished brass and polished steel. He is responsible for the electric car and light, aeroplanes, submarines, great guns and bombs, to make life safe for ourselves and interesting for the other fellow. Yes, we all know about the physicist, and thank our stars, if not him, for all he has done for us in our modern world. We know, too, the chemist with his retorts and crucibles, cabalistic formulae, nerve-racking explosions, and offensive, if not defensive, odors. His word is law in gas attacks, and in the menus of high priced chefs. It is a very important function for which he is responsible in our modern life. So, too, with the biologist. He painlessly extracts the yowl from tabbie's throat and removes towser's bark by cutting off his tail close behind his ears, as Mark Twain suggested. The whole vegetable kingdom is ransacked for specimens, and the animal, too, and we are all politely invited to his museum to view the mortal remains of our ancestors from prehistoric days. 'And what shall I more say? For time would fail me to recount, even briefly, the function of the thousand and one scientists of the present day, each of whom is keenly alive to all the details of his particular field, and all of whom contribute so richly to the enlargement

of mind and comfort of body of every one of us. But what shall I, or can I say of the philosopher?

A popular view of the philosopher, I take it, is of a man who retires within the innermost recesses of his study, surrounds himself with a thick barrage of smoke, and just thinks. He sits loose to the things of sense, but is, perhaps, a past master in the intricacies of the fourth dimension of space. Life flows on for him like one eternal holiday, and if he ever does emerge from the clouds of his own making, and attempt to mingle in the affairs of men, his views are so impractical that he is speedily advised by real men to retire again to his pipe and nimbus. One such picture is given us by the late Professor Royce of Harvard, when he describes a typical Kantian student in his *Spirit of Modern Philosophy*. "The Kant devotee", he says, "never knows when to stop". When Royce himself was a student in Germany, he met "one of the most learned and many-sided of the new philosophical doctors of the day. . . He was a man who promised. . . almost everything; who wrote and published essays of remarkable breadth and skill, and who was especially noticeable for his wide range of work. Some years later, it unhappily occurred to him to begin printing a commentary on Kant's '*Critique of Pure Reason*'. He planned the commentary for completion in four volumes octavo. Of these four he published, not long afterwards, the first, a volume of several hundred large pages, wherein he deals with Kant's introductory chapter. Since then", Royce says, "my former acquaintance is lost. The final volumes of the commentary have never appeared, although he has now been at work upon them more than ten years. How many volumes will really be needed to complete the task, only the 'destroyer of delights and terminator of felicities', whom the Arabian Nights' tales always love to mention as they close, to wit, Death himself, will ever determine. The thorough stu-

dent of Kant is, so to speak, a Tannhäuser, close shut in his Venusberg? You hunt for him fruitlessly in all the outer world. Worse than Tannhäuser he is, for you can never get him out. Pilgrims' choruses chant, and waiting Elizabeths mourn for him, in vain". Such is a philosopher's picture of a philosopher, and I think you can see at once that it tallies quite well with the popular view. Have I not, then, undertaken an impossible task in attempting to present the function of a philosopher, or more exactly the function of philosophy, the product of the philosopher's weird mind, in the midst of our hurly-burly, practical, modern life? Let us see.

Spencer, to whom, perhaps we may say, all roads from the ancient world lead, and from whom, it may be, they all diverge, has said that if we wish to know anything about the past, we should observe carefully what is going on about us in the present, and then, making such accommodations as seem to be necessary, we can determine fairly accurately what was true in the past. This formula, I am inclined to believe, is susceptible of a converse application. If we want to know what is going on to-day, we should look back a bit into the past. Our vision of the present is too foreshortened. Sometimes a student can not give a satisfactory demonstration of a geometrical figure which he himself has placed upon the board, because he stands too close to it. The loom that is industriously eating up both warp and woof gives very little idea of the pattern which it weaves. We must unwind the roll, and there in the light of what has been done, catch the significance of what is going on right before our eyes. To appreciate what philosophy is doing to-day, we must glance, at any rate, at what it has done in the years gone by. It would be a wearisome task, however, both for you and for me, to go into this matter much in detail, but a few selected instances will, I hope, produce the

proper amount of assurance in your minds.

There was a type of thought worked out among the Greeks which we know technically as Stoicism. This took shape along in the third and fourth centuries B.C. It did not gain a very wide following among the Greeks, but at about the year 150 B.C. it was introduced to a select circle in Rome, and there, perhaps because of a certain temper of mind historically attributed to the Romans, it took root and flourished. This type of thought, good authorities maintain, was influential in alleviating the conditions of the slave class in a variety of ways. The masters and some of the emperors thought differently because of the Stoic philosophy, and this difference showed itself in their personal relations with the slaves and in legislation. One phase, too, of this Stoicism was an emphasis upon brotherhood, a feeling that became rather wide-spread in the ancient world, and, according to competent church historians, paved the way for the rapid spread of Christianity. This same type of thought, too, saturated some of the writings of Cicero and thus profoundly influenced the good Ambrose of Milan who wrote the first work on Christian ethics. Melancthon, who was Luther's right-hand man in the work of the Reformation, was also acquainted with the writings of Cicero, and in consequence he came to emphasize the concept of natural law, gaining in part thereby a rational harmonization of philosophical and Biblical teaching, while Grotius, the great Dutch scholar, admittedly the founder of modern international law, had this same Stoic philosophy, in part at any rate, as the basis of his thought. Philosophy does not often profoundly affect the age in which it takes shape, but if it has undeniable elements of truth in it, it will ultimately mould both the thoughts and lives of men. What I have just given is a real historical demonstration of this thesis. But let us approach the matter from another angle.

There can be no question, as a matter of history, that Greek philosophy, especially the type developed by Plato and Aristotle, together with not a little of Stoicism, furnished the form and part of the content of Christian theology as it took shape in the thought of Clement and Origen at Alexandria, and of others of the great leaders of the early Church, particularly Augustine, who was saturated with all types of philosophy known and used up to his own day. These men knew Greek thought; they also knew Hebrew, and what we may properly designate Christian thought. They combined these various, and in some respects incongruous, elements into the doctrines which the Church, both Catholic and Protestant in part alike maintain even to the present day. I am not concerned just now with the question as to whether this was wise or not. I am simply indicating what actually took place, so as to show what part philosophy played in the game of life in those early and rather exciting times. And what was true then, continued to be true throughout the succeeding centuries in a variety of ways. Prior to the year 1200, taking that date rather roughly, discussions with reference to nice theological questions made use of the philosophy of Plato, in so far as that was known, either in its original or neo-Platonic form. After the year 1200, the Aristotelian type of philosophy, introduced into Christian Europe by the Jews from educated Mohammedan circles was the instrument theologians used in discussions with one another, and with others who were less inclined than they to accept traditional practices and beliefs unquestioningly. And in the Renaissance and Reformation times some theologians of the Catholic church and of the various Protestant groups called to their aid, not only the philosophy which had itself become traditional, but also the various other types which, fashioned originally in Greece, were now introduced into western Europe

for the first time. I need to add, too, that those who were not distinctively theologians made considerably more use of this newer philosophy against the theologians than did the theologians themselves. And again, as I said once before, I am not concerned just now with the worth of this process. I am simply pointing out the part that has been played by philosophy in the past so as to gain an understanding of its function in the present.

We may also turn to quite another field, that of poetry and literature in general. Lucretius, in his *De Natura Rerum*, had a definite philosophical background which he expressed in poetic form, the view first worked out by Leucippus and Democritus and utilized by Epicurus. I am not saying anything about the quality of this poetry, whether it gives evidence of any divine afflatus or not. All that I am maintaining is that there was a definite influence of an earlier philosophy which guided the poet's thought. The same type of philosophy, although more specifically its ethical side, moulded the thought of the genial Roman poet, Horace, while Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius expressed in essay and aphoristic form much of the richest Stoic thought. Montaigne, too, in our modern world expressed his reflections upon life and the world in general in the form of essays, while the philosophical cast of some of Pope's poetic effusions is too well known hardly to need mention. There was a philosophical background for Goethe's "Faust" and Lessing's "Nathan der Weise", and Wordsworth's "Intimations of Immortality" ode is saturated with the philosophy of Plato. Coleridge, in part at any rate, popularized some of the aspects of Schelling's philosophy, as did our own Emerson, and one can not fail to appreciate the philosophy which breathes from Tennyson's "In Memoriam" and guided Browning into, if not through the intricacies of his thought. Literature, and in particular poetry, is shot through and through with philo-

sophy. I am not saying what the kind of philosophy is. Oftentimes there is a mixture. The poet aims to please. It is a thing of beauty, and sometimes a joy forever that he produces, and frequently—I presume I should not say "always"—there is a very definite world-view that he entertains, not infrequently in a theological or religious form—a view which holds his thought in thralldom, and which, saturated with emotion, he wishes to and does present to his fellowmen. If we are rather superficial in our study of poetry or literature in general, we may miss this. "If we wish to bring back the wealth of the Indies", said Emerson in one of his essays, "we must carry the wealth of the Indies with us". If we study the poets, essayists, novelists, and other litterateurs with a wealth of philosophy in mind, we generally find a philosophy there. Philosophy answers to philosophy, even though it may be different from what one oneself maintains. This at any rate would seem to have been true throughout the past.

Here, then, very hastily sketched, are some of the things philosophy has been doing in the past, and we may be very sure that it is doing the same to-day. Those of you who are especially well acquainted with the literature of our present day will, I am sure, bear me out in this contention. How frequently do we find reference to James, Bergson, Eucken, Royce, Nietzsche, Bradley, Dewey, and others of recent years, together with Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Berkeley, Locke, Hume, Leibniz, Descartes, and others of a century or more ago, while the leaders among ancient thinkers, as Plato, Aristotle, Democritus, Socrates, Parmenides, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, and not a few others contribute their special view-points to the currents of modern literature according to the taste, and erudition of the writer, and the availability of the views themselves! And when these men are not mentioned by name, the student train-

ed in philosophical lore can readily dissect the thought and assign to each earlier thinker the part he has actually played, at second or third hand, or more remotely still, in the productions of the present. And you can see at once, too, the problem as to whether the guiding views are qualitatively up to date, or whether they are merely chronologically a part of our modern life. This aspect of the whole matter, however, I do not care to deal with extensively just now, for there is another phase of our entire subject that has a superior claim upon our attention.

I am dealing particularly at this point in our discussion with the function of philosophy in modern life, and in addition to the suggestion just made of its influence upon all forms of literature, I wish to indicate that philosophy, properly interpreted, gives vision to life. "Where there is no vision", said the Hebrew wise man, "the people perish", a truth that is fully as pertinent to-day as when first expressed, and while I am in no sense inclined to urge that philosophy has a monopoly upon life-giving vision, I am profoundly convinced that that is no small part of its function in our present day life.

As I have already indicated, philosophy is frequently compared with the sciences, to the belittlement of the former and the aggrandizement of the latter. As my students, I am sure, would amply testify, I am no decrier of the sciences. Sometimes I fear that I bestow too much praise, if that is possible, upon them collectively and taken one by one. I believe profoundly in the sciences, both in what has already been achieved in the name of science and in the promise of future years. None the less, any science taken by itself may give us too narrow an outlook upon life. The continual use of the microscope may make us myopic. It is unquestionably most natural that we should interpret the world in terms of that which we know best. How could it be otherwise? We certainly could

not very well interpret the world by means of something else than our own consciousness. That would mean to turn our mind inside out, empty it of all content, and then proceed to interpret by means of the delightful vacuum we had thus obtained, a procedure sufficiently sapient to justify the popular conception of the philosopher. In what terms could we interpret the world, if we should not use our ordinary consciousness, if we should not make use of the experiences accumulated day by day in the field to which we give most of our time and our best thought activity? But if that content be simply mathematical formulae, chemical processes, physical abstractions, or biological specimens, each set taken by itself, would not the world-vision obtained be meager, one-sided, distorted, and wholly inadequate? Each kind of scientific work is good, in and of itself, and the uses to which it is put are productive of almost incalculable good, but if any such isolated and necessarily limited content of thought should be taken, as sometimes occurs, as the measure of the mind of man and the span of the universe, we need only point out exactly what has been done to make the fallacy apparent to all.

It is precisely at this point that philosophy, correctly appreciated, functions. The philosopher as such does not use the various kinds of mechanical apparatus which we find in the scientific laboratories, nor does he grub for facts as the scientists properly do. He is not, on the other hand, a despiser of facts. I yield to no man in my respect for facts. One fact delicately balanced by the chemist whose instruments can weigh to one ten thousandth part of a gram is worth a thousand tons of theory, if we can compare such incommensurables in this way. In fact there is no comparison at all. A single fact, however simple and apparently insignificant it may seem to be, will avail more in modern thought than all theories, provided any

or all of them contradict. I take off my hat to facts. Philosophers, however, are not engaged in the constant unremitting search for facts, no matter how reverential they may feel toward them. They appropriate facts as the scientists present them, but try to show them in their wider relations one to another. The rather trite saying that we "do not see the woods for the trees" very adequately expresses the plight of some scientists and the function of the philosopher. The philosopher does not deny the existence of the trees, but he does not stand spell-bound before any one of them. He sees them in their relation to one another. It is the universe in its boundlessness and wholeness which especially commands his attention and arouses all his enthusiasm. Said Tennyson,
 "Flower in the crannied wall,
 I pluck you out of the crannies,
 I hold you here root and all in my hand.
 Little flower, but if I could understand,
 What you are, root and all, and all in all,
 I should know what God and man is."

The interrelatedness of things, as the philosopher views them, is here presented in poetic form, and, indeed, not out of harmony with a fundamental view entertained by the scientist. Thomson, in his *Introduction to Science* names four characteristics of the "scientific mood", namely, "a passion for facts", "cautiousness of statement", "clearness of vision", and a "sense of the interrelatedness of things". At this point, however, the scientist is not so strictly such, but partakes of the attitude of mind and fundamental character of the philosopher. Here science and philosophy meet; the lion and the lamb lie peacefully down together. Not a little confusion, vagueness, and carping criticism would vanish like fog before the noon-day sun, if these two fields of thought could be viewed rather generally in this way. Science and philosophy are not necessarily antagonistic. Each has its proper function. The former stresses facts, but makes a large use of theory; the latter emphasizes

theory in the sense of giving wide-ranging, inspiring views of things in their interrelatedness, but in no sense despises facts. The two are not in any true sense in opposition to each other. Rather, each is the complement of the other.

As an illustration of what I mean, and to show how the sciences contribute to philosophy and how philosophy co-ordinates and envisages the results obtained from these various sources, I wish to present briefly an inspiring view which has been slowly taking shape in one of my classes this year.* The astronomer tells us of certain patches in the vast expanse of the heavens which, though all aglow, seem to be different from those concentrations of light which we all recognize as stars or suns. These patches are known as nebulae, and the thought entertained by some to-day is that there is the great laboratory in which what we know as matter comes into being. Not from nothing, indeed, but in consequence of the slow condensation of those infinitesimal specks which are presumably electrons. The changes in this apparently blazing field are tremendously slow when measured in terms of our own movement around the sun, but changes with but little doubt are taking place there, and in consequence, according to some speculative astronomers, not single solar systems result, but systems of suns, in number beyond what we might readily imagine. In this process, slowly but surely the various atoms with which our chemists have busied themselves for many years, and which until recently were assumed to be the ultimate units of matter, take to themselves a definite form and structure. There are some eighty-two such atoms now known, of which the simplest, perhaps we can say, is the atom of hydrogen, built up out of from 1,700 to 2,000 little electrons, or units of electricity. Possibly many trials were made before the right number and proper arrangement of these little units were

secured to effect a permanent union. In such an atom as that of Uranium, stability does not yet seem to have been attained. It deliquesces in a sense, or better disintegrates, showing its instability, and thereby letting us into a secret of the universe which in all previous time had been a sealed book for men. But these little atoms, when once stabilized, tend to combine with one another into what we are accustomed to call molecules. They show definite preferences, and their union with one another constitutes the various substances with which we are all so familiar. But molecules, too, show preferences in ways other than those we know most about. There is a tendency for some of them to become agglutinated, or stuck together, in comparatively huge combinations, but unstable equilibrium. Of course, I am not attempting just now to deal with all the details, but these relatively huge combinations known as colloids, constitute the conditions out of which living things have come to be. There is an instability at this point, similar to that assumed in the genesis of the atoms and apparent in the degeneration of Uranium. Out of these apparently simple, but really decidedly complex conditions, both plants and animals have been born, the former essential to the latter, and the latter, in simple form, the condition for the complex, and so-called higher forms of the animals with which we are best acquainted, and man himself. But human beings, as well as animals, do not usually live isolated lives. Again we have an instability of relations, especially in the case of men, but a tendency always toward stability, as in the case of the atoms and molecules. At once we have a suggestive analogy for all the changing forms of the State. An eternal tendency toward stability, but ever and anon a deliquescence, a resolution back into the constituent

*I have developed a similar line of thought in an article entitled "A New Content Course in Philosophy" in *The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods* for July 15, 1920.

elements, but only as the basis for a new combination. As we look back over human history, is not this what we find, if we do not dwell too much upon the details of the process? A constant combination of more or less heterogeneous human units into States, only to be resolved back into their heterogeneity, but to be knit up again into a new agglomeration, always growing, always struggling, until in these latter days, the fair vision of a World-State rounds itself before our more or less astonished gaze. And coincident with this, in part a cause, and in part dealing with other matters, we have similar combinations within the thought-world itself. Just think but for a moment of the gigantic world-views which from early times have been taking shape within human minds! We call them systems of philosophy, and we do well, but from another angle they are agglomerations of thoughts approximating to an adequate interpretation of the entire world. Some of these agglomerations become fixed, and those who adhere rigidly to them, believe them, and refuse to admit any flaw or inadequacy in them are the more conservative, orthodox people in any community, while those in whose minds the fixity is not so pronounced, whose thoughts are more fluid, are the more progressive, less orthodox people. They are continually obtaining new material, and this that is new upsets the old, new combinations have to be made, and ever and anon they approximate more closely to a really adequate interpretation of the universe in its entirety. And this, we may really think, will continue until all the data are rounded up, until there are no more data to upset the equilibrium and the final interpretation of the world shall have been obtained. But that time is not yet. It lies very far indeed in the future. I am only suggesting a State development and a thought development parallel with what the scientists are to-day telling us about the physical constitution of matter and the genesis of life here upon our planet.

There is also still another way that I not infrequently use to illustrate the vision which philosophy gives. It is in part parallel with, in part subordinate to what I have just given, and also in a true sense superior to and indeed the guiding principle in part of the development I have just sketched. It runs somewhat as follows: If we look far back along the line of what we call evolution, we find very simple animals without fixed forms and without any nervous system or brain. I mean, of course, the amoeba. Such creatures quite largely adjust themselves to their environment. This is their major life-problem. As we consider, however, the slowly ascending course of development with its growing complexity of structure and the definiteness of function of the multiplying parts, we discern sooner or later a change in what we might call the purpose or ideal of the process. Not simply adjustment to environment, but a readjustment of that environment to meet the developing needs of the organism. Especially does this thought take shape in my own mind when I fix my attention upon the genesis and development of the nervous system and brain. What a marvellous differentiation do we find here from the original, simple, or perhaps not so simple, protoplasm! This would seem to be the most wonderful form that matter in its various transformations, has yet assumed. Perhaps, in and of itself, it is the limit of such transformations, but not by any means have we reached the limit of the permutations and combinations which the little neurones, the units of that nervous system and brain, may attain. But the point that I particularly wish to bring out is that this marvellous structure, when we take an end-for-end survey of the entire evolutionary process, may truly be regarded as an instrument, born of Nature herself, by means of which Nature may transform herself. Perhaps Nature—and I am not stressing the rather apparent personification of the term—reached her limit with the construction

of the world and the development of what we are pleased to call the animal kingdom and the physical self of every one of us, including the nervous system and brain. But this same nervous system, and in particular the brain, succeeds, as I have already suggested, not simply in adjusting the possessor to his environment but tends to change that environment and so to modify, and, indeed, to transform Nature herself. A little mud or clay in the shape of bricks, when baked in the sun or in a kiln and then piled one upon another, make our huge sky-scrapers and the houses in which we live. We level hills and fill up the valleys; we tunnel under mountains and bridge yawning chasms; we cut continents asunder by the Panama Canal; we dam streams and make the imprisoned waters turn our turbines, send our messages half around the globe, and heat our homes. We use our brains to produce the Percheron and the swift racehorse, the best beef and the most succulent fruits and nourishing vegetables. Nature began the work, gave us the hint, showed us how in part, and we, making use of this marvellous instrument, her most wonderful gift to us, improve upon her in part, carry on the work to a completion, which Nature herself, perhaps, could never attain. Completion did I say? Yes, but that time is not yet. Really we are only at the beginning. "Eye hath not seen, neither hath it entered into the mind of man" to determine accurately what transformations Nature will be subjected to, as the years come and go, by means of the brain of man, her offspring, but we may reasonably anticipate that they will be many, varied, and far-reaching. The scientist works this out in detail; the philosopher sketches it for you in as glowing terms as he can command.

One more point, and I shall be done with this part of our evening's program. It is a very complex modern life in the midst of which we live, as I have, perhaps all too hastily, sketched. There are many contending and competing forces, cross currents of

thought, and opposed interpretations of life. Philosophy, when we really make earnest with it, when we let it saturate our whole life and take it as our guide, gives us a calm, untroubled outlook. We look both before and after. We have both the past and present clearly envisaged, and we speculate about the future unafraid. We penetrate beneath the superficial aspects of things; we know that what has been will be, with modifications here and there. The present always grows out of the past and the future in like-manner out of the present. Humanity tugs at its leash. Like the great leviathan it lashes the depths and churns the waters into whirlpools. Sun-bursts of brilliant political ideas flash before the mind. Utopias are piled high upon Utopias like Pelion on Ossa, and transformations of mankind with startling rapidity are freely predicted on every hand, like Mr. Bryan's million men springing over night to Uncle Sam's aid, and in like manner they do not eventuate. Social inertia is a factor with which we must deal, although I think that I temperamentally would be the last to throw cold water upon social aspirations and to turn bright pictures of the future into the cold drab of common, everyday life. But the philosopher must report what he finds, and one of the profoundest interpretations of life, furnished by the historian and appropriated by the philosopher, is that of social continuity. What has been will be, with modifications here and there. And this is not really out of harmony with what I said a few minutes ago. There I called attention to the transformations which Nature herself is likely to undergo by reason of her offspring, the human brain. I did not stress then the time element. Transformations are bound to come, but they will come slowly, all too slowly to satisfy the more impatient elements of our social whole.

What I mean by all this must be patent to every one. No one can familiarize himself with world conditions to-day without appreciating the

tremendous social unrest. From the shores washed by the Yellow Sea to the foothills of the Himalyas; from Behring Strait and Archangle to the Bosphorus and Gibraltar; from the Atlantic to the Pacific here in our own land, and from beyond the Canadian border to Mexico and farther south there is intellectual turmoil, social dissatisfaction, and vivid hopes of a more or less immediate Utopia in succession to the present conditions declared to be intolerable. Socialism and Anarchism, I.W.W.ism, Bolshevism, and Syndicalism, to say nothing of other minor 'ism's'. What shall we say? What I wish to say is this. All such movements are but the expression of a fundamental opposition between the individual consciousness and the social consciousness. Throughout the past there have been many such social and intellectual upheavals. From my point of view such oppositions constitute one of the fundamental reasons for human progress. Without new centers developing in opposition to the old, stagnation is the fate of any society or community. We may not, however, expect complete transformations of human society within even fairly wide limits of time. Christianity began, in some respects, like Socialism. Notice I am not saying in every respect. There are real points of likeness, but many points of unlikeness. It did, however, constitute a real opposition between the consciousness of a few and the social consciousness of the old Greco-Roman world. After 2,000 years, Christianity numbers about 500,000,000, or about one-third of the total population of the world. Notice again, I am not saying anything in regard to the value of the movement. Professor Giddings in his *Principles of Sociology* calls it "the most tremendous power in history" and yet after about 2,000 years there are approximately 1,000,000,000 people in the world whom it has not reached. Buddhism was a similar movement, beginning as an opposition to the social con-

sciousness and spreading rapidly, but ultimately it has disappeared from the land that gave it birth. Similarly, too, there is Mohammedanism, which arose rapidly, spread with tremendous vigor over Asia Minor, Persia, North Africa, and even up into Spain, but it did not reach the limits which some of its enthusiastic leaders staked out for it. I realize full well that there are many differences between these movements and the social movements of to-day, but none the less familiarity with them does tend to check any superabounding confidence in the rapid transformation of humanity by means of any one or all of them, while at the same time it should dispel fears as to the consequences which our social fabric will experience by reason of them. Changes will come; changes ought to come. Society is far from being perfect, but the philosopher is not easily stampeded. He sees all, but he is not over-enthusiastic, nor is he afraid.

And now I suspect that some of you are curious to know whether the philosopher is a radical or a conservative, if you have not already guessed, and, speaking for myself, I shall take pleasure in enlightening you. I am a radical. Perhaps you never suspected it. Please take a good look at me. We hear a great deal about radicals to-day, but there isn't always such a frank confession. I am a radical, but only so far as sound thinking will permit me to be. But notice, please, I assert with equal candor and positiveness that I am a conservative. Please take another good look at me. I am a conservative, a hide-bound conservative, an admission that few college professors would be inclined to make. But I am such just so far as and no farther than sound thinking will permit me to be. And now I think I note a look of disgust on your faces and perhaps you are saying to yourselves, "Oh yes! It's just as we thought. The philosopher is nothing but a hybrid, a common, ordinary mongrel", or else you raise the question, "Whose thinking? If you are a

radical and also a conservative, so far as sound thinking will permit you to be, Whose thinking?" And my reply, very naturally is, "My own thinking. Whose else should I use?" I confess again that I find myself limited in just this way. Of course, if I could take my head off and just place it upon your shoulders.... But, no, I won't suggest any such imposition. This head of mine has been upon my shoulders, Lo! these many years. It has gotten me into several difficulties, and delivered me, too, from not a few. But I wouldn't for the world wish it upon you. But let me begin again. Suppose your heads were placed upon my shoulders? But what a hydra-headed monster I would then be, without, of course, any implied disparagement. It is simply the multiplicity of heads that would then cause me embarrassment. Of course I might appropriate your heads one at a time, but think, then, of the variety of opinions I should be responsible for! The proverbial weather-cock would be entirely out-classed. But, of course, all this is absurd. I must use my own head-piece, and you yours. Emerson, in one of his essays says, "There comes a time in the education of every individual when he arrives at the conclusion that envy is ignorance, imitation suicide; that he must take himself for better or worse through life; that though the whole universe may be filled with good, not one kernel of nourishing corn will come to him, save through his own efforts, diligently bestowed upon that little plot of ground given him to till", and Emerson was a philosopher, more or less. No. However much I might care to use your minds, collectively or individually, and however much better that might be for me; and however much you might care to use my mind, assuming for the sake of the argument that you might so desire, in the last analysis you and I must do our own thinking. Your thinking may make you out-and-out radicals, or it may make you conservatives of the conser-

vatives, but as for me, as I have already indicated, this ancient headpiece which adorns, or at any rate surmounts this particular mass of humanity now standing before you, has ordained that I should be neither radical nor conservative in a strict sense, but really both to the extent that sound thinking, that is its own thinking will permit, and all that I can say is summed up in the East Indian parlance as "Kismet".

And now I want to deal rather briefly with another aspect of our entire topic. As stated at the beginning, we are considering "Philosophy as a Function of Modern Life", but, thus far, it has been the ordinary interpretation of the term "Function" which has been at the front. I have been indicating in a sketchy way what philosophy has done in the past and what, presumably, it is actually doing at the present day. There is, however, another side to the whole matter. In mathematics, x square may not be merely an active factor, increasing the value of y by means of the process of multiplication, but its own value is dependent upon the value of x . If x equals 2, then x square equals 4, but if x equals 6, then x square has the value of 36. X square or any power of x is said to be a function of x , in the sense that its value is determined by x . This is more of a passive aspect of any power of x . Somewhat in the same way, although I would not insist very strongly upon this analogy, philosophy may be said to be determined by the period in which it takes shape. Not only does philosophy mould men's thoughts and actions, as we have seen, give vision to life, and tend to steady us when in the maelstrom of conflicting social hopes, aspirations, and cross currents of thoughts, but it itself is moulded, modified, fashioned and refashioned by the accumulating material from age to age and the so-called logic of events. I may not, at this stage in our entire discussion, treat this matter exhaustively, but I do want to make a few suggestions for the sake of completeness. The philosopher is never satisfied un-

less he can see all around his subject, unless he is permitted to treat it from several angles, and so give an air of finality to all that he touches, although no one knows better than he how inadequate and interminable are his discussions of the various topics which thoroughly interest him.

Now, to make this matter plain and to get the proper background so dear to the philosophic mind, I must take you back again, although but for a moment, to the days of the ancient Greeks, and, indeed, to the time of Pericles in Athens, which has been called the "Milky Way of great men". That was a time of great intellectual activity, as well as of political opportunity. The great cosmologists had done their utmost in the preceding period to solve the fundamental problems of the universe. The rising generation wanted knowledge and the Sophists appeared to satisfy that desire. They presented their thought, however, largely according to the desire. Argumentation, debate, and oratory were especially in demand. The Sophists selected from the earlier thought what would best meet the expressed need. Their philosophy, in so far as they had any, was the outgrowth of the conditions in the midst of which they lived; it was determined by their environment. Somewhat the same we have to say when we turn our attention to Alexandria and consider the conditions out of which the so-called neo-Platonism sprang. The different types of thought which had originated in Greece in the earlier centuries had been transplanted one by one to this new intellectual center. There, too, streams of influence from the Orient converged. Out of these two sources, in the main, although there was undoubtedly more Greek than Oriental thought in the mixture, there took shape that last attempt of ancient times to give a well-rounded and final interpretation of the world in its entirety. There are those who think this the ripest thought ever struck out with-

in the limits of our western world, barring none. At any rate, it has exercised a profound influence upon the course of philosophy and theology throughout the last sixteen or seventeen centuries, and its potency has by no means entirely disappeared. I am not concerned, however, at this point with a critical evaluation of this system. I am simply calling attention to the fact that no complete system of thought springs fully formed from any mind, no matter how much emphasis we may lay, as is so frequently done, upon the individualistic character of philosophy. Religion is frequently contrasted with philosophy as social, while the latter is said to be individualistic. There is not a little truth in this way of viewing these two subjects. Religion does function particularly in connection with the social consciousness, while philosophy represents the individual consciousness. None the less, philosophy is not born from pure imagination, as is, perhaps, popularly believed, but is due to many currents of thought crossing and re-crossing in any particular age.

This same thought, too, finds illustration in our modern world. Hegel, who is regarded by many competent students as one of the four or five greatest thinkers that our western world has produced, was very much influenced by the conception of the ancient State, when he was casting about in his own mind for a model in connection with his own writings. He was also deeply impressed with the individualism which was at the front in some of the modern interpretations of the State. Back and forth his mind pendulated between these opposed views. For a while he could not decide which to choose as basal for his own work. Ultimately, however, the excesses of the French Revolution turned him away from mere individualism, and for himself he developed a kind of combination of the two. Now, the point that I am emphasizing is that social movements, influences arising

out of the life of any particular period, have a decided effect upon even so detached a subject as philosophy. The form that it assumes is not dictated simply by the peculiar genius of the thinker, but is due in no small measure to the influences of the immediate environment. The same is true of recent works. One may not read Bergson, who, perhaps, has made more of a philosophical splash than any other writer in these latter days, unless it be the late William James of Harvard, without noting the profound influence of our modern sciences, especially biology, on his thought. The core of his system is the neo-Platonism referred to but a moment ago, but the modifications due to modern biology, psychology, and not a few of the other sciences are very evident. It is this same modification of philosophic thought, too, by reason of the more recent contributions of the sciences that runs all through this address that I am presenting to you. And what philosopher, indeed, in the years immediately before us, or even for very many years to come can develop his well-rounded scheme of things without showing, here and there at least, some influences from the Great Struggle through which we have just come? Philosophy does indeed mould the thoughts and lives of men, but it is also moulded and fashioned by the events and the accumulated knowledge of any particular period.

And now I wish to recur briefly to a thought with which I began. I suggested then the distinction between what is qualitatively modern and what is only chronologically modern. If we make a cross-section of our present day civilized, cultural world, we find many systems and types of philosophy.

Many of them have come down to us from ancient times and are but little touched by the currents of modern thought, especially by our present scientific knowledge. This may not be altogether a fault. When we carefully analyze the world to-day, analyze it as rigorously as did some of the ancients, perhaps we shall find that we can not get any better interpretations than were worked out in that earlier period. I am ready to admit this possibility, but I must frankly confess that I do not believe it. The data which our indefatigable scientists have heaped almost mountain high makes a profound impression upon me. I must confess, as I have hinted more than once, that a different type of philosophy is demanded by the present for both the present and the future. This is what I believe we could properly characterize as qualitatively modern, and it is this that I have attempted to interweave suggestively in this address.

And now we are through. I have tried to present, sketchily it is true, some of the outstanding features of modern life, both from the angle of the concrete and the angle of intellectual activity; I have indicated some of the things philosophy has actually accomplished in the past, and I have dwelt upon the vision which philosophy provides and the steadiness of outlook it gives in the midst of intellectual turmoil and social unrest. I have also barely suggested the important moulding influence of any age upon its deepest philosophic thought, and the qualitatively modern character of those all-embracing views which are born from our present day scientific thought. More than this, I suspect, I could not very well do within the limits of the time at my disposal.

What the Conference Did for China

By W. W. WILLOUGHBY

I am glad to respond to the suggestion of the Editor of the *Chinese Students' Monthly* that I should make a brief statement of what the Chinese Delegation obtained for China at the recent Washington Conference. Because the statement must be brief, I shall be obliged to summarize these results without any considerable discussion or explanation of them.

It is doubtless true that China did not obtain all she would have liked to obtain, or all that her friends hoped she would secure. None of the Powers represented at the Conference did that,—not even the most powerful of them. But it is certain that China obtained all, and possibly more, than it was reasonable to expect that, under the existing circumstances, she would be able to obtain. The Conference was one of sovereign States. It was called to promote peace and not to bring controversies to an acute issue. It was therefore impossible for any of the Powers to obtain action except with regard to matters upon which a unanimous agreement could be reached. It was hoped that, at the Conference, the Powers would exhibit an intelligent cooperation and, by making mutual concessions, create a situation in the Pacific and Far East that would be of mutual advantage to them all. But it was too much to expect that the nations would suddenly free themselves from all selfish and purely nationalistic aims, and no one, therefore, looked forward to results than would be wholly dictated by altruism and enlightened humanitarianism. It is furthermore to be observed that though upon its political side, the Conference devoted itself almost exclusively to a consideration of problems of China, it had not been called primarily for that purpose.

Its primary purpose was to clear up the general political situation in the Pacific and Far East so as to render less likely, in the future, international controversies or possible wars. It was only as incidental to this end, that China's problems were involved. In other words, it was only in so far as the rehabilitation of China as an autonomous Power with a stable and efficient government was conceived to be a condition precedent to a correction of the general political situation in the Far East, that the Conference was under obligation or necessity to give any attention whatever to China's case. This fact is to be steadily borne in mind in considering what China had a right to expect from the Conference.

In a communication to last November's issue of the *Monthly*, the writer called attention to the fact that it was China's great good fortune that she was able to approach the council table with no acts of aggression of her own toward other friendly Powers which needed to be explained or defended, and that she would appear as a petitioner for the recognition of principles which would be not only just in themselves but of benefit to all the Powers, and, if consistently followed, promotive of international peace and good will. In another respect, however, China was very unfortunately circumstanced at Washington. This was due to the fact that, for several years, there had been disorder in her own household, that some of her administrative services had been notoriously ineffective, that her armies had not been under adequate control by civil authorities, and that there were a number of her provinces which had openly refused to recognize the legitimacy of the Government at Peking whose Delegates were at the

Conference, and had given their nominal allegiance to an organization with headquarters at Canton which claimed to be the only government of China with a constitutional status. To make matters still worse for the Chinese Delegation at Washington, just before the opening of the Conference, the Peking Government had been obliged to make default upon certain of its foreign loans.

The foregoing facts lay in the minds of the Delegates of all of the Powers represented at the Conference, and necessarily influenced their policies. They were facts from the influence of which the Chinese Delegation could not hope to escape. Indeed, it is well known that, because of them, China came to the Conference with anxious fears as well as with eager hopes. There was ever-present in the minds of her public men the apprehension lest the Powers, when assembled in conference, should deem it desirable, and seize the opportunity by common agreement, to improve conditions in China by the imposition upon her of additional forms of administrative control instead of waiting for the perhaps slower processes of autonomous political development.

It was, therefore, a very great victory for China when the Powers were led, at the very beginning of the Conference, to declare their firm intention to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China; to provide for her the fullest opportunity to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government; and to refrain from taking advantage of existing conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

Under the guidance of these principles, the Powers abstained throughout the Conference from attempting to create Boards or Commissions or other bodies which should function in China without China's consent or which, in

any case, would have legislative, executive or administrative powers. Thus the Tariff Revision Commission, which is to meet at Shanghai, has only the function of revising tariff valuations so as to increase China's revenues; the Special Conference which is to be convened, is to have for its function the preparation of the way for the speedy abolition of Likin—a result desired by China—and for the fulfilment of other conditions whereby China may be enabled to obtain a greatly increased return from her maritime customs;¹ the Extraterritorial Commission is organized to inquire into the present practice of extraterritorial rights in China, and into the laws and judicial administration of China in order that it may make recommendations—but recommendations only—as to the means whereby existing conditions of the administration of justice in China may be so improved as to warrant the Powers in progressively or otherwise relinquishing their extraterritorial rights. It is expressly declared that the Chinese Government shall have the right to appoint a representative to sit as a member of this Commission, and that China is to be deemed free to accept or reject any or all of the recommendations of the Commission. The Board of Reference, which is provided for by one of the Resolutions adopted by the Conference, for dealing with questions arising in connection with Open Door provisions (Articles III and V) of the "Nine Power Treaty Relating to Principles and Policies to be Followed in Matters Concerning China" has only powers of investigation and report, and these powers it may exercise, not upon its own initiative, but only as to matters that may be referred to it.

It was at one time suggested in the Conference that the Powers should establish some sort of Board or Commission authorized to make a general inquiry into conditions of law and order in China in order to determine whether or not certain of the Powers

¹ This Special Conference has also been authorized to suggest a detailed plan for the Board of Reference, presently to be mentioned.

were justified in maintaining their troops in China, but, at the suggestion of the Chinese Delegation, this proposal was changed so as to provide merely that, if and when China should so request, the representatives of the Powers at Peking might, in association with three representatives of the Chinese Government, make such an inquiry as regards not of all of China but as to troops maintained in particular localities.

As regards the railways of China the Powers placed themselves upon record, as expressed in a formal resolution, that it was their hope that the future development of Chinese railways would be conducted as to enable the Chinese Government to effect their unification into a single system under Chinese control with such foreign financial and technical assistance as might be necessary in the interests of the system, it of course being understood that the Chinese Government should determine when this financial or technical assistance should be asked for, and what its character should be. Even with regard to the Chinese Eastern Railway the Conference forbore to disregard the wishes of the Chinese representatives upon the technical committee that was asked to report upon the road's future status, and contented itself with merely declaring that it was desirable that better protection should be given to the railway and to those using it, that it should be more efficiently operated, and that China would be held responsible for the obligations to foreign creditors of the road resulting from the contracts under which the road had been built and the action of China thereunder.

Despite, then, the undeniable breakdown of the authority of the Central Government of China, despite the fact that it had been obliged to make default upon certain of its foreign debts, despite the fact that there was in the south of China a political party and political organization which denied, *in toto* the legitimacy of the Peking Government itself, China came from the Conference not only without any new administrative or other limitations

upon its autonomous powers, but with the formal and unqualified assurance that the Powers would not take any advantage of existing conditions to impose any new restraints upon her freedom of action. This highly desirable result China owed to the unremitting vigilance of her Delegates, aided, it may be added, by the manifest good will of the United States. The members of the American Delegation upon more than one occasion went almost out of their way to place upon the record statements that not only had their influence in the Conference itself, but which can be referred to if, in the future, China should be threatened with foreign interference or control.

Turning now to the affirmative work of the Conference it is seen that China obtained the following substantial benefits.

China is to have an immediate revision of tariff valuations so as to be able to collect an effective five per cent. upon her imports, thereby being able, it is estimated, to increase her revenue by \$17,000,000 silver. By means of steps to be arranged for by a Special Conference, she is to be allowed to levy a surtax which should yield an additional \$27,000,000 silver, and a further surtax on luxuries which will yield something over \$2,000,000 silver. Also, when the work of the Special Conference is completed and the abolition of Likin effected, the additional revenue to be secured by China from her maritime customs, it is calculated, will amount to \$156,000,000.

A Commission is to be appointed which is to report within a year as to the steps to be taken in the future whereby China may be aided to effect such legislative and judicial reforms, in addition to those already achieved, as will warrant the Powers in relinquishing, progressively or otherwise, their respective rights of extraterritoriality in China.

All foreign post-offices in China are to be removed by the end of the current year, and, pending this removal, the Powers concerned are pledged to afford full facilities to the Chinese

customs authorities to examine all postal matter except ordinary letters with a view to determining whether or not they contain dutiable or contraband goods. Thus China will be able not only to prevent frauds upon her customs revenues, but to check what, in the past, has been a great evil, the introduction into China, through the Japanese parcels posts, of great amounts of morphine.

It is provided that China can, at any time that she wishes to do so, obtain from the representatives of the Powers at Peking an inquiry as to whether there is justification for the retaining upon her soil of foreign troops or police.

Radio stations installed in China without the express consent of her Government, are to be removed or sold at a fair valuation to China, with however, the proviso that questions as to the removal of stations in leased areas, in the South Manchuria Railway zones or the French Settlement at Shanghai are to be discussed with the Powers concerned.

A further resolution of the Conference which will undoubtedly redound to the great advantage of China, is that the Powers are to supply and make public lists of all treaties, conventions, exchange of notes and other agreements which they claim to have with China or with any other Power or Powers in relation to China which they deem to be in force and upon which they desire to rely. They are also pledged similarly to supply lists as nearly complete as may be possible of all contracts between their nationals on the one part and the Chinese Government or any of its administrative subdivisions or local authorities, on the other part, which involve any concession, franchise, option or preference with respect to railway construction, mining, forestry, navigation, river conservancy, harbor works, reclamation, electrical communications, or other public works or public services, or for the sale of arms or munitions, or which involve a lien upon any of the public revenues or properties of the Chinese Government or of any of its administrative sub-divisions.

Finally, in connection with it technically in the Conference, China won an almost complete victory in the Shantung controversy, and, as a result of the Four Power Pact between the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan, is relieved from what she has justly deemed the threatening possibilities of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Though not a party to this Alliance, China objected to it as in derogation of her dignity as a sovereign State insofar as the two Parties to it recognized or claimed special interests within her own territory, and dangerous to her safety in that these Powers agreed to consider in common the measures to be taken to safeguard those rights or interests. That China was justified in not being reassured by the declaration of the Alliance that her own independence and integrity were to be preserved is evident when one considers that although Korea's sovereignty and independence had been similarly guaranteed by the Alliance in its first form, that unfortunate country three years later passed under the administrative control of Japan and, five years later, was annexed by that country and incorporated into its empire. That China had formally protested to the British Government the renewal of the Alliance is well known.

Limitations of space will not permit even a summary of the terms upon which were settled the many matters involved in the surrender by Japan to China of the Leased Area of Kiaochow and the other properties and rights held by the Japanese in Shantung. It is sufficient to say that the amounts which China is to pay for the Tsingtao-Tsinan Railway and other public properties is a reasonable one—in the case of the Railway an especially reasonable one—and Japan retains in Shantung no special rights whatever save to nominate for appointment by the Chinese Government a Traffic Manager and Chief Accountant for the railway. And, even as to these officials, the right of appointment comes to an end when China redeems the treasury notes issued in payment for the road, a right

of redemption which China has at the end of five years. Furthermore, these two officials are explicitly declared to be subject to the "direction, control and supervision of the Chinese Managing Director, and removable for cause." Not only this, but, as is so well shown in the letter of Mr. John E. Baker, quoted in the last issue of the *Monthly*, the conditions under which the railway will be operated as one of the Chinese Government Railways, will be such as will make it impossible for these two employees of Japanese nationality to exercise a control of railway operations that will be prejudicial to Chinese interests—provided, of course, the Chinese authorities make intelligent and energetic use of the administrative powers which they possess.

In addition to the foregoing specific items of relief which China obtained either in, or in connection with, the Conference, are to added the emphatic statements of Principles and Policies which, in the Nine Power Treaty, the Powers have pledged themselves to recognize and pursue in the future in all their relations with China. Much will naturally depend upon the good faith with which these promises are carried out, but there is no good reason for supposing that they will not be so observed. If this proves true, the general political situation in the Pacific and Far East, and especially as regards China, will be a much better one than it has been in the past.

The claims of certain of the Powers to what have been termed Spheres of Interest in China would seem to be a thing of the past. Japan, in particular, is so committed that it will practically be impossible for her with any show of right to claim in China generally, or in any particular regions of China, interests other than those based upon specific and valid agreements with China. The Open Door doctrine not only has received a careful definition but has, for the first time, been embodied in a treaty to which the nine Powers are signatory and to which the other Powers are expected to adhere. China's rights as a neutral are to be respected

in future wars to which she is not a party.

In result, then, China's rights as a member of the Family of Nations are so clearly defined, and her liberty of autonomous action so far increased, that she now has a fair opportunity to work out her own political salvation. Her future destiny is now largely in her own hands. Upon her rests the task of bringing her own household into order; of reducing her military forces to a reasonable number and bringing them into due subordination to the civil authorities; of creating and operating efficient administrative services; of purging her politics of corruption; and, in general, of establishing a stable Central Government which will command the respect and obedience of all of her millions of people. Especially must her patriotic leaders maintain unremitting vigilance that no commitments are made that will impose new restraints upon her freedom of action or which will sacrifice economic rights which should be retained for the exclusive benefit of her own citizens. Against the possibility of such improvident or disloyal action upon the part of her own Government or officials, no Conference of Powers could protect her except by denying to her the exercise of treaty and other rights which belong to her as a sovereign State and which, of course, she would not be willing to surrender.

In closing this article the writer cannot refrain from expressing his admiration of the manner in which the Chinese Delegates took jealous and successful care to place upon the records of the Conference, in clear and unmistakable terms, the principles which the Government of China asserts with regard to those matters concerning which full and immediate relief could not be obtained. An examination of these records shows that no concessions or admissions were made upon China's part which, in the future, can be brought forward to plague or to operate as an estoppel to her efforts to obtain, upon appropriate occasion, further and complete release from the

treaty bonds which still restrain the autonomous exercise of her powers, or relief from these violations of her territorial sovereign rights which, to a certain extent still oppress her.

The foregoing statement has had reference only to China. With regard generally to the Far Eastern situation it may be said that, though much bettered, it is one that still needs to be carefully watched by all the Powers concerned. It will undoubtedly be some years before China and Russia can protect themselves against force ruthlessly applied. Japan still remains in a position of actual power which will enable her to continue her political and

economic penetration of Eastern Asia. She still has the strength to repeat the acts of 1915 which brought upon her Government and people the universal censure of the civilized world. The fact that she was not willing at the Conference to surrender the most important of the spoils then obtained is not reassuring, but it is to be hoped that, as one of the results of the Conference, all of the Powers, including Japan, have become persuaded that international cooperation and the mutual respect by States of each other's rights and legitimate interests is preferable to the exercise of mere might, even when preponderantly possessed.

The Evolution of Chinese Education

By EMILY G. KEMP

“EVOLUTION” is the catchword of the modern world, though hotheads prefer “Revolution.”

Science has taught us that Nature in all its manifold forms is subject to ceaseless evolution, and that life itself is absolutely under its sway. Its processes are slow, but relentless and irrevocable. Impatient man is always trying to hurry on, he disregards the wisdom of natural processes: *festina lente* is a maxim he abhors.

For the last thirty years I have been watching with an ever-growing interest the educational changes in China, and venture to try and describe how these strike an outsider, and some of the thoughts evoked by them. In no other country has there existed so long and unbroken a chain of literary activity, and the education implied in this fact makes one approach the subject in a spirit of reverent admiration. The fact that two thousand five hundred years ago there was a written Chinese language, capable of expressing all the details of a highly organized civilization and of its thought, makes it quite certain that some part of the population must have been educated, although we have no account of how this was accomplished. By a splendid continuity of history, words and phrases from the songs of that period still live in the language of today.

The origin of schools in China is in so remote a past that no record of it is to be found. The schools were all voluntary for many centuries. The part played by Government was the standardizing of education by public examinations, which were the door to Government employment, all posts being filled by successful candidates. This system of examinations is thirteen cen-

turies old, and one naturally asks what was its real value? Many critics condemn it as quite futile, but that is surely a superficial judgment. The subjects taught were Chinese history, poetry, government and ethics—not a bad, though insufficient basis of education. One of the most important results of that education was that the national ideal of China, which the highest official and the meanest coolie treasure, may be summed up in two words “Learning and Morals.” No nation of today has any nobler ideal, in fact it is difficult to say of any modern nation what its ideal is, if it possesses one at all! Another important result of the system was an amazing industry and sense of the importance of life-long study. The foolish commonplace in my young days was “have you finished your education yet?” Such a question could not have been asked in China. Less important results of the system were marvellously trained memories and power of expression. In a recent address on present day poetry Clutton Brock, a well-known author and critic, advised the young poets to improve their work by studying carefully Chinese poetry.

No doubt the stagnation and lack of progress in Chinese education during the many centuries of the classical regime were due not only to the limitation of the subjects, but also in great part to the way in which they were treated. The eight-legged essay style was bound to produce pedants, and a meticulous scholarship was preferred to originality of thought. When all is said and done, it seems to me that there must be much in that classical literature which ought to be of value to the Chinese of today: its philosophy was

lofty, and the value of character held the first place. The integrity of the examination was always above reproach. I cannot understand so eminent an educationalist as Dr. Hawks Pott saying with regard to the attempt to combine study of the classics with a western education, "this makes it necessary for the student to spend a good many hours on his own language and literature in addition to acquiring Western learning." The burden is far too heavy, and is bound to result in a good deal of superficiality. . . . The door of real knowledge has been opened to him, and he can no longer spare the time or mental energy to secure what was a superficial acquirement of little real value."¹ Are there not some questionable statements here? For instance, "real knowledge" compared to "superficial acquirements"—superficiality being the main attribute to the old learning, and reality of the new is rather a sweeping statement.

How about the Confucian ethics, to take but one instance? The great Viceroy Chang Chih Tung epitomizes this learning in the following terms: "Confucian learning consists in the acquisition of extensive literature and the strict observance of what is right; in the profound and careful meditation of the old in order to understand the new; in the making of one's self the peer of heaven by means of perfect sincerity, and thus influencing men in all things for good."²

Surely it is of importance too for a man to study his own language, though I am well aware that in certain quarters the present day educationalist looks upon it with contempt. A Chinese student in England says that the boys were fined if heard to speak in their own tongue in the foreign school in China where he was educated. To throw away the heritage of the past is surely an act of folly, destroying good grain because it has a husk.

In a recent speech made in London by General Wang (returning from the Washington Conference) he said how greatly he had been struck, even in the

first few days of his visit to England, by the close knitting of the old and the new in our national life. To him this made a strong appeal. Sir Michael Sadler (one of our most eminent educationalists) puts it in the following terms to the Chinese student: "On a small scale Great Britain offers to him an epitome of the world-movement in ideas and of the struggle between new ideas and old traditions. Here he finds the chief centre of the commerce of the two hemispheres. Here the East and the West meet. Here the student is in the midst of the cross-currents of modern thought. And here he can watch the reaction of new ideas upon the organization of an old community, which for many centuries has shown the power of adapting itself to necessary change without severing itself from the wisdom of the past."

It is a misfortune that many Chinese who emigrate do not even teach their children their own language, and there is an increasing number of young Chinese who do not know their own language and who thereby lose one of the strongest links to patriotic feeling. To denationalize a man is a tragedy, if not a crime.

But to return to the changes in national education. The examination system was strengthened in the early days of the Manchu dynasty by the founding of government schools and public libraries by the Emperor Kang Hsi; and he ordered a revision of the school books; these were substantially the same all through the centuries. He even went so far as to introduce some science and art from the West, derived from the teaching of Jesuit missionaries.

The first steps in modernizing education in China were undertaken during the last century by missionaries of differing creed and nationalities; they also opened the door of knowledge to the womanhood of China. It was con-

¹"*The Emergency of China*," pp. 152-8. I have drawn much of the following outline from this valuable book.

²"*The Only Hope*," by Chang Chih Tung, pp. 64-5.

tact with the outer world that proved the necessary stimulus to reform. Following the war with France in 1884 and 1885, both mathematics and science were added to the curriculum for government examinations, but such an innovation was extraordinarily difficult on account of the ignorance of the examiners!

But the first serious change took place under the personal influence of the ill-fated Emperor, Kuang Hsü. He was filled with a passion for reform and was the centre of warring elements. He was himself a keen student of Western learning, and fully realized that it was time for a thorough change in the educational system. It was at this time that the antagonism became acute between the north and the south of China, and strangely enough it began with jealousy on intellectual grounds, the south being more advanced than the north.

The Emperor determined to put an end to the examination system in 1898, but merely succeeded in modifying it by the introduction of western science. It was only after the great Boxer outbreak that the Dowager Empress realized that further resistance to the tide of reform was useless, and in 1905 finally abolished the old Government Examination system.

Chang Chih Tung drew up a complete scheme for the new educational system, not only as regards universities, colleges and schools, but also with regard to the subjects to be taught and the methods to be adopted for the carrying out of the whole scheme. The immensity of the task is impossible to realize, but those who have seen the process cannot but admire the measure of success already attained and the prospects for the future. I remember visiting a government school at Tientsin in the early days and seeing the effort that had been made to provide suitable equipment; but what a pitiful lack of teachers there were to make use of it! In one class room there was a Japanese teaching in his own language a class of Chinese, who for

the most part did not understand a word he said, and only by free use of the blackboard could they tell what the subject was. Numbers of students went abroad and with varying success obtained the western knowledge, which is now flowing through the empire even to its furthest limits.

The thirst for knowledge is growing apace, and during the last decade the number of students of all ages has at least quadrupled. Universities and colleges have sprung up everywhere, and the Ministry of Education has since the Revolution made very great strides in national education. It is interesting to reflect on the fact that more than a thousand years B. C. there was already an education department in Chinese Government. Not only is the Government improving the system of education, but also the many missions are doing their utmost. The British societies are terribly handicapped by the effects of the war, which drained the nation financially, and now by increased taxation, make gifts for missionary enterprise at least four times as costly to the giver, while the value of the dollar still further adds to the difficulty.

American missions are happily free from this financial crisis, the war having had no such effect on the United States. They have pursued their educational policy with great generosity and vigor, and have had ample means at their disposal. Palatial schools and colleges are to be found in most of the provinces, and there is no lack of teachers. While one cannot but admire the beauty of these buildings and the generous lines on which they are devised, a fear creeps in lest the essentials of education may take a secondary place. In illustration of this I may quote from the description of the Rockefeller Foundation establishment in China, namely, the Peking Union Medical College,³ which is to be an example not only to China, but to the entire world. Whereas its main object

³ "The British Medical Journal," Nov. 5, 1921.

is to train medical students and nurses and to promote research work, there are only to be 235 beds in the hospital! In England a hospital of 1,000 beds is considered none too large to provide a training ground for a medical school, and practical knowledge of disease in its manifold form is considered at least as vital as a theoretical knowledge. The annual upkeep of the Peking Union Medical College is estimated at a million dollars, and no expense has been grudged to add to its beauty and perfection, so that doubtless there is some reason for the relatively small size of the hospital. The Chinese have already proved themselves such admirable doctors and surgeons that it is to be expected that before long they will take a leading place in this field of knowledge. As prejudice breaks down one hopes the medical schools in China will soon be thronged, while those who come to western universities should not be satisfied with less than the *very best*.

The very best is indeed the word which should characterize all such education, both in its motive and its attainment. Students do not always ask themselves what these are, and there is some diversity of opinion as to what they should be. One will say the aim of education is to succeed in obtaining position, fame, or wealth; another will consider that the most important thing is not to *obtain* but to *become*; to be-

come wise, good, helpful to humanity, powerful. Their view of education will determine the way they study. The most obvious defects in education in the West are superficiality, the want of exactitude, lack of purpose and tenacity, and lack of reflection. The tendency to cram—as a squirrel hides its food in a cache—instead of assimilate, is an almost universal failing, and nothing can atone for a lack of concentration. The Chinese are by nature so painstaking as well as able that they may well outstrip most, if not all, competitors; but they have much leeway to make up, and there is scope for all China's sons to promote the best type of education by qualifying as writers, teachers, doctors, etc.

The new spirit to be found in China among the student class is full of promise—its determination to share knowledge with women and with the poor, to give as well as to get, to undertake social service, and to espouse national causes are pledges of success in the future. These things can only come to perfect fruition if stimulated and controlled by a vital religion. The student class repudiated the act of the Republican government to create a state religion—Confucianism. The student is now confronted with the most momentous question—"What belief is to be the lodestar of my life?" and on the answer to that question the future of China will largely depend.

Home From Washington

HAYDN HAINES

THE Chinese delegation to the Washington Conference has come and gone home again. What are the delegates taking home with them to submit to the people of China? How did China fare in Washington?

To answer such questions, a measuring-stick or standard is necessary, a statement of aims or principles whose realization is essential to that readjustment of international relations in the Far East which must come before the region can be anything but an area of international friction and a menace to world peace. The statement of such a criterion for the accomplishments of the Washington Conference with respect to China is attempted tentatively in the three aims or principles below. It would be unreasonable to expect their complete realization in a single conference, but the shaken world could rightly demand some substantial progress toward their final accomplishment.

Three aims or bases of a Far Eastern settlement:

First, the restraint of future foreign aggression in Asia. This should include: (1) relief of Siberia from Japanese and other foreign intrigue and occupation; (2) relief of China from foreign pressure, intrigue, and privilege-seeking, in order that China may have a fair chance to work out its own domestic stability and institutions; and (3) at the same time, a continuing offer of legitimate foreign economic assistance, through such agencies as the International Consortium. (Foreign financiers in China are entitled to nothing except security of payment of principal and interest on loans, by means of joint foreign and Chinese audit of expenditures of such loans.)

Second, at the same time, assurance to Japan of the supplies of raw materials from the mainland of Asia which are necessary to the life of her national industries. This is important; once these supplies are assured by some international guarantee or through some international agency such as the Allied Economic Council which functioned during the War, the grain of reasonable excuse that underlies the Japanese policy of expansion in Asia is thereby removed, and all further Japanese expansion is undiluted imperialism and may be condemned as such by world opinion. This separation of legitimate needs from crude imperialism will render much easier the restraint of aggression called for in the First Aim.

Third, the redress of past foreign interference in Chinese affairs. This should include: (1) the redress of Violations of the Open Door policy and of Chinese integrity which have occurred since affirmations of the Open Door policy by all the powers in 1900 (including above all the cancellation of the treaties based on the Twenty-One Demands); and (2) the eventual withdrawal of all other foreign restrictions upon complete Chinese independence and autonomy—that is, foreign postoffices, extraterritoriality, customs control, foreign garrisons, foreign concessions and leased territories and monopolies not covered under (1).

(Note that the First and Second Aims relate to the future, and the Third Aim to the past.)

In the light of these fundamental bases of any permanent Far Eastern

settlement, examine now the work of the Washington Conference in relation to China.

First, let certain preliminary or minor matters be disposed of. The resolutions of the Conference relating to the withdrawal of foreign post-offices, the investigation of conditions of withdrawing extraterritoriality and foreign troops, and so on, are of slight practical importance to the Chinese people. The internal condition of the country hardly justifies a demand for immediate abolition of extraterritoriality, or even for withdrawal of foreign troops, wherever authorized by treaty. The resolution on publicity of agreements relating to China, so far as it relates to treaties between nations, adds little or nothing to the League of Nations Covenant, except for including the United States; and so far as it calls for publication of private contracts of foreigners with respect to China, "as nearly as possible," it is a joke.

The *Chinese Customs Treaty* (Nine-Power) however is hardly more important, for it retains foreign dictation of Chinese tariff rates, and merely authorizes an increase of Chinese revenue from this source, with periodic revisions in the future. The result is merely more funds for the "tuchuns" to squeeze out of the Peking Government. Yet China could not expect foreign powers with important trading interests in the country to choose the present time, of all times, to relinquish their control of the tariff, when China is torn among four or five rival generals and "governments". This political condition will probably render inoperative the provision for "immediate steps" toward the "speedy abolition of the likin", that curse of Chinese commerce.

Of the major results of the Conference, we may first dispose of the *Pacific Island Treaty* (Four-Power). In spite of the discussion provoked by this treaty in the United States, its importance to China is not great. It relates only to Pacific islands, in which China

has no concern unless with Hongkong and Formosa; it contains only mutual guarantees; and it calls only for conference in case of danger. The only disadvantage to China is apparently the possibility that the United States, if Japan behaves herself among the islands, will adopt a too complacent attitude toward Japanese actions on the mainland of Asia; but this may well be guarded against, for American interests in Asia are infinitely more important than American interests in the islands, possibly excepting the Philippines. On the whole, the Pacific Island Treaty seems a cheap price to pay for the abandonment of the troublesome Anglo-Japanese Alliance, as well as a useful experiment in international association.

Turn now to the *China Policy Treaty* (Nine-Power), which is the main statement of the Conference upon Chinese demands and problems. Article One contains the overadvertised four Root Resolutions, which in fact constitute merely a new, more specific and somewhat broader restatement of the Hay principle of the Open Door. There is no specific application of the principles, of course, and no provision affecting past violations of the Open Door; they are merely a charter of general pledges without any agency for enforcement. Such pledges the powers have given more than once in time past, without any appreciable effect upon their conduct.

Articles Three and Four provide the real substance of the treaty. They give a definite pledge that the foreign powers will not support their nationals in seeking, *in the future*, any sphere of influence or monopoly or special privilege in China, nor in seeking to appropriate the Chinese field among themselves. This strikes at the real evil of foreign aggression today, in a direct manner. Moreover in connection with Article Three goes the resolution of the Conference which establishes a Board of Reference in China "to provide a procedure for dealing with questions that may arise in connection with the

execution of the provision of Articles III and V". The Board will presumably consist of representatives of the Nine Powers, including China. Here, for the first time in the history of the Far East, is machinery provided for supervising the actions of the powers in China and for giving an authoritative decision as to whether in particular cases they are living up to their pledges. It is by no means a "supernational" government, but merely an agency by which all the powers may watch each power, with authority to report their findings to the world. It is a most hopeful step toward the prevention of future economic aggression in China, but it is well to remember that it is still a hope and not a fact, and that its efficacy depends ultimately on an enlightened and like-minded world opinion. The environment created for this timid bud by the Naval Limitation Treaty will hardly foster flourishing growth.

Article Five, prohibiting discrimination in railroad rates and facilities on all railroads in China, foreign-controlled as well as Chinese, is also under the supervision of the Board of Reference. Those acquainted with local conditions will not lack a suspicion that this section refers primarily to certain railroads under foreign control in China and Manchuria.

Article Six is merely a pledge to observe the neutrality of China, and no doubt can be broken as easily as the identical requirement of international law has been broken in the past. Article Seven calls for future conferences whenever the application of the treaty to a particular situation seems doubtful; it is of course essential that such conferences be held in the future if the general principles laid down are to have any efficacy at all.

Finally consider the *Naval and Fortifications Limitation Treaty* (Five-Power). Undoubtedly this has had a good effect in relieving the tension between Japan and the United States, although the mutual popular suspicion in both countries was based almost wholly on misapprehensions and

unjustified fears. The atmosphere is cleared now, with general benefit to the world including China. Nevertheless, the result of the treaty is to give Japan a freer hand than she ever had, except during the War, in China and Siberia—so far as security from physical interference by other powers is concerned. The United States and Great Britain have tied their hands for fifteen years, for their combined fleets as limited by the treaty would hardly venture to attack the Japanese islands without a fortified base nearer to Japan than any permitted by the treaty. Aside from the moral influence of the Board of Reference in specific matters in China, Japan is left free to intrigue and promote disorder in the Far East as she pleases. The naval limitation, in addition, relieves Japan of the strain of naval competition which was burdening her people more than any other nation, and to that extent releases greater Japanese resources for action in Asia.

The only restraint which the other powers of the world can exert upon Japanese policies is the threat of moral isolation, should her conduct become too outrageous. This is a powerful weapon, it is true, more powerful perhaps than the Japanese realize, but it remains to be seen whether it will be powerful enough. It can be used effectively only in extreme cases, and it requires unified sentiment and action on the part of the great nations; how far such unity is probable is a serious question, with Germany and Russia still outlawed, with France and Britain at odds, and with a possible rapprochement of France and Japan in prospect. It looks as though the Naval Limitation Treaty had thrown upon China and Siberia the whole burden of their self-protection against a Japan whose past record justifies the worst anticipations.

That a changed, more generous, and more far-sighted policy is not to be expected from the Japanese government as a result of the Conference, is indicated by the Japanese attitude in two cases at Washington, *the Shantung*

negotiations and the withdrawal from Siberia. The Japanese occupation of Shantung, based on the Twenty-One Demands, was a wrong to China, from its inception; and the haggling over the terms of "restoration" at Washington, itself a breach of Japanese promises, was an added wrong, an insult added to injury. The Chinese delegation, by allowing themselves to be persuaded by the United States and Great Britain into direct negotiations over Shantung, seem to have impliedly acknowledged the validity not only of the Treaty of Versailles, but also of the Twenty-One Demands treaties. This action was in fact a great sacrifice on the part of China in the interests of what was believed to be the success of the Conference and international harmony and the recovery of the world from the war; and it certainly removed an almost insuperable obstacle to the ratification of the Conference treaties by the American Senate and to the consequent entry of the United States into international co-operation. Were the gains from the Conference worth this moral sacrifice by the country which was weakest and most oppressed? What sacrifice did France and Japan make?

Aside from the moral aspect of these negotiations, examine next the practical results of the Shantung Treaty. China recovers the general leasehold of Kiaochao and its administration and customs. By Article Three the Japanese troops and police, with their demoralization of the province and their menace to Peking, are eliminated. The Japanese however retain a half-interest in one important iron and two coal mines. As for the most important item of all, the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railroad, the Japanese hold a mortgage on it for at least five years, and during that time may appoint Japanese as the traffic manager and as one of the two chief accountants. There is to be a Chinese managing director at the head; certain "Understandings recorded in the minutes of the conversations" state that he is to appoint the entire staffs of the two Japanese officials, without

any obligation to appoint Japanese subordinates. This makes the Chinese director a real power and no figure-head, but it is strange that these provisions are not in the treaty, but left as "understandings recorded in the minutes." What's up? Finally, the extensions of the railroad to Shunteh and to Hsuechow are thrown open to the Consortium, and the Chefoo-Weih-sien line left to Chinese construction. On the whole it looks as though the treaty would give back to China her railroad in five years—for compensation.

Japanese reluctance to "restore" Shantung to its rightful possessor is further illustrated by their refusal, during the negotiations, to accept an immediate cash payment from China in return for immediate transfer of the railroad. They insisted on not being paid (and on retaining a hold on the railroad) for at least five years! It seems a reasonable inference that Japan would have surrendered no rights of importance at all in Shantung had not pressure from other powers been applied. May one anticipate, on the part of a Japan released by the Naval Limitation Treaty, some efforts to "modify" or "postpone" the Shantung Treaty before those five years have passed?

In the first Annex to the treaty, Japan renounces the former German preferential rights regarding "foreign assistance in persons, capital, and material" in Shantung province. On the other hand, China, in Article Eight, recognizes the validity of all private rights in Kiaochao leasehold which have vested during the Japanese (and German) occupation; and nothing is said about private Japanese holdings along the railroad and elsewhere in the province. In other words, for seven years past, Japanese citizens have been systematically acquiring properties in the province, encouraged and aided by Japanese official influence and pressure of the military; and the treaty passes it over without a word. It is well known, for example, that Japan-

ese interests are not confined to the three mines named in the treaty. The Japanese have successfully entrenched themselves in Shantung and, with the exception of the salt properties, which the Chinese Government is to purchase, have held their gains. The egg that is "restored" to China has a pretty shell, but it has been pretty well sucked dry!

As for *Siberia*, the Japanese hold refusal to set any date for the withdrawal of their troops, other than what their own sweet will may dictate, is a foretaste of the humility of attitude which may be expected, now that the Naval Limitation Treaty has bound the hands of Japan's rivals. From the Chinese standpoint, is the voice that is arrogant at Washington and Vladivostok, likely to become meek and mild in Peking? The good that may issue from this situation is the belated realization by Chinese of their need for closer and more friendly co-operation with the Far Eastern Republic of Chita.

Comparing the work of the Conference with the three essentials of a Far Eastern settlement, as outlined at the beginning of this article, it is evident at the outset that no consideration whatever has been given to the problem of reasonably assuring to Japan by international action the raw materials essential to her industrial life, and thereby cutting all legitimate ground from under her future aggression against China and Siberia. In fact the problem was not recognized by the Conference. As for the restraint of future aggression, the "relief" given to Siberia has been discussed. In the case of China, a genuine step forward toward the prevention of future privilege-seeking and toward the future maintenance of a real Open Door has been made, in some of the more specific articles of the China Policy Treaty together with the resolution establishing the Board of Reference. So far so good. But, while the Pacific Island Treaty cancels the iniquitous Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the Naval Limitation Treaty sets Japanese in-

trigue and aggression free upon the Asiatic mainland. It is hard to see that the dark clouds on the Eastern horizon have been dissipated, however they have altered their form.

So much for the future. Consider now the work of the Conference in redressing *past injustices* in China, a field in which the Conference might be expected to be more cautious. As far as the wrongs of less immediate importance are concerned, the foreign postoffices are going and the tariff will be raised. Chinese must ask themselves frankly whether they could expect a more extensive restoration of national rights along these lines to a country which for the time being is in a state of political chaos, which recently failed to meet a foreign loan, and which permits itself to be overrun by a million or more, worse than useless, bandit soldiers.

The best test of the Conference in its relation to the past is its effect upon the Twenty-One Demands treaties of China. Here, Group One is supplanted by the new Shantung Treaty, one wrong replacing another. Group Four, exacting a promise from China not to cede any port to any foreign power, is perhaps covered by the China Policy Treaty; at any rate, it was objectionable only as a case of foreign dictation, and not in substance. And finally, Japan—with Japanese magnanimity—announced to a hushed and expectant world that she would abandon her "right" to point again the shotgun of Group Five at China's head! The value of this sacrifice is illuminated when one considers that Japan would never dare to present again those astounding demands to China, unless the rest of the world were once more involved in a World War. It was the Japanese who added to the Conference the flavor of burlesque.

What then is left of the Twenty-One Demands? Japan still retains her interest in the Chinese steel industry, under Group Three, and in Fukien Province. And, by far the most important of all, Japan remains unchallenged in

Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, secured by Group Two. This region is and has been the main field of Japanese aggression upon China. Who lays hands upon those sacred "rights", does so at his peril. But hands must be laid upon them sometime, if there is to be eventual peace in Asia, and in the world. The Conference certainly kept its hands in its pockets, and perhaps that is all that could be expected. Some problems must be left for future conferences.

The effect of keeping hands off however is to reduce almost to insignificance the accomplishments of the Conference in relation to past violations of the Open Door and the integrity of China.

The Washington Conference, surveyed as a whole, achieved some progress toward peace in the Far East, by such steps as the cancellation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the creation of the Board of Reference to supervise the observance of some of the principles laid down in the China Policy Treaty. The Conference also took some steps which were considered to be toward worldwide peace, but which are likely to have other and less fortunate effects in the local area of China and Siberia; such are the issue of the discussion of Siberia, and the Naval Limitation Treaty, which liberate Japanese aggression and intrigue in China and Siberia. And there was no attempt to provide Japan with raw materials under international assurance. The net result, from the standpoint of China, is that the steps forward are pretty well neutralized by the many sidesteps and even steps backward!

Unless conference is renewed in the near future with more substantial results, the superficial improvement of the world atmosphere accomplished at Washington is likely to be clouded

anew and more menacingly than ever by developments in Asia. There can be no lasting peace in the world until a real settlement is attained in Asia. The weak however must wait upon the initiative of the powerful; China must be patient, but how long? China the oppressed has made fresh sacrifices in the interest of world harmony. Japan returns from Washington more than ever bound by her pledged word, and more than ever free from foreign pressure on her policies in Asia—her policies of promoting discord in China and Siberia in the interests of Japanese aggrandisement.

From this experience, China may draw two lessons. One is that China can never expect more than neglect and a few contemptuous crumbs from the other powers at an international conference, until there is unity and order in China. The very release of Japanese activity by this Conference has made the restoration of peace and stability in China more difficult. The Revolution must work itself out in China—no friend of China could wish to halt it. In the face of obstacles, the Chinese must press on, press on unceasingly to an issue, for the world moves and waits not.

The other lesson to China is: *Rely upon yourself!* Chinese must realize that, however friendly the sentiment of the United States toward China may be, the policies of the United States are American policies and relate American interests to the worldwide situation. They are not and never will be Chinese policies, except incidentally in pursuit of worldwide aims. China must look to the Chinese people and to them alone for protection and national salvation and restoration. Self-reliance is the watchword for China henceforth.

"China for the Chinese" will never come true, unless it is also "China by the Chinese!"

A Discussion of Agricultural Credit With a View to Its Adoption in China

By TONJOU L. HSI

IN the face of modern industrialism agriculture is constantly losing ground, notwithstanding its tremendous importance in the great process of industrial production. Today, in China, while every stress is laid, by the governmental agencies and the populace alike, on manufacturing industry and commerce, little attention is given to that basic though less alluring industry; namely, agriculture. The subordination of agriculture to manufacturing in China conspicuously manifests itself in this age of incoming industrialism. The plain pursuits of rural life are made secondary to the needs of an industrial and commercial life. In particular the development of the banking credit in recent years, concomitant with the growth of trade and industry, has indeed benefitted the merchant and manufacturer, but not the farmer in any manner or to any extent. Whatever credit is introduced may be said to be commercial credit and not agricultural credit.

If an agricultural development equalling the industrial and commercial development of the country is to be desired, an adequate system of agricultural credit is necessary.

What Agricultural Credit Means.

Agricultural credit is a system of lending loanable funds for purposes of agricultural production. In short it is the organized financing of agriculture. Plainly put, it consists in the supplying of capital to agriculture.

The largest returns from agriculture, economists are wont to tell us, come

from the right proportioning of the three factors of production—land, labor and capital. In China where land is more or less limited and where labor is abundant and cheap, increase and decrease can be made in the supply of capital to be used in conjunction with a certain amount of labor in the cultivation of a certain area of land. By this increase or decrease of capital a given supply of labor on a given quantity of land will cultivate that land more effectively and thus increase the product per acre as well as per man.

The capital is represented by buildings, tools, machinery, fertilizers, seed, food, fences, drains, irrigation works and the like. With adequate buildings and improvements, good tools and machinery, proper seed and fertilizers, the same labor will be enabled to cultivate the same land more intensely and get larger and better crops from it.

Why Farmers Need Special Organized Credit.

“Credit supports agriculture as the cord supports the hanged.” This famous dictum of Louis XIV applies equally well to the Chinese agricultural conditions. The individual Chinese farmers, isolated and unorganized, find themselves helpless in the hands of the usurious money-lenders. Either they cannot get a loan or they have to pay too high an interest. Although the Chinese farmers are proverbially industrious and welcome every opportunity for self-betterment, their attempts are frustrated by the lack of credit facilities. In all the advanced western coun-

tries usury was formerly the case; but through the institution of an elaborate system of agricultural credit, the farmers have been enabled to finance their agricultural operations with borrowed funds at a low rate of interest.

Now the question arises: "Why do the farmers need special credit in the financing of their agricultural operations?" This can be easily answered by a consideration of the nature and characteristics of agriculture as an industry as distinguished from multifarious other fields of economic activity. Agriculture as an industry is handicapped in the utilization of credit in many ways.

1. *The Long Term Credit.*—Certain branches of industry, by the celerity of their operation, produce in a short time the value of their capital and thus are able to repay debts at shorter dates. Agriculture is a lengthy operation. From the standpoint of commercial banks, the funds of a bank should be invested only in financing current commercial transactions in which the payment is to be made in a few months. A loan to a farmer for a year with a stipulated renewal is bad banking; but on the other hand, such a loan can never answer the purpose of the farmer. Payment within the year is for him both vexious and impracticable.

2. *The Seasonal Demand for Credit.*—Agriculture is a seasonal industry. The financial outlay on a farm is concentrated at a definite time in the year, and the profits realized from agricultural sales is similiarly concentrated at a definite time. Thus the farmer needs credit badly at a particular period, and all farmers need credit at practically this very same period. This synchronous demand for credit in agriculture unseen in manufacturing and mereantile businesses, makes it hard for the farmer to get credit.

3. *The Non-corporate Character of the Enterprise.*—One of the chief advantages which corporate powers confer on a business enterprise is the cheap credit which the concentration of re-

sources makes possible. Public utility concerns, manufacturing and commercial businesses, once being incorporated, may borrow or float bonds to several times their capital, thus rendering their own capital highly efficient. Not so with agriculture. Agriculture is adapted to individual ownership and management. The laws that make possible cheap credit for political communities and business enterprises deny it to agriculture.

4. *The Non-Liquid Character of Land as Security.*—Land, though an asset of indestructible value, is not easily salable like many other commodities, and is, besides, difficult of valuation as a basis for borrowings. While manufacturers and merchants are in a position to borrow cheaply from banks on the security of consumable goods and goods in the process of manufacture, the farmers have to pay a much higher interest, borrowing on the security of land and on the security of the farm crops, which is often a matter of opportunity.

5. *Remoteness from Money Centers.*—Depending on the soil for crop yield, agriculture is laid out over wide areas, and is thus removed from the few concentrated money centers. This makes it difficult for the farmer to get credit and far difficult to get it cheaply.

For these reasons the farmers as a class are interested in the providing of special credit for their agricultural needs. The aim of an agricultural credit system is to cheapen credit for the farmer.

Having dealt with the need of agricultural credit, let us pass on to the different methods of providing it, or, in other words, the technique of agricultural credit, with a view to its adoption in China.

Kinds of Agricultural Credit.

All agricultural credit may be divided into the following categories: long time and short time credit; land and personal credit; self-help and state-aid credit.

On the basis of agricultural needs

credit may be divided into long and short time.

Long time credit is "credit to meet the capital requirements of the farmer." This involves the advance of large sums of money to be used to aid to pay the purchase price of the farm, improvements on the farm, or such equipment as to bring the operations to the highest state of efficiency. Money needed to finance permanent improvements must come from loans extended over a long period of time so that they can be reduced and paid off out of a series of earnings derived from the improvements or equipments made by the farmer with the proceeds of such loans.

Short time credit is credit extended in order to meet the current or annually recurring needs of the farmer by which is meant the money needed by him to finance his operations during the time that the crops are produced.

Land and Personal Credit.

On the basis of the security back of the loan credit may be divided into land and personal.

Under the land credit system the farmers in a locality organize themselves into an association through which they get loans by pledging real estate as security. The basis of the loan is mortgage. The members who desire to borrow submit their property to an appraisal and have it mortgaged to the credit institution which is then placed in a position to dispose of these mortgages as security for extensive loans. As the institution is established with little or no capital the money required to supply the needs of the members is obtained by the issue of bonds. These bonds are secured by mortgages on the farms of all the members, and they are sold on the market to investors the same as railway and industrial bonds. By this means a security on farm lands is created that can be realized at any time and which is far superior to a mere individual mortgage security. The issue of bonds is a means of mobilizing land as a banking asset, a means of attracting investment to

agriculture on the basis of collective security.

Under the personal credit system loans are made on mere personal security without reference to land. Such security consists of personal acquaintance with the borrower's character, knowledge of his legitimate use of the proceeds of the loan, and a conviction of his ability to repay at maturity. This form of credit is used by farmers who own no land or a small amount of land which does not justify the use of mortgage or who are unwilling to borrow in this manner.

Self-Help and State-Aid Credit.

On the basis of organization, as far as the supply of the working capital is concerned, credit may be divided into self-help and state-aid.

Under the self-help system the farmers of a locality organize themselves in such a way as to command the confidence of the public. From the investing public the credit associations so formed obtain their funds either through straight borrowing or through bond sales. The example of the former is the Reiffeissan Societies in Germany, and the example of the latter is the *Landschaften* in the same country. The *Landschaften*, however, are more or less government-controlled. The essence of self-help is self-reliance, cooperation and private initiative.

Under the state-aid system the state undertakes to subsidize such credit institutions with large sums of money or grant loans on mortgages. In this way the state acts as the farmers' banker. The examples of state-aid are the French *Credit Foncier* and the United States Federal Land Banks. The argument urged in defense of state aid is public interest in agriculture.

Between the above various systems of credit—land and personal, self-help and state-aid (leaving out long and short time credit, for both these are used under any credit system) what shall we choose for China?

This leads to a consideration of the comparative merits of the said systems

with due reference to the existing conditions in China.

Land Mortgage is Unfit for China.

The most widely used land mortgage system, as seen in Germany, France, the United States, and other countries, has its indubitable advantages in meeting the requirements of the farmer.

1. It enables the land-holding farmers to mobilize their property by the sale of bonds realizable in the money market.

2. The loans are for comparatively longer periods and are not subject to recall.

3. The rate of interest cannot be raised from time to time as the bonds are irredeemable during the life of the bonds.

4. The loan is invariably extinguished by annual or semi-annual amortization payments. This is an advantage to the farmer.

5. Option is usually given to the borrower to reduce the loan by additional payments in order to get out of debt faster.

Such are the advantages of mortgage credit. Inasmuch as the farmers of many western countries, particularly Germany, have prospered by the extensive use of land mortgage, it seems reasonable to suppose that the system will work wonders in China. But a moment's thought will reveal that in China there are certain forces that militate against the adoption of such credit.

In the first place, China is known as a land of small land-holdings. The average size of the farm is too small to justify a mortgage.

Secondly, even if the farmers are willing freely to mortgage their property, the ordinary investors far and wide would not have confidence in the bonds issued by the local mortgage societies. Conditions in China have not developed to such an extent that bond securities in agricultural lands over scattered areas will be readily taken up by the informed investors.

Finally, the greatest obstacle in the

use of land credit is that the Chinese are adverse to land mortgages. The Chinese inherit the land from their ancestors and regard it as an inalienable heritage. To them to keep it is a duty and to part with it is a disgrace. Under such conditions mortgage, though conditional sales, would hardly be resorted to by the Chinese even though their farms call for such improvements and equipments as to make them productive. The conception of land-holding in China is different from that in some western countries, where land is regarded as nothing but a kind of commodity. So long as land is not freely mortgaged in China, mortgage credit is unfit for China.

State-Aid Credit is Unfit for China.

Equally unfit for China is the commonly used state-aid credit. At present the Chinese government is too poor to set aside any funds for this purpose. Even though this is possible, there would be danger of political corruption in the management of the institution. The official valuation of lands as the basis for loans would not be an independent scientific valuation. It will tend to be biased, either in favor of the borrower or the lender, depending upon whether the valuation is too high or too low. Furthermore, at times of stringent money, when the agricultural needs are the greatest, funds may not be forthcoming from the government, thus causing a complete collapse of the system.

Thus it can be seen that by the process of elimination the logical choice for present-day China lies in the self-help personal credit system as fully exemplified by the Reiffeissen Credit Societies of Germany.

Self-Help Personal Credit is Best Fitted for China.

The principles which underlie the Reiffeissen system may well be applied to a system of rural credit societies to be constructed in China.

1. *The Principle of Mutual Responsibility.*—In a Reiffeissen Society the

members are jointly responsible to an unlimited extent for the whole of the indebtedness of the society, the unlimited liability being based on the personal integrity of all the members. From this extreme accountability the society derives its strength. For the Chinese farmers, however, limited liability may be a sufficient guarantee, as in the beginning unlimited liability may serve as a deterrent in the formation of such societies. If, on the other hand, the reputable, well-to-do farmers and the prosperous traders of the locality participate, it will enhance the credit standing of the societies so formed.

2. *The Principle of Acquaintance-ship.*—As a corollary to the principle of unlimited liability, the Reiffeissen Society has adopted that of restricted areas as the basis for operation. The society admits as members only the residents of a single small district so that every member has a thorough knowledge of every other member in regard to his character and the use to which the proceeds of the loan is put. Every member acts as a "spy", so to speak, on every borrower. In China a village or a group of villages whose inhabitants easily know one another may well serve as a unit area of operation.

3. *The Principle of Small Shares.*—In a Reiffeissen Society a member's holding is usually limited to one share, which is of small value—from \$2 to \$10 a share. This makes the society a democratic institutions, accessible to every honest farmer. This principle should be observed in China as the small farmers are not able to buy large shares.

4. *The Principle of Inexpensive Management.*—In order to reduce the interest charged on loans the cost of management is reduced to a minimum. The officers, except one permanently employed, receive no compensation. In China the residents of the district who are well off financially or the gentry thereof may well serve gratuitously. The Reiffeissen Society is run neither

for charity nor for profit. As a co-operative enterprise, its primary aim is to furnish credit at cost.

5. *The Principle of Self-Help.*—Instead of looking to the government for funds the Reiffeissen Societies derive their funds from private sources. The shares sold to the member provide the initial working capital. The savings of the members deposited with the society further augment it. The deposits of non-members who have confidence in the society again enlarge the resources at its disposal. If additional funds are needed loans may be made from other credit associations and commercial institutions. The establishment of such societies in China will not only furnish a source of cheap credit to the farmer but will actually provide a channel for utilizing funds which would otherwise lay idle. Instead of hoarding the money in dusty urns the thrifty farmers will deposit it with the society and receive interest on it. The small prosperous traders of the district will find it profitable to do business with such a society. On the whole, there is a better incentive to local lending when the beneficiary borrowers are known and when the object of spending is local farm improvement.

Besides a network of such rural credit societies will help to provide enough general banking facilities for the rural population.

While this proposed self-help personal system obviates the necessity of mortgage, it may combine with it certain of its attractive arrangements; for instance, loaning for a longer period, partial payment plan, and option of making early payments on the part of the borrower. These measures can be easily adopted without destroying the principles of self-help and personal credit. Aside from loaning for purposes of land cultivation and improvements, it has been suggested that the funds of such rural societies may also be lent to farmers to facilitate any kind of work that can be most safely and profitably carried on by them between crop-producing periods.

When such a system of independent self-sufficient rural credit societies is established throughout China, it will mark a new age of unprecedented agricultural improvements. The farmers will have abundant capital. With capital they will adopt the best methods of cultivation. Last but not least, the

farmers will be taught the spirit of self-reliance, co-operation and thrift. The uplift of the rural population will mean better citizenship, and the agricultural prosperity of the country will be followed by its industrial and commercial prosperity.

Bolshevist Experience In China

BY CAMILLE AYMARD

BOLSHEVIST Russia is now agonizing under our eyes. The communistic experience, attempted by the chiefs of Moscow on a nation that is better adapted to the new system than all others by her mysticism and her rudimentary economic development, dims into anarchy and famine. And rapidly the great people who numbered 180,000,000 in 1914 when the frightful catastrophe broke out, have now lost half of its population and the steppe is going to regain its immensity of Russian plain, the land conquered by generations of secular effort.

It is interesting to compare that tragic experience of Russia with a similar instance occurred almost a thousand years ago in another great country,—China.

In our Middle Age a visionary pretended to bring justice and wellbeing to the suffering humanity by instituting in the old empire a communistic regime; he was Wang An Shih. The system was adopted by a powerful government which exercised an absolute power on a people who were, since time immemorial, accustomed to a collective form of propriety and professed an implicit obedience to the emperor who considered himself the son of Heaven: and this absolutism had enabled the government to put all theories into practice and all reforms into effect.

The following account is scrupulously exact. It began with a marvellous history and captivated the world like a dream of a humanitarian poet and ended, like a nightmare, in misery, famine and death.

* * * *

The Emperor Chen Tsung ascended the throne of China in the year of 1067 of our era, almost eighty years of age. In the first years of his reign, he treas-

ured all ancient laws and traditional usages.

The situation of the empire was then very critical. A long succession of public calamities and civil war had ravaged and desolated the country. The incessant struggles among the different parties had assumed an immense arena of massacre and destruction. Besides, famine, epidemics, and terrible misery had destroyed half of the population. Revolutionary placards and nihilist libels were spread broadcast. The old Empire was facing a complete collapse, a complete social decomposition.

The conservative party which, up to that time, enjoyed the entire confidence of the sovereign, felt the gravity of the situation. Some of its members proposed to Chen Tsung to summon a young philosopher whose doctrines commenced to spread and seemed alone capable of stopping, by opportune concessions the revolutionary peril. It was then that Wang An Shih was introduced to the court; it was by him that the conservative party was finally ruined.

Wang An Shih, according to many historians, had a fine and docile spirit, an eloquence, knowledge and intelligence which all, even his most violent implacable enemies, had to recognize and laud. His obstinacy in the pursuit of an end in which he had a marked faith made him unaffected by discouragement. But, above all, he had an irresistible sympathy, an invincible power of seduction, a sense of persuasion which, like a magnetic power, made him, in his days of success, the most powerful adviser of the Emperor and the acclaimed idol of the people.

In a country where the refineness of manners had pushed to a degree incon-

ceivable to us, Wang An Shih appeared singular by his abrupt fashion and dirty dress. His adversaries depicted him as a fantastic and stubborn being, pale and dirty; such a man evoked irresistibly in our imagination the troubled figure of an old Raspoutine.

At the age of thirty,—which was considered young according to Chinese literary standard,—Wang An Shih was already celebrated as much by the brilliant manner with which he passed his literary examinations as by the reputation that he was an implacable opponent of nihilism which terrorized and blood-stained the country. Initiated into public life by the chiefs of the conservative party, he was, however, not slow in comprehending the necessity of important reforms; he became the exponent of a new system of social organization that could institute in China a reign of justice and fraternity among men.

That system which reminded us of all the points of socialism in a modern state, was not in its spirit, the result of a humanitarian dream. It was a complete organization combined and ripened with the greatest need, even in the most minute details of application.

Wang An Shih had found in his study of ancient annals of China lessons and examples which illustrated social doctrines. The past on which he made his researches and comparisons was already vague, because it covered a period of five thousand years. The richest and most interesting traditions and legends that commenced at such an early age gave sufficient material for those who search in mirrors of antiquity their dreams of the future.

The young monarch was charmed by the strange ascendancy of the reformer. He rapidly gave his entire confidence to the rising statesman. As soon as he became the counsellor of the Emperor, Wang An Shih began a veritable campaign of propaganda, putting in his service an idea that naturally required all the gentleness of his spirit, all his eloquence, his science of seduction, and the ardour of a profound conviction. He knew how to flatter the *amour-*

propre of Chen Tsung and to bring his decision to make the mirror shine before his eyes, the glory of creating an ideal society, founded not on the misery of the greatest number and the cynic exploitation of the poor by the rich, but on equality and justice.

"The Empire is," he said, "at a critical moment of her history; the faults and crimes of the past have brought their harvest of tears and catastrophe; it is necessary to abandon all ancient follies, canalise and direct the revolutionary current, if people do not wish to be carried away by it. Time presses, the insurgents will soon be the masters of the country. It is necessary to suppress the misery, if we do not wish to be suppressed by misery. And the suppression of misery depends on the will of the Emperor alone. He could, if he dares."

* * * *

From the very beginning Wang An Shih had found among the close mandarines of the monarch a redoubtable adversary in the person of the old Su Ma Kwang, chief of the conservative party, intimate counsellor and friend of Chen Tsung.

Su Ma Kwang was a man of age and experience, an official of rare distinction and profoundly attached to the old traditions of China. But he was more of a mandarin than a governor: he belonged to the old class of men of letters who, during centuries past, directed and governed the empire and decided her destinies. In the hours of leisure when free from all cares of government, he indulged himself in poetry. People has conserved one of his well known poems entitled "My Garden." It was a description of his summer palace, planted with turpentine trees and entrenched with winding pathways which ran under the thick verdure where one could conceal some secret and joy. It ended thus:

"The oblique rays of the dying sun find me sitting on the trunk of a tree,
Watching in silence the inquietude of a swallow flying around its nest,
Where the clever milan catches its prey.
The murmur of the water, the rustling of leaves agitated by wind,

The beauty of heaven plunge me into
sweet dream;
The entire nature speak to my soul; I
am charmed in listening,
And the night returns; I slowly return to
the place of my abode.
Sometimes my friends come to relieve my
solitude.
By reading to me their works and listen
to mine.
We enjoy our simple repast, following
our serious entertainment,
And while the court, from where I escape,
smiles at the voluptuous enervation,
Turning her ears to calumny and forging
irons for trap,
We here, adore moderation and offer her
our hearts."

The grace of thought, the delicacy of sentiments reminded us of some of Horace's poems when he sought solitude under the shadow bordering his dear Tibur, or Petron escaping the intrigues of the sanguinary court of Nero.

Seeing with apprehension the danger that was going to befall the country by the growing favor of the reformer, Su Ma Kwang, for counterbalancing the ascending influence of Wang An Shih, attempted to approach Chen Tsung by a supreme effort for which, in case of failure he was willing to sacrifice his life.

At his instigation, the censors¹ were authorized by the discontented public to invite the sovereign, according to usage, to examine whether there were reprehensible acts in his conduct or abuses in the reforms of the government that provoked the divine wrath. Chen Tsung conformed to traditions and manifested his grief by confining himself in his palace and by stopping all feasts.

Wang An Shih, comprehending the danger, decided to try his fortune by convoking the council of the Empire. Su Ma Kwang was present. The Emperor presided.

Su Ma Kwang was the first one to speak. He exposed the danger of wholesale premature reforms. He pointed out the peril which resulted from the too rapid transformation of the society, the disorders and public miseries that necessarily followed. Epidemics, earthquakes, terrible

drought, and severe famine, occurred in the most populous provinces of the Empire. Public misery was at its summit. Was it opportune, amidst all these calamities, to increase the trouble of a panic-stricken people by making sudden changes in the reorganization of the State?

"The calamities that befall us are fixed and invariable causes. Earthquakes, drought, inundations, and famine have no relation with the good or bad actions of men. Do you hope to change the course of things? Do you hope that the nature will impose on you other laws?"

"Pitiful are the sovereigns" replied Su Ma Kwang, "when the officials near them dare to affirm similar maxims and defy the wrath of heaven! How can disorders be checked and stopped? They live in excess without remorse and their most devoted subjects have no way of advancing. They can not remain silent, unless they drink the poison of fidelity, when the empire and master are on the brink of ruin."

The innovator triumphed. The Emperor, complying with the wishes of Wang An Shih, came to his decision. He exiled the chiefs of the religious party, distributed food among the people and gave him a sumptuous feast.

Then, entirely conquered by the influence of the Prime Minister, Chen Tsung instituted a permanent Commission of Reforms, of which Wang An Shih was the head and soul. The members of the conservative party were carefully excluded.

Su Ma Kwang, feeling his party was losing influence, retired to his summer palace where he waited, according to usage, the imperial order of death.²

¹The censors were magistrates for life, chosen amongst the aged of renown and honor for their independence, their knowledge and wisdom; they were charged of presenting to the emperor petitions and complaints when they thought that faults or errors were being committed by officials in the exercise of their power. The history of China furnished many examples of censors who paid their lives, franchises and devotion to their emperor and country.

²In a similar case, the emperor sent to the disgraced mandarin a leaf of gold or a cord of silk, with a flattering letter written in red ink on a sheet of gilt paper thanking the servant for his past services; this was the order of death.

On the contrary he received a flattering letter from his victorious rival who complimented him for his independent and courageous attitude, expressing his high esteem and permitted to save his life.

"I do not treasure life," replied the old sage, "if my death can be of service to the country."

Free from all hindrances, the reformer began his methodic application of his social system.

Knowing how dangerous passive resistance of minor collaborators must be to a chief, Wang An Shih began to dismiss those on whom he could not count from public services. He collected around him all his disciples and friends who were absolutely and almost religiously devoted to him and had faith in his system.

After having thus prepared the instrument of his reforms, Wang An Shih started to issue a series of measures which, he thought, would instal in China a permanent reign of justice and felicity, in assuring an equal division among men labour and social riches.

"To attain that end," he used to tell his disciples, "it is necessary to suppress misery, and, to suppress misery, it is necessary to destroy riches that created misery. It is necessary not only to destroy riches, but also the causes of riches that the evil may not grow again; it is necessary to eradicate the root of apprehension."

In order to realize his plan, Wang An Shih proclaimed at the outset an essential principle of the Empire that the sovereign State was the sole proprietor and exploiter of all land and wealth.

For organizing the cultivation of the land, he created in each district an agrarian tribunal whose mission was to redivide at the end of each year the land among the cultivators, to decide the kind of cultivation and to distribute seeds according to individuals. The size of land to be assigned to each family was fixed proportionately according to the number of adults.

When the harvest came, the crops did not go to the farmer but all went to

the State, the universal and sovereign proprietor. They were stored in immense reservoirs. The division of fruits of the land among the different provinces of the Empire was made proportionately according to the needs and total of population, by a supreme agrarian tribunal at Peking. And in each province the distribution was carried out among the chiefs of families according to their importance.

Similarly Wang An Shih suppressed industry, trade and bank; he organized them into public services.

"For," he said, "it is only an obstacle to the solidarity of men; the love of gain and luxury that have always broken the natural rule of human rectitude. Industry, trade, and bank are created by the misfortune of men and ruin of society; they lead to the inordinate love of money that spoils and corrupts the hearts."

Thus the State, personifying and representing the entire people, realized alone the previous benefices which were now being divided among the millions. These benefices assured the necessary collective expenses; all the imposts were suppressed, and the great works of utility and public luxuries, such as irrigation, gardens or park, could be undertaken without increasing the burden of the taxpayers.

"In the near future," said Wang An Shih, "the new legislation is going to substitute the economic organization of the country, based on the concurrence and the strife among men and that added fatally to the destruction of the weak by the strong. The new organization, on the contrary, is based on their union and intimate co-operation, on the most complete equality in the distribution of work as well as wealth. There will no longer be any rich and poor; the collective body alone possesses in the interest of all, things that people call fortune. They are no longer disposed to change by personal usage.

Riches, inequality, egoism, hatred, and, in one word, all the evil passions that make men miserable and life without charm, will disappear like under

the strike of a magic wand. No effects without causes, and the invariable rule of the wise imposes hereafter on the regenerated Empire.

By a series of measures, undertaken and realized with a singular spirit and remarkable tenacity, Wang An Shih thus created a new Empire, the only proprietor and cultivator of all lands, the only capitalist, the only manufacturer, trader and banker, who decided the aptitudes of each, utilized and remunerated them. Equality in mediocrity had replaced the ancient inequality of classes. A new moral, based on a new state of things, was professed by the State. The all-powerful collectivity suppressed and replaced the individuals.

The communistic organization imposed on China by Wang An Shih appeared entirely triumphant. From all sides the Minister received words and echoes of admiration and praise.

The rich, who seemed to be the only ones who sacrificed and paid the expenses of the feast, concealed themselves, being the less numerous and less strong; their only anxiety was how to conceal their freedom and disappear in the crowd and be forgotten.

If the new regime had been accepted with joy and even enthusiasm by the people, who were always eager for novelty, it did not, however, promote the happy results which its promoter had announced.

Wang An Shih had been in office for sometime; he had transformed and rebuilt society; but the same calamities that had desolated China continued to weigh on the regenerated reign.

The situation was even worse than ever; further troubles were in sight.

However, popular miseries and famine were consequences of natural phenomenon against which all human resistances were vain. But today, drought, earthquake, and inundations all ceased, but the harvests were no better.

Was it the bankruptcy of the new regime?

Public opinion about the reformer was uncertain; flattery was mixed with

fear. A new voice arose criticising the reformer's acts and implored the Emperor to save the country from a definite ruin.

That voice was Su Ma Kwang. He was ready to sacrifice his life. In his retirement, he addressed Chen Tsung a public petition in which he examined in detail the reckless measures; he exposed with an implacable logic its fatal results. He showed that by giving the State the direction of economic activity, it would kill private initiative and decrease half of the social productivity, and consequently, the riches of the country, which was the product of work.

In examining the agrarian reforms of the new regime, he said;

"That the people receive with avidity the grains which are lent to them and which ought to be cultivated, I perfectly agree. But do they always make use of the grains thus lent to them? To believe in this shows the lack of experience: to judge them that way shows the ignorance of men. The present interest touches all; they care nothing except the need of today. Few think of the future.

"The cultivators begin to prelevy on the grains which are given them, what is necessary to their nourishment and their family,—quite a natural thing for those who are in danger of famine; they either trade or exchange a part of the grains for what they lack; only the surplus is cultivated.

"Besides, that system which people regard as a discovery is really not new. It functioned and existed since remote antiquity in certain poor and distant provinces of China. By the results of the past one can anticipate the outcome of the present.

"I am a native of the province of Chen Si where the exploitation of land and harvest are made in common. There I have passed the major part of my life; I have watched closely the miseries of the people.

"Well, I venture to affirm that out of one hundred per cent. of evil which the people suffer it is necessary to attribute sixty per cent. to that custom

which people now intend to spread to the whole empire. If a sincere study is to be made, the whole truth might be known."

The Emperor put the supplication in the hands of Wang An Shih; that gave him the life of Su Ma Kwang. All were waiting to see terrible reprisals.

Wang An Shih true to his principle of magnanimity decided to abstain from all excesses and appeared to have ignored the vigorous attacks of which he was the object.

At first, all this generosity seemed inexplicable to the people who interpreted it as a confession of weakness, as the end of an omnipotent ministry. His adversaries who had retired in silence now came forward to accuse the reformer in a violent fashion. Libels were spread among the people and petitions were addressed to the Emperor. All wished to have the honour of giving the first blow. People began by criticising the acts of the ministry; the most vigilant accusers demanded to put the perturbator of the peaceful public on trial and condemnation.

The Emperor, in a shocked moment, himself lost faith in his ministry and summoned the Council of the Empire.

"Why do you press and hurry to judge things that, by their very essence, take time to realize?" Wang An Shih said coldly to the members of the Council. "Wait and your experience will tell you how to judge the results of the system which we have established for the great good of the country and the welfare of the people. The beginning is always difficult, it is only after having conquered the initial difficulties that men can hope to reap the results of their work. Be firm and all will be well. The officials and mandarins are against me; I am not surprised. They must leave their ordinary train of life for the new usage. They will get accustomed to the new system little by little and, as they get accustomed to it, the aversion which they have for everything which they regard as new will naturally dissipate themselves. They will finally love what they blame to-day."

The Emperor, entirely reconquered by the influence of his minister, gave the whole file of accusations to Wang An Shih who erased all signatures before reading them.

In spite of the feeble attacks of his enemies, Wang An Shih became more confident in his future, calm, and imperturbable. He pursued his course, stood all resistances, dismissed all who were not devoted to him, but systematically abstained from all cruelties and reprisals.

That scornful and philosophic tolerance, far from diminishing his authority, served only to increase his sway. Each new attempt of his adversaries made him greater in the eyes of his opponents who conspired to get rid of him.

Men measure a tower by its shadow; they measure a statesman by his envy. This was Wang An Shih's reply.

To one of his confidential friends who said that his downfall would mean the ruin of the Empire and his ideas would perish with him, he replied:

"All the old errors are condemned to disappear. After encountering hundred millions of difficulties, subtilities, sophisms, and illusions, the little truth will be all that is left."

* * * *

The new organization of industry, commerce and agriculture which was productive of such marvellous and rapid results did not overcome the famines that still ravaged the country. On the contrary, the predictions of Su Ma Kwang seemed to have realized, and the miseries persisted to impair the efforts of the sturdy reformer. The Emperor still reposed confidence in Wang An Shih, and waited patiently, from year to year, the coming of the new era constantly announced by the minister and constantly adjourned by unexpected events. The masses, always confident and always deceived, did not feel discouraged and persisted in the faith which they had in the truly extraordinary man, who gave an imperturbable assurance to the Emperor and who shared the terrible fatalism with the starving population.

The population was gradually decreasing by famine and epidemics. The Chinese Empire would have dimmed into anarchy and misery, if destiny, which broke suddenly on the profound and strongest human will, did not come to interrupt, by the untimely death of Chen Tsung, the terrible experience and put a definite end to the political career of Wang An Shih.

Chen Tsung's successor was a child of ten. Power passed into the hands of the Empress Dowager Kao who had always been the avowed enemy of the reformer. Immediately upon her ascendancy, she recalled Su Ma Kwang, her creature to whom she had some-time ago given a fortune.

Wang An Shih enjoyed his retirement because Su Ma Kwang showed the same generosity as his rival had showed while the latter was in power. He had conserved, in spite of all evident experiences, his confidence in his system of social regeneration. He witnessed with great sadness the destruction, piece by piece, until the last trace, of the organization which he edified, those who had faith in his system were dismissed from offices.

With the return of the old regime, the misery disappeared little by little; men's faith in the old system gradually returned. They worked as usual and famine passed away. The population which had been considerably reduced by epidemics, now increased rapidly.

The same year, after a few days interval, the two old adversaries symbolizing the two forces,—conservative

and radical,—died. Wang An Shih passed away in great discouragement, abandoned and forgotten by all. But he was so inspired by the mysticism of the reform that he conserved his entire faith in the near future when a reign of Justice and Truth would be eventually instituted. Su Ma Kwang died a few weeks later, after having presided himself at the destruction of all the laws promulgated by his rival. Contrary to the custom and rites of the Empire, the old Empress and infant Emperor assisted in person at the grand funeral; and the whole empire mourned.

* * * *

This authentic account, for the edification of coming centuries, was recorded in the Annals of China. It proves that the present attempt of Russia is only one of the eternal recommencements of history. Communism, at each period of trouble and social decomposition, at each epoch of ruin and renovation, is the great mirror where men, exhausted by their long voyage to traverse the arid desert of life, see their old chimeric dream of an integral justice and universal well-being. And at each experiment, from deception to misery, from misery to famine, from famine to great epidemics, which reduced the population, the remorseful humanity passed implacably to desert and death.

* Nine centuries later, Renan said: "The public usually applauds and favors the false. But truth has a great force when it is free: truth lasts; the false changes incessantly and finally falls. Truth, however little, survives and gains its way."

Something More Essential Than Classroom Education In Railway Administration

By C. C. WANG

CHINA stands to-day at the dawn of a new age. Freed from the chains of conservatism and superstition, she is beginning to march into the domain of science, industry, commerce and what not. Indeed, with this new spirit amply supported by the vast amount of natural resources and a large population, it should not be difficult for her to gain her rightful position in the family of nations.

Of the many means with which to make this achievement possible, railway is one of the most essential and effective. Without this modern means of transportation, industries, commerce and all natural resources can not be properly developed so as to make them serve the country adequately and efficiently. Furthermore, in a country so immense and so divided by natural and other barriers like China, railways serve also as a unifying and civilizing power through which the people may be closely united as one nation.

To any young man of ambition and ability wishing to render a substantial service to the country the railway service, therefore, constitutes a worthy life calling. In the development of railways in China, the need for men in administration, construction and operation, is great. She needs men with expert training and knowledge in all branches of railway science. But, above all, she needs men of great integrity and strong character. Success and failure in any administration depends mainly on the spirit and character of the personnel. To this rule the railway administration is no exception. For real success is never measured by

the amount of wealth that one possesses but by the benefit that he is able to contribute toward the welfare of human society, which can only be accomplished by men of high moral principles. Even for the accumulation of wealth, integrity is essential, to say nothing of the larger and more important phases of the railway development.

Railways are arteries in the life of a nation. Through them vitalizing power is transmitted for the regeneration and growth of China. But they can also be made into channels of vice and corruption. Which part are railways going to play in the making of the new China? The solution of this important question lies largely with those privileged in studying abroad, particularly those engaged in the study of the various phases of railway science. It is, therefore, of vital importance that, during their course of study, they should not neglect to acquire the fundamental principles indispensable to the success in one's life work, in addition to the technical knowledge and training, and most important of all these fundamental principles is integrity and diligence. With these two attributes well grounded, one will make a success in every walk of life. And if one's character is not properly cultivated, his education, like the firearm in the hands of an educated highway man, will only do more harm to the nation as his smartness and education increases.

History shows that it is not the man with exceptional ability that accomplishes real great things but the man with exceptional character, whose

moral strength always stands him in good stead in time of great crisis. He does not waver when the supreme sacrifice is demanded for the sake of righteousness, neither will he falter when fame or wealth flutters at his

door. All of us are anxious to see a strong China. But this cherished hope can only be realized by means of strong moral leadership. For, after all, it is character that makes the man and the man makes the nation.

Who Keeps China's Money?

By CHARLES JAMES FOX

(*Editor, North China Star, Tientsin*)

WHEN the special international conference, provided for by resolution of the recent Washington Conference, meets in the near future in Shanghai, to undertake the revision of China's tariff rates in order to bring them up to an effective five per cent. ad valorem duty on all imports, one of the many complicated situations it will be called upon to remedy is the present virtual monopoly of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation as depository and custodian of the customs funds of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service.

"The undue power to certain institutions by reason of these government deposits" was brought up for discussion in the Committee on the Pacific and Far Eastern Questions at the Washington Conference, largely through the efforts of Mr. Odagiri, director of the Yokohama Specie Bank, who represented the Japanese Government on the subcommittee to which the problem of China's tariff was referred. Mr. Odagiri's suggestion received the support of the French, Italian, Belgian, Netherlands, American and Chinese delegates. Only the British and Portuguese failed to express approval.

According to treaty stipulations, it is agreed that as long as British trade with China exceeds that of any other foreign country, the Inspector General of Customs shall be a British subject. After the revolutionary troubles in 1911, it was decided that funds from the Maritime Customs pledged for foreign loans should, for reasons of safety, be deposited in foreign banks, and as a result the great bulk of the funds, which in 1921 amounted to about 54,500,000 taels (a tael is now about 78 cents American currency), was deposited in the Hongkong and Shanghai

Banking Corporation. When this measure, adopted during the troubled days of the Revolution of 1911, began to show signs of becoming a permanent custom, the oppositon of the other banks in China, both foreign and Chinese, was aroused.

Mr. Odagiri, in bringing the matter to the attention of the Washington Conference, said in a statement to the subcommittee considering China's tariff:

"Japan not only has no objection to, but welcomes, the proposal that the existing customs system of China should not be disturbed. In the meantime she must express the hope, in view of the important position which her Chinese trade occupies in the entire foreign trade of China and Japan's resulting large contribution to the Chinese customs revenues, that a fair and suitable adjustment may be effected with the above fact in view in regard to the future operations of the customs system; that is to say, concerning such matters as the custodian banks and the proportion of foreign nationals to be employed in the customs staff. We desire to make it clear, however, that this is not proposed as a condition of our acceptance of this agreement, but only as a frank expression of our desire. It is hoped that such special conference as is mentioned about in its deliberations upon the conditions involving questions such as custody and supervision of tariff revenues should take into consideration the above expressed desire of Japan."

"And then the notes reported by the secretary general's office added:

"The delegates of France, Italy, Belgium, and Holland associated themselves with the Japanese delegation."

The subject was brought up for discussion by Senator Underwood, who

was chairman of the sub-committee, at a meeting of the full committee on February 1. What happened in the committee meeting, on this important subject, is described as follows in the official minutes:

Senator Underwood said that at the time the subcommittee considering the customs revenue of China was holding its sittings, a question arose which met with the general approbation of the members of the subcommittee, but was not reported to the full committee. Since that time it had been suggested that the chairman ought to call the matter to the attention of the full committee in order that the record of the full committee might contain the statement. It related to the question of the deposit of moneys collected under the customs revenues in the banks of China.

After the treaties were made in relation to the indemnities growing out of what was called the Boxer movement, it was provided that certain portions of the Chinese customs revenue should be set apart to meet the interest and amortization charges on the bonds issued at that time, and those customs revenues were deposited entirely or almost entirely, in the Hongkong-Shanghai Bank and the Russo-Asiatic Bank. The amount of those revenues had been great and, of course, were of great value to those institutions as compared to the other banks in China. He thought it was admitted that the allocation of those funds under the agreement made at the time of the issues of these bonds that he referred to a moment ago was a matter of contract and that portion of the revenue derived must continue to be deposited according to the understanding or the contract at the time.

Of course, the free revenue above the charge for amortization and interest on these bonds was at the disposal of the Chinese Government.

As a matter of fact, he thought on account of the revenue being collected paying less than 5 per cent. effective there had not been much of a balance sheet on the side of the Chinese Govern-

ment, but under the resolution passed to make this 5 per cent. effective that revenue would be largely increased. Of course, so far as the revenue was concerned, that was allocated to this particular purpose; that is, still controlled by the original allocation and the terms of it; but as to the balance, it was free revenue for disposition in any bank of course controlled primarily by the Chinese Government.

Senator Underwood wished to say that at the same time he also stated that he recognized the fact that the revenues that had already been allocated to the Chinese contracts would not be changed because they were part of an existing contract, but other additional revenues were free to be deposited in such banks as could be determined.

He thought that so far as the present 5 per cent. tariff was concerned, there could be no question that that which had been allocated to the payment of the interest on the bonds already issued, could not be deposited with the banks named before. As to the balance of that 5 per cent., it was free to be deposited in either banks when it was not needed, when it was turned over to the Chinese Government.

Now, as to the new revenue that was to be derived by the additional surtax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. that would be in the control and under the determination of the special conference when it met, and that conference, in determining the putting into effect of this $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. surtax would have the right and power with the consent of China, of course, to a reallocation of these funds in the various solvent banks in China.

He did not think it was a question that this conference could settle; he thought it was far better to leave it to the special conference that had already been ordered to handle the customs tariff, because its members would meet in China, they would be in touch with the situation, they would know better what to do.

Senator Underwood wished in conclusion to say that though he had no doubt that the two banks that had

handled in the past the revenues of China, had done so efficiently and in an honorable way and effectively, yet for the large amount of revenue collected for governmental purposes in China to continue to go through separate banking institutions and all the other banks of China be deprived of deposits of that kind, would naturally lead to misunderstandings—not serious misunderstandings, but it did not appear to be an equal and fair distribution of the moneys involved. It gave undue power to certain institutions by reason of these government deposits. Now Senator Underwood did not think it would be wise for this conference to take any further action in the matter; but he thought he could say it was the sentiment of the subcommittee that, in the reallocation of these additional funds, there should be an opportunity for other solvent banks of the various nations sitting at this board to have a reasonable amount of the deposits derived from these revenues. So far as he understood it, he thought that that sentiment met with the approval of the representatives of the Chinese Government on the subcommittee, and he hoped it met with the entire approval of the Chinese Delegation.

Dr. Koo asked if he might say a word in connection with the subject that had been brought up. He would try not to detain his colleagues any longer than was necessary.

Concerning the question of the deposit of customs revenue in the foreign banks in China, he did not know that the subject might be brought up, so he did not have the papers with him; but speaking from memory, he would like to point out to the committee the circumstances under which this question had arisen. Prior to the revolution of 1911 the customs revenue that was collected in the ports was all deposited in the so-called Chinese Customs Bank, under the supervision of Chinese authorities, and the customs administration itself did not have the handling of the money.

They issued receipts, clearance only on the production by the merchant of

the receipts issued by the Customs bank certifying that the customs duties had been paid. As the time arrived from month to month, for the payment and discharge of obligations incurred for the Boxer indemnity and also for the foreign debts, the money was paid over. That arrangement proved very satisfactory, and there was now the testimony of the inspector general of the customs on record that that arrangement would work very satisfactorily, and that there never was a single instance in which there was any difficulty in meeting the foreign obligations promptly and on the day they were due.

In the course of the revolution of 1911 various disturbances broke out in various parts of China, and lest there might be delays or interference with the discharging of the foreign obligations, it was proposed that the customs revenues should be deposited temporarily in certain foreign banks to which Senator Underwood made reference a little while ago. While that arrangement was intended to be merely provisional, however, the practice of depositing customs revenues in those designated foreign banks continued. It had this effect on the commercial and financial situation in the various cities of importance, that prior to the revolution, when money was deposited in the Chinese Customs Bank, of course it flowed into the various channels of the market to meet commercial and industrial needs in each community, and in that way the money market was always more or less easy and there were very few occasions when crises of a financial character arose.

Since the new arrangement was introduced, however, of course all the customs revenue went into the foreign banks and the money was no longer quickly accessible to Chinese customers for legitimate purposes of commerce and trade as it had been heretofore, with the result that from time to time constant anxiety prevailed in the Chinese commerce and trading communities because money was scarce and tight. Therefore, the Chinese bankers had

made the suggestion more than once, and had drawn the attention of the Chinese Government to the fact, that some steps should be taken to modify the present provisional arrangement.

Mr. Koo, therefore wished not only to associate himself with Senator Underwood in his suggestion but to add that when the time came for considering the question on the reallocation, if in the opinion of the representatives

at that time conditions were not yet such as to permit a complete reversion to the former practice, at least a part of the deposits should be allocated to those Chinese banks which were generally recognized as being sound and solvent.

Baron de Cartier said that before the committee adjourned he wished to express his agreement to the proposal of Senator Underwood.

Tribute to Washington and Lincoln

By ADMIRAL TSAI TING-KAN

WHATEVER I may say cannot increase or diminish the fame of Washington, "the Father of his country, the first in war, the first in peace, the first in the hearts of his countrymen."

As is the polar star to a ship in the storm so was Washington to the infant republic of America in its struggle for independence.

When a family is in danger it is the father who assumes the responsibility; it is the father who bears the brunt; it is the father who makes peace; it is the father who occupies the first place in the hearts of the members of the family. When a man is given the title of father and is acknowledged as the head of a nation he has all the love, the respect and the power that a people can give to any single man. There is in it dignity and satisfaction to all concerned. There is no cringing and servility on the part of those who elected him. There is honor and glory to him who is the elected. What is a conqueror compared with the greatness of a liberator? What is a usurper compared with the nobility of a chosen chief? What is a king compared with the majesty of a beloved father of his country?

Washington had self-denial and self-command. He retired after two terms. His humility of soul has been an unwritten law and a guide to all his successors. He taught by example. He led by action.

The glitter of title and the pomp of power could not tempt him. Wealth and honor could not spoil him. Hardship and deprivation could not dishearten him. Might and force could not subdue him. He was indomitable and unconquerable, therefore he is the hero that he is.

He had great vision and foresight.

To keep away from entangling alliances and to prepare the country for all emergencies were his two axioms which give America her safety and prosperity.

Washington had a dignity which transcended that of kings. He is a model and pattern for all presidents, at all times, in all lands. Kings now adopt his moderation and learn of his wisdom. He knew when to stop. He had the fame of the ancient emperors Tang and Wu without having usurped, like them, a throne. He had the virtues of the Sage Emperors Yao and Shun but surpassed them by having won the laurels of a victor.

* * * *

Americans would detract from the glory of the immortal Lincoln if they think he belongs to America alone. His fame is like the brightness of the sun, which shines not only on a continent but on the entire globe. He is claimed by the whole human race because he was a benefactor to all mankind. His biography has been translated into all languages. The meaning of his words and deeds has penetrated to the remotest corners of the earth. His name is a power and influence for good. His life is an inspiring example to the youths of the civilized world. We revere him in China. In our present political impasse between the North and South, China yearns for a strong and central figure like your great Lincoln to consolidate the country. When your Congressional Party visited China two years ago one of your Southern Senators said to me: "Avoid the separation of the North and South in China. We are wrong. We made a mistake. You must not commit the same blunder." Lincoln today is as great in the South as he is in the North because his heart embraced every

section of your land. I call him great because he could feel for the poorest wretch. I call him great because he could stoop to the meanest being. A Chinese proverb says:

"A great man never feels great:

A small man never feels small."

Lincoln never hankered after greatness. Lincoln never disdained smallness but his greatest plans were not characterised by smallness.

Justice regulated his head. Mercy softened his heart. Faithfulness to duty made him brave.

To show that Lincoln lived up to the highest ideals of China's greatest philosopher, Lao-Tsz, who was born in 604 B.C., I will quote a few passages from his work, the Tao-teh Ching, where he describes a truly great man. He said:

"A man thinks too much of success or failure because he fears he may not attain to the one or may meet with the other. A man thinks too much of calamity because he takes into consideration his own personal safety. When he makes up his mind to do the right thing and leaves success or failure to take care of itself what fears can he have? When he entirely disregards his own personal safety what calamity can befall him? Therefore when a man dedicates his own success to the success of the world the world can be safely entrusted to his keeping. When a man's love for his own person can be translated into a wider love for the world, the world can be entrusted to his wise rule."

Lincoln saw his duty and pressed towards the goal without fear and with-

out faltering. Lao-Tsz describes the wise ruler thus:

"A wise ruler is ever ready to save his people; therefore his people are not neglected. He is ever ready to save all things; therefore nothing is wasted. A wise man is the instructor of the ignorant man. The ignorant man is the material upon which the wise man works. Therefore he who honors not his instructor, and he who loves not materials, though considered wise, is nevertheless foolish."

Lincoln did not neglect the ignorant blacks. They were the material upon whom he devoted his life. Lao-Tsz said of the man in supreme authority:

"He who is in supreme authority should have a compassionate heart in time of war. When many are killed he should mourn their death. When he is victorious his attitude towards the dead and vanquished should be as a man attending a solemn funeral."

This was exactly Lincoln's attitude throughout the Civil War. His speech at Gettysburg was so solemn and impressive that his words sunk deep into the hearts of the people. When he finished there was the silence of death. Not a voice cheered. Not a hand lifted to applaud. Enmity gave way to amity. Brothers became brothers again. The hot tears of the North and South mingled together and cemented the Union forever. Now the stars of the American flag and the stars of heaven together shine serenely over a happy and prosperous land, the *United States of America*.

MARCH OF EVENTS AT HOME

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AT HOME

Negotiations concerning the Cabinet situation at Peking have not been making much progress since the beginning of the controversy. Early in February two conferences were held at Mukden and Paotingfu respectively with the view to reach an understanding between the Chihli party on the one hand and General Chang Tso-lin on the other. But they failed of their object. Later efforts were made by the President to secure the support of General Chang by appointing his half-brother, Pao Kwei-Ching, as premier. That again failed to work, because the Manchurian general would not indorse the appointment of his kinsman and withdrew his troops from Peking. This action on his part is considered an intimation to the President that relations have been severed and that the capital may be taken by any leader who cares to do so. Meanwhile the government business is paralyzed by the political situation. Dr. W. W. Yen has repeatedly notified the President that it is imperative for him to give up the acting-premiership at an early date.

While the Cabinet negotiations are dragging on at Peking, extensive military preparations are being made by Dr. Sun Yet-sen in Kweilin, Kwangsi. Dr. Sun has been recruiting and adding to his forces daily, hoping to have 100,000 well-drilled men when the time comes to launch his drive against Peking. According to reports just received his forces have actually left Kweilin and his advance column has already reached Heng Chow, Hunan, about 157 miles from Changsha, which latter city is the advance base of General Wu Pei-fu's army. At present Dr. Sun has the following troops under his command: Cantonese, 16,000, under General Hu Chung-shi; General Lee Fu-Lin with 8,000, and General Huang Ta Wai, 7,000; Kweichow, an unidentified

General, with 6,000; Yunnan, General Lee Yuah-sun, General Hu Yo-Yu, 2,000 each; General Yang Yi-chien and General Chu Pai-ten with a combined force of 8,000; Kiangsi, an unidentified General, with 4,000.

On the other hand General Wu Pei-fu is also busy drilling a large army and has ordered part of his troops to advance from Yochow to Changsha in order to protect that city against the Constitutionalists. He is determined that Dr. Sun's forces shall never cross the Yangtze. He has on hand 100,000 mobile troops which are disposed as follows: The main body of 40,000 troops is at Yochow, 122 miles from Hankow on the Hunan border, under Chang Fu-lai. These are chiefly Chihli troops, which are of excellent character. There are 40,000 troops at Ichang, 265 miles from Yochow, under Sun Chuang-fang, for the purpose of frustrating a threatened attack from Szechwan. These are partly Chihli troops and are well trained, having served in last year's battles. There are 20,000 at Loyang, Hunan, or placed along the Peking-Hankow Railway. They are formed so as to prevent a rear attack by Chang Tso-lin or to squelch disorders in Peking. Thus it appears that while Sun Yet-sen has weak communications, Wu Pei-fu, on the other hand, is not able to concentrate a strong force for operation in Hunan.

While the two army chiefs are moving to battle, an interesting new move is being developed between Canton and Mukden. Reports are published to the effect that General Chang Tso-lin has sent an emissary to Canton to discuss the possibility of a double blow against General Wu Pei-fu and that Mr. Wu Chao-chu, son of Dr. Wu Ting-fang, is in Mukden as representative of the Constitutional government at Canton in an effort to form an alliance between Chang Tso-lin and the Canton admin-

istration. It is also rumored that the "Little Hsu" of the former Anfu Clique is now in Canton.

Everything may be quiet on the Potomac, but things are sizzling on the Yangtze. That is why the United States Government has sent Rear-Admiral Bullard to Hankow to keep in constant touch with the situation. He has several gunboats with him, located 600 miles inland from the sea to protect American interests should the storm break out.

THE CHEKIANG TUCHUN'S APPEAL TO PEKING

A telegram has been dispatched to the Peking government and various organizations and leaders throughout the country by General Lu Yung-hsiang, Tuchun of Chekiang, in connection with the present situation in China. The telegram says:

"Nowadays many people are voicing their opposition to the government, but have no constructive plans in mind. It is an easy matter to dismiss a rotten government, but it is not so easy to set up a new one. It is easy to destroy, but it is difficult to construct. . . .

There are many who think that a person who is able to raise the greatest amount of money is the person best suited for the formation of a Cabinet.

"But to raise money nowadays it is necessary to make foreign loans. In my humble estimation, the Cabinet which does not raise funds at the present time is the Cabinet which is working for the salvation of China.

"People are talking about the redemption of the Shantung Railways. Can we redeem these ourselves? We can. The money can easily be raised among our people and the government which has the welfare of the people at heart should abide by their wishes.

"My creed is: (1) that we should borrow no more money from foreign countries, and (2) that all matters relating to the finances of the country be open to the public for examination and discussion. With these two things in mind, I think, those in charge of affairs will be able to save China.

"Regardless of who the next premier is, or who the members of his Cabinet are, and regardless of what party or faction they belong to, they should be willing to abide by these two things before taking over office. Otherwise let them consider carefully, for I will oppose to my uttermost strength any person or persons who attempt to sell China's rights."

FINANCES OF CANTON

Last year's finance of the Canton government saw a deficit of over \$20,000,000 owing to the campaign against Kwangsi.

Mr. Chung Hsiu-nan, new Minister of the Finance Department, proposes the following measures: (1) Salt-tax to be levied by Kwangtung Province; (2) \$3,000,000 to be raised by collecting traffic tax; (3) \$8,000,000 *per annum* by consolidating paddy-field taxes, and (4) \$1,000,000 by drafting register regulations of various descriptions. It is expected that these methods will be put into force from this year.

REDEMPTION OF THE SHANTUNG RAILROAD

Plans for the redemption of the railroad are now being carried on. The Ministry of Communications has received telegrams from the Tuchun of Shantung, General Tien Chung-yu and the Tuchun of Hupeh, General Hsiao Yao-nan, expressing their approval of the arrangement agreed upon between China and Japan for the return of the Kiaochou-Tsinanfu Railway. These leaders offer to contribute \$3,000,000 each from their respective provinces, while General Feng Yu-hsiang, Tuchun of Shensi, General Chow Ti, Tuchun of Honan, and General Chen Kwang-Yuan, Tuchun of Kiangsi, state that their provinces will subscribe \$1,000,000 each. General Chang Tso-lin and General Tsao-Kun will each contribute three million dollars toward the redemption of the railway.

JAPAN RECALLS RAIL GUARDS

Notification of Japan's withdrawal of her guards from the Shantung Railroad without waiting for ratification

of the Shantung pact, and Tokyo's request that China expedite the substitution of Chinese guards, are viewed with suspicion by the Peking government, which cannot understand the haste. The note sent by Japan points out that the Chinese delegates at the Washington Conference declared that China would assume full responsibility for the protection of the railway and foreign lives and property.

Government organs express the fear that Japan knows that this is a most difficult time for China properly to guard the railway, because there is so much internal strife. Japan, they intimate, aims to catch China unprepared and will jump at the first chance to allege that the Chinese protection is a failure. The Japanese guards will be rushed back again, it is believed, if at the beginning the Chinese guards are unable to prevent disorders or if foreign property is imperiled.

HONGKONG DOCK WORKERS' STRIKE

The strike of the Chinese seamen which has been crippling commerce in the Far East and especially at Hongkong, has assumed more serious proportions according to an Associated Press dispatch. Martial law has been declared at Hongkong, and in a clash between the strikers and police one man was killed and eight were wounded. However, the International News Service declares that according to advices reaching the State Department at Washington under date of March 7 the strike has been declared closed and the men are returning to work.

SHANGHAI WELCOMES JOFFRE

On March 8 the people of Shanghai joined by the residents of the French and other foreign settlements gave a tremendous welcome to Marshal Joffre. The Marshal was to remain in Shanghai for three days, sailing for the United States on the 12th aboard the steamer "Silver State."

DR. SHELTON SLAIN BY BANDITS IN TIBET

The Rev. Dr. A. L. R. Shelton, an American medical missionary of the

Christian Church, who was the first Christian missionary to be allowed to enter Tibet, and who was once kidnapped and held by Chinese brigands but later released, was reported murdered by robbers near Batang on February 17.

Dr. Shelton was regarded as one of the foremost missionaries serving under the United Christian Missionary Society and was well-known in Chicago and New York.

FOURTH CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION IN SHANGHAI

The Chinese National Medical Association held its fourth conference in Shanghai on February 1, 1922. This conference was confined purely to Chinese medical men and women from all parts of China. Discussions on diverse medical topics were carried on for four days. At the last meeting the following resolutions were adopted:

1. That the Ministry of Interior be petitioned to recognize without delay the new nomenclature passed by the Terminology Committee.

2. That the Nanyang Bros. be requested to send at least three out of ten students abroad to study medicine.

3. That the Association associate itself with and support the proposal of their missionary colleagues in establishing a large medical school in Shanghai.

4. That the Association welcome the establishment of the National Health Association of China and pledge its support.

5. That the Association request the Peking government to consider the petition submitted in 1916, regarding registration of medical practitioners in China, so as to establish a legally qualified profession.

6. That the Ministry of Interior be requested to write to the customs administration in order that the present unfair regulation against Chinese medical practitioners concerning the purchase and use of morphine, cocaine and hypodermic syringes be modified and placed upon an equitable basis.

The following officers were elected for 1922-24:

President, Dr. E. S. Tyau; Vice Presidents, Drs. Mary Stone and W. L. New; English Secretary, Dr. T. K. M. Siao; Chinese Secretary, Dr. Wang Wei-pao; Treasurer, Dr. W. S. New; Business Manager, Dr. D. C. Chang; Editors of Journal, Drs. C. V. Yui and E. S. Tyau.

GOOD ROADS MOVEMENT IN CHEKIANG

General Lu Yung-hsiang, the progressive and energetic Tuchun of Chekiang, is making good progress in the work of reforming his province. A prominent feature of his reform is the building of good roads. It is to be remembered that about five or six years ago General Lu was the military governor of Shanghai and Sungkiang, and when he was in Shanghai he built the road between Yangtzepoo Point and Woosung, which will remain a memorial to him. General Lu is now working hard to build good roads for the province of Chekiang. When interviewed by a newspaper reporter, General Lu said: "I, too, have made plans for good roads which I hope will run through the whole of Chekiang and connect us up with the neighboring provinces. The provincial assembly, however, has not yet approved my plans, which were for an allocation of \$700,000 *per annum* for 15 years when all the roads should be completed. In all a little more than \$10,000,000 would be needed and the province would have all the roads required.

"It is not necessary that first-class roads should be built at the beginning. Rougher roads can be built at the beginning and improved as time goes on. Let us first have the foundations laid. If, at the beginning, we construct rough roads, my estimate would then be reduced to \$300,000 *per annum*. You see, the trouble just now is that we do not have sufficient funds.

"I have given orders that a wide road shall be built around the West Lake. More than half of this has been

completed. Unfortunately, again, funds are lacking, and we have only been able to construct around the lake to Lin Yin Temple and San Tien Tsu Temple. I hope we shall be able to finish it by summer. Already three bridges have been constructed."

With the limited funds at his disposal, General Lu has set to work with energy to improve the seat of his administration — beautiful Hangchow. According to reports from that city the old-time alleyways have now been replaced by excellently laid out roads on which motor cars may run. Another attractive feature is the prevailing cleanliness. Rubbish is not thrown about the streets. Bins are provided. Even the sugar-cane sellers are made to put peelings in a heap and throw them into the bins at the close of their day's work. Markets are swept clean and was being thoroughly washed even during the New Year holidays. Beautiful avenues lined on both sides with trees, are one of the many attractions of the old Tartar city, a marked contrast with bygone days.

INDEX NUMBERS OF COMMODITY PRICES IN SHANGHAI

In publishing the January index numbers of wholesale prices in Shanghai the report of the Treasury Department of the Bureau of Markets of the municipal government says that the influence of the Great War upon the market prices in the Far East is still being felt. With the average prices of February, 1913, as basis, *i. e.* these prices of the pre-war period taken as 100, the index numbers for the various commodities in Shanghai for January, 1922 are as follows:

Cereals	146.3
Other food products...	130.1
Textiles	150.1
Metals	138.6
Fuels	173.8
Building materials.....	171.9
Industrial materials....	230.3
Sundries	133.3
Average	177.3

The above figures show that the prices for January, 1922, are nearly 80% higher than those of the pre-war period.

SOUTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY BUILDING PROGRAM

The university is undertaking a big building program this year. Two buildings are already under way, namely, a middle school class-room building and a gymnasium, to cost \$87,000. Other buildings will be added as soon as the plans are finished such as the library and the science hall. General Chi Shih-yuan, Tuchun of Kiangsu, has contributed a library fund to the University. The construction will cost about \$100,000 and its equipment \$50,000. This sum is contributed by the Tuchun while funds for books are to be solicited.

SHANGHAI COLLEGE OF COMMERCE

This college was opened recently, and is a combination of the departments of commerce in the Southeastern University and Chinan Institute at Nanking. Its temporary home is at the International Institute on Avenue Joffre. Dr. P. W. Kuo, president of the University is also the principal of the college, and Dr. C. Chu is the dean. The curriculum consists of a two-year course in the preparatory department, after graduation from the middle school, and three years in the college department. The unit system is adopted. The last two years' courses are subdivided into six branches. These branches are: (1) Banking and Insurance; (2) Accounting; (3) International Trade; (4) Transportation; (5) Business Administration, and (6) General Commerce.

JAPAN TO RETURN PART OF BOXER INDEMNITY

Mr. Obata, Japanese Minister to Peking, informed Dr. W. W. Yen, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that he has been instructed by the Tokyo Government to notify the Waichiaopu that it

is willing to return 40% of the Japanese share of the Boxer Indemnity to China for the establishment of four universities at Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin, and Manchuria, respectively.

MANCHURIAN UNIVERSITY PROPOSED BY CHANG TSO-LIN

It is said that many Japanese scientists and professors are being engaged with a view to their employment in the Manchurian University which General Chang Tso-lin proposes to establish at Mukden, especially for the instruction of students from Manchuria and the districts of Charhar, Jehol and Sui-yuan.

STAFF OF MINISTRY OF EDUCATION ON STRIKE

Owing to the financial bankruptcy of the Ministry of Education, the officials of that Ministry are now on strike, and the teachers of the government schools in Peking are beginning to consider ways and means of obtaining their arrears of salaries. The officials are demanding that the salaries due them for the last three months be paid. The teachers of the eight government schools are crying aloud for their July and October salaries which have not yet been paid.

BOXER INDEMNITY FOR CHINESE STUDENTS IN JAPAN

The students of Kioto University who since last year have been endeavoring to cause the Boxer Indemnity due to Japan to be employed to cover the school expenses of Chinese students in Japan, have now sent six committees to Tokio with a view to carrying through their object, taking the opportunity of the Imperial Diet being now in session.

Interviewed yesterday by the committees, leaders of all political parties approved of the plan in question and declared that they would do the utmost to realize it. The committees are also in negotiation with the authorities concerned.

L. S. LOH.

CLUB NEWS

BALTIMORE

With the advent of spring we expect to give fresh vigor to our Club. Requests have been received for some of our members to address various American organizations and we intend to avail ourselves of all such occasions to speak in the interests of China and the Chinese. The use of a regular country home has also been secured for our Club picnic as soon as spring can detract us from our work.

The Club is represented by Mr. S. H. Lin in the Homewood Playshop, the new dramatic society, composed of faculty members, students and alumni of the Johns Hopkins University. In the first public production of the Playshop, Mr. Lin contributed Chinese items by playing the dulcimer on four successive performances given on March 24th and 25th at the Vagabond Theatre. Appreciation of his participation in the entertainment and his introduction of real Chinese music for the first time on the local stage is shown in the following passage from *The Baltimore American*:

"The cooperation extended by many of the foreign students at the university was responsible for a cosmopolitanism which added decidedly to the interest of the program. One of the most entertaining features of the intermission was a brief concert by Shih Hsi Lin, who introduced the dulcimer to his American audience, playing two exquisite Chinese spring songs."

C. E. LIM.

CORNELL

After a brief span of vacation Cornell Chinese Students' Club has resumed its regular function again. Mr. C. C. Kwong, the Cornell soccer "star", has been elected to head the new executive officers. That he will bring, with his "tact" the club even to a higher plane than before is beyond question.

The plan for the social programme of the whole year to come has been carefully worked out in a cabinet meeting and approved by the members. Three groups are formed on the basis of collegiate department, agriculture students, engineering students, and arts and science students. Each group will be responsible for one social gathering program. Through the competition of different groups, the prospect for the coming social meetings is bright and encouraging.

What is more? Mr. Higgins C. Cheng, the vice president, will supervise the club's social function with his commanding hand and winning personality! Success is undoubtedly assured.

The Club hereby extends its heartfelt congratulations to Messrs. T. C. Tang, H. Yu, M. K. Chao, H. T. Yang and S. C. Chao for their successful career in Cornell and recent graduation; and the Club also extends a sincere welcome to Messrs. Chi Yu Tang, a new member, and K. C. Loh, a returned "prodigal son" of Cornell Chinese Student Club.

CHAO CHUAN FENG.

DE PAUW UNIVERSITY

In order to make the acquaintance of all the Chinese Students' Clubs and readers of the CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY, we take pleasure in presenting to you our Club at DePauw. This Club is about seven months old. The second election took place the week after the opening of school and the results were as follows: Mr. C. H. Kuo, president; Miss Anna Chang, vice president; Mr. C. E. Chang, secretary; Mr. Y. C. Kwei, treasurer.

We have regular monthly meetings in which we are not simply trying to have a good time of exchanging our ideas and relief from our studies but most of all we are co-operating to attain the knowledge of American political affairs, and economic prosperity

and to secure social amelioration, educational improvement, commercial and industrial integration and favorable religious conditions for our country.

In order to establish better understanding between China and America, whenever our American friends have asked us to speak in public we have never refused to avail ourselves of the opportunity.

C. H. KUO.

GRAND RAPIDS

Three of us from Hope College attended the Michigan State Student Volunteer Conference held here February 24-26, 1922. It was both educational and inspirational.

Mr. K. K. Wong and myself are members of the Fraternal Literary Society at Hope College. I am a member of the Y. M. C. A. and Student Volunteer Band here. We are glad to be students at Hope College for we have a splendid college life. We send our best wishes to you all.

F. C. WU.

ILLINOIS

It is a properous condition that the membership of our Club has been increasing all the time. Up to the end of last semester we had 97 members registered in the University of Illinois. Among them 14 provinces were represented. This is the way they were distributed: Kiangsu, 17; Kwangtung, 16; Hunan, 14; Chili, 12; Honan, 10; Fukien, 8; Chekiang, 5; Shantung, 4; Kiangsi, 3; Fungtien, 2; Kirin, 2; Szechuan, 1; Kweichow, 1; Hupeh, 1. It was a great combination.

At our last business meeting of last semester, held on January 14, the following gentlemen were duly elected as our Club officers. They are: W. H. Chao, president; K. H. Lin, vice president; P. W. B. Sun, secretary; C. P. Pei, assistant secretary; T. C. Hu, treasurer; S. C. Wang, house-manager; T. L. Chao, auditor, and K. W. Hsu, sergeant-at-arms.

Our first business meeting of this semester was held on February 25th and six new members were initiated.

The meeting was followed by a jolly social with games, music and "hard hands," too.

P. W. B. SUN.

IOWA

Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, formerly American Minister to China, and now legal adviser to our Republic, happened to visit Iowa City. Our Club, indicating our full realization and hearty appreciation of his distinguished service to our fatherland, honored him at an elaborate dinner in the evening of February 23, at the home of Mrs. Hester Sporleder. Dr. Reinsch gave an informal talk at the dinner, emphasizing the points that China needs some effective law governing the conduct of public officers, as laws against embezzlement, laws fixing the responsibility of office, etc.; that China needs a party system, especially a bi-partisan system; that China needs to reduce the tremendous pressure and influence of its family tie; and finally that China should establish a government of law. Dr. Reinsch gave three other talks before the faculty and student body of the University.

Dr. William F. Russell, Professor of Education and Dean of the School of Education, has just returned from an investigation tour from China. He, acting as the head of an American Educational Commission to China, went to China last summer, and stayed there over half of a year for an extensive investigation of Chinese educational system. Our Club will soon have a reception in his honor.

The week from February 20th to 26th was designated on the campus here as the "China Week." Various social programs were presented by the Y. W. C. A. All girl students of our Club were honored at a tea party held on Tuesday afternoon, February 21. It may be said here that the atmosphere at Iowa has been extremely friendly to and interested in China. China's problems are extensively discussed, China's history, culture and her politics are studied as a university course. It may be said here also that scholarships of

the Chinese student here have been generally very high.

LEONARD S. HSU.

M. I. T.

At the first meeting of the second term, on February 10, the following members were elected to be new administrative officers: Mr. Y. H. Sun, president; Mr. F. C. Ede, vice president; Mr. K. C. Ku, Chinese secretary; Mr. P. Y. Tang, English secretary; and Mr. Y. H. Woo, treasurer.

We are once again confident of our "old Tech spirit" of co-operation and enthusiasm which alone insures a prosperous future of the club. To enrich this fine spirit, another social gathering was proposed with the sanction of all the members present at the meeting. It was held on February 25 in the Walker Memorial Hall. Certainly our burdened minds were once more temporarily uplifted from the memory of a mass of formulae to the congenial atmosphere of good old friendship.

In the same meeting Messrs. F. C. Ede and C. F. Lo were elected as our delegates to the Board of Representatives of Chinese Students' Alliance.

On February 17 our members participated in the reception and entertainment given to the Chinese students in Greater Boston by the Eliot Men's Club of Newton. Excellent talks and funny stunts were contributed by our members. Mr. Y. L. Ta talked on Washington Conference; Messrs. H. Y. Tsui and T. P. Kue performed well in a dummy show, and Mr. T. K. Hsueh "kicked" wonderfully well with his (F).

A Fellowship Gathering of the Chinese students in Greater Boston was held on February 19 in Phillips Brooks House, in which our members participated with great zeal. Mr. P. C. King spoke interestingly on the Conference. The plan of reorganization of the Speakers' Bureau of Students of Greater Boston was then discussed and accepted. A Speakers' Bureau consisting of three members was formed. The members elected for this bureau were Messrs. Y. L. Ta, Z. Z. Li and P. Y. Tang.

An elaborate programme consisting of a play, perhaps, is now under preparation for the general reception to American friends in the name of four Clubs of the Chinese students in Greater Boston. The occasion will take place about the middle of April. With this in view, college professors, American friends really interested in the promotion of Sino-American trade and the real culture of China, and also newspaper editors and journalists will be invited to the occasion. The work is now under way, and we are sure of a fair success, when the prevailing spirit of enthusiasm and hard work of the students of Greater Boston is in full play.

PING YUAN TANG.

MICHIGAN

On February 22 a tombstone was erected by the Chinese Ministry of Communications on the tomb of late Professor Henry C. Adams, who died in Ann Arbor last summer. Professor Adams had been advisor to that Ministry for three years and it was due to his energy and knowledge that the Chinese Railway Accounting System was unified. The ceremony consisted of two addresses, and the presentation of a wreath was witnessed by a small gathering of his intimate friends, some faculty members and Chinese students.

On the evening of March 2 our Club presented "East and West" in the "All Nation Vodvil Show" given by the Cosmopolitan Club. Three girls and three boys participated in the stunt, picturing the home coming of two young Chinese from Peking University and another couple from the University of Michigan and thus giving a vivid contrast of the Eastern and Western civilization. The stunt ended in a prediction of the solution of the problem, yet whether "the East and West shall ever meet" remains to be seen.

L. Y. HU.

MICHIGAN AGGIES

There are only three Chinese students in the College proper this year.

In spite of such a small number of Chinese students, we formed a nice, so-called Chinese Students' Club with its headquarters in M. A. C., by grouping together these three with Messrs. Fu Chu, H. Liu and Henry Yee. Mr. Chu is a high school student in Lansing, three miles from the College, while both Messrs. Yee and Liu are working in the State Highway Department of Michigan in Lansing. Messrs. Liu and Yee are also graduates of Illinois and Michigan, respectively.

We, the students of the College proper, regret that nothing has been done in the campus so far as the social affair is concerned, since we are so-called "Uncultured Agriculturist", at least we think so ourselves, but we are fortunate enough to have Mr. Henry Yee and Mr. Liu working for us in every respect. As you know, those working in the Highway Department are traveling engineers, so, whenever they go, they speak for China, and explain to those who are living in the lonely countries.

During the Christmas Vacation we had Messrs. Mah and Yee of the Olivet College, Kwong and Chu, of the U. of M. as our guests. We had a good time all right. Furthermore, February 24, was the Chinese Night, one of the features held by the Cosmopolitan Club of M. A. C. Not only did we have a fine time, but we also pleased the attendants satisfactorily.

MING TAT YEUNG.

MOUNT HOLYOKE

The Chinese Club at Mount Holyoke College gave a supper party on Saturday, March 4, in honor of the president, Miss Mary E. Woolley, who has recently come back from a seven months' trip to China. The invitation was extended to the Dean and the Registrar. But the Dean could not be present on account of previous engagement. President Woolley told us at the table that she had accomplished or rather learned two things while she was in China. One was that she could pick up a pigeon's egg floating in the

broth with a pair of chop-sticks, and the other was the proper way of drinking tea.

The supper party was incidentally a three days' affair to the members of the Club. Since all of us are expert (?) cooks, we had to spend the night previous to the party experimenting with the different dishes. The second night was *the* night. The third night we had a jolly time eating up the left-overs.

BE KYUNG YANG.

NEW BEDFORD

For twenty years New Bedford has been silent and little known, not because that the students here were inactive and unable, but because of the small number of students that failed them to have any kind of organization. In spite of the fact that they were small in number, they have shown their talents in school work and in getting well around with the mill people of the city and its vicinity.

The C. S. C. N. B. made its first appearance last year. The number of students has fortunately increased tremendously since the beginning of the last fall term, and with it, activity. The number of students jumped from three to ten, and the C. S. C. was started at the middle of the term.

With the exception of Mr. W. J. Chang, of Hsan Si, who is in the New Bedford High School, all the other nine members are of the Textile School. Mrs. A. C. Chan joined the school after the new year vacation to take up the knitting course. She is the first Chinese woman in the 23 years' history of this school.

During the time of "Triple Ten" we went out on a trip to Providence, R. I. We had a banquet there in a Chinese restaurant. Before that we visited the State House of R. I. and were kindly received by the secretary.

The International Textile Exposition was held from October 1st to November 5th last year. All our members were present.

When the Disarmament Conference was made known, we tried our best to

work for our country as all our patriotic brothers did. We tried to make our case clear to our American friends through the local papers and through other means. We sent a telegram to Secretary Charles E. Hughes, chairman of the Arms Limitation Conference, asking the Conference to discuss the question of the Twenty-One Demands for the interest of the world.

A formal meeting was held in the new year's vacation at 92 High Street. In the meeting the officers were elected for this semi-annual term. They are as follows: President, C. T. Tu; English secretary, H. H. Yuan; Chinese secretary, T. K. Pien, and treasurer, S. K. Kwan.

H. H. YUAN.

NORTHWESTERN

The Board of Representatives of the Mid-West Section has granted our application for holding the Annual Conference at Evanston in the coming September. The Club anticipates a very large delegation to be represented at the Conference on account of the unique points of interest of Evanston. Geographically Evanston is situated on the beach of Lake Michigan and hence one of the best places for summer resort in this country. The Club has been busy in organizing themselves into boards and committees and it believes in combined leadership and divided responsibility. Further details will be announced later.

Under the leadership of Mrs. William H. Bush and few other prominent citizens of Chicago like Messrs. John J. Abbot, the vice president of the Continental and Commercial Bank of Chicago; Edmund Soper, professor of Northwestern University; Ex-Ministers Paul Reinsch, Crane and few others the Chicago American Friends of China Society came into existence about a month ago. Admiral Tsai Ting-Kan and Minister Alfred Sze have been requested to constitute the Advisory Board of the Society. Similar to the China Society in New York City, its sole purpose is to promote Chino-American

friendship by way of mutual study into the national characteristics and the essence of the two distinct civilizations. Quite a number of our Club members have been requested to become the honorary members of this society, which hopes to arrange, from time to time, lectures and exhibits free to members, to give entertainments to distinguished Chinese visitors and scholars passing through the city.

Our Club meeting on the tenth of this month was entirely social in character. Miss Anna Lan, the chairman of the Social Committee, has prepared an entertaining program for the evening. The program consisted principally of American games, Chinese and American music, refreshments and picture-taking. The next meeting will be held in Chicago Department of Northwestern University.

LIVINGSTON S. Y. HU.

OHIO NORTHERN UNIVERSITY

On February 27 our small Club held a two hour spirited meeting. Two important things were emphasized clearly: (1) that although the Club is small all meetings will be absolutely formal; (2) that talking and refraining from taking part in affairs with other Clubs could not help China's cause much. In other words, living a passive life does not help China any. May all the C. S. Clubs in the U. S. co-operate with one another for the good of China's cause.

The result of our third election during the present college year is as follows: Hymn Moy, president (re-elected); Lih T. Lee, English secretary; P. Y. Lamb, Chinese secretary and treasurer.

LIH T. LEE.

PENNSYLVANIA

Every Chinese student in Philadelphia has been invited directly and personally by the City Chamber of Commerce to attend its Second Annual Dinner for Foreign Students to be given on March 9. At the dinner the business men will act as hosts to the students. "We stress," they say, "that

these men and women who are studying here will take back home the most vivid impression of this city. They now see all American things through the eyes of Philadelphia." The Hon. George Wharton Pepper, U. S. Senator, will be the principal speaker. The dinner in itself is an unusual evidence of municipal hospitality.

Minister and Madame Sze were guests of Mr. and Mrs. Mostard, of this city on February 17th. A tea was given that afternoon in their honor to which all the Chinese students were invited. A number of distinguished persons were present, among them Dr. Frederick Poole, who has traveled extensively in China and is now in this country ably interpreting China to the American public. The conversation of the hour was centered largely on things Chinese.

Since the term began, we have another friend added to our membership. Mr. Tu Wing Lee, who has been at Yale for the past two years, has now entered the Wharton School.

ELMER C. LING.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

The main group of our Delegates to the Disarmament Conference at Washington, D. C., on their way home passed through Seattle. A special banquet was given in their honor by the Seattle China Club in the L. M. Smith Building Restaurant, February 17. Our honorable guests were thirty-four in number, came by two railroad lines. The prominent ones among them were Chief Justice Wang Chung Hui, Dr. Hawking Yen, Mr. C. W. Tsao, Dr. T. C. Yen, etc., who were also called to speak after the dinner. It was attended by many American friends, our students and merchants in this city. We had a grand evening. Quite a few students from the University saw them off at the

S. S. "Pine Tree State" the next morning.

On February 25, a union meeting of the C. S. C. of the State of Washington and the C. S. C. of the University of Washington was held at the Chinese Baptist Church downtown. Dr. H. H. Gowen, Professor of the Oriental Languages at the University was called to speak. He is learned in the Chinese civilization and has given much inspiration. Games and refreshment followed during the rest of the meeting.

All the members of our Club were invited to the Woodland Park Presbyterian Church to participate in their International Missionary Rally on February 26. The speakers from our Club on the program were: N. S. Tsoi, on "Christianity at Work in China"; Elsie N. T. Wong, on "Honolulu Bible Training School"; Joseph Tuck, on "What Christianity Means to Me". A tea party given by Mrs. J. M. Beeman in her home to us and many missionary workers was a very successful one.

JOSEPH TUCK.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

In connection with the recent activities of the Chinese Students' Club of the University of Southern California, both educational and social, two things ought to be mentioned here.

1. We have lately organized, under the leadership of Dr. James, who has lived in China for sixteen years, the Chinese Christian Circle, which meets every Sunday afternoon at the University Y. Hut for the purpose of discussing the most vital problems that confront our country.

2. On February 18, we were invited to a dance at the home of Dr. T. Leung, a prominent Chinese herbalist of Los Angeles, given by one of our girl members. When the peppy three-piece orchestra played its latest music the swallowtailed boys holding their fair

partners waltzed with great joy and merriment. Refreshments was then served after the dance. What a jolly time we had!

P. W. W. WONG.

SYRACUSE

During the sessions of the Washington Conference, many of our Club members devoted their time and energy in writing many articles for the local newspapers, interpreting the Chinese students' point of view in respect to Oriental problems.

One day, a few words of notice came to our fellow member, Mr. W. C. Nee, from the Alliance, asking us to give our financial support to the *China Advocate*. Though most of us were but poorly supplied by our homes, yet in a single night we contributed \$213. This placed us second of all Chinese Students' Clubs in America.

Mr. Alex. T. K. Choa, a prominent member of the Club and a University Instructor, through the prestige of his learning and his acquaintance with people, secured jobs for two of our self-supporting members.

Miss M. Hung was appointed by Chairman Auyang as one of the members of our Social Committee to take care of the lady friends of the Club. She has delivered many speeches in the women's clubs. Miss Edith T. Chen was elected vice president of the Club. She is a well known member of the University Volunteer Band.

YIEN YING LI.

WELLESLEY

On our old New Year's Day, January 28, we gave a farewell dinner to Miss H. W. Yung. Some other friends of hers in Boston were also invited. We played games after a hearty Chinese meal and turned our gloomy parting thoughts into loud peals of laughter. Then she told us a little joke and mentioned the fact that from America to China is only a few weeks' voyage; but once we reached home, nobody knows after how long we can be here again. So, while we are here we ought

to make the best and most of our short stay.

Miss Yung was the president of our club, the president of Wellesley Cosmopolitan Club and our "artist". She has finished her college course here and is now studying in the National Training School, New York City. We all regret very much to lose our able leader and friend. But luckily New York is not so far as China, and she may come back to visit us before she goes home, perhaps in summer.

A meeting of our Club members was called on February 13, to elect new officers, since Miss Yung has left the presidency of our Club vacant. Miss P. K. Yang was elected as president, and Miss T. Hu, secretary still. There was no treasurer elected; the secretary is to act as both. A brief constitution was drawn up, just a few rules to guide our local interest. We hope that some day our club would expand on this nucleus.

T. HU.

YALE

We are glad to have among us again our big brother C. C., President Hsiang, who resumed his studies in the Law School, after a few months' absence during which he served concurrently as the Secretary of the Chinese Students' Committee on Washington Conference and the Secretary of the Joint Committee of Eight Chinese People's Organizations at Washington. In the course of his interesting report to us, he said that for a student to voluntarily give up his school work for a period longer than one semester is quite a serious matter, and that, reflecting upon the work done by those organizations with which he was connected, he considers his absence from the school "highly justifiable and amply justified."

On March 5, a vote of thanks was cast to Francis S. F. Liu who ably discharged his duties as the Acting President of our Club during Mr. Hsiang's absence. Although Mr. F. W. Lee has left us for the University of Pennsyl-

vania, the total number of 17 members in our Club is kept constant by the recent arrival of Mr. T. B. Yen, who registered in the School of Fine Arts and to whom we extend our heartiest welcome. Mr. Addison Yung Kwei, our secretary, has won a place among "the Scholars of the First Rank" in Yale College for his excellent work done during the last term. This rare honor goes only to those who obtained a general average of 90 or above for the entire term's work.

We learn that President Angell of this University is anxious to have more Chinese students here. A few weeks ago when Dr. F. C. Yen, Dean of Hunan-Yale Medical School, and Mr. P. C. King, President of Tsing Hua College, visited New Haven, they were consulted regarding that matter. It is hoped that Yale may soon change her ultra-rigid policy of admission which has been hitherto strictly adhered to.

Y. L. YAO.

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BOOK REVIEW

China's Place in the Sun. By Stanley High. Macmillan, N. Y. 1922. \$1.75.

It is very interesting to see that the American publishers are turning out books on China written both by the Chinese themselves and by the foreigners who are interested in the future of China. The fact is significant as an indication that the world is directing its attention to the development of that great country in the East which for good or for ill has already begun to be an important factor in the history of the world. There is great need therefore that the western countries should be kept informed of her development and its probable outcome. We do not think that the many books which have been written in recent years are absolutely essential to the understanding of the Chinese people, no, not even those which are written by the Chinese themselves, but many of them are very useful if only for the circumstantial evidence they provide for the many changes that are going on.

It is only natural that political affairs in China should be given immediate consideration and in fact the greater proportion of the recent publications are concerned with this one particular aspect of the Chinese national life, Mr. High has now given us a book with a very ambitious scheme. He endeavors so far as possible to give us an entire picture of the different activities which the Chinese people are now engaged in. Yes, it is the people, whom Mr. High is interested in, not their government, because we suppose Mr. High agrees with Mr. Reinsch who, by the way, contributes a very useful introduction to the book, that politics with the Chinese people is a far more superficial thing than it is with the western peoples. So we have chapters on *The Achievement of China's Civiliza-*

tion, China's Industrial Renaissance, The Growth of a National Consciousness, China's Intellectual Renaissance. Great and important subjects to be sure, subjects which deserve the greatest deliberation and the most thoughtful treatment. On each of these Mr. High has given us a number of facts. We do not of course blame him for doing that, for to expect anyone to be thoughtful and critical on Chinese conditions is to presuppose a combination of many qualities which we rarely find either in the foreigners or in the Chinese themselves. But the facts are carefully selected and so serve a very useful end. This is perhaps the only kind of work that we should legitimately expect from people of foreign countries who as yet know very little of the Chinese people. There is however a danger for any writer to confine himself too exclusively to facts as we ordinarily understand them. It is the timidity of opinion. And we find this particularly manifest in the little book of Mr. High's. Mr. High, now and then ventures to express his own views on the subjects he treats, but in the majority of cases he is on crutches. He finds it necessary constantly,—such is the deplorableness of a factually-minded person,—to resort to the opinions already expressed by a number of what he thinks to be reliable authorities on Chinese subjects. But even if they are, which we doubt, it is not a good policy to speak through other people's mouths. Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy" to most of us is no more than a book of quotations, but it is classical nevertheless. But ordinary men are not Burtons. We think that his footnotes are too full of references to other books although we dare say, if Mr. High had but tried, his views would be just as good as those to whom he refers.

But this is not an extremely important point. On the whole, the book gives us a balanced and impartial des-

cription of Chinese conditions today, and we should all feel thankful for it, for balance and impartiality are qualities which, to say the least, are very rare. The Chinese should be grateful

to Mr. High for the opportunity he has given to the world to know what they are doing and thinking at present and the foreigners for the clear and good treatment of the subjects.

H. H. C.

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SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

Agreed Terms of Understanding Recorded in the Minutes of the Chinese and Japanese Delegations Concerning the Conclusion of the Treaty for the Settlement of Outstanding Questions Relative to Shantung.

I. TRANSFER OF PUBLIC PROPERTIES.

1. Japanese subjects will be permitted, subject to the provisions of Chinese law, to become members or shareholders of any of the commercial companies to be formed with respect to public enterprises mentioned in Paragraph 4 of Annex II of the Treaty.

II. WITHDRAWAL OF JAPANESE TROOPS.

2. After the withdrawal of the Japanese troops provided for in Articles IX-XI of the Treaty, no Japanese military force of any kind will remain in any part of Shantung.

III. TSINGTAO-TSINANFU RAILWAY.

3. All light railways constructed by Japan in Shantung and all properties appurtenant thereto shall be considered as part of the properties of the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway.

4. The telegraph lines along the Railway shall also be considered as part of the Railway properties.

5. The Chinese authorities, upon taking over the Railway, shall have full power and discretion to retain or to remove the present employees of Japanese nationality in the service of the Railway. In replacing such employees, reasonable notice shall be given before the date of the transfer of the Railway. Detailed arrangements regarding the replacements to take effect immediately on the transfer of the Railway are to be made by the Joint Railway Commission provided for in Article XVI of the Treaty.

6. The entire subordinate staff of the Japanese Traffic Manager and the Japanese Chief Accountant of the Railway is to be appointed by the Chinese Managing Director. After two years and a half from the date of the transfer of the Railway, the Chinese Government may appoint an Assistant Traffic Manager of Chinese nationality for the period of two years and a half, and such Chinese Assistant Traffic Manager may likewise be appointed at any time upon notice being given for the redemption of the

Treasury Notes under Article XVIII of the Treaty.

7. The Chinese Government is under no obligation to appoint Japanese subjects as members of the subordinate staff above mentioned.

8. The redemption of the Treasury Notes under Article XVIII of the Treaty will not be effected with funds raised from any source other than Chinese.

9. The Chinese Government will ask the Japanese Government for such information as may be useful in making the selection of the Japanese Traffic Manager and the Japanese Chief Accountant of the Railway.

10. All questions relating to the existing contracts or commitments made by the Japanese authorities in charge of the Railway shall be settled by the Joint Railway Commission; and, prior to the transfer of the Railway, the said Japanese authorities will not make any new contracts or commitments calculated to be harmful to the interests of the Railway.

IV. OPENING OF THE FORMER GERMAN LEASED TERRITORY OF KIAOCHOW.

11. The term "lawful pursuits" used in Article XXIII of the Treaty shall not be so construed as to include agriculture, or any enterprise prohibited by Chinese law or not permitted to foreign nationals under the treaties between China and foreign Powers, it being understood that this definition shall be without prejudice to the question of the salt industry provided for in Article XXV of the Treaty or to any question relating to vested rights which shall be determined in accordance with Article XXIV of the Treaty.

V. POST OFFICES.

12. All the Japanese Post Offices outside of the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow shall be withdrawn simultaneously with the transfer of the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway, if such transfer shall take place before January 1, 1923, and, in any case, not later than the said date.

13. All the Japanese Post Offices within the former German Leased Territory of Kiaochow shall be withdrawn simultaneously with the transfer of the administration of the said Territory.

VI. CLAIMS.

14. The omission of any reference in the Treaty to the question of claims which Chinese citizens may have against the Japanese authority or Japanese subjects, for the restitution of real property in Shantung or for damages to the persons and property of Chinese citizens in Shantung, shall not prejudice such claims.

15. The Chinese authorities shall furnish the Japanese authorities with a list of such claims together with all available evidence in support of each claim. Justice shall be done through diplomatic channel as regards the claims against the Japanese au-

thorities, and through ordinary judicial procedure as regards the claims against Japanese subjects. With respect to the latter class of claims, the investigation into actual facts of each case may, if necessary, be conducted by a Joint Commission of Chinese and Japanese officials, in equal number, to be specially designated for that purpose.

16. The Japanese Government shall not be held responsible for any damages which may have been directly caused by military operations of Japan during the late war.

(Initialed)	S. A. S.
(Initialed)	V. K. W. K.
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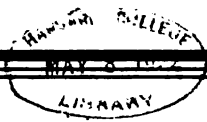
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Sundry Thoughts on the Seventh of May

SEVEN years ago, on the seventh of May, Japan delivered to the Chinese Government an ultimatum demanding China's unqualified acceptance of Japan's revised proposals of April 26th of the same year. These demands have since been made known to the world and they scarcely need repetition here. Suffice it to say that the *démarche* was the most fragrant of its kind in the history of diplomacy. It was essentially a German method practised at the most opportune moment and on a country where resistance was not to be apprehended.

China has protested, boycotted, and attempted to have the wrong rectified at Paris, but all to no avail. At the Washington Conference, China again presented a statement urging that the Sino-Japanese Treaties and Notes of 1915 be reconsidered and cancelled. But she was told that treaties entered into

and signed by sovereign powers could not be made void by an intervention of other powers. Out of the nine nations represented at the Conference, six were signatory to the Treaty of Versailles. Both the Chinese and the Japanese Delegations issued a statement and by spreading these statements on the record of the Conference, the question was quietly disposed of.

It now seems that either the demands will remain as they are, or, if cancelled at all, it must be at the end of China's winning a victorious war—cancellation by sheer physical force. This is, of course, a remote hope. For the present we have to bear our humiliations with our usual calm. If, indeed, our painful recollection could stir us to action as the years roll by, if we were made wiser by our suffrance, Japan would have bestowed an everlasting blessing on China by her insult.

May the seventh of May yet mean something to the making of history in China!

Mr. Russell says the Chinese are tolerant; they are too proud to fight.¹ That was the reason why we met our reverses first in the British War, then in the Franco-British War, in the French War, then in the Japanese War and finally she was at the mercy of all powers. She was too proud to fight; so she had to pay the price, a costly one, too. She was too proud to fight; so she was impotent and had to yield to duress.

Lord Balfour told the Washington Conference in plain language that China must save herself—but how? Not by her past of which she is so proud, nor by constantly invoking the good offices of others. It is idle to talk about international justice when one could not stay the hands of her wrong-doers.

Pacifism, tolerance, and contemplative outlook—the very virtues of old China, become her weaknesses in an industrial and fighting era. The Chinese are wise in not learning from the West, as Japan did, things that would bring wealth and military strength, but suppose China could have a better opinion of these things which the Japanese treasure, her diplomatic record during the last eight decades would have been relieved of many disgraceful pages. What was natural to old China is unnatural now. And the wise follow the fashion.

Fortunately or unfortunately, China is becoming restless. The westerners are trying to make us like themselves. Tremendous forces are driving us into the western pattern. And we are a responsive people.

The distinctive merit of western civilization, so Mr. Russell says, is scientific method, and the distinctive merit of Chinese civilization is a just conception of the ends of life. But scientific methods and contemplative living are

extremes that can never meet. Eventually the Chinese will come to appreciate the fact that a calm life is not worth living. Struggle is the essence of life. If we were compelled to choose between a contemplative life and the will to dominate, we have to take the latter, because philosophical calm will eventually lead to the loss of life altogether. The way may be one that leads to ultimate destruction, but it is better to travel it than to perish before we start. We need a dominating passion, a conquering will, a pugnacious attitude, and a persecuting religion. If the Japanese adopted western faults and kept their own, we are rapidly losing our own merits and adopting the western ones—if merits they are. We desire freedom, not domination, but there is no difference in the process of attaining either.

Suppose China repeats European history. It is absurd, of course, to compare the so-called renaissance in China with the Italian renaissance of the fifteenth century, except, perhaps, the presence of mercenary soldiers. Probably we may hope that by the side of profound corruption there may yet appear human personalities of the noblest kind, and a more accurate estimate of the world surrounding us. Pagan renaissance will be followed immediately by an age of free thought and skepticism the signs of which are clearly visible now. Then we expect the dawn of a period of rapid industrialization with all its by-products—exploitation, strikes, profiteering, and, above all, economic imperialism. The restraint under which the Chinese had been held will be broken and, being an excitable race, their vehemence will be all the more explosive. We are teachable; we are learning from the West. Should the pupils prove better than their masters, Europe will have reason to recall the prediction of the defeated Emperor.

It may be a dream or a nightmare, and it will be for the good of the world if it does not become true.

¹The *Dial*, April, 1922.

China and the Consortium

IN a speech recently given in New York, Sir Charles Addis summarized the work of the new Consortium in China in a very lucid fashion. Believing as all of us do that peace in the Pacific hinges upon the proper handling of the Far Eastern question, he urged the American bankers to stand firm for a co-operative financial policy in China.

It is quite clear that in the nineteenth century the powers having fiscal relations with China had no policy to speak of. Loans and credit were a part and parcel of imperialism. Whether in the form of territory, railways, or mines, each worked in the best possible way for her own exclusive advantage. Jealousy furnished incentive to competition which, in no small measure, encouraged corruption in Chinese officialdom. More loans led to more concessions and spheres of interests until there was danger of collision on the one hand and fear of losing national independence upon the other. Any one who reads carefully the history of the Chinese Republic readily sees the part foreign finances played in the perpetuation of China's inter-cine wars. To stop this state of affairs there must be a united policy of all powers desiring to give China the most unembarrassed opportunity for self-development and to remove all possible misunderstandings among themselves. This was the purpose of the Consortium. Putting aside the question of recognition and the drawbacks that necessarily followed such an enterprise, the Consortium has rendered China signal service though in an indirect way.

It has refused to loan money to the Chinese government for purposes inimical to the welfare of the people. It has saved China from many unnecessary expenditures. It has checked certain aggressive foreign elements in fishing in troubled waters. It has put a stop to the high-handed methods of economical penetration which threat-

ened the very existence of China for the last half a century.

More valuable to China was the impetus which the Consortium gave to the native bankers. China must, as Sir Charles rightly said, have "men with a stake in the country." This is really the first step towards straightening China's finances, the starting point of China's fiscal independence. National integrity is incompatible with profligate foreign loans. The Consortium has encouraged the native bankers to form associations in many localities. A Chinese syndicate has been organized for the purpose of co-operation in making internal loans. Their financial interests in the country are naturally greater than the Consortium and on several occasions they actually refused to loan money to the government for not complying with the conditions which they laid down. Lately it is alleged that the handling of government loans has become so acute that the Chinese have organized a People's Financial Supervision Society. It originated, of course, in the opposition to the \$96,000,000 loan on salt surplus, which is being negotiated by Chang Hu, the Minister of Finance. The Society demanded the full publicity in every financial operation. It may be pointed here that the Chinese people were always opposed to the senseless contracting of foreign loans. Much of China's political upheaval was due to foreign borrowings. To disentangle China's financial situation, the Consortium, the native bankers and the people must work in close co-operation.

The Consortium is a good substitute for competition, the scramble for concessions and the balance of power. By harmonizing their financial interests and pursuing a common policy, the powers will not only give China a breathing space to find herself, but will have also removed one of the principal causes of conflict among themselves.

To accelerate China's industrial

progress and to help her, in the interests of greater trade and better facilities of communication, building up railways, the assistance of the Consortium is still needed. Whether negotiating with the provinces or with the central government, loans for constructive purposes will prove productive of beneficial results for all. The spirit of the Consortium was best expressed by Sir Charles by the following remarks:

"Railways are for the benefit of all and in the interest of a United China, it is highly desirable that the uncompleted contracts into which we have entered should be fulfilled as soon as possible. I know of no step more likely to be effective in bringing the governments of the North and South together than the linking up of the Canton-Hankow and Peking-Hankow railways.

"Indeed, I will go further, and say that it seems to me unreasonable to hold up the development of communica-

tions in China while the Government is engaged, it may be for a generation, in evolving a new political system."

The negative influence of the Consortium constitutes one of the formative forces of a new and more promising regime in China and the positive good that the Consortium may do unto China by hastening her development of her trade and industry typifies a new attitude which the powers take towards China. The Consortium has justified itself and remained true to the purpose for which it was formed, namely, to prove that "the interests of the Chinese people can in existing circumstances best be served by the co-operative action of the various banking groups representing the investment interests of their respective countries in procuring for the Chinese Government the capital necessary for a program of economic reconstruction and improved communications."¹

¹ See preamble, New Consortium Agreement, October 15, 1920.

For Mutual Good

WITH the return of normal conditions, European trade is rapidly resuming its activities in the Far East. To keep up the increased volume of business in China made possible by the great war, America has drawn up a constructive and vigorous program. The importance of China trade and the infinite possibilities open to American merchants have long been recognized. It only remains for the enterprising business men in this country to take definite steps.

China is going through the initial stages of industrialization. One of the outstanding hindrances that stands in the way of the expansion of her trade, both foreign and domestic, is the lack of means of transportation. America, with her network of railways can render China a great help in that direc-

tion. Several opportunities had been offered to American financiers, who somehow or other, did not take them seriously. The southern section of the Peking-Hankow Railway was eventually sold to the Belgians, while in the Hu-Kwang Railway project, little progress was made. Americans were naturally surprised by the obstinate stand which the Japanese delegates took at the Washington Conference with regard to the Shantung Railway. Chinese labor was one of the significant factors in the construction of the trans-continental railroad in this country; it is high time for Americans, both for their own good and the good of China as well, to hasten the development of her trade by helping to increase her transportation facilities.

China needs modern highways. In-

dividual efforts have been made during the period of her famine to build better roads, but these were merely spasmodic attempts. A systematic movement is highly desirable in view of the automobile trade which American firms are developing in China. The Shanghai Automobile Show drew 25,000 visitors and resulted in \$120,000 worth of business. Motor cars have been sold in China for twenty years, and the small demand showed how limited the market had been. This was, of course, due to the non-existence of good roads. Eventually the growth of this particular American business will bring improved streets to China just as it brought them to the United States. Before the war, Europeans were selling to China annually almost twice as many motor cars as Americans, who however managed to secure 90 per cent of the business during the war. At present three-fourths of the motor vehicles in China come from the United States. Further expansion of this American business depends on the increase of mileage of well-paved roads. American assistance along that line will, at the end, benefit both countries.

On the other hand, the admission of Chinese laborers into this country, provided well managed on both sides, may be of some help towards the improvement of general labor conditions of the United States. The recent coal miners' strike originated in the demand for higher wages. The demand was made necessary by the high cost of food supplies. Cheap food is the antecedent to low wages.

Perhaps the very suggestion of importing Chinese laborers into this country may arouse a storm of protest, but facing the labor situation calmly, this idea is not so absurd as it first appears to be. Mixed with the problem of Chinese immigration in the west is the element of sentiment. That this sentiment is gradually subsiding was made evident by the attempt of the Congress to admit Chinese laborers into Hawaii last year.

Chinese laborers were favorably received in Europe during the war. They proved themselves physically strong, hard-working, neat, systematic and cheerful. They were eager to learn and to produce; their patience was inexhaustible and their output high. They soon became indispensable not only during the war by connecting the front and the rear, but also during the period of reconstruction and especially in the devastated areas.

The same satisfactory results may be expected by admitting Chinese farmers into this country. The agreement may take the form of a convention somewhat like the one signed by China and the British Government importing Chinese laborers into the South African gold mines. The general conditions of employment and the details of management may be clearly set forth. The Chinese, having no idea of competing with American farmers, are to be shipped back to China after the expiration of a period to be mutually agreed upon. Effective execution of the terms of the contract will minimize the chances of misunderstanding.

China has never encouraged emigration. She has gone through many sad experiences in South America, Jamaica and the Pacific Islands. She needs them in her own fields and their labor becomes all the more valuable because of the knowledge they are to acquire abroad. While learning the scientific methods of agriculture and the prevention of flood and famine, is it not possible that our farmers with their forty centuries of trial and experience will make some contributions in return?

Chinese immigrants had helped America in building roads and reclaiming land and the vast stretches of America's northwest has become the wonder of the world. Chinese labor can still be properly utilized. A more generous and tolerable attitude towards, and a better conception of, the Chinese in this country and a more active and energetic commercial policy in China will go a long way in knitting the two countries together.

Washington and China

By G. LOWES DICKINSON,
King's College, Cambridge University, England

TO any one who tries to take a long view of the future of mankind, the question of China must bulk very large. She has a population sometimes estimated at 400 millions and a territory full of undeveloped resources. All the Powers now strong are looking upon her with covetous eyes. Their aggressions and ambitions have stirred her from a long period of a subtle but (comparatively speaking) happy and peaceable civilization. She must become a great factor in the future of civilization, but whether for peace or war depends less upon herself than upon her treatment by other Powers.

In this respect, the past is not of good omen. There is little, even in the history of states, more brutal, cynical and immoral than the treatment of China by England, Russia, Germany and Japan. It has been indeed the usual treatment of the weak by the strong; but it has been made peculiarly flagrant by the fact that China was not only weak but highly civilized with a civilization far older and in many respects higher than that of the people that oppressed her. Her offence was that she had no armed force to speak of, and no industrial development parallel to that which had grown up in Europe from the eighteenth century onwards. To that Europe, the refusal of a state to open its door to trade was a criminal offence to be punished by war. The English began the game by making war on China because the Chinese objected to the importation of opium from India.

Other aggressions followed, based on equally slender excuses, and after every aggression China was charged with an "indemnity" and compelled to open a

port or two to trade. In security for the indemnities the customs were taken over by foreigners. The Europeans settled down in the treaty ports, with their own land, their own administration and their own criminal law. The ordinary process by which the western states annex the weaker nations was in full swing. Only, there were two difficulties; China was very large and very populous; and more than one state was determined to have its share of the pickings.

In 1894 came the Chino-Japanese War. Japan proposed to utilize her victory by appropriating not only Korea, but Port Arthur and the Liaotang Peninsula. Russia objected, having her eye cast on that region and with the support of France and Germany compelled Japan to resign the spoils. A year or two later, Germany made her first entry on the scene. The Kaiser had agreed privately with the Czar that Germany might take a Chinese port. A lucky murder of two German missionaries gave the opportunity desired. Germany, to show how much she disliked murder, seized Kiaochow and the economic control of Shantung Province of some thirty million inhabitants and the heart of the Chinese Empire. This was an outrage not to be overlooked by the other Powers of Europe. They were morally bound to take their compensation not, indeed, out of Germany but out of China. Russia, accordingly seized Port Arthur and the Liaotang Peninsula which she had prevented Japan from taking after her victory. England took Wei-Hei-Wei and a contingent strip of the mainland opposite Hongkong. France took Kwang Chau and justice was thus

duly reasserted. Unfortunately, or fortunately, according to the point of view taken, the planting down of Russia on the mainland of China was regarded by Japan as a menace. She made her alliance with the English, and then proceeded to attack Russia. The issue is well known—for the first time for centuries an Eastern power defeated a Western one and Japan settled down on the part of China whence she had expelled Russia. Russia turned back to the west, made the Entente with England, and the stage was prepared for the European War.

In that war, the Far East played its part. Japan came in on the side of the Entente, and felt it to be her duty to expel the Germans from Kiaochow. Having done so, she sat down there, substituting herself for the Germans, much as though the British having taken Alsace-Lorraine should have remained themselves in occupation instead of returning it to France. There are, of course, many differences among them, one is that Shantung contains 30 millions Chinese while Alsace-Lorraine has a population of something like two millions. Being thus established in the heart of China, the Japanese proceeded (the other Powers being distracted by the great war) to present to China the famous twenty-one demands. These amounted to a claim to control, not only political and economic, of Shantung but South Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, to monopolize the great iron works of the Hangeyping Company and to make China, from the military point of view, a mere satellite of Japan. The Chinese resisted up to a point, but up to a point were compelled to acquiesce. Having gotten what they wanted, the Japanese were pleased to allow China to enter the war for right, but she made a treaty with England, France and Italy (kept secret of course from China) which recognized the Japanese rights in Shantung. China expelled the German traders. The Allies won the war. The Chinese came to the Peace Conference with their protests and their claims, and were politely in-

formed by the Fighters for Right that the treaty with Japan had already disposed otherwise of their property.

This was the position after the great war. Meantime, China had fallen internally into a state of chronic anarchy. This was (apparently) fostered by the Japanese who saw profit in further fishing in troubled waters. The anarchy continues and until there is a government in China, whose authority is generally recognized, her relations with other Powers as well as her domestic situation will remain problematical. Meantime, the affairs of China bulked large at the Washington Conference. The Chinese delegates put forward for consideration certain principles to be recognized by the Powers in their dealing with that distracted country. These included briefly the territorial and administrative integrity of China; the open door; the publication by the Powers of all treaties and agreements affecting her; and the examination of all rights, privileges, immunities and commitments now known or to be declared so that they may be brought into accord with the principles now laid down to respect in future wars of China's rights as a neutral, and a provision for the peaceable settlement of future disputes in the Pacific and the Far East. What was the result of these requests? First the assembled Powers passed four general resolutions. They run as follows:

1. To respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.
2. To provide the amplest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself effective and stable government.
3. To use their influence for the purpose of mutually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.

4. To refrain from taking advantage of the present conditions, in order to seek special rights and privileges which would abridge the rights of the subjects or citizens of friendly states, from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states. These provisions, on the face of them, go far to meet the Chinese minds, but the point of course is how will they be applied?

To the Chinese, the most immediate point of interest is the question of Shantung. On that question a loyal battle proceeded at Washington between them and the Japanese. In the end, an arrangement was reached which the Chinese may perhaps think better than they could have anticipated. Japan transfers to China all public property except schools and consulates; withdraws all troops and armed guards within six months; and transfers the railway to China for a sum of money. Perhaps this arrangement may work out to the advantage of China, but only time will show. Meantime, it is to be noted that Japan retains on the railway a traffic manager and an accountant. On the conclusion of this arrangement, Mr. Balfour rose and announced that the British would restore Wei-Hei-Wei which, in fact, they had never utilized and of which the lease expires in two years. Of the Chinese demand for the return of Hongkong, and of the mainland opposite, nothing more was heard. We do not give up what we really want.

For the rest, the relations of Euro-

pean and American finance to China are to be determined by a consortium, which means that loans, contracts and the like are to be adjudicated by a Board representing the nations concerned. This is an arrangement arrived at before Washington. In the present state of anarchy in China or rather (for Chinese society goes on pretty well without government) of the lack of a single recognized central government, it is hardly likely that this consortium can function. When it does function, we must "wait and see" whether it will function satisfactorily to China. There has always been, in China, much opposition to this kind of arrangement, on the ground that better terms might be had by open bidding and competition. But the result of that, in the ordinary political conditions of China, is apt to be that military adventurers get loans on terms disastrous to Chinese interests. Neither alternative perhaps is very satisfactory. But nothing can be satisfactory to a state swindled, plundered and rent as China has been by the western Powers, and by the adventurers who called anarchy into existence.

Whether Washington will be the prelude to better and more just behavior only the future can show. The past gives no promising augury. But if, indeed, Washington marks a turning point in the behavior of the Western states to their Eastern neighbor, the Chinese have gained something, and stand to gain more by their own action, if they have the wisdom and capacity to utilize their opportunities.

Progress of Modern Medicine in China

By WU LIEN-TEH, M.A., M. D., (Cantab).

FOR over three thousand years the Chinese people have had a medical practice of their own. Their theories of health and of sickness, based on an incomplete knowledge of anatomy and physiology, might be compared to those of the early Greeks, and the comparative backwardness of scientific medicine in China of the present day is largely due to belief in these theories by both the educated and uneducated classes. In many respects the ancient Chinese were far ahead of their times. For instance, inoculation for smallpox was practiced in this country, medical statistics were published by the government during the Chou Dynasty (six hundred years before Hippocrates), medical men were required to pass a State examination before they were allowed to practice, and even isolation of cases of infectious diseases was generally known. The notorious usurper of Chinese history, Tsao Tsao, had as his medical attendant, Hua To (221-264 A. D.) the great surgeon who was supposed to have performed several cases of intracranial surgery, and who in a famous painting was actually depicted in the act of operating upon the distinguished General Kuan Ti for necrosis of the elbow. The National Pharmacopoeia, handed down for nearly twenty centuries, is still very extensive and includes not only important drugs known in the West, such as mercury, arsenic, iron, sulphur, sodium sulphate, alum, ammonium chloride, rhubarb, pomegranate root, camphor, aconite, cannabis indica, musk, ginger, liquorice, anise, cinnamon, peppermint, aloes, orange peel, castor oil, digitalis, etc., but other inert or repulsive substances, like insects, snake's skins, tiger's claws, deer horns, etc. Organotherapy, that is treatment of

diseases with substances derived from organs similar to those diseases, has existed for a long time in China.

The earliest record of China's contact with western medicine is very vague, but it probably took place during the Mongol invasion, when several learned *savants* from Persia and the West were on the staff of the conquerors. One of these, Fuh-lin (Frank?) by name, established a charitable hospital in Peking in 1272. The Manchu Emperor, K'ang Hsi—patron of art and soldier - statesman — encouraged the Jesuit Fathers to promote education throughout the country, and an authorized translation of human anatomy from western text-books was actually begun by Perennin, but this was frustrated by native physicians. When the East India Company established its offices in Canton, Dr. Arthur Pearson introduced vaccination in 1805. In 1820, Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China, opened a dispensary in connection with his work in Canton, but the first purely medical missionary was Dr. Peter Parker, an American, who established an ophthalmic hospital to treat the numerous cases of eye diseases in that city. This same Dr. Parker was in 1852 appointed United States Minister to China. Dr. William Lockhart of the London Missionary Society followed in 1838, beginning his work at Macao, and then extending it to Hongkong, Chusan, Shanghai and eventually Peking (1861) where they founded the hospital that later on became the nucleus of the Peking Union Medical College. Dr. Lockhart died in 1864.

Steady progress has been made in western medicine since the days of the early pioneers, and the list of foreign medical missionaries in China now

comprises over 400 names of men and women. Almost every city of any size now possesses one or more hospitals, to some of which are attached medical schools for the training of students. The largest and most up-to-date of the Mission hospitals are at Canton, Foochow, Hangchow, Shanghai, Soochow, Wuchang, Hankow, Tsinanfu, Peking, Tientsin, Mukden and Nanking. The best known medical schools attached to Missions are situated in Canton, Shanghai, Nanking, Foochow, Peking, Tsinanfu, Changsha and Mukden.

It is interesting to note the evolution of the medical school from a one-man concern to an institution having at least six professors giving their entire time to medical work, a graded course of four full years in medicine and requiring a high standard of preliminary training. A large number of practitioners have graduated from medical colleges and have contributed much in spreading modern medicine knowledge among the people. In this connection, it may be said that the record of those who have obtained their qualifications in Europe and America has been a very satisfactory one. Such men have graduated from Cambridge, Edinburgh, London, Glasgow, Paris, Berlin, Yale, Harvard, Chicago, California and other American Universities. The first Chinese to obtain a foreign medical degree was Dr. Wang Fun of Canton, who graduated from Edinburgh in 1857 and was a favorite pupil of Sir James Simpson, the discoverer of chloroform as an anaesthetic. After him came successively Dr. Ho Kai (Edinburgh), who also obtained a degree, Dr. Lim Boon Keng (Edinburgh), Dr. Wu Liენტე (Cambridge and Paris), Dr. Shu Su Jen (Glasgow and London), Yen Fu Ching (Yale), J. H. Liu (Harvard), S. M. Woo (Johns Hopkins) and several others who were sent from the Straits Settlements, Dutch Indies, British West Indies, British Guinea and Hongkong. Many distinguished women doctors have also taken their degrees abroad, such as Drs. Hu Kim Eng (Foochow), Ida Kahn (Nan-

chang), Mary Stone (Kiukiang), Li Yuen Tsao (Nanking), Amy Wong (Shanghai), etc. Owing to the close proximity of Japan to China, and to cheaper educational facilities, quite a number of Chinese graduates have returned from Japan and are holding important posts under the Government. For instance, Dr. Fang Chin was Surgeon-General of the Medical Department of the Board of War, Dr. Tang Erh Ho was the Dean of Peking Medical College established under the auspices of the Board of Education. To the above should be added the senior graduates of the Missionary, Dr. Mackenzie (founder of the Government Medical College at Tientsin) who had done considerable work in forwarding medical science within recent years. These include Dr. W. T. Watt (formerly Director of the Sanitary Department, Tientsin, and physician of the late President Yuan) and Dr. Hsu Hua Ching (Inspector-General of the Army Medical Service and first Director of the Army Medical College).

An event of unusual importance in medical history was the occurrence of the great Pneumonic Plague of 1910-11, which killed more than 50,000 persons in the course of five months. This epidemic started from an endemic centre in Siberia and spread among Chinese coolies stationed at the border town of Manchouli in Northwestern Manchuria, with extraordinary rapidity along the railway lines and trade routes. Almost every city of note was visited in the three provinces of Manchuria. Peking and Tientsin were attacked, and the pest extended to Shantung as far as Chefoo. No authentic recovery was reported and the greatest anxiety prevailed throughout the country. Fortunately, the Government placed unusual powers in the hands of western-trained physicians with the writer at their head, and the course of the plague was stopped in March, 1911. An International Conference of medical men from eleven countries was held in the following April at Mukden at the instigation of the Central Gov-

ernment to study this virulent form of plague and to make recommendations. A very fine concise illustrated report containing 450 pages was published by the government as a result of the conference. Although the revolution occurred soon afterwards, the New Republican Government decided to carry out many of the recommendations, to establish the Manchurian Plague Prevention Service with headquarters at Harbin, to erect isolation camps at the main railway stations in the north and to encourage sanitary reform in general. The effective work of the Manchurian Plague Prevention Service since its inauguration in 1912, with its staff of English and American trained as well as home trained medical officers, is well known. Not only does this Service prevent plague, but it promotes public health by means of illustrated lectures, lantern demonstrations and popular pamphlets and treats ordinary hospital patients at its many hospitals.

One of the most interesting events following that was the formal opening of the first Isolation Hospital of Peking. The capital of China had been notoriously backwards in matters sanitary, and cases of infectious diseases like smallpox, scarlet fever, and diphtheria have been allowed to pass unnoticed in the past. The present hospital has accommodation for sixty patients, and it is satisfactory to note that six months after its opening the community is already clamoring for more room in order to accommodate the increasing number of cases. The success of this institution shows how quickly the Chinese appreciate modern methods of medical treatment and augurs well for the future of preventive medicine.

Another interesting break with the past was the promulgation of a Presidential Mandate in November, 1913, authorizing the performance of dissections on dead bodies. This, together with the Imperial sanction for the cremation of cadavers dead of plague in 1911 has undoubtedly removed a great

deal of the superstition connected with ancestor worship which has made China one of the most backward countries, as far as medical science is concerned.

An equally important Presidential Mandate was issued on September 30th, 1915, when western medical science was officially recognized by the Central Government. In this Mandate, three out of twenty-three branches of learning relate to the profession of medicine, namely, medicine proper, pharmacy and veterinary science, and the subjects which candidates are required to pass are the same as those insisted on by all progressive countries.

In 1913, Dr. Charles Eliot, Emeritus President of Harvard University, visited China on behalf of the Carnegie Peace Foundation, and in his report dealt adversely with the unsatisfactory sanitary conditions that he found there. In 1914, the Rockefeller Foundation, whose purpose was that of "receiving and maintaining a fund or funds and applying the income and principal thereof to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world", deputed a China Medical Commission to visit China and inquire into the condition of medical education, hospitals, and public health in that country. This Commission arrived in China in April, visited the principal centers of medical activity and left Shanghai in August. The Commission consisted of Dr. H. P. Judson (President of Chicago University), Mr. Roger S. Greene and Dr. Francis Peabody, who visited seventeen medical schools and ninety-seven hospitals in China and Manila. As a result of their recommendations, another Commission, consisting of Professor William H. Welch (Johns Hopkins University), Dr. Simon Flexner (Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research), and Mr. Wallace Buttrick, arrived in China in September, 1915 and stayed four months in China to investigate further the specific enterprises recommended by the former Commission, and to familiarize themselves on the field with the general features of

the situation. This party visited Mukden, Tientsin, Peking, Tsinanfu, Hankow, Changsha, Nanking, Shanghai, Hangchow, Soochow, Hongkong, and Canton, making a special study of the medical educational work at those places and conferring with most of the leaders in this work throughout the country. The following are some of the more important recommendations which have been put into effect:

1. The Union Medical College of Peking, established by the Mission bodies, has been taken over for the sum of \$40,000. It is intended to make this a strong English teaching college, for which purpose additional teachers from America have been employed.
2. The two senior classes of the above College have stayed on to complete their studies in the mandarin language, but the students of the three lower classes have been transferred to the Union Medical College at Tsinanfu (Shantung). Towards this end the sum of \$150,000 gold to be expended in five years for additional buildings and increased maintenance has been appropriated.
3. An annual appropriation of \$16,000 gold for five years has been made to the Hunan-Yale Medical College at Changsha for the maintenance of additional members of the staff.
4. Grants have been made to several missionary societies for additional doctors and nurses for certain of their hospitals in China.
5. Six fellowships for Chinese graduates in medicine, five scholarships for nurses, and three for pharmacists have been awarded to enable them to improve their knowledge in America.
6. Mr. Roger S. Greene has been appointed Resident Director with offices in Peking.

It will be seen from the above that the Rockefeller Foundation has done not a little to further the cause of medicine in China.

The formal opening of the new Peking Union Medical College and Hospital took place in Peking on September 15th, 1921, when a thousand medical men from all parts of the world attended, besides lay residents, recalls to one's mind the extraordinary personality of the old man through whose beneficence Peking and China, and indirectly the world, have been able to build, equip and endow the most artistic as well as the most up-to-date medical plant in the world. Mr. John D. Rockefeller, commonly known as the Oil King, now 82 years of age, and reputed as the richest man on earth, was as poor as most of us fifty years ago, but through keen business acumen and a genius for sticking to details has built up a fortune which will be remembered as long as history lasts. Even in his young bookkeeper days, J. D. contributed a few cents a week to various religious and charitable causes. With the steady and rapid increase of his fortune has come a corresponding desire to benefit his fellow creatures not by promiscuous giving, but by careful, well-thought plans to prevent, rather than simply alleviate suffering. For instance, he believed in dealing with yellow fever, malaria, hookworm disease and such like by exterminating them at the source rather than dole out unlimited doses of febrifuge and thymol. That is why he supports so enthusiastically medical research, especially at the Rockefeller Institute of New York, where under the direction of Dr. Simon Flexner are now gathered some of the finest scientific brains, including the Japanese Noguchi.

In China alone the Rockefeller Foundation has opened a large medical school in Peking and aided four medical colleges and thirty-two hospitals. It also grants fellowships to Chinese doctors and nurses for graduate studies in the United States. For the control of its many activities in medical edu-

cation and public health in China, a special board has been created, called the China Medical Board.

Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, Jr., visited Peking and personally opened the Peking Union Medical College, which has been built upon the grounds of the former Yu Wang Fu. No one who has gone over this wonderful set of buildings can help admiring the time and trouble that has been put into it. That the whole plant would have been built for less money if some experienced Chinese colleagues had been asked to help their American friends is undoubted. From this money saved, the proposed school and hospital at Shanghai might have been erected as originally intended. But we trust that our Chinese, for whom the medical school and hospital are intended to further the happiness and progress of this land, will do full justice to it. Whether the Rockefeller Foundation, which has charge of such work, will in addition promote the interests of hygiene in China by encouraging research work and lessening the evils of such infections as plague, malignant scarlet fever, hookworm, etc., remains to be seen. If it does, it will find there are as keen and able men in China as in America to undertake the work. For it is our opinion that all plans for suppressing epidemics and parasitic infections, in order to be effective, must be carried out simultaneously and co-ordinately and with ripe local experience.

The two principal medical colleges established by the government are the Peiyang Medical College and the Army Medical College, both situated in Tientsin. The former was founded in 1893 and has graduated about 150 doctors. The latter was founded in 1903 to train medical officers for the newly organized modern army, and has graduated nearly 450 doctors. The Peking Medical College, established by the Board of Education, and founded four years ago, has about 120 students on its list.

A most promising landmark in the annals of Chinese medicine was the foundation of the National Medical As-

sociation in 1914, consisting of medical practitioners who have graduated in Europe, America, Japan and home colleges. The membership is now considerably over 1,360. The first annual Conference of this Association took place in Shanghai in February of the year 1915 and was attended by members from all parts of China. Dr. Yen Fu Ching, M.D. (Yale), D.T.M. (Liverpool), Dean of the Hunan-Yale Medical School, Changsha, was President. The Conference lasted for one week, there being daily sessions devoted respectively to preventive medicine, medical education, medical text-books and publications in Chinese, patent medicines and miscellaneous papers. In addition, public lectures were delivered each day for four hours by the better known medical men of China. On the last day the following resolutions were unanimously passed by the full Conference:

- a. That this Conference petition the Central Government to take proper steps for the registration of practitioners of western medicine and of such drug shops selling foreign medicine.
- b. That the Government be requested to establish a Central Medical Board in Peking, consisting of representatives from the Government and principal medical institutions with power to fix the medical curriculum, grant licenses for medical practice and supervise examinations throughout the country.
- c. That this Conference draw the attention of the Central and Provincial Governments to the need of combatting tuberculosis and venereal diseases.
- d. That the Government be urged to establish without delay a Public Health Service through the country.
- e. That the Board of Education and Wai Chiao Pu (Foreign Office) be asked to make an annual grant of ten scholarships to medical students from the Indemnity Fund.

Of the first ten Honorary Members elected, eight were foreign physicians who had done special work in China and the other two were the Minister of Finance and the Minister of the Interior, who had both encouraged medical science, the former by subscribing \$100,000 to the Central Hospital, and the latter by introducing municipal reforms in Peking. In many respects the establishment of the Central Hospital in Peking is the best proof that modern scientific medicine has taken firm root in this ancient land. Unlike most undertakings of this nature, the funds required for this hospital have been raised partly from Government and partly from private sources, and the whole management is in the hands of the Chinese. The hospital has accommodation for fifty first and second class patients and one hundred third class patients. Thus rich and poor may obtain the best treatment under the same roof. The whole building is in three stories with a basement, and measures 260 feet long and an average of 90 feet broad. The construction is of reinforced concrete and all the latest appliances known to medical science have been installed. Every attempt has been made to meet local conditions, and it is one of the most up-to-date hospitals in China. In the planning of this hospital the promoters have considered the urgent need of establishing an institution in the capital where the highest officials constantly

meet, and may in their turn introduce the blessing of the latest medical science into any province that they may be sent to. Such steps as have been outlined above cannot fail to influence the present and future generations towards a fuller appreciation of the march of true scientific medicine. There is no doubt that but for the successive revolutions of the last few years greater things would have been accomplished. It is also unfortunate that Great Britain, which has been the pioneer country in the introduction of modern commercial and educational methods into China, was engaged in the world war, for excellent results would be obtained by both Great Britain and China through the releasing of at least a portion of the so-called Boxer indemnity for educational purposes. In this direction, the United States of America has shown remarkable foresight, for the return of its portion of the Boxer indemnity for educating Chinese students in America has more than paid itself in China's friendly and grateful feeling towards her and in her yearly increasing trade. Its indirect contribution towards medical progress in China will be felt when those of our students, who are now pursuing medical studies in the United States, under that fund, will have returned home to render their services to the country in the interests of modern medicine.

China and Socialism

By Y. ZON-HUI YUI,

Correspondent of "China Times" at Berlin.

CHINA, the oldest nation in Asia, with an unbroken civilization, has a territory, population and supply of natural resources unequalled by any country in Europe and Asia with the doubtful exception of Russia. Even Russia, with her vast land and immense wealth, cannot claim such a large population as China possesses. The fact that such an ancient people whom one may consider to have outlived their triumphant history in the past still look forward with militant hopes to the future of infinite possibilities before them evinces that they do not lack the power of social adaptability which the altered and rapidly altering economic circumstances of the modern world demand.

The institution and cultural developments of China offer no exception to the general laws of social evolution. There are naturally differences in social structure between Europe and China, which are, however, not unaccountable in light of the latter's historical and geographical isolation. With reference to socialism which is the subject of this essay, China is certainly behind Europe in action, although she might have anticipated her in thought.

We find adumbrations of socialistic thought even in our most ancient literature. Confucius and his school who have ruled the intellectual China with undisputed ascendancy for almost two thousand years, have said much that is in accord with modern socialism. Confucius, for instance, lays great stress on the equality of distribution in his social philosophy. "What one ought to fear," says he, "is not that he gets little, but that the profits are not equally divided." His ethics, as is well known, has for its basis the prin-

ciple of benevolence or, more literally, "universal love." The much quoted statement made by one of his pupils: "Within the four seas all are brothers," expresses tersely but concisely the spirit of internationalism which characterizes modern socialistic activities. Considering the utopian influence under which we have been nurtured, it is not at all hard to explain why Marxism which had great difficulties in gaining prominence in European thought has easily evoked sympathetic echoes from China.

We have said that China might have anticipated Europe in socialistic thoughts. One may contend: Why is it that she is behind Europe in action? The answer is not far to seek. Socialistic propaganda conducted on Marxian principles, we need hardly say, did not exist and could not have existed in Europe before the advent of the industrial era. China, being an agricultural country, is as yet foreign to those social problems in general and the idea of class struggle in particular which have invested socialism in action with the character of an urgent necessity. With the exception of a few treaty ports and regions in their vicinity where modern industries are being gradually introduced, China remains an agricultural country. In proportion to her population, the number of what is technically called proletariats is insignificantly small, the overwhelming majority being petty bourgeoisie. It is, therefore, not surprising that socialistic activities in China are but in the stage of infancy. Conditions demanding their presence never existed in our history.

But China is being industrialized. Conditions which did not exist in the

past exist at present and will multiply in the future. Capitalism is creeping slowly but surely into our country. Unless preventive measures are immediately taken, those social evils which have made European history since industrial revolution a tragedy will recur in the Far East. Industrial revolution in Europe was not anticipated. It came so suddenly and unexpectedly that the laborers had no time to organize themselves and were totally unprepared to face the new situation. Their unpreparedness made them easy victims of the capitalists. Preparedness must be, therefore, our watchword. The following statement made by Lenin in connection with Russian conditions is applicable *mutatis mutandis* to China: "The whole question is who will forestall whom. Should the capitalists succeed in organizing themselves first—they will drive the Communists without more ado."

It is encouraging to note that, in course of the last few years, trade unions organized according to modern methods have sprung into existence in our large towns. They include among their membership both skilled and unskilled laborers. The students have taught them that in earning their living, they are involved in a desperate war and unless they are willing to perish, they must organize themselves into a defensive fraternity before the capitalists come together to discuss the most effective method of collective exploitation.

Since the revolution of 1911, two forces have held us in thrall: (1) the oppression of a corrupt bureaucracy and militarism, and (2) the influx of foreign capitalism. The former tends to impede the growth of our industry. The latter tends to stimulate it but on capitalistic basis. The healthy development of our industry demands the removal of both detriments of which, however, the latter is obviously the more fatal in character and disastrous in effect.

The socialists of young China may be very roughly divided into three

classes: (1) the anarchists who firmly are convinced that the present government is an unnecessary evil, go so far as to assert that China needs no government at all; (2) the Marxians who are bound in a crusade against the influences of capitalism at home; (3) the guild socialists who are just as much opposed to capitalism as to the present government which with its inefficient system of geographical representation, is tottering towards an unknown abyss. In spite of their dissentient opinions, they all agree that our civilization needs rejuvenation and our society needs reform. Mr. Bertrand Russell has made a penetrating observation in saying that there is no intellectual in China who does not look forward to her industrial development without capitalism.

Though China at present is ruled by two mutually hostile governments, her people are not divided in sentiments and views on social questions. They are particularly attentive to the growth of capitalism, and will make every effort to check it. Judging on the basis of their present enthusiasm for social regeneration, there is no reason to be pessimistic as to China's future. But the war against capitalism is an international affair. China in particular cannot fight against it with any hope of success. When I was in Russia one of my Russian friends made the following remark to me: "It is true that capitalism is poisoning China. I don't think that she can counteract its toxic effects by means of a communistic revolution as we did here, without entailing the armed interference of the European powers." This statement seems to me to be the truth. China needs the friendly assistance of the socialists in other parts of the world and, in return, she will not fail to respond to their call to arms. I shall deem my labor amply repaid if I have made it clear to our socialist friends in Europe that we are marching against the same enemy and our victory depends solely on associative effort and co-operative activity.

America and Chinese Education

By S. L. PAN

IN the March issue of the *New Republic* there appeared an article under the heading, "America and Chinese Education," by one of the recognized authorities on the subject—Prof. John Dewey of Columbia University. Even disregarding the fact that it was one of the leading articles in the issue of the influential periodical, no educated Chinese can fail to see that any such remarks from Dr. Dewey will provoke a lot of discussion on the topic, especially among Chinese educational circles. Before attempting to give any opinion, the writer wishes to make it clear that he endorses the stand of the Columbia professor, and that he gives due regard to the qualifying phrases—"it is said," "he (a Chinese student) characterized," and the like—which appeared in the first half of the article. Being a graduate of an American University himself, and "having been out of the rut" (to use the phraseology of a member of the class of Chinese students, whose impression on our topic is undoubtedly the one Dr. Dewey was referring to) the writer ventures to supplement what has been said. Several topics are raised in this connection, but no pretense is made that all phases of the question have been discussed, and that the conclusions reached are the only possible ones.

That missionary education in China needs reform, no keen observer would question. The fact that too little stress has been laid on Chinese philosophy and literature; that the institutions are arbitrarily ruled by boards of trustees, in foreign countries, who do not know what exactly are the needs of China and the Chinese; and that the Chinese members of the faculties are not given the same standing, in salary, voice and social dignity as the missionaries, can-

not be refuted. But it is altogether a different story to condemn missionary education as "slavish" and "undesirable." It has been said that China would be much better off without this influence at work. There is some doubt on this point. Mention any field of activity, and it is not hard to name some important men concerned, who have had some relation with missionary schools. It has also been remarked that "if the United States has too many missionary workers, for God's sake, keep them for herself. She needs them." There may be truth in this statement inasmuch as the "melting pot of the world" is not an Utopia, but it is difficult to follow the logic of the statement which usually follows—"therefore don't send any missionaries to China." Again, one often hears it discussed that missionary colleges and universities should now be abolished, and all higher education in China should be modelled after that which is embodied in Peking University. Perhaps it is no crime to boost one's own products, but when a person arrives at the conclusion that of all things, his and only his, is worthy of consideration, that person comes near to what the world usually calls a bigot.

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Some years ago, a young orator in one of the foremost missionary universities in China gave an "Eulogy on Confucius". He had the courage not to make the slightest reference to the good work the missionaries had done, and took the position of the standpat Confucianist. When he came down from the platform, he was asked about his attitude towards the missionaries and missionary education. He answered that he sincerely believed that the work the missionaries were

doing was useful, but since the latter only stressed the good points of occidental culture, and neglected its defects he would only emphasize the cream of oriental learning and pay no attention to what should be discarded. Such is the sentiment of the ordinary Chinese student in missionary schools. Chinese philosophy and literature has not been given its right place alongside with "modern learning". Everybody concerned comprehends this situation. The wonder lies in why the institutions would not take steps to effect a change. The Rev. Dr. W. A. P. Martin, once Chairman of the Chinese Imperial University, under the Manchu regime, wrote as follows: "As link after link is added to the chain of communication which brings China nearer to us than Europe was before the rise of steam navigation, it is interesting to know that a mental awakening is taking place among the people of China, by which the Chinese mind will be proportionately brought nearer to our own." Perhaps it will not be disputed that this is an idea common to all missionaries in China, but it is really strange to find that they do not pay enough attention to old Chinese culture, which is the best portion of the Chinese mind they can get hold of.

Dr. Dewey sounded the right key when he said that the time has come when America's contribution to Chinese education should not only be motivated by religion. So far most missionary institutions in China have followed the principle expressed in an article in the April, 1912, issue of "The East and The West," by Dr. E. W. Capen. He said:

"(1) The missionaries are ceasing to be the only western-educated leaders in these countries, and their schools relatively less influence.

"(2) This new education tends to break down old religious beliefs and ethical sanctions. . . .

"(3) On the other hand there is rising a company of men who are imbued with the political and social ideas of the West, who realize keenly both

the weaknesses and strength of their old civilization, and who are anxious to see their countries strengthened until they can look any nation in the face as an equal.

"These effects are both a challenge and an encouragement to the missionary. They mean an ethical retrogression unless they can be Christianized, and, at the same time a great potential re-enforcement for the work of Christianizing society."

Such a view of the ardent Christians should not be too severely criticized, but it accounts for the "little sympathy with missionary effort, not because they represent the West, but because it is believed that they do *not* represent what China most needs from the West, namely, scientific method and aggressive freedom and independence of inquiry, criticism and action."

From an authentic source it has been learned that certain prominent Chinese are willing to teach in their alma maters, which happen to be missionary institutions, provided that they are given the same standing in salary, voice and social dignity as the foreigners. This indirectly brings up one of the few serious criticisms against missionary education in China—the one concerning the educational standing of the missionary professors themselves. While it must be admitted that there are world-famous men among the missionary educators in China, the fact that most of the instructors are recent college graduates and that often they would not return to those institutions when they have had their second or third furlough and have become more mature authorities in their respective fields, is to be lamented. But when we reflect and see that in the United States itself, one-fifth of the teachers have only something equivalent to an eighth grade elementary school education, we ought to be thankful for the class of men who are sent over to help us. With these points in view, it is a question to decide whether missionary institutions should try to secure the best teachers available, or whether

those Chinese who have a better prospect elsewhere should sacrifice salary and voice to give something more to the students in missionary schools, or whether such Chinese should be given the same plane of salary, of social dignity, and administrative importance as the foreigners.

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Dr. Dewey's article has reference to the "slavishness" of the ordinary graduate of a missionary institution in China. Before a person should accept such a conclusion, naturally he should ask himself about the authenticity of its premises. We are told that the conclusion is a reflection of the attitude and doings of the three Chinese delegates in the recent Washington Conference. To quote Dr. Dewey's words: "All three of the delegates are American educated, two of them studied in missionary institutions conducted by Americans in China before they came to America to study. And these two—the diplomats of the delegation—are those whose methods have been most unsatisfactory to Chinese at home and in this country. The third member, the one who had not come under missionary auspices in his preparatory education in China, is the one who is regarded as most nearly representative of present-day China. Now the educational conclusion which the student leader had drawn was that American missionary education has failed to develop independent, energetic thought and character among even its most distinguished graduates. It has produced rather a subservient intellectual type, one which he characterized as "slavish".

It is impossible to tell whether the student leader derived his conclusion in the exact way in which he described it, or whether he had a preconceived conception of missionary education and found it convenient to justify his prejudice by the argument in hand. This is a case of whether the egg or the chicken comes first. Anyway, an ordinary man can easily see that his statements are illogical. First

of all, he has presumed that his views were facts. There are not a few who would be willing to dispute his ideas about the representative character of the delegates. Granting that, he being a "leader", his views were facts, no observer can fail to see that his conclusion still lacks logic. This can easily be illustrated: In Harvard University three Chinese students in the Graduate School—Messrs. L., K. and P.—use to go together often. K. and P. happen to talk Cantonese. Both of them wear spectacles. L. cannot talk Cantonese. He does not wear spectacles. Can it be deducted from these facts that of all Chinese students in the Graduate School of Harvard University those who talk Cantonese wear spectacles, and those who do not talk Cantonese do not wear them? But this is the nature of the argument which the student leader has presented.

Pity should be given to the student because he is a leader. Pity should also be given to the Chinese delegates because they are also leaders. The world has too many persons who are ready to criticize, and unprepared to construct. The leader always finds himself attacked in all directions. And of all attacks, the one from the student camp is always the severest. K. K. Kawakami, writing in the Jan.-Feb. 1922 issue of the *Japan Review*—the Japanese student monthly in America—said: "When Russia and Japan were about to conclude peace negotiations through the good offices of President Roosevelt, Count Komura, the chief delegate of Japan, received many threatening missiles from Japanese at home and in America. When the terms of peace were published Tokyo was a scene of vigorous demonstration against Komura and his associates whose "weak-kneed" attitude resulted in a treaty which gave Japan neither indemnity nor the northern half of Saghalien." While it may be difficult to reconcile ourselves with some of the statements of Mr. Kawakami, it seems that the conclusion of the quoted paragraph—that students usually expect

more than they can possibly get—is proven and substantiated by facts.

It is perfectly safe to make statements like "American influence in Chinese education should have something better to do than to train commercial, political and religious compradores." But one has to stretch his imagination a great deal before he can see that American missionary education is slavish. To begin with, that the young men of China are willing to be such compradores is rather a result of circumstance than one of education. It was more true ten years ago than it is now. The situation is applicable to all Chinese students, and not only to the American educated. A graduate of a missionary institution would rather connect himself with a wholly Chinese concern, than with a foreign one, if he has other things equal. A graduate of an altogether Chinese institution would rather work in a non-Chinese company than a Chinese one, if he gets more out of the former. Without definite proof it would be unfair to say that there are more graduates of missionary institutions engaged in this commercial, political and religious compradore business, than graduates of other institutions. In fact, there is more excuse for missionary schools to produce such graduates, than the other schools. Missionary institutions have been in the habit of granting scholarships. When these scholarship students graduate, they are not willing to go back to their old modes of living, and have not the means to jump up to a higher social position. They are left dangling between two planes of society and they have to find a means out. Commercial and religious compradorship offers good prospects for them. That they get hold of their chances is no fault of theirs. It seems that in cases like this, no person is to blame; only a certain system—the system of granting subsidiary scholarships—is not well made use of. The man of deeds will try to propose some substitution of the system instead of merely standing by and criticize. He will try

to suggest some better use of the system instead of fantastically raving at its results. Scholarships might well only be given to students in the interior, to come to the coast and study. They can be required to go back and stay in their native towns for a certain number of years, immediately after they graduate. In this way, the system will help much towards spreading education throughout China, and to a certain degree relieve the dangers of an unbalanced situation which would exist, if people along the coast are in touch with the literature of the reds and bolsheviks, while certain of those in the interior still cling to ideas hundreds of years old.

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So far we have only been considering America's influence on Chinese education with reference to missionary education in China. There is another great aspect to be considered. It must be remembered that there are about seventeen hundred Chinese students in this country.

It is difficult and dangerous to discuss a group of which a person is a member, so this phase of America's influence on Chinese education should be left to be discussed by those who can see the situation clearer. However, one or two points are worth noticing.

It appears that the Chinese students here are either too credulous or too dogmatic. They are really doing their foreign friends an injustice, when they quote a statement from them, and call it an indisputable point. This, we find ourselves in the habit of doing. A statement by itself is different from what it is with its context: and it is not right either to attack or to place great weight on one single statement off hand. When Bertrand Russell says that the Chinese people are idealistic and not materialistic, a number of young men get so excited that it is necessary to remind them that there are lots of people at home who hold the luster of gold dearer than life. Then, when Prof. Giles of Cambridge

University or President Pott of St. John's University praises the Chinese as industrious and hard-working, many students are so influenced that they have to be reminded that there still exist some human parasites around every well-to-do home. Again, when J. O. P. Bland says that the saved China should be the old cultural China and not the industrialized and westernized China, many so-called sharp brains are so carried off that they forget that mutual influence is inevitable in the cross-fertilization of culture. But such susceptibility of emphasizing a single statement is not only unjust to our friends; it is also harmful to ourselves. It hinders our progress towards the real truth.

Arguments in defense of the above attitude of the students are not wanting. It is illustrated that in a tug-of-

war, when the opponents are putting up a strong fight, a team has to exert its whole energy in order to gain an inch. Likewise when a marksman aims at a target he has to allow for wind and gravitation. In the same way, when we want foreigners to believe in the good of Chinese culture, we have to describe it as beautifully as we can, and in the meantime forget its faults; and when we hope for reform in missionary education we have to exaggerate its weak points and neglect its good ones. This is a philosophy in life—a definite way of doing things: but it is doubted whether it is always right. There is a difference between sheer material force and the force of reason. The article is written primarily to counterbalance such an attitude, and to present what the writer believes to be the everlasting truth.

Solving the Question of Extraterritoriality in China

By CHING-JUN LIN

WHILE the Washington treaties are waiting for ratification, one result of the last conference is going right away into effect. Within three months, beginning with February 6, an international commission of nine (or more, if other non-signatory powers should accede to that resolution) representing the interested powers will be constituted. The commission will inquire into the practice of extraterritorial jurisdiction and the administration of justice in China. Within one year after its first meeting the findings and recommendations of the commission will be reported to the several governments who will take steps for the relinquishment of their extraterritorial rights in China.

There is no novelty in the move. In the treaty of 1902 between Great Britain and China, in the treaty of 1903 between the United States and China, and that of the same year between Japan and China, the several powers have agreed to arrange for the abolition of their consular jurisdiction in the latter country. But twenty years have passed, they have done practically nothing to carry into effect that good intention. The Washington resolution only marks the first move of the lazy Rip Van Winkle whose long sleep of two decades has left many important problems unnoticed. What next he will do no one can safely predict. But one thing is certain: he will be surprised to find many striking changes. Instead of a decaying monarchy there is now a young republic. Instead of a self-contented and self-isolated empire there is the new nation eager for international intercourse, and with her large population, vast territory and un-

limited natural resources, the young China is increasingly destined to become a great commercial and industrial state. And, finally, instead of a people seemingly indifferent of either international or national politics there is the new generation ready to resist any further foreign encroachments and aggressions and to exercise their power and influence for economic, social and political reconstruction to effect national upbuilding and international justice.

Although political instability and financial chaos are obvious things before his eyes he certainly can not fail to recognize a new spirit which has been evolved since the revolution of 1911. The outward phenomena of restlessness are simply signs of various, even conflicting, internal forces working actively for general reformation. But for the nightmare of foreign intrigue the "sleeping giant" would have long been aroused into a state of wakefulness. The giant is now awakened. It is for the friendly powers to withdraw their mantles of restrictions over him that he may be able to stand up and take part in the performance of noble deeds for the sake of humanity and of peace. At least we must find a new bottle for the new wine. What kind of a bottle the commission will recommend no one can safely predict at this time. But there are certain factors which cannot be ignored when seeking an equitable solution of the question.

In the first place, there has never been a concession of sovereignty by China in any of her grants of extraterritoriality. China has delegated for the time being her supreme rights over

persons not owing permanent allegiance to her to another state. The foreign sovereign, therefore, exercises the right of jurisdiction over his own subjects residing in China on behalf of China, the territorial sovereign. Because "the delegation is limited by the extent to which it is effected," China has indisputable right to enact laws for all persons within her dominion for the collection of revenue, and for the maintenance of peace and order, provided the enactment does not contravene treaty stipulations. And it is the rule of International Law that "If there is any doubt as to whether certain powers have or have not been conferred by the territorial sovereign, the doubt must be solved in his favor."

Nevertheless the excessive and abusive exercise of the extraterritorial rights in China has rendered the impairment of the latter's sovereignty a fact. Japanese nationals are selling the forbidden drugs throughout the Chinese territory. The Japanese Government deliberately carries out the program of stationing Japanese police forces in Manchuria and Fukien. Westerners as well as the Japanese claim immunity from local taxes and excises which the Chinese are required to pay.

The peculiar application of extraterritoriality in the foreign settlements is another example. The Mixed Court in the International Settlement in Shanghai is now under the sole control of the consular body in Shanghai. Foreign assessors are present in all cases which involve Chinese only and no foreigners are there as plaintiffs. Since 1911, Chinese criminals sentenced to more than five years' imprisonment are not handed over to the local Chinese magistrate.

It is now also a rule that action against one of the Chinese in the settlement must be taken in the court therein. Warrants or judgments delivered by Chinese courts can not be executed within the concessions or within the precincts of any building belonging to a foreigner without preliminary examination by a counsel or a foreign

officer. Conspiracies against the Chinese Government in the concessions cannot be prosecuted. The leaders of the so-called "Second Revolution" in 1913 could apparently plan schemes to attack government gunboats without fearing of counter attacks. Funds deposited in foreign incorporated banks cannot be confiscated although the depositors are convicted corrupt Chinese officials. "As you ride through the Tientsin concessions they point out to you the houses of various provincial governors and officials who have thoughtfully provided a place of safety against the inevitable, though postponed, tide of popular indignation."

All of these practices are contrary to treaty stipulations, and can never be sanctioned by International Law. Extraterritoriality in China has not only worked to deprive that country's right to restrain foreigners who break Chinese laws, but also prevent her to exercise jurisdiction over certain portions of her own subjects within her own dominion. The phrase, "the territorial and administrative integrity of China," had been a slogan in the Washington Conference. But none of the delegations seemed to have seriously thought of the institutions they maintain in China as the chief obstacles to their courteous, and perhaps sincere, wishes. Give a real regard to the sovereignty of an independent state then the question of extraterritoriality can be tackled with better chance of success.

Alongside this disregard of state sovereignty and the consequent national humiliation we have to reckon with important economic factors. No one will deny that adequate economic development of China will be at once a benefit to that country as well as to other nations which have commercial intercourse with her. But few foreigners seem to have thought that a serious obstacle to the foreign trade—an important factor for economic development—in China is extraterritoriality. Extraterritorial jurisdiction limits activities of foreign nationals in a certain

number of treaty ports, and makes great increase in the trade of those ports unlikely. The first serious attempt to deal with foreign merchants made China a victim of the Opium War, "a war," in the opinion of Gladstone, "more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated in its progress to cover this country with disgrace, I do not know and I have not read of." Since then she is always suffered to pay heavily for her military or diplomatic defeat whenever she has anything to do with foreign nationals. The ever beaten child is naturally timid, and China is careful to avoid chances for trouble lest something worse may happen. Consequently, foreigners, other than missionaries, are confined to a limited number of treaty ports. At present 50, in addition as many places have just been opened to foreign trade on China's own initiative. For the increase of facility of foreign residence means the extension of foreign jurisdiction, and that means further encroachment of China's sovereign rights. As a result, foreign merchants can not approach native customers directly, they have to do their business through commercial agents in treaty ports, and foreign trade suffers accordingly.

Meanwhile, extraterritorial jurisdiction discourages Chinese merchants from doing as much business with foreigners in the ports as they really desire. Treaty provisions require foreign consuls to receive complaints against their nationals from Chinese people. In practice the Chinese, on account of the difficulty of languages and the difference of judicial procedures, is likely to be disappointed by the consul's decision. The variety of laws confuses him greatly. From the same kind of a lawsuit he may win the case at one time in an American consular court, but at another he may lose it in an Italian or a French court. Besides, the consular decision is virtually final; for few will travel several thousand miles away to Italy, or France, for instance, for an appeal. The situation becomes the more discouraging for an

honest Chinese business man when Japanese cunning or Western crookedness is added into these technical difficulties.

These conditions explain the slow progress of foreign trade in China. Not until the extraterritorial system is abolished or substantially modified can there be any chance for great improvement. And without greatly improved conditions not only is foreign trade hampered but hearty co-operation between the foreigners and the Chinese for industrial enterprises in China can not be had. Kipling's twins nevertheless will continue not to meet by such an artificial barrier.

The administration of justice is no less an important factor in the examination of the question of extraterritoriality. The system of consular jurisdiction is most unsatisfactory. First, foreign consuls in China are at once prosecutors and judges as well as commercial agents of their respective governments. With such injudicious combination of offices in one person no consul can be expected to discharge his judicial duties well. He is further handicapped by virtue of his limited jurisdiction and inefficient machinery. The consular jurisdiction is personal and not territorial; therefore consular courts can receive no counter claim against a national of another state. "Consular courts have no jurisdiction over cases involving a fine of more than a certain sum or imprisonment of more than, say, six months." To enter a suit on those cases a plaintiff would have to travel thousands of miles back to his own country or to that of the defendant before he could get a competent court. Only Great Britain and the United States have established higher courts in Shanghai. Although cases of these kind do not occur very often they show an essential weakness of the system.

The administration of justice by the Mixed Court in the International Settlement in Shanghai is most irregular. The court does not apply the law codes of China. It decides each case accord-

ing to a general idea of what it considers fair. "The court is bound by no precedent, it has no fixed procedure; it may decide one thing one day and another the next." The haphazard of the thing seems to be a natural outcome of the present regime. The tribunal is jointly presided over by a Chinese magistrate and a foreign assessor; both of them may not have had any adequate legal training. The Chinese magistrate sits daily; the foreign assessor changes every day. The British sits on Monday, Wednesday and Friday; the American sits on Tuesday and Thursday; and on Saturday the Japanese sits in place of the German assessor since the war. As a British barrister-at-law of Shanghai observes: "Too often do the proceedings in this court develop into a mere wrangle between the assessor and magistrate, each advocating the cause of his own sovereign's subject. Sometimes the court adjourns in high disagreement. At other times, weary of its civil strife, it tosses the ball back to the litigants and bids them see to it themselves. The writer has personal knowledge of an instance of this latter's sort, when the decision of the court was as follows: 'This case involves many difficult points, and the parties must settle the matter among themselves and not cause any further litigation.'"

Having made the above observations one may naturally ask what has China been doing in regard to these all? She has made many protests against the abuses of extraterritorial right by Japan and her subjects. But the Japanese Government has never paid any attention to them. She suggested a plan to the Peace Conference at Paris for an eventual abolition of extraterritoriality in China. But the words fell on deaf ears. She has many times made suggestions to the consular body in Shanghai for an improvement of the Mixed Court system. But so far nothing is materialized. Finally, she asked for consideration of the question in the Washington Conference, and there a resolution was passed to such effect as

is mentioned at the beginning of the article.

In her dealing with states seeking for new treaty relations China has determined to grant them no extraterritorial rights. And none of the new European states got any. In December, 1920, the Russians in China were put under China's jurisdiction by a special arrangement. Since the ratification of the new German treaty in July, 1921, China's right of jurisdiction over the Germans in Chinese territory is in force.

Is China prepared to take immediately and completely the right of jurisdiction over all aliens within her dominions? Have the Chinese laws attained the general standard of modern jurisprudence? Are her judges capable of enforcing and applying the codes with impartiality and fairness? Are Chinese prisons sanitary enough so foreigners could be detained there without injuring their health? These questions are implicitly answered by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of China in a statement before the Washington Conference.

The progress of prison reform in China was taken up by the Chinese Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. The conditions and locations of all of the reformed prisons were definitely stated. *The Chinese Delegation*, appendices 11-16.

In his statement before the Washington Conference the Chief Justice says: "While it is a matter of opinion as to whether or not the state of China's laws has attained the standard to which she is expected to conform, it is impossible to deny that China has made great progress on the path of legal reform. A few facts will suffice for the present. A law codification commission for the compilation and revision of laws has been sitting since 1904. Five codes have been prepared, some of which have already been put into force, first, the Civil Code (still in course of revision); second, Criminal Code (in force since 1912); third, Code of Civil Procedure; fourth, Code of

Criminal Procedure, both of which have just been promulgated; fifth, Commercial Code, part of which has been put into force. These codes have been prepared with the assistance of foreign experts and are based mainly on the principles of modern jurisprudence. Among the numerous supplementary laws may be especially mentioned a law of 1918, called 'Rules for the Application of Foreign Law,' which deals with matters relating to private international law. Under these rules foreign law is given ample application. Then there is a new system of law courts, established in 1910. The judges are all modern trained lawyers and no one can be appointed a judge unless he has attained the requisite legal training."

Relying on these authoritative statements and a general consideration of the conditions in China any student with unbiased spirit would say that it is unwise to open at once the whole of China for free foreign residence. Except the commercial ports and a few other large cities practically no prison has yet been equipped with modern sanitary appliances. The Chinese magistrates in the greater part of the Republic are discharging both executive functions and judicial duties at the same office. Although they are supposed to be appointed to office through civil service examinations they are not necessarily adequately trained in judicial matters. It is with these considerations as well as with that of the appalling existing system of extraterritorial jurisdiction that the writer submits the following plan for an equitable and practical solution of the question.

A special court with a modern prison attached should be established by the Chinese Government in each of the commercial ports where foreign consuls reside. The special court is to have jurisdiction over all cases where a foreign national is a party with a Chinese or with another foreigner whether he is of his own nationality or not. The laws to be applied in this court are the

Chinese law codes now in force. The administration of justice is to be entrusted to competent Chinese judges or judges appointed by the Chinese Government. There should be no foreign assessor present in the proceedings of the court. The appeals from these courts lie directly in the Supreme Court of China in Peking.

With the establishment of these special courts and modern prisons attached thereto, the consular courts of all powers as well as the mixed courts should at once cease to function. The office of the special Chinese commissioners of foreign affairs in each treaty port is also to be abolished; diplomatic questions should be settled through the Foreign Office in Peking. Foreign nationals should then be allowed to enjoy all privileges as generally recognized to be due to aliens in a friendly country within the territorial jurisdiction of each special court.

For the safeguarding of important foreign interests, it may be provided that cases involving a fine of a large sum of money or imprisonment of over certain length of time, the Supreme Court of China, on receipt through the Government Foreign Office of written requisitions from interested foreign ministers may constitute special sessions to pass on the judgments of the special courts over those cases. This privilege, if required, is to last for a period of five years and no longer; since during that period foreign powers would have ample opportunity to test the competency of the Chinese special courts.

Within ten years after the establishment of the new system the special courts are to be abolished and foreigners are to be allowed rights of free residence anywhere throughout the country under Chinese jurisdiction, provided the judicial conditions in the interior part of that country warrant such a final move.

This plan has many advantages. By restoring the right of jurisdiction over aliens to the special Chinese courts the

sovereignty of China is no more impaired by extraterritoriality. The consolidation of various consular courts and the application of the uniform Chinese laws improve many weak points in the present system of judicial administration. The gradual abolition of the extraterritorial jurisdiction is accompanied with the gradual extension of opportunity for foreign residence and business; and with the final abolition of extraterritoriality all restrictions on foreign trade and other economic enterprises are simultaneously eliminated. The privilege to request the Supreme Court of China for special hearings on certain cases offers ample safeguard to important foreign interests. The last one is a compromise to foreigners, especially those foreigners who have little confidence in Chinese judicial administration.

That this plan would be successfully carried out by China seems to be certain. Sir Robert Hart once said that if consular jurisdiction were restored to the Chinese, the feeling of responsibility to protect as well as the appreciation of foreign intercourse would at once move up to a higher plane. His wisdom of curing irresponsibility by increasing responsibility is amply justified by the case of opium suppression. In 1907 Great Britain promised China to stop importing opium to China in ten years if the Chinese could bring about the suppression during that period. But at the end of three years the success of the Chinese was so remarkable that Great Britain gladly announced that the importation of Indian

opium would be stopped in 1913, four years before the originally agreed time.

This kind of equitable and practical compromise must not be foiled. Japan got rid of her extraterritorial burden in 1898. The Ottoman Empire renounced all extraterritorial privileges to foreigners within its dominion after its entry into the great war. With the ratification of the new treaty between the United States and Siam in June, 1921, the extraterritorial system in Siam "shall absolutely cease and determine." China is now the only independent state which allows extraterritoriality to linger. The above plan aims not so much to correct past abuses as to effect a new adjustment of an important international problem. China must not be allowed the alternative of letting herself to drift into the status of Egypt where, according to the report of Lord Milner, dated December 9, 1920, little improvement can be expected in the system of capitulations even with the British control of legislation and administration in that country, nor can China denounce the system with sword in hand like Japan and Turkey.

In the last instance it is that, to use Charles Denby's phrase, "To an appeal of might we are prepared to listen, but not to the appeal of equity." In both cases we should better declare frankly that modern civilization is bankrupt, that the words of the Washington Conference are mere scraps of paper, and that the establishment of the international commission is a meaningless gesture.

The Failure of Returned Students Explained in the Light of Psychology

By P. C. C. LU

IF by psychology we understand "the science of human behavior", then probably we can find the factors which constitute the failure of the returned Chinese students by means of our knowledge of modern psychology. What is the fundamental cause which has brought about the failures of most returned students? Is it their nature or their nurture or both? To be more specific, we may ask: is it because the students, when they are sent to a foreign country to study, are generally too mature or too immature? And to most of them, is the foreign environment stimulating for extraordinary effort or for idleness—for the exercise of will-power or for the formation of loose and selfish habits?

It is wise perhaps to make it clear right here that in this article no sweeping generalization is contemplated, and the cases which concern us are only the typical cases wherein the returned students have failed to make good; and the words success and failure are used in the general sense accepted by ordinary usage. For instance, when we say A has failed we mean that he has not lived up to the expectations his social group is entitled to, considering his abilities and his training and the opportunities open to him.

Since the answers to the above questions are essential to the solution of the problem on hand, therefore we must try to discover the appropriate answers in one way or other. In brief, the failures of the majority of the returned students are due to denationalization which is brought about by two main factors: (1) inferiority suggestion, and (2) western luxuries.

The first calls for some explanation. To illustrate the meaning of inferiority suggestion, I like to cite a few of the instances which agonize the lonely and unformed minds of the sojourning Chinese students even in this home of democracy, the land of liberty, fraternity, and equality. Here in America, to the great disadvantage of the Chinese students, are racial discrimination inflamed and sustained by the thrilling stories or news printed in the yellow press, screened by the popular movies, and staged by the mercenary theatres; told or written by the flying salesman-travelers and the narrow-minded missionaries who, either prompted by "pooled self-esteem" or by substantial gains, have almost always made the Chinese the scapegoat. In addition, there is assiduous Japanese propaganda amply financed by the Japanese Government for the purpose of depreciating the Chinese in the eyes of the American public, and at the same time to make the western countries including the U. S. A., look like "bloodthirsty lions while Japan being merely a tame wolf". The methods adopted by all these agencies to promote their own interests at the expenses of China are too numerous and too familiar to be described in detail. It may, however, suffice to say that their joint enterprise has had a double effect: it has poisoned the mind of the American people in the same manner as the minds of the English people have been poisoned by the English Jingoists, and that of German people by the German Militarists; it has also crushed the national soul or spirit out of many innocuous young students of China. To

the latter, it is suggested in one way or other that they belong to an inferior race which possesses an inferior civilization. It is true that many of these sinister suggestions are made to the Chinese students in a way that is hardly perceivable. But it is no less true that in each instance the Chinese student has more or less suffered at least in his subconscious mind. Arrows shot from an ambush are usually much more fatal than if they are shot in the open. This illustrates very well the effect of the inferior suggestion. Nevertheless this effect varies with students of various intellectual calibre and different stages of maturity. To the gifted it may mean the necessary stepping stone to brilliant achievements and final success. "Happy is he who is compelled to use his talents; thrice happy is he who has learned how to compel himself." We have numerous examples in our history such as the successful lives of Su-Ching, Fan-Tsui, Yueh-Gou-Chien and so forth.

"That which we are we are,
One equal temper of heroic hearts
Made weak by time and fate, but strong
in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to
yield."

This same thought has been also ably expressed by a great biologist and educator in these words: "What is needed in education more than anything else is some means or system which will train the powers of self discovery and self control. Easy lives and so-called 'good environment' will not arouse the dominant powers. It usually takes the stress and strain of hard necessity to make us acquainted with our hidden selves, to arouse the sleeping giant in us." But remember, it is only the gifted who have a definite purpose in life that can turn the positive curse of the inferiority suggestion into a positive blessing to a successful life.

For on the other hand, it is the same inferiority which literally sends the mediocrites to hell alive in great numbers. It kills their souls without shedding a drop of blood. Some callous

persons may reason from this that it makes no difference whether the mediocrites are sent abroad or kept at home, since they are, any way, doomed to failure. But is it true? In the first place, I like to argue that these students if properly educated at home, most probably will become useful citizens. In the second place, if they are spared the danger and difficulties in connection with a foreign education, their places may be taken by other more talented students. Who, then, is to blame for feeding these unfortunate scholars into the mouth of the hidden lion in the form of the inferiority suggestion?

Another factor which is equally effective in denationalizing the young Chinese students is the lure of western luxuries. Those students who have overcome the inferiority complex still may be caught in the snare of western luxuries. As the love for luxuries constitutes the chief cause of prostitution among the fair sex, so also it may corrupt and spoil the integrity and character of the opposite sex. Bribery and "mai kuo" are only some of its natural sequences. As the softness of the Chinese civilization has caused the ruin of the warlike spirit of the Mongolian and Manchurian races, our intoxication in the western material civilization is destroying our priceless racial heritage. Some writer has rightly or wrongly said that all the wisdom of Asia has been found inadequate to stop the onslaught of the western material civilization. When a student is taken from his home, which usually has not tasted foreign luxuries, and is suddenly put in the midst of a bewildering environment such as the big cities of America, how much guarantee is there that he will not plunge headlong into it as a poor moth would dash toward the brilliant flame of a candle? The danger will be doubled if he is not well equipped and thoroughly instilled in the best elements of his own social inheritance; and trebled, if he is not whole-heartedly grounded in a worthy educational project—a particular intellectual or technical problem around

which all his studies and thoughts are centered. Now let me borrow the words of a noted American educator in order to substantiate my contention: "May we not surely predict that if we continue to put individual freedom and luxury and selfishness above social obligations our race and civilization will also see the writing on the wall, 'Thou are weighed in the balances and art found wanting'? In these days when individuals are demanding more and more freedom it is well to remember that 'the best use that man has made of his freedom has been to place limitations upon it.'"

The influence of luxury seems to be worse than inferiority suggestions, because it is more subtle and appeals to more fundamental impulses. In the inferiority complex the instincts which are waging war against each are mainly the submissive and the mastery instincts; whereas the fascination of luxury is deeply rooted in the pleasureable feelings derived from the sense organs such as the taste buds on the tongue, the rods and cones in the retina of the eye, the auditory and the olfactory nerves and so forth. That is to say, the former is psychological, while the latter is physiological. This explains why the love of pleasure is harder to overcome than the desire to submit.

What has been said above is true alike about the majority of all returned Chinese students either from America or from Europe or even from Japan. The same can be said of the graduates from the missionary schools. The two great enemies of the returned and the missionary students of today are the same. But fortunately these two dangers have not yet reached the great mass of Chinese students in the government schools, whose superior strength over the other student bodies was clearly demonstrated in the students' movement of 1919. For it is pretty safe to say that among the Chinese students, patriotism and the true Chinese spirit are in reverse proportion to the degree of denationalization which is either caused by inferiority

suggestion or by luxury habits.

Now we are, I think, sufficiently prepared to see who is really to blame for the failure of the returned students as afore asked; and to see how to prevent these failures in the future, which is the ultimate purpose of this paper. Without any intent to argue in favor of the failed returned students themselves, nor to discount the exoteric forces which have worked against them, I think I am justified to put the major part of blame upon the Chinese Government. My contention is that if the government had been more careful in procedure and more definite in objectives while selecting students for foreign education, the great majority of these failures, if not all, might have been prevented. It is said that nearly every Japanese student returned from America and Europe has been a success. Why? Is it not because the policy adopted by the Japanese Government for sending students abroad has been much wiser than that followed by our own government? To send immature and mediocre students abroad is not only wasteful but also practically amounts to a crime. The government cannot redeem the past, so it must put a stop to such practice at once. In order to vindicate the intellectual power of our race and to curb the arrogance of the foreigners towards us, in the future we must lay special emphasis upon the education of our geniuses. It has been well said by one of the great psychologists of America that "the ability of a hundred of its most gifted representatives often counts more for a nation's or a race's welfare than the ability of a million of its mediocrites." It is justly complained by some Chinese writers that although we have now more than 6,000 graduates from various foreign universities, yet we cannot pick out six great scholars among them who can be admitted into the circle of the savants of the world with equal standing and achievement in their special studies. Is it because we are lacking of geniuses, or because we have failed to provide the

best education for our geniuses? The latter is undoubtedly the case as has been suggested by Prof. Conklin in his "Heredity and Environment": "A more dreadful though less universal tragedy is the loss of real personalities who have all the native endowments of genius and leadership but who for lack of proper environmental stimuli have remained undeveloped and unknown; the 'mute, inglorious Miltons' of the world; the Caesars, Napoleons, Washingtons who might have been; the Newtons, Darwins, Pasteurs who were ready formed by nature but who never discovered themselves. One shudders to think how narrowly Newton escaped being an unknown farmer, or Faraday an obscure bookbinder, or Pasteur a provincial tanner. In the history of the world there must have been many men of equal native endowments who missed the slender chance which came to these. We form the habit of thinking of great men as having appeared only at long intervals, and yet we know that great crises always discover great men. What does this mean but that these men are ready formed and that it requires only this extra stimulus to call them forth? To most of us heredity has been kind—kinder than we know. The possibilities within us are great but they rarely come to full epiphany." Therefore once a genius is discovered, the society should see to it that he is adequately cared for, for no money and effort spent upon him will not pay a thousandfold or infinitely more in the future. So Spencer was represented to say that to spend tens of thousands of pounds to produce one great scholar is by all means justifiable. Prof. Thorndike also says in his "Educational Psychology," that "if a man by one thousand hours of study of medicine can become a good general practitioner, and by forty thousand hours of study can become the equal of Pasteur, or Ehrlich, the world should compel him to spend the forty thousand hours."

The crux of this whole discussion seems now pointing to the way how to detect geniuses from the ordinary

people. Naturally this is the duty of the Chinese psychologists. We hope in the near future these Chinese psychologists will work out an adequate technique to measure the mental traits of the Chinese school children as Binet and Simon have done for French school children and as American psychologists have achieved for the A. E. F. during the war, with the special purpose of separating the supernormal students from the rest to be adequately prepared for the pursuance of a higher education in a foreign country. There is nothing more democratic or more efficient than this method. For in a democratic society, theoretically no one should be misplaced as regard to his ability, and every person should be provided with the best opportunity and environment for his or her particular case. The belief is that it must be made possible for each person to achieve the utmost which is within the reach of his mental power and previous training, in various walks of life, for the benefit of the society as well as for him or her self.

To sum up, I have in the above diagnosed the failure of the returned student as due to denationalization which, in turn, is either due to inferiority suggestion or due to love of luxury or both; and again the former is due to mediocrity of intelligence, and the latter, lack of will power; furthermore, I have, with the success of the future returned students in view, prescribed for the Chinese government henceforth to select only the highly gifted by the use of specially devised intelligence and vocational tests, to be sent abroad to make thorough investigations in certain specific fields of knowledge.

That I have put a premium upon intelligence is not because I regard it as the sole antidote to the evils listed above, but because it has been proved by careful and comprehensive experiments designed and made by competent psychologists that there is a high positive correlation between supernormal intelligence on one hand, and

morality or will-power in action, unquenchable intellectual interests, brilliant success, on the other hand. Here I hasten to add that discriminating guidance and appropriate stimulation are the most vital forces operating for the unfolding of the inborn mental abilities which are commonly called intelligence, by educating the will which is the rudder of any well-lived worthy life. As William James said: "In the broader sense, it (the education of the will) means the whole of one's training to moral and prudential conduct, and of one's learning to adapt means to ends, involving the 'association of ideas', in all its varieties and complications, together with the power of inhibiting impulses irrelevant to the ends desired, and of initiating movements contributory thereto." For the same reason, the education of will was emphasized by Darwin. As the result of a lifetime observation, the latter was of opinion that men differ less in capacity than in zeal and determina-

tion to utilize the power which they have. It is only this zeal and determination aspiring for better and nobler things that can safely pilot us through the dangerous rapids of life. It is will, the master and saviour of intelligence, that is what is needed by every Chinese student studying in a foreign country. In a word, in order to motivate and habituate our students in zeal and determination we must utilize the project method and its technique in teaching our students from the kindergarten up to the university. For this is the only method of teaching known to modern education under which the exercise and gradual development of will are adequately cared for. About this method I shall write another article. Now let me conclude this discussion with the thought-provoking and penetrating words of our national genius and great sage, Confucius: "One may capture the generalissimo of three armies; but nobody can deprive a man of his will."

Recent Developments in China's Industry

By J. S. TOW,

Secretary of Chinese Consulate, New York

IT is quite noticeable to those who travel in China that in spite of the political upheavals which have been existing during the last few years, the industrial and commercial conditions have not been all disturbed. Reports have come from time to time that here a certain Tuchun has arrived with his great army and there the Southern troops have invaded a certain province. Foreign business men have been greatly alarmed and therefore withheld their adventures. But these alarms have not been as serious as might be supposed. Industries and commerce have been going on just as usual at the places where political situation may not be at peace. If one asks why and how this should be the case, it is not within the scope of this article to explain. The writer is only concerned to show the facts relating to the recent developments in China's industry, which will prove the truth.

The facts which are to be used below are found in the bulletins published by the Government Bureau of Economic Information with headquarters in Peking and office in Shanghai, which is a non-political organization, but only devoted "to provide economic, commercial, financial and industrial information relating to the Republic of China."

From bulletins recently received from the Bureau, we find that different industries in China have been growing and expanding, instead of being ruined or affected by the political disturbances or "civil wars". Let us read the following notes which I take the liberty of quoting from the bulletins and putting in alphabetical order:

AGRICULTURE. — A model poultry farming station has been established near Antingmen, Peking.

Tsai Chi-chiang and others are promoting the China Poultry Rearing Company in Shanghai. Preparation offices are now at Pao An Fang, Boulevard des Deux Republiques.

BRICKS.—The Chung Hua Porcelain and Clayware Factory was established by Mr. Moh Su Chai last March at Tong Ka Wai, Poosi. Mr. Kwan Teh Yin has been engaged as engineer. As soon as the necessary machines have been installed, tiles and bricks will be manufactured. A glass and porcelain factory will be organized in the near future.

Mr. Mai Tsu-pai of Yu-han District has organized the Nanhu Brick Manufacturing Company in Hanchow. The material is to be procured from Nanhu (South Lake).

CAPS.—The Ta Tung Cap Manufacturing Company in Peking was registered by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

The Ta Tung Cap Company, Peking, petitioned the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce for registration and a license of trade.

CEMENT.—Mr. Kwan Chin Chen organized a Cement Company at Chefoo with a capital of \$500,000, which has been registered in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. A formal opening will be held in April.

Wei Yien-ping and others organized the Tsing King Cement Manufacturing Company at Tsing King, Chihli province and requested the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce for registration.

COTTON.—Hsu You-mei and others have established a cotton mill in the locality of Yangshikung, Ch'ihhsien, Honan. Preparations have been completed and inauguration is expected soon. It is also planned to build a light rail-

way to connect with the Peking-Hankow Railway.

ELECTRICITY.—The Chinese Merchants Electric Company in Nantao, Shanghai consists of two departments, tramways and electric lamps. The business in both departments was prosperous last year. The company hopes to extend its tramway service on Chung Hwa Road. A newly imported electric plant is to be installed soon.

A company to be known as the Ming Yuan Electric Light Co. is being established at Chuchow, Anwei.

The Yau Hua Electric Company of Hsuehchow was established in 1905. Three new plants have been installed and a new building erected which was completed on December 27. It is estimated that the three plants supply 30,000 lights.

The Yang Lu Electric Light Company of Kiukiang, Kiangsi, was registered with the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

The Peking Electric Light Co., Ltd., has contracted with a British firm for the purchase of a dynamo for its new power station at Shihchinshan. The power of the dynamo is 5,000 k.w.

The Haiming Electric Company of Kiangsu was granted a registry by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. Notices of registration have been sent to the Civil Governor of Kiangsu.

ELECTRIC SUPPLIES—C. C. Nieh, Lu Er-kiang and other Shanghai merchants propose to organize the Yeh Chung Machine Manufacturing and Engineering Company in Shanghai for manufacturing electric fans, electric lamps, dynamo, motors, and all other machines. Its capital will be \$300,000 in 3,000 shares of \$1,000 each.

The Ta Tung Company, Limited, has recently been organized by Chang Chien, Jr., and others, with a capital of \$1,000,000 at Garden Road, Tungchow. The Company which is to specialize in engineering and electricity, was formally opened on December 15.

An electrical material company has been organized at Shihchiachwang,

Chihli, by the local Chamber of Commerce, with a capital of \$2,000.

FISHERIES.—The San Men Hua Fishing (Shanghai) Company has been organized. Fishing steamers and ice factories are being acquired.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce has forwarded the sum of \$3,000 to the Haichow Fishing School, Kiangsu, as funds for fishing boats.

FLOUR.—The Tientsin Shou Hsin Flour Manufacturing Co., Ltd., has declared a dividend of 20 per cent for 1921.—*Chen Pao.*

Ta Feng Flour Company was allowed to register its revised regulations, and a new license to trade has been issued by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

Chen Foong Flour Mill and Tsung Lee Hou Flour Mill, Tsinan, Shantung, were recently organized. They have been granted registration in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce through the Civil Governor of Shantung.

The Chen Feng Flour Mill, Tsinan, Shantung, requested the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce for registration.

The Hsin Fah Flour Mill, Hsuehchow, Kiangsu, which was established in 1917 and was the first mill erected there, is reported to have made a profit last year of \$30,000. It has an extensive local market.

HAIRNETS.—The Yue Sung Hairnet Co. of Hsuehchow is increasing its output. Since last autumn, 50 bundles (each consists of one gross) have been manufactured and shipped to Shanghai, Tsinan and other cities.

The Board of Industry of Honan petitioned the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce asking whether patent rights will be granted to Yang Ching-chai of the Chung Fu Company for his new method of manufacturing human hairnets.

HYDRO-ELECTRICITY.—The Haiping Hydro-Electric Company in Peitaiho was registered by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

LEATHER.—A leather works with a capital of \$200,000 is shortly to be built in the "Commercial Settlement" of Tsinan. The temporary office is at Shi Tai Yung, Weiyi Road, Tsinan. Chinese merchants are promoting the enterprise.

LITHOGRAPHING STONES.—Ch'u Yuin Factory manufactures lithographic stones and requested the government to grant patent rights and also exemption from Likin duties.

MACHINERY.—The Shun Hsin Machinery Works, Suchow, Honan, owned by Chinese merchants, is now in process of organization. It will turn out cotton gins, spinning, weaving, and printing machinery.

Tung Feng-sui petitioned the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce for patent-rights for his newly invented spraying machines.

The Hua Hsin Weaving Machine Company at North Shansi Road, Shanghai, was organized by Tsai Hung-ping, Kou Hui Ming, Kou Fu-chen and others. The Company has now more than 100 laborers and manufactures iron satin weaving machines, wooden machines and cotton gins. At present, the company proposes to expand and new shares will be issued.

MATS.—The Ho Fung Mat Factory, established by Yang Ki-ping in Ningpo will be inaugurated early in March.

MATCHES.—The Kifu Match Factory, Kirin, marketed The "Great Wall" brand of matches last year. It is reported that its profit for 1921 was \$458,000.

MEDICINES.—The Shan Hwa Company, Shanghai, has recently been established by Mr. Kuo of Ningpo. He will put on the market before long a hair lotion.

The trade marks of Tsui Hua Drug Co. in Shanghai has been registered in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

MINING.—Chao Erh-shun and Lu Hai-hwan are drawing up plans for the establishment of a big mining corporation to operate the mines along the Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway after

they are restored to China by Japan by virtue of the Shantung Agreement recently concluded at the Washington Conference. The capital of the corporation is not yet fixed, but the preparation expenses amount to more than \$1,000,000.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce issued certificates on January 16 for the opening of coal mines to the following persons: Han Foon-san, coal mine of Lingyih; Feng Tsuan-chang, coal mine of Tsechuan; Chen Han-husan, coal mine of Yin-lai; Kwo Tse-pa, coal mine of Poshan.

The Mi Shan Coal Mining Co., organized by Sun Li-chen, Tuchun of Kirin, has applied for registration at the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. If means of communication are provided the application will be granted.

A silver mine has been discovered at Yuquinshan, about 50 *li* from Taian, Shantung. Cheng Siangkiu has petitioned the Industrial Commissioner of the province for the operating rights and the Industrial Commissioner has dispatched mining engineers to undertake the preliminary survey.

NEEDLES.—Chen Chih-yuan, a merchant of Peking, had established a needle manufacturing company at Ta Mo Pan Yuan, West City, Peking, with a capital of \$50,000.

OIL.—The price of Beans and Peanut Oils and Tallow in Shanghai has increased owing to a chief source of supply being cut off at Newchang, Fengten, because of excessive export by foreign firms and the local manufacture of candles.—*Shanghai Journal of Commerce (Chinese.)*

PAINT.—The Tsung Hua Oil Paint Company, Shanghai, has made rapid progress since its establishment in 1920. The factory of the Company at Siao Sha Tu has been extended.

PAPER.—Wu Ling Paper Manufacturing Company, Chekiang, held its promoters' meeting on January 9. It was decided that the capital will be \$400,000 and the factory located at Kon Zen Chao.

PRINTING.—The Chung Hua Printing Company, Ltd., was registered by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

The Mei Weng Printing Press established by Ting Yun Hsuan, at Park Road in Wusih, Kiangsu, was opened on February 10.

RUGS.—Rug manufacturers at Tientsin have formed themselves into a Guild. Formal inauguration took place on January 18th at the Tientsin Chamber of Commerce.

SILK.—Tien Chang Silk Weaving Company of Peking has been granted registration by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

SOAP.—The Yuan Shun Tai Soap Factory, Chefoo, has been established with a capital of \$50,000. Machinery has been purchased from a Shanghai foreign firm.

TEXTILES.—The increase of capital of the Kwan Ching Spinning and Weaving Co., Kiangsu, has been registered in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

Ta Sung 8th Cotton Mill, Nanung Kiangsu, is built according to modern fire-proof methods and will be completed in February. About 10,000 spindles out of the total 15,000 have arrived and will be installed in the near future. The mill starts production in March.

Kiuan Cotton Mill, Nantungchow, Kiangsu, which was established by

Koo Tsai-hsuan and other capitalists with a capital of \$800,000, is ready to have its machinery installed. The date to start production is reported to be February 27.

A Hsuechow (Kiangsu) merchant has established a cloth weaving factory with a capital of \$100,000.

The Ta Luen Cotton Mill, Changchow Kiangsu, began its production of cotton yarns on January 1.

THREAD.—The Tsung Ho Thread Factory, established by Mr. Tao Chinghsien, at Kwangkiacheh, Shanghai, will commence work on February 6, 1922.

WATER FACTORY.—The American Drug Store, Shanghai, has established an aerated water factory at Yangtszepoo. Tao Ren Tze has been appointed General Manager.

WATER WORKS.—The Peking Water Works is planning an additional works to be situated outside Sichiemen to which place water from the Yuchuan Springs will be conveyed.

Local merchants in Sungkiang, Chekiang, propose to establish a waterworks. A preparation office has been established at the Sungkiang Electric Light Co., Ltd.

Does the above sound like the enterprising and progressive America, instead of the backward and stagnant China? Yet over here we hear very little about it.

China Revisited*

BY SIR CHARLES ADDIS

I WISH I could recapture for you some of the fleeting impressions which I gained on revisiting scenes in China, where I passed the best years of my life, and which still seem strangely familiar after an absence of nearly twenty years. I can hardly hope to succeed without betraying some of the confusion which still lurks in my own mind. For China is the land of contradictions, a country of which it is scarcely possible to make one general statement without immediately qualifying it by another.

In Peking where we used to plough our way in a springless cart axle deep in dust or mud, according to the season, a thousand automobiles are running their smooth course. In Shanghai there are over four thousand of them. In Canton, that swarming ant-hill of humanity, narrow alley-ways, where formerly a couple of sedan chairs could with difficulty pass, have been transformed into spacious boulevards traversed by motor buses with a promise of tramways to come. Last year, I was told, four and twenty miles of new roads had been opened. In the whole city of Peking, when I was a resident, there was only one two-storied building, and now lofty houses and public buildings have sprung up like mushrooms in the night of my absence. I rubbed my eyes. What did it all mean? Clearly when you come to estimate the value of human progress, it is not the material things, but the things unseen which really matter. It is no use digging up new roads unless you are digging up new ideas along with them. If your fine houses, your splendid public buildings are merely

that and nothing more, if they are not the symbols of a finer, a fuller private life, a nobler civic virtue, then are they but a sham and an illusion, the baseless fabric of a vision ready to dissolve.

Were there then signs perceptible of mental and spiritual progress to correspond with this material advance? Certainly, schools had multiplied. National schools of Western learning, such as were not dreamed of in my day, had sprung into being, and nothing I saw in China gave me greater pleasure than to observe the contrast of the modern schoolboy at play, the traditional scholar's stoop and solemn splay-footed step discarded, freely indulging in the rough-and-tumble dear to the heart of the universal boy whenever he is left to his own devices. Then there is the wide dissemination of news by an active and virile vernacular press, conducted upon the whole with an ability and a sense of patriotism which need not fear to challenge comparison with the press of other countries.

And what of the people? Well in the ports at any rate and in the great towns, the pigtail has vanished and foreign or semi-foreign dress has become general. A pair of heels no doubt imparts a loftier gait—people no longer shuffle. But there was something more than that—a more alert and independent air, an unmistakable look of intelligence and self-reliance which seemed to bespeak a nascent sense of race-consciousness, as of a people trying to realize their own nationality.

That was in the Treaty ports. How far had these changes permeated into the interior? Not very deep apparently. When I crossed the Yangtse and took my way northward through Honan I found the wearing of the pigtail

*A speech given in New York City on March 28, 1922. By courtesy of the *Financial and Commercial Chronicle*.

almost universal; mule-carts and ox-wagons were still ploughing the sands which had once, in time immemorial, been roads; small-footed women were everywhere seen hobbling through the fields, or returning laden from market riding on the primitive wheelbarrow of a thousand years ago; a railway train runs up to the Great Wall, but still the long train of camels from the Mongolian plains file their way into Peking.

Once more it is, I kept reminding myself, the things which are not seen that count. Reform may not have penetrated very deep, but undoubtedly the spirit of reform is at work. Will it go on until it leavens the whole lump, or will China once more demonstrate her uncanny power of resisting change and arresting the march of modern civilization?

It is only what is called Young China that can supply the answer to that question. It will not do to dismiss them as a mere handful of raw, half-educated youths. All reforms have been the work of a minority. Great is the power of an ideal and Young China is fired by the ideal of an independent China. We may not like the form of government they propose, but whether we like it or not, for good or evil, the future destiny of the country rests with the young. In Young China lies the only hope of Old China. They will blunder, they will make mistakes, of course. The more need have they of Western sympathy and support. They have indeed assumed a heavy responsibility, but they have set before them a noble ideal, and every well-wisher of China will earnestly hope that they may so bear themselves as to prove not unworthy of the task to which they are called.

The Young China party have been encouraged—moderately encouraged—by the decisions of the recent Conference at Washington. I say moderately, because I suppose no one yet emerged from a conference, not even a consortium conference, with all the expectations with which he entered it fulfilled. No doubt its final results must await

the verdict of history. But I should judge from the conversations I had with returned delegates in China and Japan, and from the variety of opinions expressed, that it is considered that, upon the whole, honors have been pretty evenly divided. If that is so, then I think the delegates may be congratulated on having achieved the highest result of which such a conference is capable. I hope I may be allowed to offer my humble tribute of respect and admiration for the American statesmen who, relying on the free and generous impulse of the American people, had the faith and courage, the heart to conceive and the brain to carry out, this high enterprise in the cause of international peace. The Conference has been criticized for the paucity of its tangible results. Well, formal agreements have their uses, but we have learned by experience that it is the letter which killeth and the spirit which maketh alive. It is the spirit evoked, the atmosphere generated, the peace ingeminated by the discussions at Washington, which I believe will stand in times to come the best and most enduring results of that remarkable historic gathering.

Incidentally, the Washington Conference has set the seal of international approval on the policy of the Consortium and the principle on which it is based. Our view has long been that the centre of international politics was shifting from the West to the East, and that the solution of the Far Eastern problem was to be sought in the substitution of international co-operation for international competition in Chinese affairs. That view has now been definitely adopted and endorsed by every great Power. It may be questioned if present political conditions in China left them any alternative.

I am returning from China more profoundly impressed than ever before with the infinite possibilities for good or evil, for war or peace, which lie in the proper handling of the Far Eastern problem by the Powers concerned. What is that problem? It is the uni-

fiction of China by the establishment of a strong and independent central Government. Upon that we all agree. What then stands in the way?

Not the people of China. It is to misconceive the situation altogether to regard the present political situation as a sort of civil war between the north and south of China. There is no such geographical division. The people of the south have no quarrel with the people of the north, or any disinclination to unite with them. They would welcome reunion.

It is not the Governments who stand in the way. It is true that the Governments of north and south have their differences of opinion, the south being perhaps more doctrinaire in their application of the democratic principle to the machinery of government, but these differences lie in degree rather than in kind and could readily be adjusted if the two Governments were free, as they say they desire to be, to combine in creating a strong central government.

I may remind you, in general confirmation of what I have been saying, that even now the Government of the north is largely recruited from the south. The present Premier, Liang Shih Yi, comes from Canton. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Yen, hails from Shanghai. The Minister of Communications, Yeh Kung Chao, with whom the Consortium is more immediately concerned, comes from Canton.

Well, then, if it is not the people, or the Government, who is it bars the path to a reunited China?

The answer is that it is the Tu Chuns and none other. Who are the Tu Chuns? They are the military Governors of provinces, who have assumed the role of the robber barons of the sixteenth century in England. They have gathered around them bodies of mercenary troops. They have defied the authority of the Governments, both north and south. They have intercepted the public revenues and oppressed the people by forced levies of taxation or blackmail. Their power is supreme

and has reduced the mandates of Government, which formerly ran from one end of China to the other, to nullity. In the north the Government is powerless to collect any provincial revenue whatever, and is become dependent upon what it receives from the maritime customs and the salt gabelle, both of which are under foreign control.

Tu Chuns are, of course, not all bad. It is not for me to appraise the motives of any of them. It is not always those who are actuated by the best motives who are the least powerful for evil. Nor shall I attempt to differentiate between the varying degrees of malignity and turpitude of those whose influence is believed to be wholly inimical to the formation of a central government. If I refer to three of them by name it is not with the intention of expressing any opinion of their respective merits or demerits, but merely to illustrate the more potent of the disruptive elements at work in China today, the more powerful, either for good or evil, of those in whose hands appears to lie the more immediate destiny of their country. They are Chang Tso Lin in the north; Wu Pei Fu in Mid-China, and Chen Chiung Min and Sun Yat Sen in the south. These are the men, the three military satraps, who are paralyzing all attempts to reconstruct a central government. They represent no one but themselves. They are fighting, like Wayland Smith, for their own hand. They have attracted around them a body of mercenaries, who flock to one standard as readily as to another if the pay is better. It is not a national movement. The forces engaged are not the forces of China. They are the followers of Chang and Wu and Sun. They are fighting—not in their country's cause—but for the personal aggrandizement of their leaders.

Separation is no new thing in China. In many periods of her long history, notably during the Tang Dynasty, at the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries, China has been divided into separate kingdoms, but in-

variably the integrating forces have reasserted themselves and I have no doubt will do so again. It is becoming increasingly difficult for the rebel leaders to maintain their forces in the field, and the growing severity of the military exactions, to which they have recourse, are oppressing the people and making them restive. The Chinese have frequently demonstrated their power of combination in resisting the levy of illegal taxation. It is to the growth of this public spirit, this crystallization of one province with another in resisting these military exactions, in establishing a fiscal boycott of the Tu Chuns, coupled with a weakening of the rebels' power by a war of attrition among themselves, that I am disposed to look for a solution of the problem of reconstruction.

The process may be slow and tedious and I can understand the impatience of those who would like to accelerate it by placing China under the tutelage of the foreign Powers. I can understand that policy, but I am convinced it is a chimera. In the last resort, foreign intervention implies the sanction of force, and the employment of international force in order to coerce China is not a practical policy. China must work out her own salvation. All we can do is to stand by and, in the words of the Washington Conference Resolution, provide China with the freest and most unembarrassed opportunity of developing and maintaining for herself an effective Central Government.

I am conscious as I speak of the difficulty of depicting with any degree of accuracy the underlying realities of an unstable situation in which, however, there will be found many compensating balances. It is an exaggeration to say there is no government in China. The political changes of which the newspaper correspondents make so much are merely cabinet changes. Whether it is Liang or Yen that is in or out today or tomorrow makes little difference to the Government, which continues to function through the various departments very much as before.

Such is the instinct for law and order, the capacity for self-government of this extraordinary people, that 1920, the last year for which figures are available, marked a new record in their foreign trade. Last year's customs revenue was larger than ever before. In spite of the depredations of the Tu Chuns, there was a surplus on the salt revenue, after paying all the foreign charges secured on it of \$51,000,000; railways showed an estimated free surplus of \$24,000,000. Default, I hope only a temporary default, there has been, owing to the *force majeure* of the Tu Chuns, in the case of one or two foreign debts, but the word "repudiation" has never been mentioned in China. We have no anxiety about any of our secured loans and I repeat what I said here eighteen months ago, that there is no better foreign bond on the market today than the bond of China.

In the face of all these contradictory compensatory factors what policy ought the Consortium to pursue? Clearly we cannot take sides in this matter, or support one political party against the other, until we are assured that they are in the way of composing their differences and have the will to unite. I do not think the same objection would lie against a comprehensive funding loan for the conversion of the floating debt, since that would enure to the benefit of all parties, but with that exception the Consortium is for the present at any rate debarred from undertaking Government loans for administrative purposes in China.

Loans for constructive purposes are in a different category. Railways are for the benefit of all and in the interest of a United China, it is highly desirable that the uncompleted contracts into which we have entered should be fulfilled as soon as possible. I know of no step more likely to be effective in bringing the governments of the North and South together than the linking up of the Canton-Hankow and Peking-Hankow Railways.

Indeed, I will go further, and say that it seems to me unreasonable to

hold up the development of communications in China while the Government is engaged, it may be for a generation, in evolving a new political system. In my judgment the time has come for the Consortium to consider the practicability of negotiating independently with an autonomous or group of autonomous provinces, for the construction of specific railway undertakings within their respective borders. It has been suggested that the diplomatic recognition of a *de jure* Government in the North need not necessarily exclude the recognition of a *de facto* Government in the South on the assumption that the recognition would be given only for good cause and on conditions, such as acceptance of China's foreign liabilities, an undertaking to maintain intact the national revenue and to bear a proportionate share of the service of foreign loans. It is argued that joint recognition of this kind might act as an incentive to draw the two Governments closer together.

This may sound a tame, even a timorous policy. It certainly demands patience from its votaries, but I confess I am jealous for the reputation of the Consortium, and fearful of any premature or unconsidered step which might prejudice its usefulness in the future, as an instrument for the preservation of international amity and peace.

Meanwhile, do not let us underrate what has already been accomplished. We have been challenged for failing to obtain the recognition of the Chinese Government. Well, if that is a failure it is easily rectified. You can obtain recognition tomorrow from either the north or the south by the simple expedient of *waiving the conditions* which you have stated must be satisfied before a loan is contemplated. Is there anyone who knows anything about the subject who will seriously advocate such a change in our policy? I declare there is not a Government in China today whose recognition would be of value to you, not one whose signature to a loan agreement you could

accept with any reliance upon its ability—and in saying so I am not impugning either its sincerity or its goodwill—to fulfill the conditions to which it subscribed. We must wait.

Consider what the Consortium has done, is doing, for the people of China. It has succeeded in establishing an effective check upon the senseless and corrupt Government expenditure which was rapidly plunging the country into bankruptcy. I believe I am justified in saying that the prodigate borrowings of foreign moneys, which were menacing the integrity of China by a system of insidious financial penetration, has practically ceased since the formation of the new Consortium.

Furthermore, acting on the principle that Heaven helps those who help themselves, the Consortium has encouraged and developed the formation of a syndicate of native bankers for the purpose of co-operating in the issue of internal silver loans. Apart from its economic justification, in encouraging thrift and utilizing the national savings for national purposes before seeking assistance from abroad, I attach the greatest importance to this movement as a means of giving men with a stake in the country an interest in good government and a strong incentive to work for its rehabilitation. It is the bane of Chinese politics, an inheritance from the old regime, that they have been left too much in the hands of the literati. Until we can get the business men, the men with a stake in the country, to join hands with the educated classes, we shall never secure the formation of that sane and sound public opinion, upon which, in the last resort, governments must depend for their power and foreigners for their security.

So much for China. What has the Consortium done for Europe and America?

There is no more urgent task, none more fraught with consequence of good or evil for the peace of the world, I might even say for the future of civilization, as we understand it, than to discover and disclose the essential

unity underlying the diversity of national interests, and to unite them in a common aim, a common policy for the Far East. I claim that in this, its primary and most important objective, the Consortium has achieved complete success. The Consortium has its drawbacks. I know that. But consider the alternative. Drop the Consortium and tomorrow you will be thrown back upon the policy of "spheres of interest." That is no arbitrary personal opinion. It is in the nature of things. Reverse the process by which co-operation has been substituted for competition and the creditor nations will be forced in self-defense to safeguard the area of their securities. There is nothing ex-

cept the Consortium which stands between China and the resumption of "spheres of interest," and no one who recalls the international rivalries and jealousies which marked the period, known as the Battle of Concessions, with all its aftermath of territorial aggression and international wrongdoing, will consider almost any sacrifice too great to avert the renewal of such a calamity to China, such a menace to the peace of the world. The Consortium has justified itself and will continue to justify itself so long as we stand firm and stand together. Never were its claims to your consideration and support more insistent, more clamant than they are today.

MARCH OF EVENTS AT HOME

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AT HOME

There is much talk of a final break between Chihli and Fengtien and an impending civil war between General Wu Pei-fu on the one hand and General Chang Tso-lin and Dr. Sun Yat-sen on the other. Yet General Wu Pei-fu himself asserted that no war between him and General Chang is at present possible. In a circular telegram which he issued, General Wu says:

"Much to the detriment of the peace and safety of the community, certain newspapers have been spreading alarmist rumors that war between Chihli and Fengtien is imminent.

"This is entirely incorrect. I Pei-fu, have always obeyed the orders of Generals Chang Tso-lin and Tsao Kun, who were my superiors, and I do not see why I should oppose Chang at the present time.

"Some people say that I am indirectly opposing Chang Tso-lin through Liang Shih-yi. This is untrue. It is true that I have attacked Liang and there are many other people spending their time and money doing the same thing. I oppose Liang Shih-yi, not on account of the premiership, but because of his former acts—because his policy is a pro-foreign one.

"What has saved China from falling through a division of the North and South? Only such great men as Chang Tso-lin and Tsao Kun. These two men control China. Rumors that the Chihli and Fengtien factions are divided are untrue. Closer relations never before existed. Tsao Kun and Chang Tso-lin are related to each other. They have exchanged troops. Why should they fight against each other?

"People should not believe such rumors."

But in spite of General Wu's denial, signs are not wanting indicating that

war cloud is rising on China. General Wu is reported to have moved Feng Yu-hsiang's troops into Shantung by way of the Lunghai railway as a defensive measure against a Fengtien-Anhui alliance, thereby cutting the communications of General Chang Tsao-lin with his potential allies and gaining control of three important northern railways—the Kin-han, the Tsin-pu and the Lung-hai. On the other hand, General Chang is reported to have 70,000 men ready to take the field against General Wu, and the first detachments of the force detailed to occupy Tientsin and Shantung are now moving. The Canton forces, which will operate in conjunction with those of General Chang are arriving in southern Hunan.

According to reports received up to the present moment the political situation in China appears essentially to be as follows: General Wu is becoming politically isolated as the coalition between Chang Tso-lin, Sun Yat-sen and the revised Anfu clique under Tuan Chi-jui is being completed. It is said that the coalition program contemplates the installation of Sun Yat-sen as President, Tuan Chi-jui as Vice-President, with Chang Tso-lin the virtual dictator. Troops are beginning movements indicating that there will be battles probably both in Chihli and Hunan not far in the future.

In the meantime the cabinet situation at Peking is still unsettled. Dr. W. W. Yen resigned from the acting premiership on April 1. Announcement was now made of the appointment of Chow Tze-chi to take his place, while Liang is still on "political sick leave."

Chow Tze-chi's appointment, it was explained, is not indicative of an immediate change in the personnel of the Cabinet, but his presence in the min-

istry is having a reassuring effect in political and commercial circles. His appointment is necessarily temporary since Liang Shih-yi thus far has not resigned. General Wu Pei-fu's attitude toward the new appointee has not been indicated, but it is believed that he has been consulted and that he has given his consent to Chow's appointment.

REDEMPTION OF SHANTUNG

The work on the rehabilitation of Shantung rights has been begun, Dr. C. T. Wang having been appointed the Director-General. Dr. Wang declared, "I have accepted the post not that I desire to have it, but because it was my duty to accept. I knew nothing about the appointment until after my arrival in Peking, where I met Dr. W. W. Yen, Minister of Foreign Affairs. He put the situation plainly to me, and I saw it was my duty to accept. My first duty will be to take care that there is no political interference.

"Offices will be established in Tsingtao, to which town I shall proceed as soon as I succeed in arranging my private affairs,

"I will endeavor to secure men trained in modern government and management to assist me. I have certain men in mind, and I hope to be able to secure the assistance and co-operation of such as Dr. Wang Chung-hui, Dr. W. W. Yen, and Dr. David Z. T. Yui."

The Peking Government has concluded an agreement with the Japanese legation for the removal of the Japanese guards along the Shantung Railway. The guards are to leave April 1, 10 and 20, China agreeing to replace them with the same number of men. China and Japan will each appoint four commissioners to inspect the withdrawal of the Japanese troops.

Japan, however, has prepared a staggering bill for her withdrawal from Shantung. The sum of \$31,000,000 agreed upon in Washington is not all she is prepared to ask. In addition to enormous railway improvements, Japan expects compensation for bar-

racks and other buildings erected along the line, and also wireless outfits in Tsingtao and Tsinan, and a large hospital in Tsinan, with two years' retirement pay for the Japanese employes, numbering several thousand. Topping this comes other millions for harbor improvements. The exact total is being carefully guarded and will be given out piecemeal, since a flat demand will certainly precipitate a revolt of the people against the Peking Government. It is said that the total amount will run up to \$300,000,000.

China's prospect of paying this bill is not at all bright. Although April is advancing, Dr. C. T. Wang is still haunting the empty ministries at Peking for money to maintain the bureau at Tsingtao for the preliminaries of his task.

RIISING INDUSTRIES IN KIUKIANG

Kiukiang is making great headway in new industries. Two new factories have been erected and a third one is in course of construction.

A large match factory employing hundreds of workers has been completed not long ago. Women and girls may be seen all over the countryside making match boxes for the factory. Inside the factory little girls, seven, nine and twelve years old are employed filling up the boxes with matches. "They are paid so much for so many bundles and their little fingers work so deftly and mechanically, one is quite entranced watching their simple movements."

A flour factory has also been erected. This factory is well laid out and very spacious, with large godowns capable of storing 5,000 bushels of flour. Much money has been put into these buildings and each factory has its own electric plant.

The third building now in course of construction is a large cotton mill. This is being erected on the railway and near the Yangtze. It will be the largest factory in Kiukiang and will give employment to a large number of people.

EXTENSION OF THE PEKING-SUIYUAN RAILWAY

On account of the shortage of funds the proposed extension of the railway is to be substituted by a light railway. On March 10 the Ministry of Communication made the following announcement:

The Ministry of Communication considers that the construction of the Suiyuancheng-Paotaochen Railway, the extension of the Peking-Suiyuan line, is of great importance for the purpose of opening up communications to the northwest, developing industry there, protecting the Mongolian frontier and facilitating transportation on the present line.

This question was already put before a Cabinet meeting when regulations were laid down for floating loans for the purpose, and the Railway Administration was accordingly instructed to proceed with the scheme immediately. The administration, however, is at present short of funds and has had to cut down its estimates.

The original estimate for construction of the line was over £6,000,000 and the work was to be commenced in June last year and to be completed by the end of December. Owing to the preparations for opening of the Peking-Suiyuan through service, the commencement of construction was delayed until September and the line divided into sections, work beginning on the first section. Soon winter set in and work had again to be suspended. Later on the money market became extraordinarily tight and loan subscriptions were limited, there being a shortage of funds for the payment of wages.

Recently, since Mr. Tang, Director of the Railway Administration, took charge, it has been arranged that a light railway should be laid as was done on the line from Chochushan to Suiyuancheng.

The line on which it is proposed to run this light railway is over 270 li in length. The original cost will be considerably reduced as the tunnels, drainage, bridges, stations, etc., will be con-

structed to meet the requirements of the light railway instead of in accordance with the original plans.

The rails will be laid in sections in order to facilitate transportation during the construction of the line. It is estimated that \$1,250,000 will cover the cost of construction. The rails should all be laid by the end of May and through traffic be opened by October of this year. Should funds be available at an early date, the work will be expedited and through service may then start as early as June or July.

KANSU'S OUTLOOK ON EDUCATION

It is reported that the Province of Kansu is making no progress at all in modern education in recent years. Many of the government schools in the country places are a complete failure owing to the opposition of the parents to the system of new education. One school this last year had six pupils on the register and the numbers dwindled down to three in the autumn. Another school had only five pupils out of five villages and one can not wonder that the people begrudged paying the teacher his full salary at the end of the year. In many villages there are no schools now, as all private schools are prohibited, so at the present many children are receiving no education whatever.

A NEW POSTOFFICE FOR SHANGHAI

Announcement has been made by the Chinese Postal Administration that a new building for the Shanghai postoffice will be built at an early date.

The new postoffice will be one of the biggest buildings in Shanghai, to be located on the north bank of the Soochow Creek at the junction of North Szechwan and North Soochow Roads. At the corner of the two frontages is to be erected a clock tower over 150 feet in height, while the walls of the main building are to rise to more than 50 feet. The principal facades are designed in the form of a single massive Corinthian colonnade, rising almost to the roof. The plan of the building is

U-shaped with five stories, providing accommodation for approximately twice the present personnel in Peking Road, and with the various postal departments conveniently arranged to meet the requirements of the public. Flats and quarters for the staffs occupy the first floor. Materials to be employed are granite and artificial stone.

L. S. LOH

CLUB NEWS

BALTIMORE

The Baltimore C. S. C. was duly represented at a luncheon given at the Southern Hotel on March 29, under the combined auspices of the Women's Interdenominational Missionary Union, the College Club and Goucher College. Dr. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister to the United States, was the speaker and guest of honor for the occasion. The luncheon was organized primarily with the object of inaugurating a campaign to raise funds in Baltimore for women's colleges in the Orient.

Minister Sze, in the course of his address, said that education is the greatest gift America has ever made to China. He referred to the fact that although education of women in China is not so well developed as it is in this country, yet Chinese women have made notable records in the past inasmuch as about one-fourth of the great Chinese encyclopedia of 2,000 volumes is devoted to the women who have figured in the history of China.

S. H. LIN.

BEREA COLLEGE

We are glad to write about our Club for the first time, if there is such a one here; the fact is, there are only two of us. Therefore, we hesitated to write heretofore.

At any rate, we sincerely hope that the time will come when there will be enough Chinese students here to organize a full-fledged local club, in order to promote the real understanding between China and America in her national aspirations, and to give a true representation of the Chinese life and habits which have been so banefully misrepresented by her arch-enemy, Japan, to the American public.

We had done all we could to help fighting the righteous cause of China

by distributing pamphlets to the American community here, which appeal for their co-operation and sympathy.

CHIN KHAY SOON,
YEO TIAN SENG.

CINCINNATI

Cincinnatians always play silent partners, but they are faithful workers. Now, spring is here. Nature arises. So, here we are! Our membership consists of two girls and nine boys and we are always happy at work and in play.

One of our members, Dr. Kathleen Hwang, formerly of Soochow, China, now of Cincinnati General Hospital and College of Medicine, is taking special courses in eye, ear, and throat diseases at the medical college. She is assisting Dr. F. B. Phinney, under whose instruction she has assisted in many operations at the hospital. Dr. Hwang graduated from the Soochow Medical College in 1916 and came to Cincinnati two years ago. She is the first Chinese woman specialist and the first Chinese medical graduate who has ever gained practical experience in this large hospital.

The club officers for this semester are: T. C. Tse, President; Y. H. Wang, Secretary, and Y. Li, Treasurer.

Y. H. WANG.

CORNELL

For the social activities of the club the Cornell Chinese students have adopted the College Group System, a modified old plan proved to be unusually successful in the past, and hence the following groups have been formed: Agriculture Group, Engineering Group, and Arts and Science Group.

The first social was given under the supervision of the Agriculture Group, all the farmers tried their best to put

on a program befitting the occasion and the so-called Ag. Night turned out to be a real big success in spite of fact that some members were magnetized away by other attractions.

The gathering proceeded as follows: Mr. C. F. Wu, the Ph.D. of Stone fly, welcomed the members to the Ag. Social with a simple and good-natured farmer's opening remark; Mr. K. T. Lau, the only pre-eminent pianist of the club, amused us with his sweet rural music; conundrums were then given by Messrs. C. Wang and C. C. Feng, the former was of the typical old Chinese school and the latter fresh from the West Indies, through their Chopsuey-type of presentation interest was aroused; "good wind" brought us a guest of note, Dr. Wm. Hung, who was then invited by Cornell to speak in Forum, and hence was requested to give a short talk. The center of interest was perhaps the Farmers' Dance, following the talk. Then some interesting games were conducted by R. Feng. The meeting ended with refreshments served by the committee, headed by Mr. T. C. Tang.

DETROIT

Various activities have kept the Detroit members busy for the past two months. The success of our literary meetings is due to the efforts of Mr. Gerald Moyer. At our last oratory contest Mr. Francis Leong was proclaimed the best speaker. A debate, "Resolved, That the North and the South Should Come to a Compromise," is the subject for the next meeting. Our social, directed by Miss Katie Moy, have been successful too. A hike for April 12 to Belle Isle is being planned. With the co-operation of the weather-man we anticipate having a glorious time.

The Club's picture was taken last month. A Pin Committee was organized to obtain a Club pin. We hope to be satisfied with our pin as we were with our picture.

KATIE MOY.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

On February 11, 1922, the Lincoln Republican Club of Grand Rapids held its thirtieth annual banquet, at which our Minister, Dr. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze was the principal speaker. Dr. Sze delivered an address on "The China of the Twentieth Century," before an audience of approximately 2,000 people. Mr. C. P. Lum, Mr. Yen, of Rockford, Mich., were at the banquet. Dr. Sze told his audience about the Washington Conference and the relation between the Republic of China and the United States. It was at the very same club that Dr. Wu Ting Fang spoke on February 12, 1902.

Mr. K. K. Wong, of the Chinese Students' Club here will graduate from Hope College this June. Our Club members have spoken at different churches and schools. I spoke at Grandville High School yesterday.

F. C. WU.

MILWAUKEE

On February 10 a China Night was given by M. C. S. at Assembly Hall, Y. W. C. A. The program was "The Flowery Republic." (1) "All for China," Chinese Students; (2) address of welcome, J. H. Yap; (3) "Quarter of a Century's Progress," L. Y. Lee; (4) "Love Song," Oliver Ramsay; (5) "Chinese Writing," "Chinese Poetry," "Misunderstanding Between America and China," Kai Yen Ma; (6) "Traveling Through China" (illustrated), Joseph Chie; (7) Chinese play, presented by the young girls of Y. W. C. A.

It was the most successful program we ever presented. The hall was all filled with an audience of about 300 people, 80 per cent of them were ladies and girls.

On Thursday, February 9, we were entertained by the Wisconsin Women's Club, at the Athenaeum. The kind welcome extended to us by the ladies was greatly appreciated.

On February 21 Mr. Chie and I were invited to Mr. and Mrs. Campbell's home. We certainly had a jolly time.

Then on March 5 our deputation team was invited to St. James' Church. The program included Messrs. Chie, Ma, and Ip. Just a few days later the Four Corners Club celebrated its second anniversary at the home of Mrs. Cronyn, one of the most charming and popular ladies in Milwaukee, and a member of St. James' Church.

Another jolly time we had was the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. George Gibbs. It was Monday evening, March 21. When we entered the house, we readily felt "at home," for it was a Chinese home, a Chinese-decorated home. The excellent entertainment began promptly with a new game of horse racing. I won the first prize, silver-plated "eversharp." The second prize was a beautiful note-book and was won by Mr. Tom Hing. Miss Hibbard sang a lovely Chinese song and Miss Hunt told us a wonderful story. Our profound appreciation of the entertainment was evidenced by the well-cleaned plates at the end of the occasion.

On March 27 the deputation team was again invited to the Grace Baptist Church. The speakers were Messrs. Chie and Ip; their subjects were "Chinese Students Alliance," and "General View of China," respectively.

Just a few days ago the Four Corners Club was invited to the home of Dr. and Mrs. Southwell. Two members of M. C. S. C. were presented.

I just received a letter from our former Secretary, Mr. T. Tsao, who is appointed instructor in Nanyang College and an engineer of the Chinese National Sugar Refinery Co. Through the MONTHLY we wish him every success.

KAI YEN MA.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

There are now five members in our Club. They are: Dr. Paul Zactung Koesun, doctor in the City Hospital and graduate of Northwestern University, Chicago; Dr. T. C. Li, doctor at the Vanderbilt Hospital; Mr. Howsun Lee, M.A., Baylor University, Waco, Texas, and graduate student at

George Peabody College for Teachers; Mr. Benjamin C. M. Bau, B.S., Soochow University, Soochow, China, graduate student in agriculture, George Peabody College for Teachers; Mr. Peter S. T. Shih, B.A., Soochow University, graduate student in Elementary Education, George Peabody College for Teachers.

This club has not yet been properly organized, but tentative plans are being made for a permanent organization.

PETER. S. T. SHIH.

NORTHWESTERN

Thus far the Northwestern Chinese Students' Club has organized two boards for the coming thirteenth annual conference of the Mid-West Section, to be held in Evanston from the 4th of September until the 12th, namely, the Board of Directors, whose members are Messrs. Theodore B. Tu, chairman, S. Y. Livingston Hu, secretary, Thomas T. Y. Ho, business manager, Stonelake Y. P. Young, treasurer, Louis Hong, Paul Y. Sieux and Henry T. Y. Zee; and the Board of Advisors, whose members are Mr. Chas. W. Ward, executive secretary of Evanston Chamber of Commerce. President Walter Dill Scott, Deans Eiselein, Hellman, James, Potter, Kendall, Stuart of the Northwestern University and Mrs. Wm. H. Bush, founder of the American Friends of China in Chicago, Mr. John Abbott, vice president of Continental and Commercial Bank of Chicago, Mr. Merrick of Northern Trust Company of Chicago, and Mrs. Holtzmann, president of Chicago Women's Club. Under the leadership of Mr. Tu and due to the hearty support of the University the Evanston Chamber of Commerce, the Conference plans have been progressing very smoothly.

Messrs. Louis Hong, Paul Sieux and Henry Zee are in charge of the Conference advertising, accommodations and entertainment, respectively. Information relative to above points can be best secured by addressing these men at P. O. Box 444, Evanston, Illinois,

accordingly. Further details will be announced from time to time.

The last Club meeting was held at the residence of Dr. Wheeler, at Evanston. We were the guests of honor of the Students' Volunteer Band of the Northwestern University. A few Japanese students were invited there too to keep our company. Miss Elizabeth Denyea, of the Students' Volunteer Band, was in charge of the social program that evening. The program was both entertaining and thoughtful, and the Club enjoyed it profoundly.

LIVINGSTON S. Y. HU.

OBERLIN

The Chinese Students' Club in Oberlin is working with new vigor in the advance of the spring. New officers were elected; new constitution has been drawn up; a new committee has been appointed; with all these modifications and new vigor the future of the club should point toward the direction of progress and prosperity. Likewise the Sunday Discussion Meeting, another activity of the Club, has been more emphasized under the charge of Miss K. M. Chen, who is spending her last semester in Oberlin.

The membership has been increased to forty this year, of whom fifteen are women.

In the spring vacation all the boys invited the girls to a Chinese dinner party. Everybody enjoyed it so immensely, even the "hard-worked" hosts! Jokes, stories were told amidst the feast, and Mrs. P. W. Koh's "Grandma's Tale" gave everybody a hearty laugh.

The new officers of the Club are: President, Mr. H. J. Hwang; Vice President, Miss K. M. Chen; Corresponding Secretary, Miss D. Y. Koo; Recording Secretary, Miss Rosalind Han; Treasurer, Miss Katherine Lau.

R. HAN.

OHIO N. UNIVERSITY

Our Club has dwindled quite a bit ever since the old members graduated or departed to continue their studies elsewhere. To them we again extend

most hearty wishes for a great future.

Since the Club has diminished in size and the remaining members are always close together, President Hymn Moy deemed it more profitable and practicable to have constant discussions of any Club matter informally at any time, especially now when the tense political situation experienced during the Washington Conference is all over.

We again desire to emphasize among ourselves and also suggest to other C. S. Clubs everywhere to be less passive and to give fearlessly their candid and frank opinions on the work of the Alliance, the delegates, the *China Advocate*, etc., etc. Many are inclined to destroy rather than to give constructive criticisms or remedies. China can never be saved by passiveness or destructive criticism without constructive plans.

L. T. LEE.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Never in the history of the C. S. C. at Columbus has there been a brighter record than that of 1922.

We have sought to better the conditions of the Club through the initiation of the various committees, looking mainly to the promotion of friendship among its members. The Social Committee, taking charge of social gatherings, athletic contests and outing, and picnicing; the Debating Committee, whose function it is to develop debating faculties in the Club members; and the National Anthem Committee, which keeps the national spirit alive in our inner self and reminds us of our sweet home, where the charm from the sky seems to hallow us—these have exerted a large influence in the bright prospects of the present administration.

In the Club membership of this semester there has been a slight change. Messrs. C. C. Chu and T. H. Fang have sailed for China, while Messrs. C. C. Yuan and C. Y. Shih have transferred to some other schools. This export is fortunately balanced up by a simultaneous import. Messrs. T. C. Wu, D. K. Tong and J. Y. Chan, an alumnus

of the University, are our new members. At the present the number of our members has reached nineteen.

P. W. BALDWIN HUANG.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

China was well represented in the banquet given by the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. It is impossible to conceive a more picturesque gathering or a more animating scene. Over fifty nations thronged the spacious hall of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel and sat around the tables enjoying the festive scene as well as the exquisite music. The principal speaker of the evening, Senator Pepper, spoke on the subject of the "Agreeing Mind." Mr. Pin Chu, the chairman of our Club, made a witty and very appropriate response.

The members of the Chinese Students' Banking Club met on March 17, Friday evening, at the Hotel Normandie, for their first sumptuous banquet. About thirty sat at the long table under a light which shed a soft radiance around. They were peculiarly fortunate in having as their guests and after-dinner speakers Professors Edward S. Mead and Edward P. Moxey, of the Wharton School of Finance. Mr. S. Y. Liu, the President, explained the objects of the club and laid tribute to the guests for their help and interest in their Chinese students.

Dr. Y. Y. Tsu, the General Secretary of the Chinese Students' Christian Association, visited the University of Pennsylvania from March 24 to March 26. During his brief stay he spent every minute of his time profitably in making speeches and holding personal interviews with Chinese students. On March 25, Saturday afternoon, we assembled to hear Dr. Tsu talk. He praised highly the scholastic attainments of the Chinese students and admired the ability and ease with which they are adapting themselves to the social life around; but "what is more important than either of these," said Dr. Tsu, "is the cultivation of moral virtue."

On Sunday, March 26, we were privileged to receive an invitation from Mr. and Mrs. George Vaux to spend the whole of the afternoon and evening at their delightful home in Bryn Mawr and to meet there Dr. D. W. Lyon and Dr. Y. Y. Tsu. A most glorious scene opened before our eyes when we exchanged the busy town for the quiet and lonely scenery of the beautiful country place. Mr. Vaux has always been interested in the Chinese, being the Treasurer of the West China Union University at Chengtu. In the evening we gathered in the hall to listen to the speeches made by Dr. Lyon and Dr. Tsu. Born in a canal boat in China, Dr. Lyon claimed Chekiang as his native province. He delivered a very inspiring speech on the subject of university of Christian life; while Dr. Tsu urged the formation of a discussion group or a local unit of the Christian Association. Plans are now afoot for its organization. Mr. Vaux has a studio rich in its collection of vases, cups, etc., and with pride he displayed many of his Chinese articles. We were also entertained with his wireless telephone and lantern slides depicting the beautiful views of Canadian landscape.

We take pleasure to announce the birth in Philadelphia of a Chinese Fraternity for athletic honors. Messrs. C. C. Yung, K. B. Young, S. T. Chow, M. T. Lee and J. C. Liu are the members.

ELMER C. LING.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Our regular meeting was held on March 17. The following new members were added to our list of membership: Miss S. M. Yang, from Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States; Mr. G. Hsiang, from Hanchow, and Mr. Yunwin Liang, from Tokio. Our Club now has thirty members.

Recently our college launched its annual service campaign for the purpose of supporting a delegate at Peking University. The Chinese students were requested to render their help. Being anxious to show to our American friends what we could do, we came out

in large numbers with our Chinese gowns on, pursuing the people on the campus for their subscriptions. The campaign was a great success. The next day the college paper boasted the Chinese students of their great enthusiasm, and their willingness to co-operate. Thus the campaign strengthened the friendship between the Chinese and the American students.

P. W. W. WONG.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

The Chinese Students' Club in Springfield had the opportunity to do something for the Chinese merchants in this city. As soon as we heard that the Chinese merchants were very anxious to learn English we Chinese students decided to have an evening school for them, for we are willing to do all we can to help them in every way. So by the free contributions of the Chinese merchants we have opened a club room at 275 Dwight Street, for our club meetings and for evening classes for any Chinese merchants who desire to learn English. We plan to hold these meetings on Wednesday and Sunday evenings. This is the first evening school for Chinese in the city. At the first meeting speeches were made by Messrs. Chang, Song, and Hoh. They congratulated the club on its opportunity to help others by teaching them American ways and ideas as well as language. We of the club do not claim that we know so much more than others, but we simply want to do our best to give them what we do know.

The club will give a Spring Party on Tuesday evening, April 4, at the Chapel of the American International College. A short business meeting will be held before the social part is to begin. Notices have already been sent out for this party.

ELIZABETH LUM.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

While all places are turning green, our spirit becomes refreshed, and our enthusiasm and energy for work climb to an even higher level than ever. Our

spring program may be worth mentioning:

First, several picnics are being planned. Sisters and brothers from the Celestial Empire will join their hands and walk up and down the hills. We won't miss the natural beauty of our beloved Iowa country!

Second, two socials are intended to be held in the next few weeks. Interesting programs are to be prepared. Possibly a few prominent men, as Dean William Russell of the School of Education, State University of Iowa, who has been chairman of the American Educational Commission to China and has recently returned to America, will be invited to speak.

Lastly, some of our Club members have scheduled lecturing engagements for the next few months to treat various Chinese problems.

LEONARD S. HSU.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Chinese Students' Club of Washington, D. C., held its regular monthly meeting on April 7. Mr. T. S. Woo, Counsellor of the Chinese Delegation, gave us an inspiring talk on the future of China. In his speech, he emphasized on the point that for the future of China "we must work from the bottom to the top." After his address discussions and the ratification of a new constitution and election of new officers took place. The new officers are as follows: President, Mr. I. H. Chan; Secretary, Miss Ruth Moy; Treasurer, Mr. Harry Bochin. Having finished the business part of our meeting, we then came to the social part of our program, which meant a "lot of ice cream, cakes and tea." The meeting was not adjourned until every member finished his or her share. At about 11 P. M. we dismissed the happy gathering.

Not long ago our Club had the honor to accept an invitation to a special tea party in the Lutheran Memorial Church in the city. The church parish house was brilliantly decorated and a big flag of our country was specially

honored by being placed in a most conspicuous position in the center of the hall. There were music, speeches, singing and refreshments. Before leaving the church the pastor was kind enough to hand to each one of us a beautiful church calendar and a bunch of pretty flowers. An occasion like this impressed us not a little. We want to express our sincere thanks to this church through the MONTHLY.

A. C. WAUNG.

WISCONSIN

During the Washington Conference the Chinese Students' Club of Wisconsin was busily engaged. Several of its members gave up their study in order to concentrate their entire energy and time on the Conference issues. Among our patriotic members let us make special mention of Messrs. C. Y. Tung, W. H. Chio and J. C. Tsao, who worked at Washington during the whole Conference.

That the campus of the University of Wisconsin is becoming more and more attractive to the Chinese students can be readily proved by the increase of the number of Chinese students. That

isn't all! For the first time in our Club history we have three girls here registered for the regular school year. They are Misses H. L. Chang, D. T. Kao and Mrs. J. C. Tsao

The Club realizes that the majority of its members study too hard. In order to release them from constant mental strain, a social committee and an athletic committee have been created to provide recreative facilities. The former has scheduled a series of social meetings, picnics, etc.; the latter is organizing tennis, base ball and some other teams.

Besides the Political and Economic Club, founded two years ago, we have recently organized a bi-weekly discussion meeting. At this meeting matters of general interest are discussed—Chinese problems first, and then international and American problems. This proves to be so good a source of liberal education that I take the liberty to recommend it to other clubs.

The officers of this semester are: Mr. C. K. Tsao, President; Mr. J. C. Tsao, Vice President; Mr. H. L. Chang, Secretary, and Mr. C. C. Chi, Treasurer.

H. L. CHANG.

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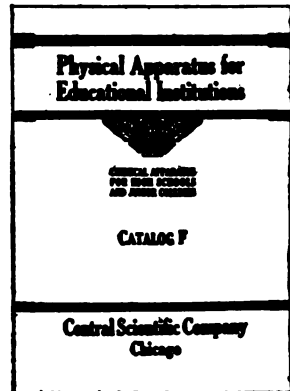
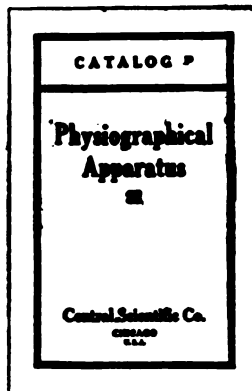
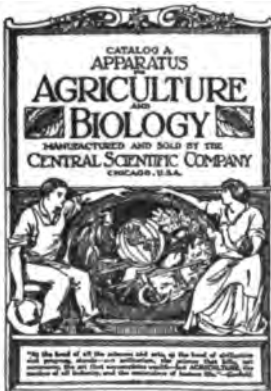
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PERSONAL NOTES

Frederick S. T. Chow recently represented the University of Pennsylvania in the indoor inter-collegiate athletic meet held in New York City and won the first place in broad jump. He is a member of the University track team and has captured many athletic prizes.

It is rumored that Mr. Chow of Philadelphia has been engaged to Miss Margaret Wong of the same city. May this be the beginning of a long and happy life together.

Joseph Tuck of the University of Washington gave a lecture on China before the Trinity Men's Club at Everett, Wash., February 15. His topic on "China, What She Was, What She Is and What She Will Be," is a most interesting one. His success made him complimented by all the members and the club has elected him an honorary member. He spent the following day on his trip for the industrial investigation to the Everett Paper and Pulp Co. and Weyerhauser Lumber Co. in connection with his course on Industrial Management. "The saw mill at Everett," according to Tuck's statement, "is one of the largest of its kind in the world."

Y. Liu, M.S. '18, Ill., after his four years' experience in the Chicago and

Eastern Illinois Railroad and Illinois State Highway Department and also Michigan State Highway Department, has just completed his eastern trip. He made a thorough investigation on highway constructions among many eastern states. He is now on his way to China and will sail from Vancouver, B. C., on the 20th of April by S. S. "Empress of Asia." He will spend his first few months to study the road condition and materials in China. Lectures will be given on highways with his hundreds of slides.

Jennings P. Chu has recently passed his final examination for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Columbia University. His thesis bears the title: *Chinese Students in America: Qualities Associated With Their Success*. He will sail for China in June by way of Europe where he will visit some of the educational institutions. Upon his return, he will be professor of the National Southeastern University and Dean of the First Girls' Normal College of Kiangsu.

Franklin Shore (Shii Kuan-nien) is connected with the export department of the Simmons Company, a large bed manufacturing institution.

BOOK REVIEW

"China's Place in the Sun." By Stanley High. With an introduction by Paul S. Reinsch. Pp. 212 XXIX. Illustrated. Net \$1.75 gold. New York. MacMillan.

"China's Place in the Sun" as the title at once suggests, is a popular book on China. It does not intend to give any new information on Chinese affairs. It does not pretend to startle the reading public with any original interpretation of Chinese life and conditions.

The author had about one year's extensive travel in China in 1919-1920. He visited many of the Chinese cities and many inland villages, from Manchuria to Fukien, from Kiangsu to Szechuan. He observed things carefully and upon his return to America engaged himself in a diligent study of a great many volumes written by various authors on China. The present volume is the result.

He writes, of course, from the angle of an American eager to have his own country realize its great opportunity in the Far East. His objective, as he states it is to lead "those who read it to a more sympathetic appreciation of the Chinese people and of the efforts they are making to fit themselves and their nation for a place of world leadership in international affairs, and to a more intelligent understanding of America's relationship to the problems of China's development." After a rapid review of conditions in China under the chapters, "America's commercial stake in China," "China's Industrial Renaissance," "What of the Chinese People?" "The Achievements of China's Civilization," "The Growth of a National Consciousness," "The World War and the Student Movement," "China's Intellectual Renaissance." and "Christianity in China." He concludes that "A century hence, when China and America face each other, it will be as

the allied representatives of a common idealism—the great Republic of Asia and the great Republic of the West united for the perpetuation of Christian Democracy."

As Mr. High is not long a resident in China, as he does not speak nor write the Chinese language, as he has little means of checking the authorities he uses, and as the book was hurriedly gotten out, perhaps with a view to meeting the demands of the American public during the latter part of the Washington Conference, one can readily understand the many imperfections of the book. There are several wrong names and several wrong titles, misspelled words, and a number of places where the grammar is poor. Mr. High does not frequently give the authority of his statistical figures, and in several instances they have proven wrong. In two or three instances his unfamiliarity with the subject has given rise to some terrible confusions. Those places where corrections are particularly needed are where he speaks of the Literary Revolution as a movement against the *pei hua*, or the spoken language, where he speaks of the China Medical Board as an institution established fifty years ago under the name of The Medical Missionary Association, and where he confuses the Chinese, who love peace and reason, with those related to Ghengis Khan and Tamerlane, thirsty for conquest and bloodshed.

Apart from these defects, the book is an excellent one and deserves the consideration of Chinese students who are interested in interpreting China to America and in strengthening the friendship of these two nations. One of the strongest features of the book are the several excellently chosen illustrations. Several of the photographic reproductions are full of human interest and well worth the buying of the book just to see them.

Another excellent thing about the book is that it is full of "corking" stories. These Mr. High has picked out from his own observations in China and from the many books he has read. He reminds one of a boy who goes to his mother's pantry and plucks out the raisins from the cakes and eats them together. Seldom will a Chinese student find a book so full of delightful stories and excellent statements gathered together from many sources.

The best thing about the book is, perhaps, that the author has proceeded not from the angle of one who has a preconceived conception of the superiority of the Occident, nor yet from that of one who has only a vague sentimental appreciation of Orientalism. He is open-minded from the start and fair throughout the whole enterprise.

Doctor Paul S. Reinsch, former American Minister to China, furnishes a long introduction to the book which, apart from several errors, evidently committed by the printer, makes an excellent article by itself, as well as a most informing supplement to the book.

WILLIAM HUNG.

"The Chinese Family System." By Sing Ging Su, M.A., Ph.D. International Press, 1922. Obtainable from the Columbia University Book Store.

The foundation of the Chinese nation was built upon the family. Nation and family have, ever since the beginning of the Chinese civilization, been regarded as two inseparable institutions, and a compound term "Kuo-chia, or nation family, is generally referred to as meaning the nation alone. This shows the importance of the family to the Chinese nation. Therefore, to study the Chinese national life, one must first inquire into the Chinese family system.

Dr. Su, as far as our knowledge goes, is among the pioneers who made such a thorough study of the Chinese family system. Being a student of sociology, he is naturally best qualified to undertake the task.

We agree with Dr. Su that so complicated an institution like the Chinese family is naturally not devoid of defects in spite of these defects, as Dr. Su has pointed out in his book, the Chinese family system possesses many good features which no thinking people in China or in the occidental countries can afford to ignore. The benevolent communism of the Chinese family which Dr. Su has ably pointed out, has practically eliminated "all the ruthlessness and tragedy from the 'struggle for existence.'" He also tells us that "from the social and moral point of view the Chinese family system possesses many good traits which have helped China more than all her other social institutions taken together." "As a member of a family one is, by blood or marriage, enmeshed in an intricate web of relationship, and one's crimes are fraught with serious consequences for the whole family and for the family connected with it." The effects of this tend to prevent individuals from committing crimes or doing mischief. "The Chinese family system, furthermore, is the best agency for socializing individuals. Every member from childhood to the break-up of the family, is taught to co-operate, to love, to serve, to respect the rights of others. In this, the family system has promoted social progress more than any other social institution in China." The Chinese family system, according to Dr. Su, "has laid the foundation and prepared the way for modern Chinese democracy."

To the foreign readers two points in the book under review are likely to be taken as surprises. First, that in the Chinese family, woman is given equal rights to become the head of the family. In a small family, consisting husband, wife, and children, the husband as a rule is the *Chia-chang*. Upon his death the mother becomes the *Chia-chang*." "The qualifications of a *Chia-chang* are, first, seniority, irrespective of sex, and, secondly, character and ability." In the general conception of our occidental acquaintance the *Chia-chang* must be a despot. But let us listen to Dr. Su's description of the *Chia-chang's* rights

and obligations. "As head of the family, he is responsible for the proper conduct of all domestic affairs . . ." "As executive and financial head of the family, he has the right to compel all members to turn their earnings into the common purse to be used for the current expenses of the whole family. He has the additional right to keep in the common treasury all incomes from the family estates, but is not empowered to dispose of any part of the family property for any purpose save the welfare of the whole family, nor arbitrarily to divide the property among the members of the family." It is quite obvious that his position is not at all similar to that of the father in a Western family, much less does his power resemble the Roman *Patria Potestas*. The *Chia-chang* has no parental power over the members of the family unless they be his own children. The relation between the *Chia-chang* and other members of the family he governs is reciprocal; his obligations, indeed, are more numerous than his rights."

In view of the above explanation, the conception that the Chinese women are not treated on the equal basis with and considered inferior to the men is quite unfounded. Indeed, we find so many empress dowagers in the Chinese history ruling not only their royal families, but the whole China.

The second point which is likely to be taken as a surprise is that in that ancient and men-ruled China, a thing like divorce should have been in existence—still more surprising that it has been backed by laws. It is well worth the while to read Dr. Su's book on this subject. A Chinese husband or wife may institute divorce proceedings and obtain divorce for one or more of the following reasons: "(1) bigamy (by either party) (2) adultery (by either party) (3) because one party intends to kill the other; (4) because one of the parties is ill-treated or highly insulted by the other thereby making it impossible for them to live together; (5) because the wife ill-treats or highly insults the relatives of her husband's

parents; (6) because the husband is ill-treated or highly insulted by parents or relatives of his wife; (7) because either party has not known the whereabouts of the other for over three years." (It may be noted that this last reason is even more lenient than the new provision of New York State marriage law, which provides that either husband or wife may obtain legal dissolution of marriage, if the wife or husband has been missing for five years.)

Here the reader will naturally be anxious to ask: How can this reconcile with the existence of concubinage? It is to be regretted that Dr. Su does not give us much explanation on this subject. However, at many occasions, he infers that concubinage is not recognized as a legal marriage and therefore not included in the Chinese family system. A concubine is protected by no law. In fact, the concubinage is considered as a social evil and condemned by all those who are morally upright. Then, the reader will ask, why it should be permitted to exist? To answer this, we must find the origin of this evil. It was begun by some emperors of long ago, imitated by others from generation to generation, and followed by the very rich people. Under the despotic rule of absolute monarchy, the voice of the public could not be heard and therefore it has existed against the moral resistance of the people. The mandarin and the very rich people, who have no thought of the morals of the society, abuse their treasuries for this immoral practice. Since the establishment of the Republic, the young generation, however, has been able to rid itself of this social evil without the restrictions from the law, although the elder generation, who is still in power, has not yet found its way clear to rectify its commitments.

However, this evil has not been as prevalent as might be supposed, if we take China as a whole. This practice, as stated before, exists only among the mandarins and the very rich people. If we compare the number of these two classes with China's total popula-

tion, it will be, indeed, a mere fraction. Moreover, it is very hard to find that every individual of these two classes indulges in this evil. Before long it will surely die a natural death. Thanks for the fact that there is no religion attached to it as in the case of Mormons.

Dr. Su makes two divisions of his book. In Part I he deals with the history of the Chinese family system, showing its origin and development. In Part II will be found the study of the Chinese family system of to-day. The book contains no theory nor hypothesis, but facts from the Chinese ancient history, classics, present laws and statutes of different dynasties, and

scientific observations. It presents a comprehensive view of "the nature and functioning of the Chinese family system."

Unlike many other Chinese writers on Chinese subjects, Dr. Su's sources of information are entirely Chinese. The book is also appended with a rich bibliography and a copious index. It is a scholarly and valuable piece of work. Such work is unquestionably valuable to the students of the Chinese nation as well as those of sociology. It is also worth the while of those who desire to know the true facts about the Chinese people and their family system.

J. S. Tow.

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CORRESPONDENCE

MY MESSAGE TO CHINESE STUDENTS

Dear Editor:

I have kept your letter of 18th February a long time before answering it. I am much flattered by your request, but I can not bring myself to write for the students just now. What I feel that I could write is only suited to a period of peace and reorganization; then I should hope that Young China might listen to one who has only their interest at heart and has no axe to grind; but now China is only repeating her own history—what happened at the end of the Han, and the end of the Tang, and in the Sung, and at the end of the Ming, and now at the close of the Tsing—each degenerate in turn, then a period of disorder, the mandate returning to the people, until the strong man emerges restoring order and securing peace. Who will be the Augustus, the Cromwell, the Napoleon, the Chu Yuen-chang of China today?

Emperor, what's in a name?

For forms of government let fools contest:
Whatever is best administered is best.

Which means that a republic is just as good as an empire, so long as it is administered by strong men; and an empire as good as a republic, if it secures liberty to the subject. But the strong men must be honest, working for the good of the nation; and liberty must mean security of life, person and liberty.

What I should say to the Chinese student is that he must carry away what is good in American example, and not what is evil.

Yours very truly,

H. B. MORSE.

"Arden," Camberley, Surrey, England,
9th April, 1922.

MISSIONARY EDUCATION

Dear Monthly:

During the last few years, on account of the strong national feeling,

anything which bears a Japanese trade mark is boycotted in China. Another growing tendency, especially among the student class, is the prevailing anti-Christian attitude. A friend of mine who is now also studying in this country once went to a church on Sunday where he met a narrow-minded pastor who came to him after the sermon and extended to him hearty welcome. But as soon as the pastor found out that he was not a Christian, the only remark the pastor made was "I am sorry for you" and there was no more interest in the young Chinese student who went there with an open heart and came out discouraged. I am afraid that the same fact holds true with some of the Chinese students with regard to Christianity—to this group, if I were right, I would classify them as narrow-minded students. Guided by individual bias, religious prejudice, and social tradition, they do not want to give up the narrow self for the broad self, that, upon which, the aim of education is primarily focused.

American missionaries, both in the field at work and at home on furlough, would be shocked when they read carelessly Prof. Dewey's article on "America and Chinese Education,"¹ but as I understand, Prof. Dewey's fundamental purpose in writing that article is to point out the most pressing need of missionary education in China so that they may feel the necessity of a reform for the betterment. In order to right the wrong, missionaries must accept whatever is instructive and beneficial. It is also the duty of individuals in society to point out their weakness but not to disregard them simply because they are colored by religion.

Prof. Dewey opens his paragraph by introducing the statement of a Chinese student, I fear that particular student may belong to the narrow-minded type, that is, boycotting missionaries simply

because they bear "Christianity" as their trade mark, so to speak. He draws the conclusion, as quoted by Prof. Dewey, that American missionary education has failed to develop independent, energetic thought and character, and has produced rather a slavish type. This is one hundred per cent incorrect, except in the sense that they are loyal to their Alma Mater. On the contrary, they are less slavish than those who have not studied in missionary institutions.

In explaining my argument I only want to point out some of the characteristic differences between Americans and Chinese. A typical American is efficient, steady, humorous, active, and energetic, while an ordinary Chinese is emotional, inefficient, slow and inactive. American missionaries going to China with those qualities, students who come to direct contact with them, gradually and naturally absorb those characteristics, or to use another expression, they become Americanized along certain lines. Only those students being confronted with a complex situation, with their Chinese traits plus something American, are able to see more, and by manipulating the American tools of investigation, using a psychological term, they utilize more of the instinct of curiosity, consequently they are less liable to one-sidedness and are less slavish to individual bias, religious prejudice, and social tradition, but free and independent in thought and character. Somebody may question me why the missionary students did not take the leadership in the Students' Revolt in 1918. Are they not patriotic? Yes, they are even more patriotic than anybody else, they joined the movement not because they were forced to but because they were willing to. Peking University is located in the capital of the country where direct pressure was imposed on the students. Besides, they were supported by the faculty members. All these forces were necessarily absent in missionary schools.

This Chinese student, who is particularly concerned here also remarked to Prof. Dewey that there had been at

Washington no representative voicing of existing Chinese national sentiment, and that Chinese at home and in this country are not satisfied with the two delegates who have studied in missionary institutions. I do not know whether he speaks from a political point of view or from his personal point of view. Political China at present is divided, but the people are one. It was feared at first that there may be a split among the delegates due to their personal jealousy and political relations, but in the end, we see that they have worked out nicely with a cooperative spirit. While the Conference was in session they were closely watched by unofficial delegates sent from home on the one hand, and guided by public opinion and students' pressure on the other. They did what they could. It is better to get something than not to get anything. When the Shantung issue once ended in a deadlock, some emotional Chinese even advocated a policy of "walk-out." Nobody can deny that America has helped us out, nor can we deny that it is partly due to the efforts of our delegates who have studied in missionary institutions, in approaching the democratic Americans democratically. H. G. Wells has said rightly that the Chinese propaganda in America and Western Europe seems on the whole to be conducted more efficiently than the Japanese because they have a democratic habit of mind. They go close to the hearts of the Americans.² In Lloyd George's notable speech delivered on the 14th February, in the House of Commons, he said that "the whole of Asia now is saturated with Western ideas, the great Western ideas of liberty became their ideals. It was putting new wine into the old bottles of the East . . . there were two chemicals bound sooner or later to produce some form of explosion."³

To be perfectly frank, it was the American Missionaries who first introduced the democratic conception into China. It is democracy which has helped China to find herself. A young American college graduate who recently went to China was disappointed

to find that "Chinese college boys are as wild as American college boys" because he had been informed that "the Chinese are the most polite people in the world." The answer to this in Fagnet's "The Cult of Incompetence" is clear enough. "We often ask why politeness is out of date, and everyone replies with a smile: 'This is democratic' . . . There is no doubt that civility and politeness are a delicate means of showing respect to our fellow-men, and of communicating a wish to be respected. . . All that is anti-democratic, because democracy does not recognize any superiority, and therefore has no sympathy with respect and personal devotion."⁴ This is only an illustration of a minor fact. Doubtlessly the influence missionaries exerted on China is far-reaching, both politically and economically. They are the pioneers who give China modern education and up-to-date equipment. They are the forerunners who emancipate Chinese people of the feminine sex and improve the condition of those most neglected. We owe much to America and especially to American Missionaries. There are about two thousand Chinese students in this country, a goodly number of them are financed by the Boxer Indemnity Fund. This fund was made available by the *blood* of American missionaries in 1900, and I want to call the attention of my fellow students to keep in mind our well-known proverb "Think of the source when you drink" before throwing mud upon the unselfish missionaries. It is true that some of the narrow-minded missionaries who are not highly educated have brought home reports which do not represent China in reality, but we cannot judge the whole by a few and belittle their net results by the loss of tiny mistakes.

The Chinese student whom Prof. . . . unfortunately interviewed is a very typical critic of the missionaries. I remember once there was a group of students in The Chinese Students' Educational Club at Teachers College who said dictatorially to a group of missionaries in a meeting discussing Re-

ligious Education, that "Education should be only for education's sake." It seems to me that they even do not understand what the very phrase means, they forget what President Butler said "Religious training is a necessary factor in education and must be given the time, the attention, and the serious, continued treatment which it deserves."⁵ Before I came to this country last Fall, I was also a little skeptical about the policies of missionary education in China, but after studying their aims more closely, I find there is no room for me to be suspicious. The aims of missionary education as stated in the Edinburgh Missionary Conference Report of 1910 are:

1. Education may be conducted primarily with an evangelistic purpose, being viewed either as an attractive force to bring the youth under the influence of Christianity or as itself an evangelizing agency.
2. Education may be primarily edificatory, in so far as the school has for its object the development of the Christian community through the enlightenment and training of its members.
3. Education may be leavening, in so far as through it the life of the nation is gradually permeated with the principles of truth.
4. The motive of missionary education may include the philanthropic desire to promote the general welfare of the people.
5. The most important of all the ends is that of training those who are to be the leaders and teachers of the men of their own nation, moving forward towards the position of independence and self government.⁶

What is wrong with these aims essentially? Is it justifiable for us to be anti-missionary? America is our only friend in the world at present, it is largely due if not entirely, to the missionaries who go to China with a good intention and a spirit of sacrifice, which brought these two countries to a mutual

understanding. If we continue to be so anti-missionary the ultimate result may be that the whole America will turn her back to us. Who is going to blame then—the narrow-minded Chinese students?

On the theoretical side, Dewey has objected to ultimate aims in education on the ground that they are apt to be rigid, static, imposed from without, and remote from the interests of the pupils.⁷ We need to remember, then, that aims should be progressive and should appeal to intelligent effort. Snedden has criticised aims as commonly stated on the ground that they are either so vague that they exercise little influence on choice of methods, or, on the other hand, practical, without demonstrated social validity.⁸ The connection between these two sets of aims needs to be worked out not only in missionary schools but also in government schools and private schools in China.

Yes, we do not want them to transplant the American college curriculum and American conceptions of discipline, nor do we want them to train compradores. We want them to understand Chinese needs, to be alert, agile, sympathetic in their efforts to meet them, but how can they do it without our help and cooperation. Even among Chinese enlightened people, let me ask how many of them are trained experts along educational lines who can get a glimpse of the above mentioned situations. Missionary schools laid so much emphasis in the English language because there is a social demand for it, it is only *our* duty to direct and lead the mass for some ideal ends and higher demand.

The writer of this article is neither financed by the Indemnity Fund nor connected with any mission. He speaks because he cannot be silent in the face of such gross misrepresentations. He also wants to thank the American missionaries because they are the ones who opened his father's eyes so that today he sees a brighter and more glorious future not only for his own family, but for the Chinese nation as a whole.

Let us be just and give tribute where tribute is due.

THEODORE ENCHENG HSIAO.

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- ⁴Fagnet: *The Cult of Incompetence*, pp. 156-159.
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- ⁷Dewey: *Democracy and Education*, Ch. VIII.
- ⁸Snedden: *Problems of Secondary Education*, pp. 124 ff.

WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

Dear Editor:

I wish to call your attention to the following points. I wish also that you will do the same to the others.

I think you do agree that some of us are not very well familiar with conditions at home. I think this is due to the fact that they came over too early. Why not let us advocate that new students should have graduated from a college at home, acquired a good knowledge of the country, and determined the course of study, before coming over; so they may be able to save time and money from a blind pursue?

We have been forgetting for what we are here: some of us are so much intoxicated that they do not know what they are in search of. It is much better to fix a programme, tentatively, distributing the right amount of time to each study during the course in such a manner as to be most efficiently equipped with all necessary informations and practices in the *shortest* period possible.

We know that we are spending eight times as much here as at home: we are young and strong, we may as well put off the long vacations for a while and have a better one at home in order to utilize every hour during our sojourn here. Those that hold a government scholarship ought to know that they are paid by those who have to save cent by cent to keep them here. Those supported by their parents who earn the money so hard that we are afraid that we will not be able to do the same to our children; besides their earning rate is very low as compared with the rate

we are spending here. The self-supporting ones know this very well. If we don't make good use of our time it will be a great waste.

We want *good* points that can be applied at home. With the purpose in mind a thorough study of three full years is more efficient than a baccalaureate or a doctorate.

Last but not least I wish to say that prejudice often comes from misunderstanding; hence we need interpretation not only those we are now educating

but to the average people which is more important than the former. Besides doing a service that amounts more than we can imagine, we learn at the same time many valuable lessons. Why not let us distribute ourselves all over instead of staying in place or crowding in one city? Travelling is a sort of education too. Another thing is that the "merchants" (laundry) need organization and education. Why not let us do some active service on this?

K. L. LUNG.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

Chinese Historians*

SCHOLARS are like hens, they lay better when they have to scratch for their food. If Chinese history had been buried in tombs or hidden under the sand, every scrap of it would long ago have been digested and redacted; but, as it lies buried no deeper than the printed page, it has excited little activity. The printed page, moreover, is apt to be disquietingly copious; and this is particularly true of Chinese annals, despite the Burning of the Books.

Nor have the few attempts to write Chinese history for Western readers met with a very encouraging reception. Perhaps one of the principal obstacles has been the trivial appearance of Chinese names when transliterated into our languages. We may stumble awhile at the sonorous appellations of Turgeny's characters; but they at least are names befitting the pride and pathos of man. But what can be made of a hero called Chih Erh or a heroine Tz'u-hsi? To call a philosopher "Mo Tzu" is to subtract half the weight from his opinions. The Jesuits had a better way, with their Laoclius, Confucius, Mencius, Miclus, Liclus—all of them names perfectly acceptable to a generation the learned part of which had swallowed "Schenckius" and "Pfungstius." With what relief, when reading Chinese history, do we greet even such comparatively uncouth names as those of the Mongol Emperors—Kublilai, Ayuli Paplata, or Tup Timur! Names are the music of history. Epaminondas, Caligula, Tamburlaine, Hindenburg—with such words one can build the groundwork of a paragraph. Chinese names are thin and unconvincing. Who will believe that Li Po was as good a poet as Anacreon, or that Kuei-fei was more baleful than Cleopatra? Some writers on Chinese subjects (for example, Ernest Fenolosa) have given proper names in their Japanese forms, a practice which, despite the outcry of the learned world, has much to recommend it. Godoshi is plainer sailing than Wu Tao-tzu; and as this great painter did not when alive pronounce his own name exactly in either way, we are free to take our choice. In the days when the first History of China appeared in Europe no alternative lay to hand. DeMailla, who in the first quarter of the eighteenth cen-

ture translated a vast popular compendium, "The Mirror of History," transcribed exactly as the Manchu officials around him pronounced them, not only the names of ancient Chinamen, but also foreign words. He knew nothing of Buddhism or Sanskrit; to him (as still, apparently, to M. Cordier) the Buddha Maitreya was a "Foe appelé Milé," "Foe Milé" being the inadequate Chinese attempt to pronounce the two Sanskrit words. He was thus cut off from one of the devices (the substitution of original foreign terms for clipped Chinese transcriptions) by which the future historian of China is likely to mitigate the asperity of his page.

The importance of this point (lest we should seem to have been making a mountain of a molehill) is conclusively proved by M. Cordier's "Histoire."¹ How, we wonder, will the curious layman (for it is to him and not to the scholar that the book is obviously addressed) endure such sentences as:—

"La sépulture de Kao Tsou est appelée Tch'ang Ling, et le tumulus est de forme hexaédrique. Kao Tsou laissait huit fils: d'une concubine, Fei, roi Tao Houei de Ts'i, de l'impératrice Lu, Hiao houei, de la fou-jen Ts'i, Jou-yi, roi Yin de Tchao; de la reine douairière Pouo Heng, roi de Tai, plus tard l'empereur Hiao Wen; K'ouei, roi de Leang, déplacé par l'impératrice Lu, devint le roi Koung de Tchao—"

and so on for several more lines. Clearly, in dealing with a language so imperfectly reducible to alphabetic signs, the writer should strive to contract, not to expand, his *dramatis personae*. How comes it then that almost all European attempts to write Chinese history are mere lists of names and dates? The answer is that China possesses two sorts of history. With the first (*Cheng shih*, "Real History") we will deal later. The second (*Pien nien*, "Annals") are chronologically-arranged summaries, mere reference books not intended for consecutive reading. The earliest of these was completed in 1084. It was subsequently, at irregular intervals, enriched and brought up to date. The last of these "Mirrors of History," published in 1767, quotes such long consecutive passages and is to so great an

¹*Histoire Generale de la Chine*. By Henri Cordier. 4 Volumes. (Paris: Geuthner.)

*See *London Times*, March 9, 1922.

extent critical that it almost stands in a different category from the "Mirror" of 1084.

The version translated by Père de Mailla early in the eighteenth century was that completed in 1223 A. D. His feat was a remarkable one, considering the time at which it was performed. But his translation is (very naturally) extremely unreliable, moreover it was his practice to omit not the uninteresting passages, but the difficult ones. Like its original, de Mailla's "Histoire" is in many parts a mere catalogue of names and dates. The subsequent historians of China have seldom deviated far from this prototype. Boulger indeed (in his "History of China," 1898) has attempted to clothe de Mailla's bones; but they still rattle. Macgowan ("Imperial History of China," 1906) goes back to the Chinese originals, but to all appearances, only to the annals. Moreover, there is little in his pages to indicate that the Chinese were not in point of culture the merest Hottentots. Gowen, on the other hand, can spare to the humanities an occasional epigram. Thus on page 130 of his "Outline History of China" (1914), he tells us that Tu Fu (who died of over-eating at the age of almost 60) "has been called the Chatterton of China"! For the most part he is indebted to Boulger; but sometimes, and with happier results, to the researches of scholars like Hirth and Chavannes. All these works, then, are based directly or (more frequently) indirectly on the chronological summary called the "Mirror of History." The "Real Histories" had remained practically unexplored.

It was Professor Chavannes who first saw that these, and not the "Mirror," must be our foundation. He had before him the series of twenty-four "Histories." Undaunted he set to work upon the first, and out of 130 books had translated forty-seven when he died. Of the remaining eighty-three books and of the other twenty-three "Histories" certain fragments have been translated, almost exclusively those which deal not with China herself, but with the nations surrounding her.

And here we come to a remarkable phenomenon. An irresistible magnet seems to draw the European scholar away from China proper towards the fringes and purlieus of the Empire. It appears to be assumed that events in China are uninteresting unless they are in some way connected with non-Chinese peoples. Just as the biographer of a nonentity will make play of the fact that his subject "probably knew Browning and George Eliot and may have met Mr. Gladstone," so these historians of China strive to conciliate us by pointing out that the Chinese fought with people who "may have been Huns" and traded with a city that was "probably Byzantium." Thus the nation which produced the philosophy of Chuang Tzu, the poetry of Po Chü-i, the

sculptures of Lung-men is allowed to appear on the stage of polite history only under the ægis of Indo-Scythians, Ephthalites, Tartars, and Khirgizes. In these circumstances our knowledge of China's relations with the outside world has in the last 200 years increased immensely. Our passionate curiosity with regard to her minor neighbours has been rewarded with an encyclopædic store of information. We know that the P'u-ku-su tattooed their forearms; that the K'o-pi-cha wore woollen caps; that the Lo-p'o-chi fed on grass. But of the internal history of China proper, of the events, say, which led up to the revolution of Wu Yuan-chi in 816 A. D., or of politics at the court of Hangchow, we know little more than Dr. Johnson might have learnt. M. Cordier's book is typical of this tendency. On all that appertains to the fringes of the subject (Chinese relations with Bactria, India, Persia, Tibet, Japan, and where not) he is admirably well informed, availing himself of the knowledge gained by the excavations of Sir Aurel Stein and Professor Pelliot; the researches of Hirth, Maspero, and, above all, Chavannes. But his account of the internal history of China consists almost entirely of extracts from de Mailla's "Histoire Générale," which was completed so long ago as 1734!

Next to the question of "foreign relations" the most popular theme has been the semi-historic period previous to the Han dynasty. Here the Burning of the Books (213 B. C.) comes to the historian's rescue. We know comfortably little of what happened before that date. Hirth has produced a short but admirable monograph on the political events of this period ("The Ancient History of China," 1908). On its literature and social life M. Marcel Granet has thrown light in two important books, "Fêtes et Chansons Anciennes de la Chine" and "La Polygamie Sororale"; while in "Das Priestertum im alten China" (still in progress) Bruno Schindler is fulfilling a function of the historian far more important than the chronicling of tribal counter-marches and marauds.

Valiant efforts have been made in the past to discover the "home of the Chinese people." Siberia, Mesopotamia, Turkestan have in turn been suggested. Modern Chinese words have been (quite absurdly) compared with ancient words in other languages, and the most fantastic conclusions drawn. A comparatively new era in the study of such questions began after the publication of Bernhard Karlgren's "Études sur la Phonologie Chinoise" (1915-1919). M. Karlgren has reconstructed with tolerable certainty the Chinese language of the sixth century A. D. This, however, will not enable us to compare the Chinese language with Sumerian of the fourth millennium B. C. When we learn that a word now pronounced *yeh* ("a leaf") was pronounced *syep* a thou-

sand years ago, we must admit that two thousand years ago it may have had a third, quite different, sound, and that to compare even M. Karlgren's reconstructions with the ancient languages of Mesopotamia is an absolutely profitless task. The work of Karlgren is almost unknown in England. The slow progress in knowledge of things Chinese (as opposed to things semi-Chinese) is indeed largely due to the fact that the savants of various countries work in isolation. The books of the Italian, Carlo Pini, are unknown here; so, to a great extent, is the work of the Leipzig school (August Conrady, Schindler, Erkes). Japan possesses sinologues of the highest ability; but their work is not read even in China, let alone Europe. One dreams of an international journal of sinology, printed (for cheapness' sake) in Austria and written in English, French, and Chinese. The Japanese contributors should frame their articles in a style intelligible both to Chinese readers and to European sinologues.

But to return from a dream to reality—we mentioned above that it was Professor Chavannes who first realized the paramount importance of the "true histories." He accordingly set out to translate the "Astrologer's Record" ("Mémoires Historiques") of Ssu-ma Ch'ien. Some account must be given of this remarkable historian. His father, Ssu-ma T'an (born about 170 B. C.) held the position of Grand Astrologer, a post that had once been important and honourable, but had at that time sunk into an almost comic insignificance. "The Emperor," says Ssu-ma Ch'ien, "kept an astrologer to entertain him, just as he kept his ballet dancers and buffoons; the position was little better than that of a prophet or priest." Suddenly the Grand Astrologer woke up to find himself a person of national importance. The Emperor had decided to renew the long-abandoned sacrifices to Heaven and Earth formerly celebrated upon Mount T'ai. In the ordering of such a ceremony the Astrologer must at every turn be consulted. It was almost as Master of the Ceremonies that the ex-buffoon joined the Imperial *cortège* on its journey to the East. But he was not destined to enjoy what would have been the supreme experience of his life. At Lo-yang he fell ill; the procession moved on without him. His son Ch'ien, after carrying out a series of official missions to remote parts of China, had just returned to the capital. T'an now summoned him to Lo-yang and holding his hand, begged him with tears to accept the post of Grand Astrologer, which would certainly be offered to him. "For," said he, "your ancestors have held this position since the time of the Chou dynasty, and you must not suffer me to be the last of that long line." It was a great sacrifice that T'an demanded; the post was a humble one and was even

regarded as ridiculous. It offered no prospects of advancement. To this request he added another. For many years he had been collecting materials for a history of China. He now begged Ch'ien, in obedience to the sacred laws of filial piety, to complete and publish this work. "Then Ch'ien bowed his head and wept, saying, 'Though my intelligence is not great, I will faithfully examine the documents which you have collected and will omit nothing.' When the three years of mourning for T'an's death were ended, Ch'ien succeeded to his father's office and began to examine the books of the Astrologer's Record "stored in metal boxes that filled a hundred rooms. His plan in writing the history was to supplement mere chronological annals, partly by monographs on art, religion, and economics, partly by biographies of distinguished men. To these he added accounts of foreign countries, and the curious series of essays on such subjects as boy-favourites, knight-errants, and wits. This arrangement was in the main followed by his successors. It became the practice for each dynasty to publish an official history of its predecessor, and each of these official histories is modelled on the great work of Ssu-ma Ch'ien.

Before discussing the merits of this plan or appraising the work of Ch'ien as an historian, let us return for a moment to the story of his life. In 99 B. C. a general named Li Ling surrendered to the Huns. To judge by the outcry that followed this event, one would have supposed that no Chinese general had ever surrendered before. The politicians demanded that Li Ling should be ransomed and executed. Ssu-ma Ch'ien had met the general. They "had not been able to make friends and had never drunk wine together." He now conceived it to be his duty to plead for the life of a man whom he scarcely knew and did not like. Appearing before the Emperor he ridiculed those politicians who "never having risked their skins or left their families cried out for the blood of a soldier whose one mishap was outweighed by a hundred victories." For this speech he was condemned to castration. That he would submit to this punishment the tribunal cannot have supposed. In the "apologia" written many years afterwards he explains why, when "his judges would have allowed him to die and the world have held his death of no more account than one hair plucked from a herd of bulls," he had chosen instead a life dishonoured and degraded: the history could not be left unfinished. He submitted to the punishment and afterwards in misery and humiliation took up his pen again—

"Daily my soul writhes nine times within me; if I sit at home I am restless like one who has mislaid something and cannot find it; if I leave the house, there is nowhere for me to go."

His conception of history could not have been more grandiose. "My purpose," he wrote while the work was still incomplete, "is to discover all that has happened in heaven or earth from the remotest times till now and make a book of it." But he intended the work to be mainly one of compilation. "My method of relating ancient events is to co-ordinate and arrange existing records; I have not aimed at originality." Nevertheless, large parts of the history are mainly creative. One such section is the book on Knight-errants, voluntary redressers of social wrong, whose task was to intimidate evil judges, drive out tyrannous prefects and governors, curb the insolence of rich oppressors. Such was their own (and Ssu-ma Chi'en's) romantic view of their functions; but the world found it hard to distinguish them from common highwaymen, and the historian has often been blamed for making heroes of cut-throats and scamps. The history concludes with the "Lives" of Ssu-ma Chi'en and his father. There is a moving quality in these more personal parts of his work which makes us regret that we have lost the account of his own times. The section on the reign of the Emperor Wu (140-86 B. C.), the tyrant whose displeasure the historian had incurred, was apparently suppressed either by the Government or by prudent heirs. This chapter must have been frank indeed if it is more outspoken than certain other passages which survive; for example Book 135, where are recounted the lives of famous paramours. The infatuation of Wen Ti (grandfather of the reigning Emperor for a sailor-boy is placed in the most ludicrous light; if the account of Wu Ti's reign used a like freedom, it is hardly surprising that it has not survived. But Ssu-ma Chi'en was a critical as well as a fearless historian. Where doubt exists, he does not pretend to certainty; where traditions differ he sets them side by side; where new knowledge conflicts with mythology, he is ready to side with knowledge.

We have dwelt at length upon this earliest History because it is the type and true progenitor of the twenty that followed it. Above all, the huge section of biographies, still untranslated, set an example which subsequent writers followed, to our great benefit.

Each dynastic history is also a dictionary of dynastic biography. This well of knowledge has for the most part been ignored by Western historians of China, with the consequence that their pages are apt to be monotonous and colourless. From few of the European works that we have named could one extract the particular flavours of successive periods, deduce the so different *Zeitgeists* of the Six Dynasties, the Court of Ming Huang, the era of Hangchow. It is indeed possible to read the "chronological summaries" of history without feeling these differences. But study the lives of men who lived at typical periods, read successively the biographies of Ku K'ai-chih, the painter of the fourth century, and of Han Yü, the poet of the ninth; you will at once feel the centuries "tasting" as different as a batter-pudding from a Coupe Jacques.

To make the reader conscious of such differences must surely be part of the historian's function. He will not (like the Chinese) do so by appending to his history a dictionary of biography; but will extract from the dynastic biographies enough colour to make the personages of his story live. Moreover, he will select for full treatment those periods at which a phase of civilization was at its highest; he will picture the Taoist simplicity of the fourth century, the giant lyricism of the eighth, the humanitarianism of the ninth, the Zen-mysticism of the thirteenth. He will not, like Professor Gowen, give more space to the reign of the mythical and prehistoric "Yellow Emperor" than to the Augustan epoch of Ming Huang.

In speaking of Chinese history we have had in mind those periods our knowledge of which must be chiefly derived from Chinese sources. The history of the last hundred years (the period ably surveyed by M. Cordier in the fourth volume of his "Histoire Générale") presents no special problem. For, although Chinese sources could be used to a very much greater extent than M. Cordier, for example, has used them, yet the history of this period is in the main an outpost of European history. It is a story so excessively discreditable to the Powers concerned that, though it may in the future be written brilliantly, that it will ever be written truthfully we can hardly suppose.

Entry Into United States of Chinese Students Who perform Manual Labor

Department of Justice,
February 27, 1922.

Sir:—

I have the honor to respond to your request of August 30th for an expression of my opinion upon the following question:

"Does the law permit of the legal entry into the United States of a student who, in connection with his education, performs manual labor either for profit or otherwise?"

The right of Chinese students to enter the United States is conferred by Article II

of the treaty of October 5, 1881, 22 Stat., 826, which reads as follows:

"Chinese subjects, whether proceeding to the United States as teachers, students, merchants, or from curiosity, together with their body and household servants, and Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation."

By Section 6 of the Chinese Exclusion Act of May 6, 1822, 22 Stat. 58, as amended by the act of July 5, 1884, 23 Stat., 115, Congress has provided certain safeguards to prevent the entry of what might be termed impostors. So far as pertinent that section reads as follows:

"That in order to the faithful execution of the provisions of this act, every Chinese person, other than a laborer, who may be entitled by said treaty or this act to come within the United States, and who shall be about to come to the United States, shall obtain the permission of and be identified as so entitled by the Chinese Government, or of such other foreign government of which at the time such Chinese person shall be a subject, in each case to be evidenced by a certificate issued by such Government."

The Chinese exclusion laws in other sections make provision for the deportation of those who enter or are found here unlawfully.

Numerous cases have come before the courts involving the attempt to deport Chinese who claimed the right to remain because they entered as exempts pursuant to so-called Section 6 certificates; and the rule to be applied in such cases is thus stated by the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit in *Moy Kong Chin v. United States*, 246 Fed., 94, 97:

"Appellant's certificate, being in conformity with the statute, was presumptively valid, and constituted prima facie evidence of his right to be here. Whether, therefore, it should be annulled, and he be deported, depends upon whether the evidence warrants the finding that he obtained his certificate by fraud or deception, intending to evade the exclusion laws and become a laborer.

"Evidence that a person, admitted upon a certificate issued under said Section 6, immediately after his arrival engages in and continues in employment as a laborer, justifies the conclusion that the certificate, though correct in form and substance, was obtained by fraudulent representations. *United States v. Yong Yew* (D. C.) 83 Fed., 832; *United States v. Park Tan* (D. C.) 86 Fed., 605; *United States v. Foo Duck*, 172 Fed., 856, 97 C. C. A., 204; *Chaln Chio Fong v. United States*, 133 Fed., 154, 66

C. C. A., 220; *Cheung Him Nin v. United States*, 133 Fed., 391, 66 C. C. A., 453; *Ong Seen v. Burnett*, 232 Fed., 850, 147 C. C. A., 44; *Lo Pong v. Dunn*, 235 Fed., 510, 149 C. C. A., 56; *Lui Hip Chin v. Plummer*, 238 Fed., 763, 151 C. C. A., 613."

Concretely stated, the good faith of the entry is to be determined by the subsequent conduct of the Chinaman. Thus, if a Chinese person enters as a merchant, student, or other exempt, they all being upon the same plane in this respect and immediately thereafter he assumes the role of a laborer rather than that of his exempt status, then, obviously, his entry was a fraud, for by his own conduct he demonstrates that he was not actually the merchant, student, or other exempt he claimed to be at the time of entry.

This brings us, then, to consider the effect upon the right to enter and remain here, of labor performed while the Chinese person is following his exempt status of merchant, student, etc.

Upon this point the courts have also sufficiently spoken to enable a definite conclusion to be reached. Thus, in *Moy Kong Chin v. United States*, 246 Fed., 94, 97, the court said:

"On the other hand, it is well settled that a Chinese person, who lawfully enters this country as a student, may not be deported because he temporarily engages in manual labor while attending school. See in *re Tam Chung* (D. C.) 223 Fed., 801, and cases cited at page 803."

In "*re Tam Chung*, 223 Fed., 801, 802," the point is more elaborately dealt with as follows:

"Our treaty with China provides that Chinese students 'shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation.' 22 Stat., 826. The Chinese exclusion act provides for identification and admission of Chinese students, but neither therein nor in any other law has Congress repudiated the aforesaid treaty promise of this nation. Students of all other nations coming hither can of right follow any legitimate vocation contemporaneous with or after their studies are completed, thereto need the consent of no immigration officer, can remain here so long as they please, and can not be deported because thereof. Chinese students are guaranteed the like rights by our treaty. Having lawfully entered this country, there is no law authorizing their deportation for any reason save that applicable to all aliens, viz., for offenses committed subsequent to entry and connected with or incidental to prostitution.

"Perhaps Congress could have broken our pledged faith and treaty by law stipulating

that Chinese students should loaf in their leisure and not labor for a living—could have placed Chinese students who here turn to honest labor for a livelihood on the plane of panders and prostitutes so far as deportation is concerned; but, happily, not having done so, it needs no argument to demonstrate that the Secretary of Labor can not—that it is not given to him to violate the national promise, repudiate the treaty, and convert it into a mere scrap of paper.”

See also United States v. Gin Ong, 253 Fed., 210.

The true rule deducible from the adjudicated cases may be stated as follows, viz., that labor is not necessarily incompatible with the pursuit of an exempt status, and that where the evidence establishes that the dominant purpose of the Chinese person in coming to this country was to follow one of the exempt avocations, the performance of labor as an incident thereto, e. g., as a means of providing funds to enable him to maintain his student status would not ren-

der his entry invalid or subject him to subsequent deportation.

The correctness of this rule may be further demonstrated by the fact that with respect to merchants alone Congress has specifically forbidden the performance of labor not necessary to the carrying on of his business. See Section 2 of the Chinese Exclusion Act of November 3, 1893, 28 Stat. 7. If Congress had intended the same restriction to apply to students and other exempts, it is natural to suppose that it would have so provided.

I therefore have the honor to advise you that where the labor performed is only in connection with or in furtherance of the maintenance of the status of student, there is no provision of law for the exclusion or deportation of such Chinese person.

The inclosures which accompanied your letter are herewith returned.

Respectfully,

HARRY M. DAUGHERTY.

To the Secretary of Labor.

A Scale for Judging the Activities of Chinese Students in America

By JENNINGS P. CHU.

The scale for judging the activities of Chinese students in America may serve two purposes. First, it may render service to those students who wish to know quantitatively the total amount of academic and non-academic work they are carrying or have achieved; and second, it may assist the educational authorities taking charge of these students, who want to measure in an objective way such work.

The activities undertaken, or work accomplished, by the Chinese students in America are greatly varied. Inasmuch as objective measures of them are at present still impossible, the best method for evaluation is the "consensus of opinion" rendered by the largest possible competent judges on the basis of a *point scale*. The procedure may be described as follows: Some of the common activities of Chinese students in America, taken from the actual data the writer had on hand, were listed under four heads: Leadership, Scholarship, Knowledge of English, and Knowledge of Chinese. Each activity or achievement was rated by 12 competent judges, selected from among these students. The judgments were given according to a scale of 10, i. e., they varied from 0 to 10. "0" is assigned to those activities that deserve no point (or credit); "1" to those that deserve the least number of

points; and "10" to those that deserve the largest number. The rest of points, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, are assigned to activities that fall in between in value. Thus each activity receives a total of 12 independent judgments. Whether these judgments are reliable or not is determined by the extent to which they agree with one another. In statistical terms, to ascertain their *reliability*, we have to find out their *self-correlation*. Thus these 12 judgments were split in halves of 6 each, and correlations were yielded to show how well one-half of the judgments agrees with the other, as shown in the following table.

Showing the Reliability of 12 Judgments.

Correlation of	No. of Cases	Coefficient	Probable Error
6 with 6 Judgments in Scholarship	17	.686	.096
6 with 6 Judgments in Leadership	78	.855	.020
6 with 6 Judgments in Knowledge of English.	40	.892	.023
6 with 6 Judgments in Knowledge of Chinese.	42	.865	.026

These high correlations coefficients warrant us to rely upon the judgments. The next step is therefore to average the 12 judgments given to each activity. With the omission of some activities which partake of such personal character as to reveal the

identity of the individuals who undertake them, the table is reproduced in the following table:

A Scale for Judging the Activities of Chinese Students in America.

LEADERSHIP.

<i>Organization & Position.</i>	<i>Points</i>
Chinese Students' Alliance in America—	
President	9.2
Vice President	5.7
Secretary	6.8
Treasurer	6.8
Councilman	5.8
Representative	4.8
Auditor	4.4
Election Officer	4.4
Chinese Student's Al. in Amer. (Sec.)—	
Chairman	8.0
Vice Chairman	5.0
Secretary	5.8
Treasurer	5.4
Local Chinese Students' Club in Amer.—	
President	6.7
Vice President	4.8
Secretary	4.8
Treasurer	4.5
Manager	4.3
Auditor	3.1
Committeeman	3.8
CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY—	
General Manager	7.3
Advertising Manager	6.0
Circulation Manager	5.5
Associate Manager	4.4
Chinese Students' Quarterly—	
General Manager	6.4
Advertising Manager	5.1
Circulation Manager	4.8
Associate Manager	3.9
Annual Students' Conference—	
Chairman	7.9
Secretary	6.1
Treasurer	5.7
Committeeman	5.7
College Cosmopolitan Club—	
President	6.3
Manager	4.9
Secretary	4.5
Treasurer	4.3
Chinese Prohibition League—	
Chairman	5.3
Secretary	4.4
Treasurer	4.3
Chinese Students' Professional Societies or Clubs, such as Banking Club, Educational Club, Engineering Club, etc.—	
President	6.2
Vice President	4.3
Secretary	4.7
Treasurer	4.3
Committeeman	3.5
Auditor	2.8

Alumni Association, such as Nankai Alumni Association, Soochow Alumni Association, Tsing Hua Alumni Association, etc., etc.—	
President	6.3
Vice President	4.3
Secretary	4.8
Treasurer	4.1
Committeeman	3.6
Auditor	2.8
Chinese Patriotic Committee—	
President	6.9
Secretary	5.6
Treasurer	5.1
Chinese Students' Christian Ass'n.—	
President	7.3
Vice President	4.8
General Secretary	7.3
Local College Y. M. C. A.—	
Chairman	4.6
Secretary	3.6
Treasurer	3.1
Cabinet Member	2.7
Member, Volunteer Band	1.8
College Students' Bible Class—	
Chairman	3.0
College Students' Discussion Group—	
Leadership	3.3

SCHOLARSHIP.

<i>Institution & Position or Evidence</i>	<i>Points</i>
College or University—	
Fellowship	7.7
Scholarship	5.8
Graduation with Honor	7.0
Ph. D.	8.9
Instructor	7.0
Lecturer	6.8
Assistant	5.8
Phi Beta Kappa—	
Member	7.4
Sigma Xi—	
Member	7.5
Magna Cum Laude—	
A. B. with	6.5
Summa Cum Laude—	
A. B. with	6.4

KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH

<i>Organization & Position or Evidence</i>	<i>Points</i>
CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY—	
Editor-in-Chief	8.9
Associate Editor	6.0
Contributor	4.9
Reporter	3.4
"Christian China"—	
Editor-in-Chief	7.6
Associate Editor	5.3
Contributor	4.3
Reporter	3.4
American College Paper—	
Editor-in-Chief	8.9
Associate Editor	6.5
Contributor	5.1
Reporter	3.7

CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY—

First Prize Essay..... 6.9
 Second Prize Essay..... 5.6

College English Oratorical Contest—

First Prize..... 6.9
 Second Prize 5.6

College English Debating Team—

Member 6.6

KNOWLEDGE OF CHINESE**Organization & Position or Evidence Points****Chinese Students' Quarterly—**

Editor-in-Chief 8.3
 Associate Editor 6.1
 Contributor 4.9
 Reporter 3.8

"Science" in Chinese—

Editor 7.8
 Contributor 5.8

"Political Science Review," or "Cheng Hsueh Ts'ung K'an"—

Editor-in-Chief 7.1
 Editor 5.9
 Contributor 5.1

Shanghai Shun Pao—

Contributor 5.0

"The Renaissance"—

Contributor 5.9

"Eastern Miscellaneous"—

Contributor 5.7

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Puritan Appearance and Puritan Reality

AMERICA is rapidly becoming more liberal in morality, more conservative in manners, more radical in reality, more restrained in appearance. It must be admitted, of course, that there are, in politics and in society, genuine Puritans just as there were two centuries ago, but the general tendency is drifting towards Puritan mannerism without a corresponding return to Puritan virtue—moral and intellectual.

During the last five years, America was in constant danger of terrorist movements. It seemed as if men could smell communism in air and detect soviet propaganda in almost every paper. People cared less about the significance or meaning of Bolshevism than the term itself. It was at first confined to political changes, but was later given a wider application until,

finally, it was associated with everything radical and new. To brand a man "red" was a sufficient testimony for crime. According to Senator Walsh's report, about 10,000 men were illegally arrested, books and papers illegally seized and properties illegally confiscated in the year 1919 alone during the regime of Mr. Palmer, the Robespierre of the United States. Mr. Palmer is no longer in the political arena but his rule did not end with his exit. At the present moment there are still political prisoners in this country; there are still a goodly number kept in jail for the simple reason that they are undesirable citizens. Nowadays the American citizens are told what to speak and what not to speak, what to drink and what not to drink, what to wear and what not to wear. Indeed, the negative command-

ments are only surpassed by Calvin's government at Geneva in the 16th century.

Government restrictions alone are not sufficient. The churches and colleges are doing their utmost in bringing back the looks of Puritanism. One of the leading universities almost insisted on the discharge of an instructor because he ventured to criticize American institutions, while the Union Theological Seminary in New York is generally regarded as the center of heresy. There are, in addition, worthy individuals—the Salvation Crusaders and the prohibitionists. Mr. Bryan challenges a college professor to admit that he is a descendant of ape; he carries a campaign single-handedly against all scientists.

America today has one characteristic in common with their Puritan ancestors, namely, their indomitable arrogance. It is, however, an arrogance of quite a different type. The Puritans were a peculiar people. Left the Continent for the freedom of worship, they became bigots in the new country. Each was convinced that he and he only held the keys to heaven. His and his alone was the orthodox belief. The Americans today believe that they and they alone hold the keys to the world. One comes across not infrequently such phrases as "Europe can not get along without America," etc. Prussia boasts of her Kultur, America her wealth. And is it not true that Morgan and Vanderlip hold more sway in American foreign affairs than either Lodge or Hughes? Money is the supreme factor in this world of ours, and America should rule by virtue of her inexhaustible wealth. The black people are to be lynched; the rest are but inferior races. Europe is degenerating and bankrupt, America ought to be the sole ruler. Incidentally this arrogance which is shared by many of her missionaries in China is one of the causes that prompted the present anti-Christian movement.

The haughtiness rooted in the consciousness of power derived from

wealth puts, in the nature of things, a premium on the art of acquiring wealth. Inventions there are, but practically all of them are made with money in view. There is lurking in the mental background of every ambitious youth the image of a Henry Ford. Read the reports of any university and one will find that the business school is invariably the most crowded in spite of the extra tuition which most of the business schools charge. A university degree is worth so much a month—in certain cases, accurate figures are given. We hear more about Chaplin and Pickford than we do of Washington and Lincoln, because the former have an income of three thousand a week, while the latter did not. The professor is an innocent fool necessary for the success of a comedy. The average man holds the comedians at Hollywood in higher esteem than their senators at Washington. And was not Mr. Hays easily bought by a Fifth Avenue office?

Enough has been said by Maine and Mencken about the encouragement which American democracy gives to mediocrity. In the field of politics, partly due to the unusual attractions offered by other professions, and partly due to the nature of American constitution, experiences tend to vindicate the assertion of a certain English critic that America has not seen a political thinker since the days of Alexander Hamilton. As a result, one finds in this country nowadays a homogeneous race, mostly known as the "average people," who read motion picture magazines, attend Mrs. Asquith's lectures and applaud Mr. Doyle's ghost tales.

Wealth has made America what she is, gay and light-hearted. While serious efforts are being made to bring back some of the semblances of Puritanism, realties are pointing to the other direction. If any modern democracy has attempted to live up to the definition of Bentham, the United States has. Yet nowhere does one feel

more keenly the pressure of life. All American dramas end with either a kiss or a revolver. But to reconcile the two, the sweetness of life and the bitterness of existence, requires an ingenuity of which the Americans alone

seem to be capable. One, however, need not be puzzled by this apparent anomaly. American life, like American drama, has its own merits, its own peculiar promises and disillusionments. It has a philosophy of its own.

Civil War At Home

WHETHER the war between General Wu and General Chang can be considered as definitely concluded, or, according to what Mr. Ma Soo told the press, it has just begun, we are not in a position to say. It seems that further resistance around Peking on General Chang's part is not likely although the success of General Wu's pursuit is very dubious.

The attitude of Canton throughout the whole struggle is rather a puzzling one. Mr. C. C. Wu, it will be remembered, had a conference with the Manchurian war lord some time before hostilities broke out. What really took place at the conference no one could tell. It is quite evident, however, that General Chang went to Peking with the assurance that Dr. Sun would come to his assistance. But Dr. Sun did not take any action until Chang Tso-lin was badly beaten. The only explanation seems to be that there was some disagreement between Dr. Sun and General Chen. Dr. Sun got over the trouble too late. And that is probably why the latest news report the dispatching of cruisers by the Southern government and the declaration of war by the Governor of Honan. We can only await development to show the seriousness and result of the Southern. By the time when this issue appears, either the trouble would have been settled by a decisive battle or by a compromise—or, still more likely, the internal situation will maintain its *status quo* with General Wu dominating the North.

As might have been anticipated, victory on either side would still mean military dictatorship to China. The question was not one of elimination, but one of choice. Although General Wu was clever enough not to step into Peking immediately after Chang's retreat, the visitor's influence was keenly felt in the capital. A presidential mandate was promptly issued putting the notorious Premier, the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Communications under arrest. These political changes—whether for good or ill, is quite a different question—were glaringly the result of the shifting military power. Politicians feed war lords; war lords support politicians. Militarism is so confused with politics that it is very hard to separate the two.

It must be said that the war had its origin in the appointment of Mr. Liang as Premier and in ousting him from the office, General Wu had the moral support of the populace. The defeat of the communication clique and the dismissal of the Minister of Finance around whom there was a good deal of suspicion seemed to be in accord with the general will. Between the two generals, public opinion at home and abroad is generally in favor of Wu. Chang Tso-lin did not have a good record as a soldier and his relation with the Japanese gave him a very unpleasant reputation. Of General Wu, Professor Dewey said: "If Wu Pei-fu wins, it will be a victory for the modern and liberal element in China. (When the Anfu party fell) Wu Pei-fu was immensely popular,

almost a hero, both because of his expressed belief in liberal ideals of government and because of his integrity—a rare virtue for a Chinese military commander. So great was the loyalty to him and the feeling against Japan that even university students enrolled under him. . . . He is anti-Japanese, and his attack on the Anfu Government two years ago was only a preliminary skirmish over Japanese influence in the Peking Cabinet, which he meant to follow by an attempt to eliminate Japanese influence in China entirely as a political factor." Even Mr. Ma Soo felt constrained to admit that General Wu did splendid work in his campaign against the Anfu militarists.

Popular acclaim for General Wu is, however, only an indication for the greater things they still expect of him. He has solemnly declared that his purpose was to unite the South and the North, to summon a parliament and to reduce China's military forces and hence her financial burdens and to live up to the expectations which the powers attending the Washington Conference had of China. The task of unification is a difficult one. The Canton Government claims that she has been cheated by General Wu, so she went over to General Chang, but this alliance has, as events now turn out, not only proved a hindrance in the way of unification, but has also cost the Southern Government immensely. Even if General Chang should have won the war, it is doubtful whether he would co-operate with Dr. Sun. General Chang has nothing in common with Dr. Sun except the military support which each expected from the other. That Dr. Sun should have gone into such a contract was something that passes our understanding. Says the *New Republic*:

"Sun has lost prestige steadily of recent years among all but his old Cantonese followers. His bargain with Chang Tso-lin will cost him equally heavily, whether Chang wins

or loses. Blinded by his vanity, his lust for the office of presidency and his unchanging adherence to his program of constitution and parliament which no longer meets the country's needs, he has again entrapped himself, and there is something pathetic in the spectacle of the man who inspired the founding of the republic now standing with the elements that prevent the republic from functioning."¹

If Dr. Sun is sincere in his purpose for a united China, and if General Wu were willing to ignore the minor differences union is still not impossible. Citizens of China at home and abroad are watching closely how General Wu would carry out his program. If, indeed, a real constitutional government could emerge out of this turmoil and, if, as the General told his friends China's military forces will hereafter be used for defensive purposes, then the war is not to be regretted and General Wu would have easily won for himself an enviable place in China's history.

War seems to be the natural way of disarmament in China.² Optimists have seen something good which the war has accomplished, something impossible to gain by peaceful means. Well wishers of China need not be discouraged by this temporary—and perhaps the last—conflict. Has not China taken the Powers' recommendation of reducing her military forces seriously? The late war has its remote causes; the issue was one of a long standing. Let us now hope for something better.

¹*The New Republic*, May 10, 1922.

²President Hsu, it is reported here, has issued a mandate to the effect that hereafter each province shall be responsible direct to the Central Government, instead of through military dictators. The decree has a twofold purpose, namely, to abolish the system of tuchuns and to depose Chang Tso-lin as Inspector General of Manchuria. If enforced, it means China is returning to the old system of putting literati at the head of provincial governments with a view to curbing the influence of militarists. China is not accustomed to militarism. That accounts for her weakness as well as her enduring existence.

The Anti-Christian Movement in China

THERE is lately a good deal of speculation about the cause and effect of the anti-Christian movement which is now spreading in China. Whatever be the immediate causes, the movement has a complicated origin. In spite of its rather sudden appearance, it is always hard to attribute any movement to any particular person or group of persons. The present movement against Christianity is not a spontaneous outbreak occasioned by certain persons or accidents. The forces against Christianity, or, rather the forces that led to anti-Christian sentiments have been working for years, and for the first time, this sentiment is crystallized and becomes an organized opposition.

Take the fundamental and disputable question. Has Christianity a strong hold in China? Numerical increase does not mean anything. The reports that missionaries sent home every year are no sure indication of the steady progress of Christianity. The bulk of Christians in China belong to the middle and lower classes. This is, of course, no fault of the missionaries. Christianity is intended for the poor and lowly. But the general social distinction of classes, imperceptible but nevertheless very deep-rooted, makes Christianity almost a class religion. The very term "eating religion" has a very unpleasant connotation to the non-Christians. It appears to them a profession, a refuge.

While some of us might have gone too far in the assertion that missionary education cultivates a slavish type of people, the influence of missionaries is a penetrating one. Here, again, we have to admit that the fault rests less with the missionaries than with those who come under their influence. Churches and mission schools are certainly the most effective centers of naturalization and assimilation. The converts are usually less affected by Christianity than by foreign thoughts and manners. They worship the medium instead of the Master. From

the non-Christian point of view, the church and the schools maintained by the churches are not unlike a business concern where Chinese are employed and trained to be competent English-speaking and English-acting compradores. Few would take the pains to find out whether the initiative is taken by those who aim to impose or by those who crave to adopt.

On the other hand, while fully recognizing the good work the missionaries have done, their treatment of the Chinese leaves something to be desired. Complaints by the native Christians for inequal treatment in schools and churches are becoming frequent and such criticisms are repeatedly made by China's foremost thinkers who are known to be most friendly towards Christianity. To leave all the luxurious comforts at home for the mission field is, we must frankly own, a great sacrifice, but there is another way of looking at the question. Speaking impartially, the present generation of missionaries are rapidly losing the self-denying spirit of their pioneers who had to dress in native costumes and to live on vegetable and rice, leaving Mokanshan and Kuling out of consideration.

There is another factor. The non-Christian Chinese are coming to learn more and more about Christian countries with their own eyes. They begin to realize how Chinese are being treated in the so-called Christian countries, how China is being interpreted and how China is presented to their home folks by the missionaries on furlough. Dr. Arthur Smith's books are sufficient to make any Chinese mad—yet he is a splendid man. The question that naturally arises in the mind of a non-Christian Chinese in this country or on the European continent is: Is Christianity a living religion, an operating force in America, or England? Is Christianity necessary? Two years ago, a returned student wrote a letter to his American friend in the University of Pennsylvania expressing him-

self quite freely about his opinion on Christianity and the Great War. His views are so typical of the non-Christian Chinese today that we deem it worth while to reproduce a part of it:

Our religion is Confucian, yours Christian. With us the moral relation—that is, the relation of one to the other—is primary, with you the commercial relation comes first. Gainsay not this, "for the tree is known by his fruit!" In fact I but give expression to a fact when I say that your nation was not founded on the moral code, but in an effort to stop a raid on your money-bags. The early colonial relations were the antithesis of "love one another." The Puritans of Massachusetts detested the Cavaliers of Virginia, but when England dipped her fingers in your pockets to extract therefrom taxes, the touching of pocket-book proved more efficacious than the precept of the Christ, in bringing into existence the confederation of states that now typifies materialistic civilization.

And these things I state as a preface for my viewpoint of this war. Christianity has had but little influence on governmental affairs. To us of the East the reason is obvious. Never was there a more lovable exponent of superhuman ideas than your Christ, and never was there a leader of thought who so emphatically repudiated your entire system of government. He repudiated the production, and therefore the problem of the distribution of wealth—the ultimate end of the state. No, your nations are not founded on Christ. They are anti-Christ. Today it is not the desecration of the tabernacle within the Cathedral of Rheims your public press and magazines deplore, but rather the destruction of the architecture enclosing it.

If the thought and expression of "the press" of your nation is a reflex of that of the citizens then Christianity in precept today is one thing, and in practice another, for sentiment is as expressive of a mental condition as is the overt act.

And frankly is not this your knowledge from observation? Who among you hold in contempt the world's prizes?

And of what avail are virtues that leaven not the entire loaf? In concluding this, a Chinaman's viewpoint of the war, I am constrained to say that to us of the East it appears to be but the logical sequence of your civilization, the basic principle of which is avarice on earth and happiness in heaven. And as day by day, free from the strife and turmoil of ambition, the Chinaman enjoys that peace of mind which your philosophers describe as "passeth all understanding." We can but invoke the hope that your expectations of the future may be sufficiently great to justify the debauchery of the now.

Evidently the most potent force in the present movement is the intellectual upheaval in China. Young China finds what is taught by Dewey and Russell is something radically different from what the missionaries used to teach. From whatever point of view and call it by whatever name—Renaissance, Emancipation or "cheap radicalism"—such opposition is to be expected at the present. If atheism is not yet too radical for us, we are at least passing through the age of Voltaire with whom our student leaders would probably repeat: "The Chinese could not reproach themselves with any superstition, any quackery, like other nations."¹

The missionaries need not be discouraged. There will be no more Boxer uprisings. But the challenge to organized Christianity is greater than any physical force can put up. It is a severe test for the Christians and the missionaries—for their sincerity and faithfulness. When the intellectual currents would have resumed its normal course of progress and when the missionaries would have changed their attitude and modified their interpretation of their faith, things will go well again.

¹Voltaire: *Essay on Confucius*.

Medical Education in China

By ROGER S. GREENE

MEDICAL education began in China in connection with the hospital work of the Christian missionary physicians who very early found that they needed assistants to help them to take care of the rapidly increasing number of persons who came to them for relief. At first the method of teaching closely resembled the apprentice system which was common in the U. S. in the middle of the nineteenth century. One or more young men joined the hospital staff and made themselves useful in various ways so far as they were able, observing at the same time the procedures carried out by the foreign physician, and thus gradually learning much of his technique so that they became familiar with the diagnosis and treatment of many of the commoner diseases and were able eventually to give certain treatments themselves. When the doctor had time he gave lectures to these apprentices and even translated medical books for them to read. Some men so trained were extremely useful and a very few became capable of practicing independently with credit to themselves and their teachers. It was found, however, that under this system it was impossible to give the average student a sufficiently broad and solid foundation in the medical sciences, for most of the men thus trained deteriorated when left to themselves and were able to contribute practically nothing to the development of modern medicine in China.

The first medical school worthy of the name was the Peiyang Medical School in Tientsin, which was started by Dr. Kenneth Mackenzie of the London Mission in 1881 under the patronage of the celebrated Viceroy Li Hung-Chang. This became a government institution and was eventually transferred from

the control of Chihli Province to the Navy Department, under the name of the Naval Medical College. For many years this school has taught medicine through the medium of the English language, though since the time of the Boxer troubles the principal foreign teachers have been Frenchmen. It has turned out a few well known men who have contributed materially to medical progress in China.

Early in this century the Chinese government began sending abroad large numbers of students, the majority of whom went to Japan. Naturally some of them undertook the study of medicine, but unfortunately almost none of them succeeded in getting into the best Japanese schools, which are those connected with the national universities. Admission to these universities is based on a competitive examination and the number of applicants is many times the number of vacancies, so that Chinese students unfamiliar with the language and usually with somewhat inferior preparation, were at a great disadvantage. Consequently they were obliged to enter rather second-rate schools, and few of them remained long enough after graduation to get the supplementary training necessary to fit them for leadership. These men have been returning to China during the past fifteen years and have organized medical schools in various places under the auspices of the national provincial governments. The best known of these schools are the National Medical College, maintained by the Ministry of Education at Peking, the Army Medical College formerly at Tientsin and now at Peking, the Kiangsu Provincial Medical College at Soochow, and the Chekiang Provincial Medical College at Hangchow. Some of these schools for

a time employed Japanese professors but now few foreign instructors are left. The leading spirits in certain of these schools were men of real devotion and high scientific ideals, but they have labored under great handicaps, particularly the lack of well prepared teachers and insufficient funds. The local authorities upon whom they were dependent for funds quite naturally could not understand why a medical school should need so much more money than other schools, and being usually hard pressed financially did not make proper appropriations for the medical schools and their hospitals. Another serious disadvantage was the poor preparation of the students. There was no science teaching of real value in the middle schools, and even in the colleges modern laboratory methods had not been properly developed. The medical schools had therefore to keep their entrance requirements very low, and this fact made medical education unattractive to the few students who had a fairly good preparation. There were no hospitals worthy of the name connected with these schools.

During much the same period missionaries had started a number of medical schools, most of which were also very weak. In 1914 there were some fifteen such institutions, including two conducted jointly by Chinese and missionaries. Three of them were for women, and the others with one exception were exclusively for men, co-education not being then considered feasible. In some cases two or three men attempted unaided to give the whole medical course. In such cases of course the teaching of the fundamental sciences of anatomy, physiology, pathology, etc., was practically all given by means of lectures illustrated occasionally by charts. Not only was there almost nothing in the way of laboratory equipment, but there were practically no teachers devoting themselves wholly to these fundamental sciences. The missionary doctors had come to China primarily to practice medicine and surgery, and though sometimes consenting to

teach anatomy or pathology, he could not bring himself to break away entirely from clinical work and to give to his department the complete devotion which it needed. Even the clinical departments suffered from over-emphasis on surgery and lack of trained teachers in the specialties. On the other hand the students were given opportunities to see patients and to take part in actual diagnosis and treatment in a way which had not been possible for some of their American teachers during their school days. The hospitals were relatively good and offered a considerable variety of clinical material. These advantages, however, were not enough to compensate for the weakness of the fundamental training, and as a result these schools also failed to produce any considerable number of Chinese doctors qualified to play an important part either in practice or in the teaching of modern medicine. The Harvard Medical School of China, a short-lived institution, now closed, which worked for a time in co-operation with St. John's University made better provision than most schools for laboratory training, with the result that a large proportion of its graduates were qualified to continue their professional growth and are now doing useful work in China.

Since 1915 there has been a notable tendency towards concentration in medical education under mission auspices. Weak schools at Hankow and Nanking have been closed, and the school at Peking was reorganized under a new board of trustees which no longer depended on the missionary societies for financial support. Part of the resources used for these three schools were transferred to Tsinan-fu to strengthen the medical school of the Shantung Christian University. The result has been a very great improvement in the quality of the work done. By raising entrance requirements and by providing better teachers and better laboratories for physics, chemistry and biology, better prepared students have been secured. Special teachers have

been set apart for the fundamental medical sciences, who have been able to give practically all their time to the development of their respective departments, and some of these men have had opportunities for getting teaching experience in good medical schools in this country. A beginning has been made at securing well-trained Chinese as regular members of the faculty, thus adding a new source of strength. More attention is being paid to the post-graduate training of the students in China and abroad. Recently it has been proposed to combine the women's medical school now at Peking with the Shantung Christian University on a co-educational basis. This change if finally adopted will undoubtedly be for the advantage both of the women students and of the Tsinan school. There is thus a prospect for the development of one very useful school at present under exclusively missionary auspices in place of five weak schools. The instruction at Tsinan is given in Chinese but the students are beginning to have a fair reading knowledge of English, which qualifies the best men to take advanced training elsewhere.

Perhaps the most interesting and significant venture in the way of medical enterprises in which the missions have been concerned is the Hunan-Yale College of Medicine at Changsha. This is the result of an alliance between a society of the gentry of Hunan and the Yale Mission, and is a genuine attempt at co-operation on equal terms between Chinese and Americans. Not only is the control shared, but a large proportion of the faculty are Chinese with excellent foreign training. Instruction is given in English and high standards are maintained. There is an excellent hospital and fair laboratory accommodations. The first class graduated a year ago. Owing to disturbing political conditions in Hunan the school has of late been in serious financial difficulties but all friends of medical progress in China must hope that this enterprise with its promise of wide influence will be able to survive the crisis. This

school admits men and women on equal terms.

Until recently by far the most completely organized and best equipped medical schools in China have been that conducted by the Japanese South Manchuria Railway at Mukden and the German Medical School at Shanghai. The Japanese school has wonderfully equipped laboratories and a good hospital, with highly trained specialists in charge of each department. It receives both Japanese and Chinese students and teaches in Japanese. The German school has had less elaborate plant, but has had some very strong teachers, particularly in the pre-clinical departments. The clinical departments have not been so good as they have depended for teaching on busy private practitioners. Instruction is given in German and since the number of high schools and colleges in China giving good preparation in German has been very small, it has had to devote special attention to its preparatory department. During and since the war this school has depended in part on Chinese funds for its maintenance.

Hongkong University though not within Chinese jurisdiction, is making an important contribution to medical education for China. It has five laboratories and is greatly improving its clinical facilities. It is also giving more opportunities to Chinese and now has a Chinese head of its department of pathology.

During the past five years the Peking Union Medical College, which was formerly supported by mission funds with some small subsidies from Chinese government departments, has been entirely reorganized under a new board of trustees holding a charter from the Regents of the University of the State of New York, and now receives its support from the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation. A new plant with teaching and research laboratories and a 250 bed hospital has been constructed on a convenient site with all the buildings connected by corridors, thus establishing a physical unity

which greatly promotes intercourse and co-operation between all departments. The staff has been selected with considerable care from among the most promising younger teachers in medical schools in the United States, Canada and Great Britain, and from Chinese and missionary physicians who have demonstrated their capacity in work in China, and have been given facilities for securing further special training in medical schools in this country. Every year one or two distinguished scientists from Western institutions are sent to Peking as visiting professors for periods of from four months to one year, and usually there are also visits of shorter periods from noted physicians and surgeons who help to lessen the natural isolation of scientific workers in China.

The laboratories and hospitals are well equipped for modern scientific work, and already both Chinese and foreign members of the staff, besides carrying on the regular teaching and routine hospital work, are beginning to publish contributions of some value to medical science. Compared with the best schools in Europe, the United States and Japan, the school is still very small, with no expectation of classes of more than twenty-five in the near future, and it does not yet possess in highly developed form some of the sub-departments which are found in the best schools of the west, but its very smallness has proved rather an advantage in some ways during these earlier years while new conditions are being studied and experience is being gained in the teaching methods best adapted to the local situation. Teaching is in English, and the entrance requirements are equivalent to the two-year college preparation in physics, chemistry and biology common in the United States. Men and women are admitted on equal terms as students and teachers. One year's service as interne or as laboratory assistant is required for the degree after completion of the regular four year course. Every year a large number of graduate students are received, some for practical training in

the hospitals in positions carrying merely nominal salaries or allowances, some as assistants or voluntary workers in the laboratories, and some enrolled in short intensive courses. These graduate students come from all kinds of schools in China and abroad and include both Chinese doctors and foreign missionary physicians. A special effort is being made to advance Chinese members of the staff as fast as their training and ability permits to positions of responsibility, and now when new foreign teachers are engaged they are usually sent out for a limited term in order that the promotion of the junior Chinese staff may not be too long delayed. It is of course not possible to find immediately Chinese qualified for all the departments since it is only recently that Chinese students have been going in large numbers to medical schools in the west, and most of them have been preparing for clinical work, rather than for the teaching of the fundamental sciences. Furthermore, the Chinese who went abroad earlier only a few found opportunities to work in China under good conditions which would prepare them for teaching positions.

Chinese medical students in this country are naturally considering how they can make themselves most useful upon their return home. If they will permit a few suggestions from a layman who is deeply interested in the subject and has had opportunities for fairly wide observation of medical education in China I should like to mention a few points.

In the first place the importance of a long period of graduate training and apprenticeship in junior positions should be emphasized for those who wish to prepare themselves for leadership. The men in the United States, Europe and Japan who are leading in the advance of medical science, are those who devoted their first years after graduation to getting a thorough training in the fundamental sciences, and if they were interested in clinical work served for a long time in junior positions with-

out compensation or at nominal salaries for the sake of learning by actual work under the best physicians and surgeons whom they could find. If this has been necessary for men who could look forward to practicing their profession in the stimulating atmosphere of the great medical centers of the west, with their facilities for securing consultations, with their medical conferences, and with their complete equipment of hospitals, laboratories and libraries in running order, how much more necessary is that apprenticeship for men who expect to work in a comparatively new and isolated field with few or none of those advantages. On the whole while salaries for the junior positions are low in such schools as the Hunan-Yale Medical College and the Peking Union Medical College, they are as a rule higher than in many institutions in this country, so the financial sacrifice is not an impossible one. Secondly, more attention should be paid to the need of teaching of anatomy, physiology, bio-chemistry, pharmacology, bacteriology and pathology. At present there is relatively an over-supply of physicians and surgeons, but clinical teachers alone cannot make a first rate medical school. It is to be hoped that in the future a larger proportion of Chinese medical students will be attracted by the great possibility of usefulness for men who choose to make their careers in the fundamental sciences. Recognition will come earlier to such men as the supply is so small, and upon them really depends the future of medical education in China. It is to them that we must look for real scientific progress there. Even for those who plan eventually to take up a clinical department the experience of several years in a scientific laboratory makes an ideal foundation on which to build.

For those who are willing to undergo a laborious preparation, to make financial sacrifices, to work patiently and tactfully under difficulties yet with unshakable allegiance to high standards, perhaps the greatest opportunity for usefulness would be in one of the

government institutions in China, for it is an undoubted fact that modern medicine will never make the contribution which it should to the welfare of the country until it is firmly established in purely Chinese institutions. There are many difficulties in the way of such a career for Chinese doctors trained in the United States, yet I believe they have a real contribution to make.

In the first place most of the government medical schools are controlled, as I have pointed out, by men trained in Japan. This means, that their medical terminology is largely Japanese and German, a great handicap to professional intercourse for a man who has studied in England or America. Then there are differences in methods of training and doubtless some differences in organization and policy to be contended with. This does not mean that the western methods and theories are necessarily best. The young Chinese doctor must look for the best all over the world and then choose discriminatingly and without prejudice the methods that are best, not for the United States or for Japan or for any other foreign country, but for the actual Chinese conditions as he learns to know them. It would be very desirable for some Chinese doctors trained in the United States to spend a few years in Japan learning what is to be learned there and preparing for sympathetic co-operation with their colleagues who had their professional training in Japanese institutions. If western methods are superior in certain particulars such a man could say so with authority, where one without personal knowledge would be regarded as prejudiced.

Another difficulty in government service is the financial situation in China, which means that government schools do not have at present money with which to pay adequate salaries or to equip and maintain hospitals and laboratories properly. The higher authorities do not usually appreciate how expensive a good medical education and good hospital service really are. But it is the duty of the well trained

Chinese doctor to undertake the education of the public and of the government in this respect.

I have emphasized the difficulties lying before those whose ambition it is to play a leading part in medical progress in China, and the long laborious apprenticeship which they must serve. Already there are openings in private practice in a few large cities for those who feel the need of early financial rewards and are not ready to make the

sacrifices which scientific leadership demands. They also can perform a useful though less far reaching service, for China must have her thousands of practitioners while she can use in the near future but a few hundred medical teachers and investigators. To the men best qualified for the more difficult course, to the men who love teaching and research, the difficulties and sacrifices will seem slight in comparison with the goal which they hope to attain.

For the Sake of the People

By W. E. SOOTHILL

Professor of Chinese in Oxford University

THOSE who have studied China's history and culture and who are glad to have lived their lives in the midst of its civilization, have learned to pay sober and sincere respect to its past, to seek the welfare of its present, and to be sure of the greatness of its future. In the story of its past, as in all human history, they see "Nature red in tooth and claw," but they also see aesthetic, scientific, philosophic, political, moral and religious progress. In the present they face the facts of war, of prisons, of famines and pestilences, of mass poverty and ignorance, gross superstition, and political immorality, and strive for its amelioration. As for the future, the story of China's past, as part of the history of human civilization, gives sure and certain hope that we have not reached the terminus of human development, but that our generation—Chinese and foreign—will be considered a "back number" by our children's children, which is as it ought to be, and as we want it to be.

The successful periods of China's past are those in which the conservative philosophy and politics of Confucius have prevailed over the extravagances of Taoism and the temporary communism of men like Wang An Shih. Based on the patriarchal system it was of the simplest order, that of the divine right of an Autocrat. Valuable when the Autocrat was wise, good and strong, it failed, in the days of Confucius and ever since, when he was weak or wicked, or both. Under an autocratic system there is no room for the development of political education or a political sense amongst the people, for politics are not for them. Of

late, the fundamental political principle of Confucius, a benevolent autocracy has given way under the pressure of advancing democratic education imported from the West, and with the breaking away of the foundation the whole edifice has cracked and threatens to fall away in pieces.

The present is a period of distress and anxiety. For its relief it calls for something more than the "political" education of the people. It calls for something more than the merely intellectual development of the student, the utilization of China's natural resources, or the stimulation of patriotism. Of the real value of these things there can be no doubt. Indeed it is because they are so valuable that the something more is required. The greatest need of today is a moral and spiritual regeneration. The political principles of all parties in China are so much alike that it is difficult to find where they differ. All are for a Republic, with a President, a Prime Minister. All are for a Cabinet, an elected Parliament of two Houses, representing the people and supreme in power, and all are for provincial and local self-government in local affairs. The immoral influence of "li," or self-interest, so deprecated by Mencius, is the cause of China's woes today, as in his day. But what doth it profit even a Tuchun if he gain the whole of China and lose its soul. The political problem is simple. Everybody agrees on fundamental principles. It is the moral problem which is the grave difficulty. Yet moral and spiritual reformation is possible—even to Tuchuns.

When one turns from these high regions and considers the suffering, pa-

tient, toiling four hundred millions, one is ready to say with Confucius: How many they are! Where is the Moses who will lead this vast host out of its ignorance and poverty? Education will be of value to them, but not if it be divorced from the greater education inculcated in the opening chapter of the "*Great Learning*."

Without a spiritual awakening how are the four hundred millions to be led out of their low animism and crippling superstition into a free and hopeful spiritual realm, a realm of the soul which Taoism sought but failed to find. Such an awakening would be of infinite value even materially considered, for "all these things shall be added unto you," but something more than scientific knowledge, political genius, or the philosophic mind is needed to produce it. Man only reaches his highest development when he struggles to attain it in the presence of a Being greater than himself. China is not alone in its need for such an awakening, but her four hundred millions are still deeply sunk in a bog of superstition, out of which for the most part, the West has emerged. It is for serious, patriotic students to consider the need and possibilities of such a spiritual renaissance and to find the right method.

Politically, China has undertaken a development for which there is little guidance in the politics of its past. Very few of its emperors have really ruled the people; they have taxed them. In most respects, "wu wei" has been their motto, and they have lived up to it. In reality, though with but little public spirit, and with little encouragement from their rulers, the people have governed themselves. For this very reason, despite the men who say that China is traditionally unfit for a Republic, I cannot see why a Republic should not be as successful as a Monarchy. It could not be much worse. A Republic has just as wide a choice of good men as a Monarchy, and, after all, in government the thing that matters

is the right choice of public servants—which is also good Confucian doctrine. Unfortunately, the present Government cannot boast of its success over the past in this respect. *Plus ça change plus c'est la même chose*—only worse! But the present government was not elected by the people. Certain it is that, if they have the opportunity, the people of China are shrewd enough to select men capable of representing them.

Monarchy or Republic—given a T'ai Tsung, or a Chinese George Washington, and one system would be as good as the other *for the time being*. But what of *the future*? It is for the future that the present must make preparation—even at present loss. And the future is with *Democracy*, not with Monarchy or Dictators. Therefore, it will save much later distress if the Republic can be firmly established on the sound democratic basis of government of the people, by the people and for the people.

To this end China's primary need is for men of quality, not men with only a smattering of Western knowledge, not mere imitative men with an over-emphasized foreign accent and manner, but men of intellectual capacity and attainments, men who are sober, far-seeing, resolute, unselfish, men who love the people first and last, men of moral and spiritual character—these are the men whom China needs for its leaders. The Governor of Shansi is such a man, and his province is said to be the best governed in the country, and its education the most advanced, fifty per cent of its children attending school.

China is in a bad way to-day. So is Europe. Both would be happier if they realized that Providence has provided enough for the welfare and happiness of all, and, accordingly, cultivate a spirit of justice in the distribution of the world's wealth and of goodwill one to another. This would make the bad times pass more rapidly into the better times—which are sure to come to China and to the world.

The Recrudescence of British Imperialism

By T. F. TSIANG

THE decade of the seventies in England witnessed the definite decay of little-Englandism and the rise of Greater-Britainism. As Arthur Hassall has pointed out in his "History of British Foreign Policy," the period from the close of the Crimean War to 1874 when Disraeli began his long ministry was a period of 'splendid isolation' for England. England was neutral in the Danish War 1863-64, neutral in the Prussian-Austrian War of 1866, neutral in the American Civil War, and finally neutral in the Franco-Prussian War. During this whole period, England made only two attempts to assert its power. It showed a big degree of sympathy for Italy during its war with Austria in 1859. In 1863, it mildly protested against Russian oppression of Poland but acquiesced when told by Russia to pay attention to Ireland rather than to Poland. "The Indian Mutiny, the cession of the Ionian Islands in 1863, and the Jamaica Rebellion in 1865," says Hassall, "failed to rouse more than a passing interest among Englishmen, who wondered if the colonies and dependencies should not be given full independence. The Empire, it has been said, was 'regarded as a regrettable incident, to be apologized for as half blunder and half crime.'¹ Goldwin Smith, in a series of letters to the London Daily News in 1862-63, advocated the immediate abandonment of such useless colonies as Heligoland, Gibraltar, Trinidad, preparation for independence of Canada, Australia, and South Africa, and earliest abandonment of India consistent with order and defence of the country. But all this pessimism passed with the accession of Disraeli to power. He

purchased the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal; he had his queen proclaimed Empress of India; he sent a fleet to eastern Mediterranean and stationed thousands of Indian troops in Malta to compel Russia to reconsider the treaty of San Stefano, and finally he declared war in November of 1878 against Afghanistan. Well may it be said that Disraeli 'bequeathed a tradition and a policy,' summarized in the single phrase of 'imperium et libertas.' How his successors, especially those of his own party, carried out that tradition and policy forms the subject of this paper. But before I enter into the main body of this discussion, I must at least allude to the expansionist policies pursued by the other world-powers from 1878 to 1899, the year of the Boer War. As Sir J. R. Seeley has pointed out, it is well to dwell on the beauties of a small country but in a world of large countries, the small ones have no chance. England's imperialism in the last two decades of the nineteenth century cannot be understood without some consideration of the imperialism of the other countries.

After 1815, England and Russia were the only big empires left in Europe. The feeling between the two countries was never too good. It did not improve after the Crimean War. Russia was determined to get access to the sea. If it could not get out of the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, it was to push to the Persian Gulf. If it could not get out to the Persian Gulf, it must seek an outlet on the Pacific, an outlet south enough to be ice-free all the year round. Hence, Russia's attacks on Turkey, Afghanistan and Persia, and China.

For ten years after unification, Bismarck devoted his country's resources to assuring its position on the continent. But in 1878, its merchants formed the German African Society, and in 1882, the German Colonial Society. Going still further in 1884, Germany annexed Damaraland and Namaqualand, forming German South West Africa. In the same year, it took Togoland and Cameron, it put in a claim for German East Africa, it acquired Bismarck Archipelago and a part of New Guinea. In the following year, the German Government began to develop its merchant fleet by subsidizing steamships to Asia and Australasia; it took the Marshall Islands. In 1898, it exacted the bay of Kiaochow as indemnity for the deaths of two of its missionaries in China. In 1899, it acquired more islands in the Pacific; the Carolines, Mariannes, and Samoans.

After the defeat of 1871, France first occupied herself with the idea of revenge. Finding revenge a hopeless cause, it turned its energies to the building of a second colonial empire. With Algeria and the southern part of Indo-China as basis of operation, it acquired Tunis, Morocco, and the entire northwest of Africa from the Atlantic to Anglo-Egyptian Soudan; it annexed the large islands of Madagascar and extended its Annam possessions to the very southern boundary of China, adding to it Chinese Kwangchouwan. To make sure of the fruits of this vast empire, it admitted its own goods free but levied duties on foreign goods imported into the colonies.

That Russian, German, and French imperialism had some influence on British imperialism is easily conceived by those who see things from the American viewpoint, but that American imperialism was also a factor is sometimes overlooked or denied. Sir Charles Bruce, in his 'the Broad Stone of Empire,' claims that the founding of the Colonial Society in 1868, later renamed the Royal Colonial Institute in 1882, was decisive in turning England from little-Englandism to Greater-Britainism. This

claim may be demurred to. But in one of his chapters, he throws light on the influence of American imperialism. At the inaugural dinner of the Royal Colonial Society, the American Ambassador, in response to the toast to the prosperity of the United States, said ". . . . We, my Lord, have now no colonies, I say 'now.' In the beginning of our Government doubts were entertained,—not doubts, perhaps—I should rather say settled opinions were entertained that under the Constitution of the United States there was no authority whatever to enlarge the territories which then belonged to the United States. But these doubts have long since been removed, and now the opinion of all is that the Government of the United States has the power either by conquest or treaty to obtain territory whether continuous or not. And my Lords, it is possible with your consent, but not without, that some of the colonies which now flourish under the dominion of Her Majesty and have so much reason to be proud of that dominion may in the process of time find themselves under the Stars and Stripes of the United States." The meaning of these words taken in conjunction with the expansionist policies of America before and after the Civil War, could not have been misunderstood by the British statesmen at the dinner although they continued to say good things about America. Secretary Seward's purchase of Alaska seemed slightly too hurried to the English nation. Then there was the agitation to purchase the Danish islands in the Carribean Sea. In 1878, America established a coaling and naval station in Pago Pago in Samoa. Towards the close of the century, America took Hawaii and the Philippines. And the tariff was maintained high.

Whether the imperialism of these two centuries was a reaction to British imperialism or British imperialism was a reaction to the imperialism of the other countries is immaterial for the purpose of this paper. It is certainly true that they intensified each other.

Under such conditions, British imperialism pursued two correlated policies: expansion and consolidation. Expansion took place in three chief areas: India, Africa, and the Pacific Ocean. Consolidation was pushed along four lines: imperial trade development, imperial defence, imperial political organization, and imperial sentiment. I shall proceed to discuss these topics in the order indicated.

I. *Expansion.*

(a) IN INDIA. By 1870, India proper had all fallen under British dominion. The only expansion possible was expansion beyond the northwestern border on the one hand and the northeastern border on the other. Opinion was divided. The forward policy's school favored advance to the very borders of Afghanistan first and then make Afghanistan itself subject to Indian Administration. Sir Bartle Frere among others pointed out that the remaining independent tribes left between India and Afghanistan would always be a source of trouble and that the Amir of Afghanistan would always flirt with Russia or Britain, depending on whom could offer the better terms. It further urged that the existing boundary was not 'scientific', there being no natural limit and that the only possible scientific boundary on the Northwest was the high mountains of Afghanistan. On the other hand, the school of thought following Lawrence desired not a strategic boundary to protect India but a little of friendly buffer states and that not only Afghanistan should not be attacked but even the independent tribes between should be left unmolested as any attack on them would arouse the suspicion and hence jeopardize the friendship of the Afghan Amir. In 1874, Sir Bartle Frere presented his Minute to the Indian Government demanding that the Amir should allow an English Resident at first in Heirat and then in Kabul. Lord Northbrook resigned on refusal to carry out the policy; Lord Lytton, more to the liking of Disraeli, was appointed in his place. With the coming of Lytton, the 'for-

ward policy' school had the field to themselves. In 1876, they conquered Quetta; in the year following, they demanded Sher Ali to receive an English envoy, the reason given was that only through an envoy could the meaning of the assumption of the title of Empress of India by the English Queen be explained to the Amir. The demand was refused. What followed need not be detailed here, but it led to the war of 1878, declared on the 21st of November. How the military campaign was conducted need not detain us either, but the result was a British victory as expected. Lord Ripon, the appointee of Gladstone, was more lenient in the settlement than Lord Lytton would have been; he did not insist on a Resident in Kabul; instead, he gave the Afghan throne to one of the claimants on the condition that the Amir should have no relations with any foreign country except through English agents. From 1885 on, the British built railways to the border. In 1897, Chitral was occupied. The 'forward policy' school won a complete victory at the end of the nineteenth century in the appointment of Lord Curzon of Kedleston to the viceroy.

As in the northwest, so in the northeast; the existing boundary was not scientific; here, France was playing a role correspondent to that of Russia in the northwest; here too were border tribes and a weak nation beyond. In 1885, the king of Burmah entered into negotiations with France. That was crime number one. He also imposed a big fine on the British Commercial Company; crime number two. In 1886, Burmah was annexed. But beyond Burmah there was Siam; one could not tell what France might do there. The two powers however agreed in 1893 that Siam be left independent and neutral, that East of Siam be the sphere of France and West, the sphere of Britain.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, England rounded out her Indian Empire, to the satisfaction of the most imperialistic of her sons.

(b) **IN AFRICA.** Africa in 1870 was almost all unoccupied by the European nations, who had only possessions on the coast. British advance proceeded in two directions, from Egypt southwards and from Cape northwards, meeting in the region around the great lake Victoria Nyanza.

British occupation of Egypt really began with British investments in Egypt. The capitalists had their money there; the Khedive was financially imprudent; there was a nationalistic movement, followed by massacre of Christians on the streets of Alexandria. This occurred in June of 1882; one month later, English bombardment of Alexandria began. Alexandria taken, England felt it necessary to help the weak Khedive to put down Arabi Pasha and the nationalists. This was done at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, Sept. 13, 1882. On February 4th, 1883, Sir Auckland Colvin was made financial advisor to the Khedive; on September 11, Sir Evelyn Baring, later styled Lord Cromer, was made Consul-General. Thus, the figures who were to develop Egypt were brought in. We need not pay much attention to Gladstone's hesitations; sincere they were, but they led to nothing. Nor need we repeat the story of Heroic Gordon. The steps of British advance from Egypt southwards are clear without these details. Having subdued Arabi, there remained Madhi with his fanaticists. Gordon failed, but Lord Kitchener succeeded a decade later to win Soudan in the name of the Egyptian Khedive, British sacrifices must be recompensed, and the Soudan was made Anglo-Egyptian. Soudan won, there was still Uganda beyond. On October 20, 1892, Lord Rosebery of Gladstone's Cabinet, assured a deputation of the Anti-Slavery Society that he regarded Uganda "as the key, perhaps, of Central Africa, as commanding the Nile basin, as a field recently of heroic enterprise, as a land that had been watered by the blood of our saints and martyrs," and that "having put our hands to the plough in that great enterprise we shall not be able, even if we

are willing to look back." This important position was secured to Great Britain by the device of a protectorate. Uganda touches the great lake. Great Britain could not go further, because Germany had stepped in East Africa.

The elements England had to contend with in South Africa were two; the Boers and the Germans. The former, whose independence was regranting by Gladstone in the Pretoria Convention of 1881, persisted in their dislike of and hostility to England; the latter, gaining a hold in southwest Africa, in 1884 might easily extend eastward. If the two joined, Cape Colony would be permanently confined to the coast; the English might be shut off from the agricultural and mineral lands to the north. The annexation of Zululand deprived Transvaal of access to the sea and assured the real dependence of the Boers on the English. Sir Charles Warren's expedition in 1884 to Bechuanaland and subsequent annexation of it opened the way to illimitable expansion northward. Cecil Rhodes, the premier of Cape Colony, organized the chartered South African Company to develop and control the vast area beyond Transvaal, called Matabeleland, later renamed Rhodesia in recognition of his service. Thus, from the Cape to German East Africa, the dominion of Great Britain was assured. The dream of a continuous Empire from Cape to Cairo was missed only by a small margin.

(c) **IN THE PACIFIC.** British advance in the Pacific was hastened by the apprehensions of the Australians. With the exception of the islands acquired by Germany, France, and America, already mentioned in this paper, the rest of the thousand islands dotting the southern Pacific fell to Great Britain.

In northern Pacific, England simply followed the example of Germany which took Kiaochow and of Russia which took Port Arthur from China. From Weihai-wei, situated between Kiaochow and Port Arthur, England could check the ambitions of both of the rivals in northern China.

To the Chinese, the most ambitious scheme of British imperialism is in the Yangtze Valley. English operations on that great river, coupled with those in Tibet, were taken by the Chinese to mean a gigantic movement to engulf the whole of southern China, broken only by the French from Indo-China. But in the period covered by this paper, England's empire in southern China was only shadowy.

Thus in all of the three fields, India, Africa, and the Pacific, British Imperialism was equally successful.

II. Consolidation.

Mr. W. E. Forster, whose name will always be remembered in connection with the Educational Bill of 1870, and who was the first president of the Imperial Federation League, was once asked this question, "Why was the League founded?" "For this reason," says Mr. Forster, "because in giving self-government to our colonies we have introduced a principle which must eventually shake off from Great Britain Greater Britain, and divide it into separate states which must, in short, dissolve the union unless counteracting measures be taken to prevent it."⁵ In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, while some Englishmen were busy in expanding the empire, others were equally busy in consolidating it, in creating centripetal forces that would bind the empire into an organic unity. Those forces, as I have already said, were taken to be four: trade, defence, political organization, and sentiment. We must review them in turn.

(a) TRADE. Joseph Chamberlain, in a speech in the Canada Club, March 25th, 1896, used these words: "What is the greatest of our common obligations? It is imperial defence. What is the greatest of our common interests? It is the imperial trade." That trade could bind nations was of course an inheritance from the economists. In this case, the application was to be restricted, for the object in view was not to bind the nations but to bind the colo-

nies. What was proposed was a Zollverein embracing the entire empire. The economics of this proposal are too complicated, too important, to be treated as a sub-topic in this paper. I can only record here that achievement along that line was very meagre compared with the heat of the agitation. Different parts of the empire being in different stages of industrial development, it was very hard to arrive at any arrangement that would suit all. At the first imperial conference in 1887, nothing was achieved. At the second conference in 1894,⁷ held in Ottawa, several important resolutions were passed. They called for the amendment of treaties which, having the most favored nation clause in them, might prevent England from giving preferential duties to the colonies. The main resolution reading, "That this Conference records its belief in the advisability of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her colonies by which trade within the empire may be placed on a more favorable basis than that which is carried on with foreign countries. That until the Mother Country can see her way to enter into customs arrangements with her colonies, it is desirable that when empowered so to do, the colonies of Great Britain or such of them as may be disposed to accede to this view take steps to place each other's products in whole or in part on a more favored customs basis than is accorded to the like products of foreign countries..."—this resolution was passed only by a majority of five to three. At the same conference, resolutions were passed to improve the means of communication within the empire. One resolution called for the provision of a second mail and freight service from Australia to Great Britain via Canada. Another called for a second cable service by way of Canada. Before the third imperial conference met, England took measures to amend her treaties with Germany and Belgium so as to allow her to give preference to her colonies, but not to other foreign countries. At the third conference of 1897,⁸ the

same resolutions were passed as at the second. The only result of the agitation within the period was the lowering of duties one-fourth on empire goods by the Dominion of Canada, first offered in 1898, renewed, and further lowered to one-third in 1900.

(b) DEFENCE. What a Zollverein was expected to do for trade in the empire a *Kriegsverein* was designed for its defence. The imperial Federation Defence Committee kept on an agitation calling for a centralized fleet and a co-ordinated system of forts, maintained by contributions proportionate to the trade of each part of the empire. The colonies were, however, unwilling to make proportionate contributions or to allow England absolute control of the fleet so maintained. It was pointed out by the Defence Committee that of all the trade within the empire, the share of the colonies was three-sevenths but of the expense of the fleet protecting the trade, the colonies paid only one twentieth. This small contribution was arranged at the first conference and was given by Australia for the maintenance of a fleet in Australian waters with five per cent of the original cost for depreciation, the total sum being about \$200,000. This arrangement was renewed in the third conference. The only achievement along this line was the contingent voluntarily sent by New South Wales in the first Soudan campaign in 1885.

(c) POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. The critics of the Imperial Federation League were always pointing out the fact that although the League was founded to promote imperial federation, it made no definite proposal of a scheme. The League failed to do this, because it was felt that, opinion being so hopelessly divided, any proposal would only create dissension. How much, or how little, was achieved along this line can be seen in the resolutions of the last conference of our period; they affirmed that the present political relations within the empire were satisfactory, that colonies geographically close should federate, and that periodical conferen-

ces were desirable. The federation of the Australian colonies a few years later may be attributed in part to the movement of imperial federation. However, the imperial conferences themselves were helpful political organizations, although their function did not go beyond that of discussion and recommendation. The mere fact that representatives of eleven self-governing colonies and twenty-three crown colonies met together was a symbol of the moral unity of the empire. We have it on the authority of Professor Orth that "Australians will tell you that Joseph Chamberlain saved that vast country for the motherland when he approached it in a spirit of friendliness and invited the colonial premiers to the first colonial conference."

(d) IMPERIAL SENTIMENT. Monsieur Gazeau, in his book called "*L'Imperialisme anglais: son évolution*," traces the origin of the imperial sentiment to Carlyle. It seems to me that M. Gazeau was reading Carlyle in the light of more recent years. Carlyle in his day was appreciated less for his imperialism than for his denunciation of the economists. It would be more historic to attribute the origin of the new imperial sentiment to Professor J. R. Seeley. In his famous courses of lectures¹⁰ in Cambridge in 1881-82, he not only showed his fellow countrymen that colonies were not necessarily temporary possessions since the factor of distance and the factor of religious differences that operated in the eighteenth century to separate the colonies from the mother country have both disappeared; what was more important was that he taught Englishmen to appreciate the historical destiny of the empire and the modern necessity of it. The lectures were first published in July, 1883. They were reprinted in October, 1883, again in 1884, 1885, 1886, 1888, 1891, 1894. A second edition appeared 1895 and reprinted 1897, 1899, 1900. In an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, Professor Marriott himself a historian says this of Seeley's "The Expansion of England:" "I should seriously question whether any book on

a political subject published in England since the appearance of the *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, has had an influence so immediate, so direct, and so profound upon political thought and indeed upon administrative action." William Cunningham in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* also pays tribute to Seeley; he says "It (English Imperialism) has been to a great extent an academic movement thought out and advocated by the late Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge."¹²

The example of Professor Seeley was followed by scores of other intellectuals and public men. It would be tedious to reproduce the oratory and rhetoric of the imperialistic speakers and writers. We can only pay attention to the more prominent and influential among them. Three years after the publication of "The Expansion of England," James A. Froude, the historian of the Reformation in England and disciple and biographer of Carlyle, presented his impressions of a tour through the empire in a book the very title of which could not fail to arouse the patriotic sentiment of the British public: *Oceana, or England and her Colonies*. What would England be without her colonies? Froude answered "The oak tree in park or forest whose branches are left to it will stand for a thousand years; let the branches be lopped away or torn from it by the wind, it rots at the heart and becomes a pollard, interesting only from the comparison of what it once was with what fate or violence has made."¹³ When he was in the colony of Victoria, he told the Englishmen thereof the vision of his master. "It was another England (than that of the economists)" says Froude, "that Carlyle looked forward to—an England with the soul in her awake once more—no longer a small island, but an ocean empire, where her millions and tens of millions would be spread over their broad inheritance, each leading whole and happy lives on their own fields and by their own firesides, hardened into men by the sun of Australia

or the frosts of Canada—free human beings in fact, and not in idle name, not miserable bondsmen any more."¹⁴ In another place, he says "With her colonies part of herself, she would be, as Harrington had foreshadowed, a commonwealth resting on the mightiest foundation which the world had ever seen. Queen among the nations, from without invulnerable, and at peace and at health from within, this was the alternative future lying before Oceana, in every way more desirable than the economic."¹⁵ The empire will stand, he assures the public; "were Oceana an accepted article of faith, received and acknowledged as something not to be called in question, it would settle into the conviction of all of us, and the organic union which we desiderate would pass silently into a fact with no effort of political ingenuity."¹⁶

It is sometimes said that the publication of Sir Charles W. Dilke's "Greater Britain" in 1868 was as important as Seeley's "Expansion of England." However that may be, he was prompted to write on that theme again and again. The burden of his writings may be found in the concluding chapter of his first book. "The result of our survey," he says, "is such as to give us reason for the belief that race distinctions will long continue, that miscegenation will go but little way towards blending the races; that the dearer are, on the whole, likely to destroy the cheaper races, and that Saxondom will rise triumphant from the doubtful struggle."

The part of Joseph Chamberlain in the imperial movement is too well known to give space to it here. It remains only to tell something of the influence he has had on the English nation. In 1896, Oxford conferred her D. C. L. on him as "One, who placed at the helm of the British ship at a period of storm and stress, had brought her safely through all the tempests, confident in himself, unterrified by threats of foreign Powers, desirous only of preserving and handing on undiminished to his successors the immense and precious possessions entrusted to his care."¹⁷

In the year 1920, Lloyd George rose in the House of Commons to introduce a resolution petitioning the King to sanction a monument to the memory of Joseph Chamberlain. Both Asquith and Clynes seconded the resolution.

The imperial sentiment so eloquently preached by the publicists was effectively spread by a network of organizations. One may mention the Imperial Federation League organized in 1884, with its monthly magazine titled "Imperial Federation." The Imperial Federation Defence Committee and the Royal Colonial Institute all did their part. State ceremonies were also effective, especially the two celebrations of 1887 and 1897.

The poets of the day contributed their inspiration to the creation of the imperial sentiment. Marriott, writing on the Imperial Note in Victorian Poetry, shows how English poetry during the Victorian era, reflected the growth of imperialism. The poetry of the first half of the period, from 1837 to 1872, was 'bare' and 'empty.' "There is an abundant crop of what we may call 'patriotic poetry'; poetry that reflects the Englishman's pride in his island home; in the deeds of his sons, especially his sons at sea, and in the free political tradition of a self-governing people," but there was no imperial note. The change came, according to Marriott, with Tennyson's dedicatory epilogue to the second series of the Idylls, published in 1872, in which Tennyson rebuked the wish of a writer who advocated the abandonment of Canada.

Browning, in "Home-Thoughts, From the Sea," struck the same note: Nobly, noble Cape Saint Vincent to the Northwest died away;
Sunset ran, one glorious blood-red, recking into Cadiz Bay;
Bluish mid the burning water, full in face Trafalgar lay;
In the dimmest Northwest distance dawned Gibraltar grand and gray;
Here and here did England help me: how can I help England?—say,
Whoso turns as I, this evening, turn to God and praise and pray,
While Jove's planet rises yonder, silent over Africa.

Mr. Henry Newbolt's poetry is less known but highly praised by Marriott, especially the one titled "Admirals All" the last verse of which runs:

Admirals all they said their say,
(The echoes are singing still),
Admirals all they went their way
To the haven under the hill.
But they left us a kingdom none can take,
The realm of the circling sea,
To be ruled by the rightful sons of Blake,
And the Rodneys to be.

Kipling's imperial sentiments are well-known to all who read poetry. He is the imperialist poet par excellence.

The imperial sentiment, whether found in the publicists, agitators, or poets, may be summarized in four words: history, race, necessity, and altruism. The imperialist believes that history clearly shows that England is destined to be ruler of many peoples and lands, that the English race is a governing race, of born sailors and soldiers; that present necessity demands the preservation of the empire, and finally that the good of the subject-peoples demands that the sway of Britannia should be continued.

I have chosen the Boer War of 1899 as the stopping point not because that War closed British imperialism but because that War is a turning point, after which the world situation changed and the means for the realization of British imperialism were also different.

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The Sino-German Agreement of May 20th 1921

By CHI-TSAI HOO

THE negotiations between the Chinese Government and a German Commission delegation to Peking were begun in September, 1920 and led to agreements which were signed in Peking, by the plenipotentiaries of both parties, on May 20, 1921. Owing to special wishes of the Chinese Government, it was found necessary to divide the matter into four parts, which, however, are to be regarded as an integral whole; they are the following:

1. A declaration of the German plenipotentiary, written in three versions, Chinese, French and German—and a letter of confirmation from the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, written in French;
2. A letter of the German plenipotentiary written in two versions Chinese and German, accompanying the declaration referred to above;
3. An agreement drawn up in Chinese, French and German;
4. A series of notes exchanged in Chinese and in German between the plenipotentiaries of both parties.

The contents of the agreements may be considered in two parts:

1. Termination of the state of war, provisions on this point being found in the declaration, in the accompanying letter and in the notes exchanged;
2. The Agreement itself, containing fundamental provisions for the readjustment of Sino-German relations, supplementary explana-

tions thereto being found in the declaration and the notes exchanged.

Termination of the State of War.

Referring to the articles of the Versailles Treaty regarding Shantung, the German declaration sets forth that Germany, having been obliged by the events of the war and by the treaty of Versailles to renounce all the rights, interests and privileges which she acquired by virtue of her treaty with China of March 6, 1898, and other acts concerning the province of Shantung, she is thereby deprived of the possibility of restituting them to China.

China's original request, that the German Government should make a declaration to the Chinese Government to the effect that Germany regards herself, in a general way, bound to the Versailles treaty also with respect to China, could not be compiled with because as stated in the accompanying letter—the German Government did not wish to commit itself once more to a general recognition of that treaty. In the declaration, Germany binds herself to fulfill with reference to China, the obligations arising out of articles 128-134 of the Versailles treaty. The accompanying letter concedes further that China apart from articles 128-134 of the Versailles treaty, may avail herself also of "certain other treaty rights that may seem of importance for her own country," either according to their present formulation or, if the treaty should be revised, in their modified form. The question as to how such other treaty rights are to be exercised

by China will have to be discussed in each given case.

The Sino-German agreement makes special reference to the following provisions of the Versailles treaty:

1. It is understood that China may claim from Germany the most favored nation's treatment regarding the German customs tariff and provided for in article 264 of the Versailles treaty.
2. China declares that for the settlement of the mutual Sino-German indebtedness, she has no intention to join the Clearing House system referred to in article 296 of the Versailles treaty.
3. As to the reparation question, Germany declares that she will act in accordance with the principles of the Versailles treaty. A part payment on this score is promised to be made by Germany in connection with the restoration to the Germans of their properties in China.

Furthermore, Germany promises to reimburse the Chinese Government the expenses for the internment of German militaries in the various camps of internment in China. This pledge of Germany goes further than the provision of article 224 of the Versailles treaty, according to which the contracting parties waive reciprocally all repayment of sums due for the maintenance of prisoners of war in their respective territories. The promise was, however, given in view of the fact that Germany did not incur any expenses for the maintenance of Chinese prisoners of war, except in a few rare cases.

Regarding the fulfilment of obligations arising out of articles 128-134 (Section of Versailles treaty relating to China), the following observations could be made:

With reference to article 130, the declaration states that the German Government renounces, in favour of China, all the rights to the "Glacis" attached to the German Legation in Peking, admitting that by the expression "public

property" used in the first paragraph of the said article the above mentioned ground is equally included.

With reference to article 131, it is to be noted that preparations for the return of the astronomical instruments were already made early in 1919. Transportation to China was delayed through difficulties of various kinds. The restitution took place in Peking on April 14, 1921.

The question as to how German property in China is to be treated, has been settled in a manner different from and, in fact, more favorable to Germany, than the one provided for in article 133 of Versailles treaty. This question was the most important one for the German firms in China, it was above all the wish to prevent further liquidation of German property and to bring about an early restitution of the sequestrated properties, which urged the Germans to come as soon as possible to an understanding with China. The latter following the example of the Allies, had, in view of her reparation claims, liquidated about 1,200,000 taels worth of German property; it is estimated that the value of the sequestrated property in her hands amounted to about ten times that sum. The Chinese Government considered these properties as security for its reparation claims for war damages. Now it is agreed that the Chinese Government will, at the signature of the Agreement, cease all the liquidation of German properties and, on receipt of the war indemnity from Germany, return to German owners all the proceeds from the liquidation of German property and all the German property under sequestration.

Concerning the war indemnity, the provisions of the Sino-German agreement (notes exchanged) were as follows:

"As to the war indemnity, Germany undertakes to pay in advance a portion thereof in a lump sum, which represents the equivalent of one half of the proceeds from the liquidated German property and one half of the values of

the sequestered but not yet liquidated German property, which amount will eventually be agreed upon and which will consist of 4,000,000 dollars in cash and the balance in Tsin-Pu and Hu-Kuang Railway bonds."

The Germans did not succeed in including also in this settlement the property of the German-Asiatic Bank and of the Ching-Hsing Mining Corporation, representing considerable values, which were still in the hands of the Chinese. On this point, it is said in the Sino-German agreement that Chinese authorities will negotiate directly with the Bank and the Corporation themselves. But the unliquidated premises of the German-Asiatic Bank in Peking and Hankow will be returned to the original owner in accordance with the procedure described above.

As to Chinese properties in Germany, they will be returned at the ratification of the agreement.

In response to the German inquiry as to securities to be given in future to properties of German residents, the following statement is made by China in the notes exchanged:

"The Chinese Government promises to give full protection to the peaceful undertakings of the Germans in China, and agrees not to further sequester their properties except in accordance with the general recognized principles of international law and the provisions of the laws in China; provided that the German Government will treat the Chinese residents in Germany in like manner."

As to China's trading with the Enemy Act. Presidential decree of May 17, 1918), the Chinese Government declares, in the notes exchanged, that all such laws and regulations concerning the trading with the enemy will automatically lose their effect from the day when the agreement is ratified.

Involved in this matter is the question of German trade marks in China. These trade marks had previously enjoyed the protection of the Chinese authorities, provided they were registered at the Chinese Customs House.

But early in January, 1921 the Dutch Consul General in Shanghai, entrusted with the protection of the German interests, was officially notified by the Director of Maritime Customs that, following instructions from Peking, the registered German trade marks were invalid and that no new registration of German trade marks would be made until trade relations with Germany were resumed. The protests against this act which the Dutch Minister and the German Commission lodged with the Waichiaopu were of no avail. The following statement is now to be found in the notes exchanged:

"All German trade marks which had been registered at the Customs House will recover their validity, if they are registered after the ratification of the Agreement, at the Customs House by their owners."

So it is possible to the original owners to recover their former status by having their trade marks registered again."

Fundamental Provisions for the Readjustment of Sino-German Relations.

From the very beginning of the negotiations, the Chinese Government declared that it could not resume relations with Germany in accordance with the provisions of the pre-war Commercial treaty, but only on an absolutely new basis. So it was impossible to induce the Chinese Government to grant Germany again the most favoured nation's treatment. China claimed from Germany a renunciation to extra-territoriality and a recognition of China's tariff autonomy. These wishes were complied with.

The negotiations led, in the form of the agreement of May 20, 1920, to a kind of preliminary treaty, aiming first of all, at the resumption of diplomatic and economic relations, and to be considered as a basis for a more extensive treaty to be agreed upon at a later date.

In the preamble to the agreement, expression is given to the desire of re-establishing relations of friendship and

commerce between the two countries. Then, the following principles are laid down in the agreement:

Resumption of diplomatic relations; sending of diplomatic representatives who shall enjoy all the privileges and immunities accorded by the law of nations;

Right to appoint consuls and consular agents in all places where there is established a consulate or vice-consulate of a third nation;

Right of the nationals of both countries, residing in the other to travel, to reside and to engage in commerce or industry, in all places where the nationals of any other nation are allowed to do so. They are subject to the laws and courts of the country in which they reside, they shall not pay higher taxes, imposts or contributions than those paid by the nationals of the Country;

Recognition of Tariff autonomy.

Finally, it is stated that the German declaration, as well as the provisions of the agreement, are to serve as a basis for the negotiation of a definite treaty.

The relinquishment of extra-territoriality and the tariff question are referred to also in the exchange of notes.

With reference to extra-territoriality, the following is said:

"Law suits of the Germans in China shall be tried in the modern courts, according to the modern codes, with the right of appeal, and in accordance with the regular legal procedure. During the period of litigation, the assistance of German lawyers and interpreters who have been duly recognized by the courts is permitted.

In regard to the law suits in the Mixed Court, in which Germans are involved either as one or both of the

parties, the Chinese Government will in future try to find a solution so as to insure justice and fairness to all the parties concerned."

Since the severance of relations between China and Germany, it has been the practice in the International Settlement of Shanghai to bring all legal cases, in which Germans were involved, before the Mixed Court, mostly with a British assessor; and in the French Settlement of Shanghai, before the Mixed Court with a French assessor.

In settling the tariff question, though recognition of Tariff autonomy is made, it is nevertheless agreed upon, in principle, that the custom duties for import, export, and transit in both countries shall not exceed those paid by the nationals of the country.

With reference to this, it is declared, in the exchange of notes, that this regulation shall not prevent China from availing herself of the rights of a most favoured nation as per article 264 of the Versailles treaty. China, in return, makes the following concession:

"Prior to the general application of the national tariff in China, German goods imported into China may pay the customs duties according to the tariff rate in general use."

By "tariff rate in general use" is to be understood the tariff, including transit dues, which is generally applicable to Treaty Powers. Consequently, German trade is granted the most favoured nation's treatment, inasmuch as German goods, imported into China, will pay no higher custom duties than those of other countries. As to the export trade from China, no discriminations are made in the treatment of exporting firms.

The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Woman

By ROSALIND MEI-TSUNG LI

THE chief difference between the Chinese men students and the Chinese women students in America is, so far as my intuition can tell, that the former have no ideals and the latter have. The former have no ideals because they have no idols; the latter have ideals because they have not discarded their old idols or because they have accepted new ones. Idols and ideals shade imperceptibly into each other; I sometimes think that they are but different sides of the same shield. In my moment of pessimism, I even think that there is more freedom in the worship of idols than in the worship of ideals. The one can be confined to stated occasions, such as the first and fifteenth of a month, or the Sabbath, or the anniversaries. On those occasions, there may be sacrifice of time or of material goods, games, rest, or opportunity for satisfying our gregarious instinct. Ideals cast their shadow even on our dreams. Therefore, the final judgment on the comparative merits of the male as contrasted with the female spiritual state of the Chinese student body in America is extremely difficult. I leave this diverting topic to our social parties where it does gallant service in stimulating conversation.

I wish to concentrate for a brief moment on the idols or ideals of the Chinese women students in America. First reverie, then definite trains of thought on this problem have haunted my consciousness. In the small hours of the night, I sometimes get very hot and red; eloquent paragraphs flow through my mind; sometimes rage, sometimes despondency seizes me, only to discover it all vanish in the white

light of the day. I have alternated between this night exultation and morning disillusion for a long time; now, a residuum remains. The psychology of this is perhaps very plain. When I stepped into skirts and entered a modern school, I thought myself emancipated; I anticipated richer days. This had begun to pall even before I came to America, but coming to this land of liberty at first revived my hopes, only to find myself more disappointed. I give, with the indulgence of my readers, this bit of impersonal personal history to meet a possible objection to my writing this article at all. In plain words, I am not so much lecturing to my sisters and incidentally entertaining my brothers as examining my own soul.

The amazing uniformity of personality of Chinese women students in America shows that they have all been dominated by the same ideals. As I analyze them carefully, I find that there are two: Correctness and Usefulness. Is it not abnormal that with so many Chinese young men and women studying together in the colleges and universities of America, all in the supposedly romantic age, no scandal has ever occurred? How correct are our introductions! How geometrically correct is our conversation with men, in so far as we can be credited with conversation! 'How do you do?' and 'how are you?' and their appropriate answers are not conversation. How chillily correct is our dress! How mechanically correct are our ways of walking, of holding our eyes rigidly in their sockets! With this God, Correctness, always before us, it is natural that the faintest suggestions of scandal are sup-

pressed, killed, before they are consciously recognized as possibly leading to scandals.

Mere correctness, in its place, does not produce the depressing effect which we find exists among the women students. It is not so much correctness as the constant preoccupation with it that warps and distorts. Our worship of Correctness is very much like my early reverence for the rules of English grammar. I could not write a sentence without questioning myself whether I had made the subject agree with the predicate and whether my primary tenses corresponded with my secondary tenses. No masterpiece of composition could be expected under such conditions. No genuine personality can be produced so long as the god of Correctness constantly interferes.

Our worship of the idol of Usefulness is even more patent. We have accepted without reservation the gospel of social service. This idol decides for us many of the choices to be made in life, such as the selection of courses in college and of shoes and stockings. With two hundred or more of us in the colleges and universities in America, we have at least ten girls studying medicine without a single one specializing in painting, drama, fiction, dance, or even the less exacting art of the essay. We have not even delighted and enthusiastic amateur followers of these arts. A year ago I believe there was one girl studying art, but her conception of art was china-decorating, lamp-shade-decorating, and such like sundry items. Our leisure is spent in Y. W. C. A. activities, prayer meetings, club business meetings or reading such 'useful' books as Burton's Education of Chinese Women. To these things our inclinations have been trained to turn.

Isn't this picture overdrawn? Don't some of us go to the liberal arts colleges? Yes, but not to study the liberal arts. A few of us do study literature, that is, as a part of our curriculum duties. Undoubtedly, some of us have read some of Tennyson and Browning,

Dickens and Thackeray, and Shakespeare. I wonder what we like in these authors; I am afraid it is not literature but morals.

To convince ourselves of the righteousness of our god, Usefulness, we argue with ourselves that art must go along with leisure and that China is too poor to have leisure. China must be first cleaned, fed and clothed, and medically cared for before we think of the arts. There is some truth to this argument, but I am afraid that after we have cleaned, fed and clothed, and doctored the four hundred million, we may find that our results amount to no more than a drab unlovely ocean of humanity, very much like America is to-day.

One of the necessary consequences of this worship of the twin idols of Correctness and Usefulness is that we do not play, we cannot play, we have forgotten how to be playful. Whatever playing we do, we do it because we have learned from physiology or psychology textbooks that play is good for us. The rhythm of the dance, the sweep of the oar or paddle, the grandeur of a mountain top, the luxury of movement in water—all these are closed books to us. Another consequence is that we do not converse. The more intellectual of us argue timidly with men. Some of us resort to quotations from Dewey; Thorndike, or the Bible. The more frivolous of us practise a little sarcasm on our intimate men friends. Wit is as troublesome as Einstein; humor of the college comic paper "he-she" type occasionally draws laughter from our lips. I am sure that in reading American newspapers most of us frown on the efforts of the columnist; probably those of us who reside in New York never take a peep at the Bowling Green of the Evening Post or the Conning Tower of the World. This and the unlovely nature of our conversation go together.

There are, to be sure, some extenuating circumstances. The prisons—or the homes—where we spent our first years are not calculated to stimulate vitality.

The uniform yellow of Chinese social etiquette and morals is very much like frost in April. Added to all this, most of us have had the privilege of a regimented education in a missionary school where our own puritanism is made doubly, nay triply, "Grundyish" by the Old Testament and the American frontier tradition. We were bound in our homes and society and killed, cured, and ossified in the missionary school. The wonder is that we still walk.

I do not mean to imply that we are all without the least charm of personality. I think that some of us do have charm in spite of what the men may say behind our backs. Only, our charm is like the charm of a country pond, not the charm of a running brook, still less the absorbing charm of the sea. Now, with a pond, we can, by planting a tree here and a bush there, and maybe even some rocks on the banks—just the way the Americans provide scenery in their municipal parks or in some of their photo studios—and with such natural favors as the sun and the moon and the stars, give to it quite a bit of charm. In fact, some of our men, in poetizing about us, have often used the figure of a little pond, calm, quiet, glass-like, on the banks of which they like to loiter when they are tired on hot summer days. Most of us are flattered by this poetic dictum; one or two may resent it. One or two may like to be compared to the sea, with its varying colors and moods, its tumult, its majesty, conducive sometimes to rest and sometimes to deep searchings of life and death.

Nor do I think that our American sister is in every respect our better. America, with its frontiers, its manufacture, and its stock exchanging, has produced girls mainly of two types:

either the prayer-meeting attending variety of petty, pale girls who populate the Main Streets of the innumerable Gopher Prairies or the nappers of the Broadways of this land, who seek to make up for their lack of inner vitality—the vitality of mind and spirit—by outward tumult. I say, mainly of these two types, but not entirely.

But China has had more time to produce something better. Has it been in vain that our much venerated Confucius lived some five or six centuries before Jesus? Has it really all been for nothing that our forefathers dwelling in the Yellow River Valley left love lyrics and wisdom-lore enough to occupy the whole life of the same Confucius in editing? Where is that creative energy that flowed and rollicked in Li Po? Where is that sensitiveness of soul and subdued yearning for life which made Po Chu-I, struck with Weltschmerz, sing songs as poignant as those of Heinrich Heine? What is left of that early inventiveness which produced the mariner's compass and the movable type of printing? Alas, all these promises of Chinese life seemed to have evaporated. What is left is decadence. We may, however, derive consolation from the fact that the decadence began long before we added ourselves to the density of population in China. Confucius, censoring the folk songs and devising elaborate codes of ceremony, was probably the first sign that decadence had already begun.

If the Chinese Revolution is to be something which our descendants shall be proud of, it must mean a renewal of life. Of course, it cannot renew life in China if it does not touch the broad and populous realm of the womanhood of China.

The Religion of a Gentleman in China*

By KU HUNG-MING

A FOREIGNER recently said to me: "Now that corruption is about to destroy the government in China, how could you justify squeeze and corruption?"

I replied: "I have never justified squeeze."

"But," my friend rejoined, "you have said that squeeze is not immoral."

"Yes, but you must understand the true meaning of the word."

To be moral does not mean to be impertinently moral, like a certain foreigner in the service of the Chinese Government, who earns an enormous salary "for doing his duty." To those who inquire of him why he did not ask his children to learn Chinese, he would proudly reply: "I am not interested in Chinese language, because everybody here squeezes. When I shall have enough money to live comfortably, I will quit China."

To be immoral, according to my interpretation, is to be impious and inhuman like an egoist, like that impertinent foreigner who, because he did not squeeze, thought he was respectably moral. Without doubt he never understood the words of Christ: "Do unto others what you want others to do unto you." He lacked, therefore, the in-born passion of humanity, of gratitude, of sympathy and affection.

Squeeze means the violation of confidence. The judge or the policeman who receives tips are not immoral, but they are nevertheless dishonorable.

"But," my friend said to me, "what is the difference between immoral and dishonorable?"

"The difference is this. When men are immoral, they are inhuman, that is,

*The value of Mr. Ku's theme does not lie in his monarchical inclinations.—Editor.

they cease to be human beings, and, as Ruskin said, they become rats or swines."

On the other hand, when men conduct themselves dishonorably they are still men, but not gentlemen. It is for this reason we Chinese speak of the obligation of being honorable as the law of the gentleman.

Mencius said: "Men in society are necessarily divided into two classes, the gentlemen and the coolies."

The coolies work with their tools; the gentlemen with their brains. Without the coolies we have nothing to live on; without the gentlemen, we have no government.

In Russia, coolies, swines and rats become champagne drinkers, consequently, there is nothing to eat in Russia.

In China, Democracy, the new Saviour, has destroyed the gentlemen, and that is why we have no government.

Foreigners and foreign journals are terribly shocked by the scandalous corruption of the Republican Government.

But do the foreigners know who is responsible for the squeeze and corruption which marked the Republic and menaced to destroy the government in China?

Before answering this question, permit me to cite the words that I wrote in the introduction of the second edition of my book, "The Story of a Chinese Oxford Movement," at the commencement of the Revolution.

Remember the words of a French author who said: "The ultimate ground on which repose all civilization and all possibilities of government is the sense of honor of the masses and the right practices in public affairs." I predict-

ed that the Republic in China is going to be a failure. Why? Because, as I have said, the man who heads the government should possess transcending moral qualities that touch our imagination and command our respect. Yuan Shih Kai did not show any sense of honor and duty, which men could even expect of thieves and robbers. People will remember that Yuan Shih Kai was called to Peking for defending the Tsing Dynasty. He responded to the call. But instead of doing his duty as a man of honor, he went over to the revolutionaries, and, by intrigue and machinations, he destroyed the loyalism of the troops confided to his command, and with their aid, he forced the Emperor to abdicate. Finally he became the President of the Republic. How could a man with any common sense reconcile such a conduct with the most simple rules of honor and duty?

Foreigners admired Yuan Shih Kai as a great statesman who had saved the situation in China without bloodshed, not knowing that he simply retarded, by the small effusion of blood which was necessary, a terrible anarchy.

In truth, if I should attempt to tell the truth, Yuan Shih Kai has done something infinitely worse than the shedding of blood—he has not only destroyed the sense of honor and duty in China, but also China's religion, civilization and the Chinese race.

Most of my Chinese friends are amused because of my fanatic loyalty towards the Tsing Dynasty. But my loyalty is not only a loyalty towards the Imperial House, under whose rule my ancestors had received benefits, my loyalty in this case is also a loyalty towards the religion of China, towards the cause of Chinese civilization and race.

I said that my loyalty to the Tsing Dynasty is also a loyalty to Chinese religion. What, then, is the religion of China? The religion of China is the religion of the Law of the Gentlemen, and the Grand Code of that religion is the grand code of Honor and

Duty, the religion of loyalty. That religion of loyalty is called the Grand Code. This is why, as I have said, squeeze is dishonorable when it signifies the violation of confidence.

If a boy squeezes, or if a policeman accepts a tip, it is only a comparatively small violation of confidence.

But if a gentleman is disloyal towards the sovereign, such an act is considered in China as a great violation of confidence—in fact, as the greatest violation of confidence. It is for this reason that I say the religion of loyalty is called the Grand Code of Honor. In other words, the religion of loyalty is called the Grand Code—the grand model of honor, because the people in China, even the merchants and coolies, hold honor in high sentiment. They say to the foreigners: "The word of a Chinese is as good as a contract."

In fact, although filial piety is the root of social affection with the Chinese, the religion of loyalty is the basis—the source of honor, as Ruskin said, the social order in China.

Briefly, the religion and the moral basis of China rest on two words: Filial Piety and Loyalty.

To sum up, the Grand Code is the constitution, the moral constitution of the State, the religion of the good citizen in China.

It is for this reason, I say, that my loyalty to the Tsing Dynasty is also a loyalty towards China's religion.

It is also for this reason that I have said and repeated that the impardonable crime of Yuan Shih Kai was that he violated the Grand Code, the religion of loyalty.

Now, the Grand Code, the model of honor, has been destroyed, why do people wonder that the supertuchuns, the tuchuns, the ministers in Peking and even the boys, cocks and coolies in Shanghai joyously say: "I squeeze, you squeeze, he squeezes, we squeeze, you squeeze, and they squeeze."

The imbecile of the Republic talk about law and constitution. But without the law of the gentlemen, without

the sense of honor, how could there be parties that would adhere to the constitution? As I said to Tang Shao Yi: "You have violated the moral constitution, the highest honor that a gentleman could have, your loyalty towards the Emperor of the Tsing Dynasty, to whom you owe your red button and peacock, your education and all that you possess—how could people believe that you are going to respect the constitution that you have made?"

Briefly, the Law and Constitution are useful only with gentlemen who have a sense of honor.

This is the history why the President is now without recourse against squeeze and corruption.

At the time of the Sino-Japanese War, Chang Chi Tong was viceroy at Nanking. A certain chief of a German firm came with his comprador to interview my old friend, Liang Tun-yen (then secretary to the viceroy and later Minister of Foreign Affairs). After the interview the comprador gave Mr. Liang a check of 1,000 dollars as a present of introduction. Mr. Liang slapped the comprador's face and said that such thing was not permitted in the yamen of the viceroy.

This news reached Shanghai where it was taken as a joke by the foreigners, and when I went to Nanking, I inquired of Mr. Liang whether it was true. I told him that he was considered as a fool in Shanghai.

"Yes, Ku," he replied, "we are desperately poor. / But if I should have taken the money, when I say to the foreigner 'Get out,' these words would have no effect."

The reason why the President is without recourse against squeeze and corruption is that having himself violated the Grand Code of Honor, the moral constitution of China, he did not have the courage to say to the dishonorable squeezers and robbers, "Get out," and even if he should have said that, his words would produce no effect.

Without the Grand Code the religion of loyalty in China, even the boys and

servants would be demoralized. Let me translate a story from a biography written by Chi Yun.

On a certain occasion, a high official put to death a devoted servant of his for having squeezed.

The soul of the servant took possession of another sick servant and argued with his master: "I have squeezed and merit death. But you, my master, you are not the man who has the right to put me to death.

"You hold a high position and receive a high salary from the Emperor in the same way as I receive favors from you. You earn millions of dollars by accepting bribes and selling offices. What is the difference between your squeeze and mine?"

"In such and such cases, you have perverted truth, what is the difference between your bad practices and mine? Having violated the confidence which the Emperor put in you, how could you blame me for violating the confidence you reposed in me? I say, therefore, you are not the man who has the right of putting me to death."

The Apostle James said: "The pure religion, besides God, consists in visiting the orphans and widows in their affliction and watching yourself that you be blameless."

To visit the orphans and widows is social affection, to be blameless is honor.

I repeat: The root of social affection in the religion of China is filial piety and the source of honor is loyalty to the Emperor.

The great statesman, Chu Ko-liang, said: "When you take up your post, try to be absolutely loyal to your Emperor, and when you retire try to be free from blame," or as the Christian apostle has said: "Be blameless in this world."

I wish that the foreigners would know when I speak of squeeze and corruption of the mandarins—I have in mind the religion of a gentleman in China.

Before concluding, I take the liberty of telling a little about myself. I wish

to remind the Japanese politicians who speak of political sciences, constitution and universal suffrage, that the religion of a gentleman in China is also the religion of a gentleman in Japan. When I was secretary to the viceroy Chang Chi Tung at Wuchang, my Japanese wife opened a free school for the poor children in our neighborhood. At new year and at every festival, she made new dresses for the poorest children of the school. Like the mothers of Rome and Greece who said to their children, "Here are our prettiest toys" my wife said to those poor children in new dresses "here are my flowers."

I had served the viceroy for seventeen years without promotion. The viceroy remarked jokingly that I had never asked for promotion and that he was himself too busy to think of it.

Finally my promotion came. A special decree made me the secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and director of the Whangpoo River Con-

servancy at Shanghai with a monthly salary of 800 Tls.

When fortune dawned on me, my wife was seriously ill in bed. Three days before her death she summoned the poor children, her flowers, to her bed, and pointing to them, she said to me: "After my death, remember these poor children when you become rich; and when you become a high official, remember your duties to your Emperor."

Certain persons have asked me how does Japan, a poor insular nation, become today a great modern power?

The reason is, let me say to the Republicans and patriots, because, in Japan, in the era of Meiji, even her women understood the true religion of China—the religion of the gentlemen. In fact, it is due to this religion that the lady of Osaka who now reposes in the foreign cemetery in Shanghai, has this inscription on her tomb: "A pious woman of Japan."

Railway Construction and Operation in China

FRANK H. CLARK

IF China is to be the scene of an important industrial development, her natural resources must be developed and utilized. This will necessarily require better transportation facilities than she has at present, and while the canals and highways may be extended and improved, there will still remain a transportation problem that can only be met by the building of more railways.

Comparisons between China and other countries in respect to area, population and railway mileage are so frequently used to show China's lack of railways that they hardly need repeating, but with a population supposed to be more than three times as great, and with a considerably greater area she has less than three per cent of the railway mileage of the United States.

These figures have no value as a basis for estimating the railway mileage needed by China, as the geographical conditions are very different, the United States having the Pacific Ocean on the west with fertile and productive states along the coast, the Atlantic Ocean on the East with the mining and manufacturing resources of the nearby states, and the Middle West with its diversified industries, the whole requiring a network of railways to distribute their products in various directions. China has her ocean ports on the East, with mountains and plains on the West and no outlet in that direction except through Russia. It would appear, therefore, that her traffic in the West will be light and gradually increase in volume as the coast is approached.

It appears also that most of the present needs of a considerable number of the people of China are satisfied locally and until their requirements from the outside are increased or they feel the need of better facilities to move their goods to markets they would contribute but little to the support of a railway. In some instances, as in the case of the Peking-Suiyuan line, the settlement and development of the country might keep pace with the extension of the railway and contribute a considerable revenue from the start. In other cases in which the railway traversed a thinly populated and unproductive country for a considerable distance the revenues would materialize more slowly.

The railways of the United States were intended to meet the immediate or prospective requirements of the country. Railway building was practically unrestricted and some mistakes were made in overestimating the needs or underestimating the future developments of the science of railway operation. The result was that some railways have seriously disappointed those who invested their money in them.

If China will heed the experience of other countries she may be able to so direct the new construction and the extensions of her present railways that they will not have to wait too long before earning an adequate return upon the investment. This would involve a careful study of the resources of the various sections of the country, their possibilities of industrial or agricultural development and the cost of providing adequate facilities to serve such sections. Such a study might indicate

the order in which such lines should be built to most effectively open up and develop the resources of the country.

The construction of new lines should be economically done and leave for future consideration the ultimate refinements of railway construction so that such lines may not be burdened at the start with excessive interest charges. There has been a tendency in the construction of some of the existing railways of China to spend an unnecessary amount of money in providing better and more expensive facilities than were warranted.

It might be well to consider the idea of leaving the operation of the lines in the hands of the builders until the Government can take them over, and allowing the builders and operators a substantial share of the profits of oper-

ation, the auditing of accounts being supervised by the Ministry of Communications. Such an arrangement would seem to insure economical construction and operation of the lines and the improvement of the lines as improvements become necessary. It would involve a considerable change in the present methods of construction and operation but would probably present no difficulties that could not be successfully met.

It seems to be generally agreed that China needs more railways but appears at present to lack the funds with which to build them. If foreign funds are to be available and the railways economically built and operated at a profit it would seem to be necessary that the profits of construction be reduced and operating profits permitted which will attract capital.

The Young China Party: Its Principles and Policy

A Few Plain Questions Addressed to Mr. Chang Hsin-Hai

By J. O. P. BLAND

HAVING been absent from England for the past two months, I have only just had occasion to see the February number of *THE CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY*, in which Mr. Chang Hsin-Hai denounces the opinions set forth in my book "China, Japan and Korea," concerning the present tendencies of politics in China and, in particular, to the activities of the westernised section of the Young China party. Assuming that Mr. Chang and those who share his views are, like myself, sincerely desirous of finding some effective solution of the problems which now vex and imperil the Chinese people, it seems to me a matter for regret that he should endeavor to refute my arguments (all of which I claim to be founded, in good faith, upon the evidence of verifiable facts) by resorting, as he does, to personalities of a somewhat offensive nature. Vituperation is no argument. To charge me with invincible stupidity, or, what is worse, with the insincerity of ulterior motives, can only serve to confirm, in the minds of all dispassionate observers, the opinions which I have frequently had occasion to express concerning the lack of wise education and balance which has hitherto characterized a large proportion of the young men who aspire to "modernize" (and incidentally to govern) China. Mr. Chang's article undoubtedly reflects the emotional instability, combined with intellectual agility, which distinguishes his class. But it is difficult to understand how any intelligent writer can expect his readers to be seriously impressed by the arguments of an article which,

while denouncing my "Anglo-Saxon stupidity" in regard to all questions wherein we happen to disagree, praises my remarkable "sanity and wisdom" in other respects, and proclaims me to be one of the foremost living authorities on current Chinese affairs? If, as he says, I am "not a thinker," how can I possibly be wise?

But a truce to such futilities. It is only by full, frank and friendly discussion of the difficulties and dangers of the situation in China that we can ever hope to arrive at any sound policy of national reconstruction. The situation itself is so complicated by the clamor of rival parties in the State, by the conflicting interests of the foreign Powers and by the difference of opinion prevailing amongst those native patriots and foreign advisers, who seek to restore peace and prosperity to the country, that it is becoming more and more difficult to confine discussion to the real needs of the immediate future, and to the beginnings of fundamental reform, without being led astray into wildernesses of unprofitable words.

Because, long ago, I realised the inevitably increasing influence of the younger generation of westernized officials and aspirants to office in China, and the absence of any other organized force of articulate public opinion, I have repeatedly endeavored in recent years—especially since the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai—to discover amongst the leaders of the Young China party some evidence of a definite constructive program, some authoritative pronouncement of definite principles and a fixed policy, sufficient in itself to jus-

tify the hope that, in their hands, the government of the country might before very long be firmly established on a basis of genuine representative institutions. At one time or another, I have discussed this aspect of the situation and its immediate problems with most of the men whose names have figured prominently on the playbill of the Chinese political stage since the Revolution of 1911. At Peking and at Shanghai, two years ago, and at Washington last autumn, I made it my business to explore every possible avenue in the hope of eliciting from the spokesmen and leaders of those whom Dr. Tyau in his latest book calls the "Liberal elements," something more satisfying and reassuring than the stereotyped formulae and vague professions of political faith which have emanated from Young China in the press and on the platform. But neither from them, nor from the voluminous writings of Professor Dewey, Dr. Reinsch, "Putnam Weale" and other official advocates and advisers of the "Liberal elements," has it ever been possible to obtain proof of the existence of any definite reconstructive program, commonly accepted by the Young China party, and based on general recognition of the imperative need for honesty and efficiency in the administration of the public service. Eloquent professions of faith in the healing virtue of "Democracy," of Constitutions and Parliamentary government can carry no conviction so long as they are unaccompanied by any indication of either the capacity or the will to establish and maintain genuinely representative institutions.

A number of works have recently been written in English by cultured exponents of Modernism in China, for the edification in most cases of innocents abroad, *e. g.*, Mr. S. G. Cheng's "Modern China," Mr. Joshua Bau's "Foreign Relations of China," and Dr. Tyau's "Awakened China." Of all these works (which bear a distinct family likeness) it is incontestably true to say that, while they hold forth at great length on the alleged social, moral and polit-

ical progress which China has made, and is making, under the Republic, and while they speak with one accord on the duty of the friendly Powers to support the patriotic activities of the "Liberal elements" by agreeing to the abolition of extra-territoriality, the restoration of tariff autonomy and measures for the protection of China's sovereign rights and territory; while one and all confidently predict the cessation of party strife and the dawn of a new era "so soon as the Liberal elements shall have come into power"—no single one of them has ever seriously discussed the men and the measures requisite for the establishment of an effective Central Government, of honest financial and fiscal administration, or genuine (as distinct from paper) reforms of the system of justice. All of them complacently reprint masses of regulations, draft codes and tentative programs, but none has ever attempted to suggest any practical scheme to provide the administration with the machinery which is imperatively necessary, unless all these reforms are to remain as "wind in the ear."

As one who has always earnestly desired to see China restored to peace and prosperity, under a strong and enlightened government (no matter from what class or party that government may be drawn) I am here prepared to admit, for purposes of argument, to that "imperviousness to ideas," with which Mr. Chang has charged me, and to confess to the conservative kind of stupidity which prefers to base its conclusions on actual results, rather than on eloquent professions of political faith and good intentions. Despite all the evidence to the contrary furnished by the Chinese delegates at Washington, I am prepared to admit that the Modernists, in whose name Mr. Chang speaks, may be able in time to produce a well-considered and practical program for the better government of China; that, as a class, they may hereafter prove themselves capable of such genuine patriotism and efficient leadership as will justify their present aspira-

tions. I am ready to believe, when convinced, that they can make the present wilderness of self-seeking violence and greed to blossom as the rose, and from the seeds of Democracy to bring forth rare and refreshing fruit. For the present, however, I claim the right to hail "from Missouri."

With a view to my conversion from that outer darkness in which I dwell, may I be permitted, by the courtesy of *THE CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY*, to ask Mr. Chang to enlighten me by supplying answers (in the Socrates mood and without recourse to personalities) to a few plain questions which arise directly out of his article, and which seem to me of far greater importance to China than any of the themes and theories so sympathetically discussed in the press by Professor Dewey, Mr. Bertrand Russell, H. G. Wells and other vocational idealists.

(1) Mr. Chang states that he and his friends are "passionately of the opinion that the salvation of their country lies in an abrupt and decisive break with the past; that they do not hesitate to stand for a complete transformation of their society into something analogous to what we find in the West." Accepting this as a true statement of the policy which actuates, at least, the American-educated section of Young China, I would enquire what justification, based on historical precedent, can be adduced for the belief—which all science and human experience reject—that the structural character of an organism or a people, can be suddenly and radically altered as the result of any political rearrangements? Is it conceivable that the Chinese people, thus cut off (if such a thing were possible) from its deep-rooted beliefs and habits of life, should develop a vigorous national consciousness? And, without such a consciousness, how can China as a nation, ever recover her position?

(2) Assuming the possibility of uniting all the existing political factions in a sincere attempt to establish a system of government based on true

democracy and representative institutions, what practical measures does Young China propose to take for the creation and working of the electoral machinery, which such a system presupposes? To what classes does it propose to extend the suffrage, and by what means will they be educated to the necessary sense of their rights and responsibilities as electors?

(2) Assuming that, pending the education of a responsible electorate and the gradual extension of the franchise, the government of China is to be entrusted to, and administered by, the class which Dr. Tyau calls "the privileged class of returned students," in what sense, and to what extent, could such a government be described as more democratic, or more truly representative, than that of the so-called "militarists," who now regard themselves as the "privileged" class? And what justification is there for the generally current assumption that the returned-student class will prove impervious to all the local, ancestral and other influences which now prevent the several warring factions from uniting in any common purpose of patriotism?

(4) Mr. Chang vehemently rejects the idea of foreign supervision over any department of China's finances, even though it be in China's interests. I confess to some difficulty in following his arguments in this matter. "Anything," he says, "in the nature of foreign intervention or international supervision, even though it were able to eradicate the causes of the evils from which China is now suffering, would at the same time be an insult to the spirit of the Chinese people, because an alien supervision of a nation's administration in its finances, is concomitant with a molestation of that subtle and indefinable element." From a later passage (after taking breath) I gather that those who, like myself, see no hope of financial stability for China unless the Customs Inspectorate System can be speedily extended in more than one direction, are "enemies of the Chinese people, because they in-

terfere with the aspirations of the Chinese spirit towards its legitimate achievements" (if for "spirit" we read "student," this sentence becomes fairly intelligible). Mr. Chang goes so far as to assert that the foreign "control" of the Customs constitutes an unwarrantable interference with China's domestic affairs. Let me then ask, if, as he suggests, that Service were handed over to unfettered Chinese administration, by what means should he propose to guarantee the future service of China's foreign loans and obligations? Can he point to any single branch of the public administration in China whose finances justify the belief that, in the absence of foreign supervision, either the Customs or the Salt Gabelle would be able to provide the funds required to meet, as they do now, the Central Government's foreign debts and domestic necessities? Will Mr. Chang (with the assistance, possibly, of Dr. Reinsch) name ten representatives of his "privileged class," who have proved themselves capable of handling public funds to the satisfaction of their countrymen and the advantage of China? If not, in what quarter is financial salvation to be sought? It must, I think, be admitted, that no such men have come to the front, since the Revolution, either in the "progressive" Canton, or in the "reactionary" Peking Government.

(5) Mr. Chang and his friends make no secret of the fact that they look to England and America for moral, if not material, support against the encroachments of Japan. Nevertheless, they are well aware that, since the Revolution, and especially since the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai, every single one of the political groups which have come to power at Peking has been willing to permit, if not to encourage, those encroachments, at a price which Japan has paid in subsidies and loans. Sun Yat-sen, himself, the "soul of the Revolution" and the acknowledged leader of the "Liberal elements," has proved little better in this respect than the leaders of the Anfu clique, or any oth-

ers of the "pro-Japanese" officials whom the Young China party have so freely and frequently denounced on patriotic grounds. At this very moment, the Cantonese leaders have made common cause with the "pro-Japanese" faction in the North, and taken up arms against the so-called Liberal leader, Wu Pei-fu, while Mr. C. C. Wu, one of the most brilliant examples of westernization, has gone as Sun's special envoy to the Yamen of Chang Tso-lin, the great "Militarist" Tsuchun of Manchuria. Of these things Young China's spokesmen in England and America seldom or never speak. Nevertheless, it is pertinent to enquire, by what means can any Power, however friendly, protect China from encroachments which her own officials invite, and for allowing which they accept "loans"? Also, what ground is there for the assumption that when Mr. Chang and his "privileged class" come to power, they will prove themselves, as politicians, radically different in this matter from their predecessors, many of whom are also westernized.

(6) Similarly, as regards Manchuria. Mr. Chang asserts that I have aroused the antagonism of the Young China party because I am "willing to hand over to Japan the provinces of Manchuria, which have been for centuries integral parts of China." As a matter of fact, my critics in this matter blame me for venturing to recognize certain unpleasant truths, to which they themselves close their eyes. In saying that, since the Revolution, Japan has consolidated an impregnable strong position of economic and financial advantage in Manchuria, as the result of the cupidity or the stupidity of successive Chinese administrations, I am merely recognizing an indisputable fact. The "pro-Japanese" Anfu party (with whom, as I have said, the "patriotic" Cantonese leader is now allied) have accepted hundreds of millions of dollars from Japan in exchange for concessions, many of which involve obvious and irremediable detriment to China's sovereign rights in that region. As a

matter of practical politics, therefore, I would ask Mr. Chang and his colleagues, whether they would advocate repudiating the obligations thus incurred by the Peking Government and by Chinese officials in Manchuria? If not, how do they propose to rectify a position in which China's rights and the principle of equal opportunity have been deliberately sacrificed by the Chinese Government?

(7) Finally, as matter of immediate concern to the British and American trading communities in China, will Mr. Chang state whether the leaders of the Young China party have evolved, or even seriously considered, any practical scheme whereby China may redeem the promises which she has repeatedly given, for the abolition of

likin, for the reform of the currency, and for the abolition of opium-growing? Has it ever formulated any definite plan for the disbandment of the rabble armies, whose continued existence makes all talk of progress and good government a mockery and a delusion?

If those who now aspire to lead China by the primrose path of Democracy to the Promised Land of Peace and Plenty, would endeavor to supply definite answers to some of these urgent questions, instead of confining themselves to eloquent professions of political faith, it is possible that many stupid but honest friends of China, like myself, might take a more hopeful view of the immediate future of the long-suffering Chinese people.

Reply to Mr. J. O. P. Bland

By CHANG HSIN-HAI

SO far as I can see, there is no necessity for Mr. Bland to take issue with my article in the February number of *THE CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY*. Readers of that article will say, I am sure, that I do not absolutely disagree with Mr. Bland. And in fact, I myself believe that on the fundamental issues in which China is at present involved, I agree with Mr. Bland more than I disagree with him. What I attempted to criticise was the inconsistency and the incoherency of Mr. Bland's general position. I attempted to show that Mr. Bland was very sound in his estimate of Chinese culture and civilization; but, curiously enough, when he deals with the present political situation, he advances certain views which, if adopted, are bound to undermine the very civilization which he extols and which evidently he wishes to preserve and to keep on developing. Mr. Bland's advocacy of foreign supervision, for instance, is fatal to the preservation of that civilization. And I explained, upon psychological grounds

chiefly, why even though alien supervision may do something to disentangle the financial complexities of China, it must be sedulously avoided. I then quoted Mr. Bertrand Russell who said: "the practice of looking to foreign nations for help is not desirable both because it encourages a parasitic habit of mind and because in the long run all nations are egoistic." This sums up in a nutshell my opposition to any suggestion of foreign supervision. My whole judgment of Mr. Bland's general position, quoting my own words in that article in question, is therefore this: "Mr. Bland, as we have seen, is a sincere admirer of Chinese civilization, but does he mean to say that Chinese Civilization could be preserved either by foreign supervision or by alienating China's territories? At the bottom of his thought, we cannot help being convinced that there is an utter irreconcilability." Now Mr. Bland, in his reply, has not removed that irreconcilability, and so I am still convinced that his views are untenable.

As regards alienating China's territories (Manchuria to Japan), Mr. Bland replies: "In saying that, since the Revolution, Japan has consolidated an impregnably strong position of economic and financial advantage in Manchuria, as the result of the cupidity or the stupidity of successive Chinese administrations, I am merely recognising an indisputable fact." I admit "the cupidity and the stupidity" of the Chinese, and I admit "the indisputable fact." But the question is: "Is the fact justified?"

I have now answered practically all the questions which are worth answering. Mr. Bland has drawn up a formidable list of questions the large number of which I do not care to answer, not because I want to dodge them but because—this is no "vituperation" I hope—they are impertinent questions. If Mr. Bland had honored my paper with a little more careful reading and framed up his questions accordingly, I should be glad to answer them. In one place, Mr. Bland says: "Mr. Chang states that he and his friends are 'passionately of the opinion that the salvation of their country lies in an abrupt and decisive break with the past; that they do not hesitate to stand for a complete transformation of their society into something analogous to what

we find in the West.'" I said nothing of the sort. It is not fair play to quote the statement and say that that was my sentiment. As a matter of plain fact, I was only making a neutral exposition of the ideas of the "modernists." I am inclined to charge Mr. Bland with deliberate perversion. How can a man who is as devoted an admirer as Mr. Bland himself of the virtues of China's past be passionately of the opinion that that past must be abandoned! Most of Mr. Bland's questions were made upon the basis of this assumption. It is a false assumption, and so the questions are impertinent. I do not wish to have anything credited to me which I do not hold, and I cannot be held responsible for it. I have never spoken in the name of the "Modernists." I have criticised the Young China Party as severely as Mr. Bland himself. But there is a difference between us. While he is in the habit of launching into a wholesale condemnation of the returned students, I have all along admitted that although what they are at present is far from what we desire, yet it is ultimately they who can do anything for their country. No one is more conscious of their defects than I am; still, I believe that with these defects removed they *can* build up a new China.

Principles of International Law*

By W. W. WILLOUGHBY

IN the paper which I shall now read it will be my purpose neither to plead the justice of China's case as presented at the Washington Conference, nor deal specifically with the determinations of that Conference. Rather it will be my effort to present to this Society certain of the abstract principles of international law and of international right which were advanced by the Chinese Delegation or which were implicit in the propositions presented to the Conference by that Delegation, and which, it may be assumed, will continue to be held by the Chinese Government. The time allotted to this paper will not permit a full discussion of these principles, but their character and importance can be indicated, and thus, if I do nothing more, I shall be able, I hope, to point out the more significant respects in which the relations of China with the other Powers furnish material for discussion by international lawyers as well as for consideration by statesmen and by others interested in international politics.

First of all there is the question as to the circumstances under which, or the principles in accordance with which the validity of existing agreements between sovereign nations may be attacked. This inquiry, it will be remembered, was raised by the Chinese in connection with the Sino-Japanese Treaties and Agreements of May 25, 1915, which resulted from the so-called Twenty-One Demands which Japan presented to China in January of that year. These Treaties and Agreements were presented to the Conference with

a view to their reconsideration and cancellation.¹

The circumstances under which these agreements were obtained are well enough known to make it unnecessary to review them here. It is sufficient to say that the demands upon which they were predicated were made at a time when China and Japan were in full friendly relations; that they were not in adjustment of pending controversies; that Japan made no pretense of offering a *quid pro quo* for the valuable concessions she insisted upon; that the demand for these rights was in violation of engagements which Japan had with the other Powers; that they equally called upon China to enter into undertakings that were in violation of treaties between herself and other Powers; that they were in serious derogation of China's administrative integrity; and, finally, that China's signature to them was compelled by an ultimatum upon Japan's part which threatened immediate war if it was not given.

In the Conference Japan made no attempt to defend the equitable character of these agreements, but contented herself with asserting that "if it should once be recognized that rights solemnly granted by treaty may be revoked at any time on the ground that they were conceded against the spontaneous will of the grantor, an exceedingly dangerous precedent would be established with far reaching consequences upon the stability of the existing international relations in Asia, in Europe and everywhere."

*Address before International Law Association, April 27th, 1922. Printed with the permission of the American Society of International Law.

¹Minutes of the Sixteenth Meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions.

The issue was thus gravely joined, though not decided by the Conference, whether, under the circumstances that have been mentioned, International Law furnishes any principles in accordance with which a nation, so grievously wronged as China had admittedly been, could herself rightfully correct that wrong; or, in accordance with which other nations might rightfully take remedial action. It must be confessed that, if such international principles do not exist there is a want that must be supplied before International Jurisprudence can claim to furnish an adequate set of doctrines or a procedure in accordance with which the essential rights of the members of the society of nations may be recognized and applied. The proposition advanced by China thus raised a question which is well worthy of careful consideration by such a body as the American Society of International Law.

As the purpose of this paper is to state rather than to discuss the principles of international law and of international justice which were involved in China's programme at the Conference, I shall limit what I have to say upon this point merely to propounding certain inquiries.

1. Will it not be admitted that China will be justified, whenever she is in a position to do so with the possibility of success, in declaring the abrogation of these agreements? As pertinent to this question it may be noted that at the time these agreements were signed and notified to the Powers, China declared that she had been influenced by the desire to preserve the Chinese people as well as the large number of foreign residents in China from unnecessary suffering, and to prevent the interests of friendly Powers from being imperiled; and that she disclaimed any desire upon her own part to depart from the various agreements which she had with those Powers for the preservation of the *status quo* and the principles of the equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China.

2. Can it be not said that these Treaties and Agreements of 1915 were invalid by reason of the fact that, taken in connection with the circumstances under which they were signed, they were in violation of those fundamental principles of right upon which the whole body of International Law is founded?

Leaving aside the Laws of War which have for their purpose the reduction to the lowest limits of the evils of armed strife among the Nations, the essential purpose of International Law must be conceded to be the provision of principles governing the relations of Sovereign States to one another which will, so far as possible, enable each of them to advance their own legitimate interests without prejudicing the legitimate interests of others, and which will thus enable all to live in harmony and in reciprocally helpful relations to one another—in other words, to maintain international peace and co-operation.

For the realization of this purpose, International Law founds its precepts upon certain premises with regard to the ethical rights of Sovereign States which all other Sovereign States are to recognize and respect. These are rights which the State in which they inhere has the legal as well as the equitable right to defend against violation. But, as viewed by other States they are necessarily only ethical in character. This arises from the fact that International Jurisprudence starts from the premise that each independent State is a sovereign body-politic, that is, that it has, legally speaking, unlimited powers. It has, therefore, full discretionary legal right to determine when, and under what circumstances, and for the attainment of what purpose, it will declare or threaten war against another State or take any other aggressive action toward it. Thus, at a stroke, all possibility of illegal acts upon its part is rendered impossible unless it be held that the exercise of a legal right by a State which is in violation of the fundamental principles of justice upon which International Jur-

isprudence is itself founded is, regarded in the light of that jurisprudence, an illegal act, and, therefore, one that is voidable by those injured by it, if not void *ab initio*.

Not to admit the foregoing conclusion destroys the foundations upon which international society rests. The Allied and Associated Powers in the Great War took this ground when they asserted that there existed a right and even an obligation upon their part to correct the wrongs done in the past to Poland; to restore and indemnify Belgium; and to return to France the two Provinces which, by the Treaty of Frankford, in 1871, she had ceded to Germany. Was not the Chinese Delegation at the Conference correct, then, when it declared that a precedent would be established with consequences upon the stability of international relations that could not be estimated, if, without rebuke or protest from other Powers, one Nation could obtain from a friendly but militarily weaker neighbor, under circumstances such as attended the negotiation and signing of the Agreements of 1915, concessions which were not in satisfaction of pending controversies and for which no *quid pro quo* was offered? "These treaties and notes," the Chinese Delegation declared, "stand out, indeed, unique in the annals of international relations. History records scarcely another instance in which demands of such a serious character as those which Japan presented to China in 1915, have, even without pretense of provocation, been suddenly presented by one Nation to another Nation with which it was at the time in friendly relations. No apprehension need be entertained," the Chinese Delegation continued, "that the abrogation of the agreements of 1915 will serve as a precedent for the annulment of other agreements, since it is confidently hoped that the future will furnish no such similar occurrences."

Another question important to students of International Law raised by the recent relations of China to the other Powers is as to the binding force

of treaties which have not been ratified by one or more of the parties signatory to them in accordance with the mandatory provisions of their respective systems of constitutional law. Involved in this question is also the inquiry as to the extent to which one Power in dealing with another Power is held to know the constitutional provisions of that other Power. The present speaker had found no satisfactory discussion of this subject in international legal literature. In a treatise on American Constitutional Law, published some ten or twelve years ago, he ventured to assert that Governments may be held to a knowledge of the treaty-making provisions of the constitutions of the other States with which they negotiate treaties, and that, therefore, for example, Nations dealing with the United States have not just ground for complaint when agreements negotiated with the American Executive fail to secure the approval of the United States Senate, and, of course, have no basis for a claim that the agreements should be deemed binding upon the United States even though not thus approved.

It is a notorious fact that none of the treaties and agreements entered into during recent years with China have received that parliamentary approval which its Constitution requires.

The matter of the binding force of an international agreement becomes a still more critical one when it is one that has been negotiated and signed by an official who has no constitutional authority so to do. Thus the Sino-Japanese agreement of September 24, 1918, with reference to certain phases of the Shantung Question, had no firmer basis than the acceptance by the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs. So far as the present speaker is aware, no evidence has been produced to show that the Chinese representative had received authority from his Government to accept these conditions, or that his acceptance of them was subsequently ratified by his Government. And yet this Agreement had played an impor-

tant part in the discussion of the Shantung Question.

In close connection with the foregoing question is the one as to the continuing force of executive understandings such as those embodied in the Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908 and the Lansing-Ishii Agreement of 1917. In his testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, Secretary Lansing, when asked as to his understanding of the binding force upon the United States of his agreement with Baron Ishii, replied that it had none—that it was simply a declaration of the policy of the President or of the Department of State and terminable at his or its pleasure. And yet, though this agreement has given rise to grave misgivings in this country, and has had attached to it in Japan a significance different to that ascribed to it here, our Government has not felt free to declare, in so many words, its termination. Not even at the Conference was this done. Since the adjournment of that body, we have had the communication of March 8, 1922, of the President of the United States to the Senate which declared that the agreement had never constituted more than a declaration of executive policy, and, of course, could not have any effect inconsistent with treaties existing at the time it was declared or subsequently entered into. But, even in this communication, the President does not assert that the agreement has been abrogated. He says merely that it has no binding effect in any sense inconsistent with the principles and policies explicitly declared in the Nine Power Treaty approved by the Powers at the recent Washington Conference.

It would seem, then, that executive agreements or understandings of the character of which I have been speaking, furnishes a subject to which international jurists might profitably devote attention.

Had the Shantung Question been formally discussed in the Conference, the Chinese Delegation would have

raised the question of the effect of her Declaration of War upon Germany upon the treaties then existing between herself and Germany. Here also it appears that the international juristic literature is not satisfactory, or, at any rate, that international lawyers have not been able to state a rule that can be easily and certainly applied for determining what treaties are and what treaties are not abrogated, or rightfully subject to abrogation, when war arises between the parties to them. Specifically, was the Sino-Germany Treaty of Lease of March 6, 1898, transitory or non-transitory in character. If it had provided for an alienation or cession of the Kiaochow area to Germany it would certainly have been transitory in character. But, in fact, the treaty expressly reserved the sovereignty of China over the area, and provided merely that, for a given term of years, the German Government might exercise certain rights therein, and that the Chinese Government would abstain from exercising any of its sovereign rights there without the previous consent of Germany. Did these provisions render the treaty non-transitory in character? In the Preamble of the Treaty it was declared that one of its purposes was "to develop the economic and commercial relations between the subjects of the two States." Was this statement sufficient to give to the Treaty a commercial character such as to render it non-transitory in character?

Another interesting legal question connected with the Sino-German Shantung Treaty, which expressly declared that Germany engaged at no time to sub-let the territory to another Power, was whether Germany obtained or could obtain the right to transfer her interests to Japan (as provided in the Treaty of Versailles) by reason of the undertaking given by China to Japan in one of the treaties resulting from the Twenty-One Demands, "to give full assent to all matters upon which the Japanese Government may hereafter agree with the German Government re-

lating to the disposition of all rights, interests and concessions which Germany, by virtue of treaties or otherwise, possesses in relation to the Province of Shantung." Was this Sino-Japanese agreement *res inter alios acta*, so far as Germany was concerned and therefore one from which she could derive no power? Was it therefore within the competence of Germany to transfer to Japan the rights and interests referred to in Article 156 of the Versailles Treaty? Of course all this is now a matter of the past, but the jurisprudential principles involved are of continuing significance.³

A further point of great importance raised in the Conference with reference to the denunciation of treaties was that contained in the declaration by Senator Underwood with regard to the right of China, upon an appropriate occasion, to escape, by a unilateral act upon her own part, from the present treaty limitations upon her power to control her own tariff policies.

When the Nine Power Treaty Relating to the Chinese Customs Tariff was under discussion, Senator Underwood, as reported in the Minutes of the Conference, said:

He might be wrong in this matter, but he believed this treaty was not on the same basis as many other treaties involving great national rights. This was a trade agreement, a trade contract, which China had made with the other nations of the world, and he thought China had a right to denounce these treaties when she thought proper. He thought this was clearly her right, because no question of national right was involved; it was merely a question of trade agreements, and agreements of that kind had been made in the past to extend over a period of time, or an indefinite period of time, and, when conditions changed so that they worked a great disadvantage to one or others of the contracting parties,

it had been recognized in the past that such trade conventions might be eliminated.⁴

Another respect in which occurrences in China have showed that the principles of International Law were not well determined is with reference to the right of one State to send into or to station its troops within the territory of another State for the protection there of the nationals of the sending State.

It is of course well recognized that, under certain circumstances the sending or stationing of troops is justified by accepted principles of international law, but, it is clear that these principles by no means cover some of the cases in China to which the Powers have attempted to apply them. It is my opinion that the Chinese Delegates stated the correct doctrine when they said with reference to the sending or stationing of foreign forces within the territory of another State without its express consent:

"(This) can rightfully be only a temporary measure in order to meet emergencies that threaten imminent danger to the lives and property of the nationals of the States taking such action, and, upon the passing of such emergency, the forces sent should be immediately withdrawn. It is also the understanding of the Chinese Delegation that the obligation to make such withdrawal cannot, as a general principle, be rightfully postponed until the Government of the State where they are located has consented to an inquiry by the representatives of other Powers into its own domestic conditions as regards the maintenance of law and order, and a report has been made declaring that there is no necessity for the presence of such foreign armed force. In other words, it is the understanding of the Chinese

³The writer owes to Dr. James Brown Scott the suggestion of these last two points.

⁴This view was reported by Senator Underwood in the United States Senate when the treaty relating to China's tariff was under consideration.

Delegation that accepted International Law recognizes the basic right of every sovereign State to refuse its consent to the sending into or the stationing within its borders of armed forces, and that while it may, by an exercise of its own will, consent that an inquiry shall be made as to the necessity in fact of the continuance within its borders of such foreign armed forces as may be therein, such action upon its part or a resolution by other Powers offering their co-operation in such an inquiry, is not to be deemed in derogation or limitation of the inherent right of a sovereign State to refuse entrance into, or further continuance within its borders, of foreign armed forces."

How far Japan has departed, and still departs, from the rule thus stated is conspicuously shown in her refusal to withdraw from the city of Hankow and vicinity the troops which she has had there since 1911. There are, indeed, five reasons why this refusal is an unreasonable one, and therefore evidence of an indisposition upon Japan's part to pay to China that respect due to her as a friendly Sovereign Power. In the first place, the troops have now been maintained there for more than ten years—their stationing therefore, despite assertions to that effect, can, with difficulty, be termed only temporary in character. In the second place, Hankow is a place far in the interior of China and therefore the sending or stationing of troops there cannot be justified by analogy with the frequent occasions upon which States have felt themselves at times obliged to land troops upon the coasts of other States.

In the third place, there are at Hankow many nationals of other States the Governments of none of which, during these years, have deemed the situation one that required them to send troops. In the fourth place, these various groups of nationals for the most part do not live throughout the native Chinese city of Hankow, but reside in special municipal Settlements or Concessions with their own systems of police. Fifthly and finally, there are constantly upon the Yangtze River upon which Hankow is located, numerous gunboats of the various Powers ready at all times to give prompt assistance and protection to foreign nationals should sudden emergencies arise. For these reasons it seems evident that the continuance of the Japanese troops at Hankow furnishes a conspicuous instance in which Japan has shown, and still shows, her unwillingness to respect the rights of China. Aside, however, from the inequity of her conduct in this respect, one finds it difficult to determine the grounds upon which Japan defends it even as a matter of *Realpolitik*.

Other questions of International Law involved in China's relations with the other Powers, which would be worthy of discussion if there were time, are those relating to the scope and operation of the most-favored nation doctrine; the propriety or rather the impropriety, of maintaining "police boxes" as is done by Japan in connection with the exercise by her of her consular jurisdiction in China; and the operation of Inter-Power agreements relating to China but to which she is not a party.

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MARCH OF EVENTS AT HOME

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AT HOME

The clash between Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu has come and gone. After about five days of severe fighting Chang Tso-lin's forces have been hurled back on Tientsin and utterly defeated—Chang himself is fleeing toward Mukden, evidently having abandoned any idea of offering organized resistance. Half of his army is now roaming the country between Peking and Tientsin, all trying to reach the latter place or a point northward on the Mukden railroad. General Wu has sent a force to capture and disarm the retreating army. The Peking gendarmerie disarmed 11,000 of Chang's soldiers outside of the city walls of Peking. General Wu is said to have paid each of the men \$10 for the expense of his trip home.

General Wu Pei-fu entered Peking on May 5th quietly, declaring himself temporary dictator and ordering, it is said, the convention of a constituent assembly by plebiscite to permit the people of China to select the form of government they think best.

As this issue of *THE MONTHLY* goes to press sweeping governmental changes are being announced at Peking. President Hsu Shih-chang issued a mandate dismissing Premier Liang Shih-yi and ordering his arrest. Finance Minister Chang Hu and Minister of Communications Yeh Kung-cho also were dismissed and their arrest ordered. Chang Tso-lin is dismissed from his office of inspector general of Manchuria. Premier Liang Shih-yi, who is in Tientsin, where he has been on leave for several months, is charged with conniving with Chang Tso-lin to promote civil war.

MONGOLIAN FREEDOM PROCLAIMED

The north Mongolian government in Urga, at the instigation of the Moscow

government, has proclaimed Mongolian independence of China, it is said. The Urga government also has concluded a treaty with the Russian Soviet Government, under which the latter pledges active support to Mongolia in the event of a Chinese invasion.

INVESTIGATION OF EXTRATERRITORIAL RIGHTS POSTPONED

The disturbed conditions in China have caused the abandonment by the government of the plan for an investigation by the foreign powers this year with a view to eliminating extraterritoriality, as provided by the Washington Conference. Dr. Wang Chung-Lin, the Minister of Justice, has telegraphed the Chinese Minister at Washington to inform the United States that postponement of the appointment of Commissioners was desired. He said the meeting of such a Commission in China this year was inadvisable on account of the civil war. The postponement is understood to have been acceded to without protest by the powers participating in the Washington Conference.

THE TARIFF REVISION COMMISSION

The inaugural meeting of the Customs Tariff Revision Commission was held on April 7 in Shanghai at the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce under the chairmanship of Admiral Tsai Ting-kan. About fifty delegates were assembled and the proceedings were of an informal character. After an address by Admiral Tsai, Mr. H. H. Fox, of the English delegation, said: "I feel sure that all of us are studying the matter with a spirit of good will and that we shall arrive at that basis which will be just and fair all around."

Delegates to the Commission have been so far appointed by the following nations: Great Britain, France, Italy, Brazil, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, Hol-

land, Belgium, Norway, Sweden and Japan. The American and Swiss delegates have not yet been announced.

PLAN FOR REDEMPTION OF SHANTUNG

According to Dr. C. T. Wang the head of the Redemption Commission, the Japanese bill would be reduced below the unofficial estimate, i. e., \$300,000,000, but he appeared to anticipate that it will exceed \$100,000,000.

"Whenever the Japanese demands are within reason," Dr. Wang said, "China will execute treasury notes. The public, in the meantime, is raising a popular subscription for redemption. Within six months we will have absolute control.

"We will assume control of Tsingtao two months after ratifying the treaty and will make a great port under charter and independent of Peking, with a municipal government. All port and other revenues will remain in the municipality.

"We will join the Shantung Railway with the Tientsin Pukow line at once, operating a through service, thus supplying North China through Tsingtao. The Chinese Government pledges and the Chinese people expect me to have a free hand, so by July 1 I expect to announce that Tsingtao is open to ships of all nations, with rapid and uninterrupted transportation reaching all the territory north of the Yangtse to the Great Wall, which heretofore was tributary to Shanghai.

"I expect the hearty cooperation of Japan and feel certain that, even the terms are seemingly harsh, Shantung will be redeemed. From today China assumes the responsibility for the railway and from July it assumes the responsibility of Tsingtao, inviting the world to use both without fear or discrimination.

TSINGTAO COMMERCIAL COLLEGE

An announcement by the Tsingtao Commercial College (the Tsingtao University in the days of the German ad-

ministration, and now under Japanese control) says that the College is ready to receive Chinese students, the fees for tuition and board being very low. At the office of the College twelve Japanese and nine Chinese are busy with preparations for the opening of the school. Representatives have already been sent along the Shantung Railway as well as to points along the Tientsin-Pukow line north of Tsinan to induce students to enter. The College is equipped to receive 50 in the preparatory course, and 100 in the commercial school; accommodation is complete as regards class-rooms, dormitories, etc.

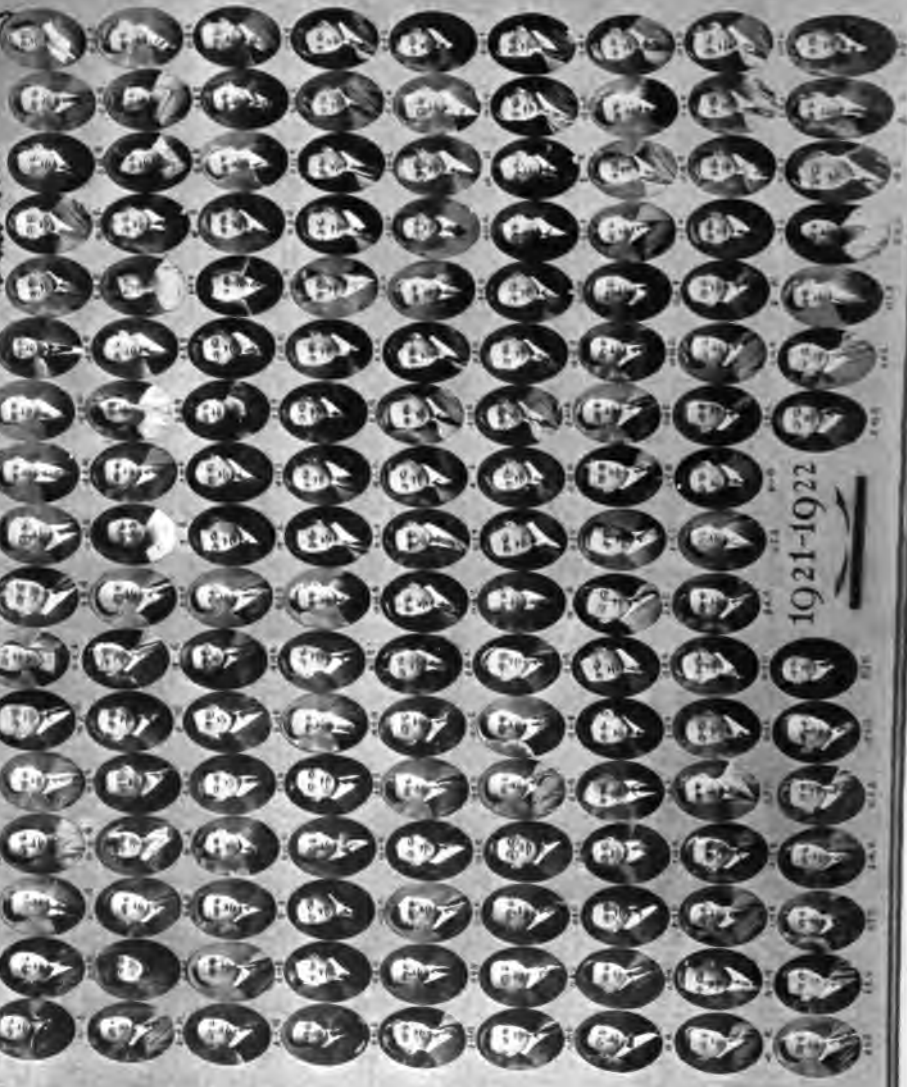
REAFFORESTATION IN CHINA

Marked progress is being made in China in the direction of reafforesting the country. It is estimated that for various forestry enterprises, mostly nursery work and forest planting, sums aggregating from \$200,000 to \$250,000 were expended in the year ending with the spring planting, 1920. The year was also marked with the production of 100,000,000 trees in more than 1,000 nurseries, and the planting of 25,000,000 to 300,000,000 trees on 100,000 acres of land.

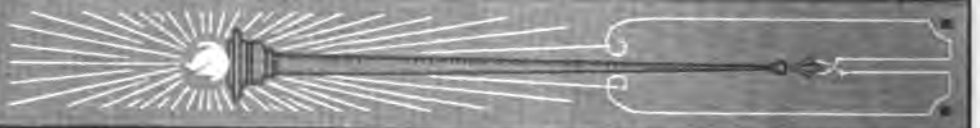
The outstanding developments of the year are the organization of a provincial forestry service for Shantung Province, the enlargement of the forestry organizations in a number of provinces, the increasing activity and services rendered by the Kiangsu Provincial Forest Station at Nanking, established in 1916; the extension of the forestry work being undertaken by three governmental railways, namely, Lung hai, Peking-Hankow, and the Tientsin-Pukow Railway; increased educational interest in forestry, particularly as part of the curricula of government agricultural schools; the increased production of the forest nursery stock, and the greatly increased number of district magistrates, agricultural societies, small companies and individuals undertaking forestry work.

L. S. LOH.

Chinese Students Club of Columbia University



1921-1922



CLUB NEWS

BALTIMORE

In the midst of our busy student life here, the Tsing Hua students were honored by a visit of their educational director, Mr. G. T. Chao last April. To his welcome, they held at the Celestial Restaurant, a little Reunion in which a small family of eight participated.

The medical members of our Club were entertained at a dinner party by Dr. and Mrs. R. T. Shields on the 8th of May. Dr. Shields has been a scientific missionary in China for a number of years. He comes back to take up advanced studies in medicine at the Johns Hopkins University and is going back to assume his professorial duties at the the Shantung Christian University next fall.

We are very sorry to lose Dr. V. T. Nyi, who has been doing post-graduate studies in medicine and Dr. C. E. Lim, our club president. Both Drs. Nyi and Lim will sail for China next June. Dr. Nyi will take up clinical work at Shanghai and Dr. Lim has accepted an associateship in bacteriology at the Peking Union Medical College. To them, we wish a *bon voyage* and every success.

S. H. LIN.

BEREA, OHIO

The Baldwin-Wallace Chinese Students' Club has been prosperous for the past four years but never before in the history of Baldwin-Wallace has the Club had so large a number of members as this year. The number of members at the beginning of this academic year was six and the total number at the beginning of the second semester is ten. Mr. Martin Hu and Mr. Arthur Sze, both of Kuikiang, China, and Mr. C. S. Mui, from Canton Christian College, being the three newcomers in our midst. The Club extended its heartiest welcome to these new members.

In comparison with some other local clubs our Club is small in size, the quantitative handicap is nevertheless balanced by qualitative advantage. In every assembly, place is given both for literary practice and the development of patriotic sentiments. Each member is to take turns in leading the discussion on up-to-date questions pertaining to Chinese or international problems. The Club is now more progressive and prosperous than ever. We insist on good attendance, and active participation in all our undertakings this year.

On Monday evening, February the 27th, the Club entertained two literary societies of the college, the Alpha Kappa Sigma, and the Gamma Lambda Sigma, in its Club room on the third floor of Edm. Building. A literary program was very well rendered. Mr Donald Tsien gave a concise account of the Club, explaining its essence and its relationship to the Chinese Students' Alliance. Mr. John Hwang gave a most scholarly speech on "China and the Washington Conference." His central thoughts were that the Conference was a failure as far as the Far Eastern Question is concerned, and the real salvation of China lies in her own hands. Mr. H. S Liang presented an interesting review of China as a young Republic. He emphasized that the Chinese Republic has created a genuine nationalism among the Chinese people. Mr. T. K Wong gave a witty talk on "The Chinese Students Abroad." His vivid description received double applause. The critic of the Club, Dr. Cramer, pointed out many valuable facts, showing how interestingly are things interpreted from our Chinese viewpoints. He also emphasized the fact that program of this nature has vast educational values to American students.

Following this, a social program proceeded with Mr. D. C. Tsien in charge.

The "great social" was characterized by Chinese music with a mouth "pipe-organ" (*song*) by Mr. H. C. Chang. It was indeed a great "hit." While cherry cream and "Lorna Dow" were served, the rally of the hour was hampered by some Chinese phonographic records. We ended our evening with lively cheers.

All those Chinese students who remained at Berea during the Christmas vacation were invited to a party given by Miss T. C. Hwang in the beautifully decorated parlor of a girls' dormitory. The Russian solo, the delicious refreshments, and the amusing games beguiled the hours of the evening happily. Mr. D. C. Tsien also gave a similar party at his residence. Those members of the Club who were entertained in those joyous evenings wish to express through these columns their appreciation.

LUCIEN H. CHEN.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Chinese Students' Club of Columbia University held its last meeting of the winter session on February 4, in Kent Hall. The chief feature of this meeting was election of new officers. The result is as follows:

President, C. Y. Cheng; Vice President, K. H. Tsang; Chinese Secretary, C. J. Poa; English Secretary, Wan Chuck; Treasurer, S. Y. Ching; Auditor, Ruby Louie.

WAN CHUCK.

HARVARD

Constant readers of the MONTHLY perhaps have forgotten us because of our long silence in these columns.

The Harvard Chinese Students' Club was active right from the beginning of the school year. In August, 1921, when the talk about the Washington Conference had just begun, our Club sent a telegram to President Harding and Secretary Hughes requesting them to include the Shantung question and the Twenty-One Demands in the Agenda of the Conference.

When the Washington Conference

started Mr. T. K. Ho was elected one of the two representatives of the New England region in the Chinese Students' Committee on the Washington Conference. Mr. Ho worked especially hard while in Washington.

During the absence of Mr. Ho, our President, Mr. C. S. Yeh, Vice President, took whole charge of the Club affairs. We had meetings quite frequently to discuss problems of importance as they occurred in the Conference. When our delegates first brought the Chinese case to the Conference a telegram of support was sent them. We also sent a cablegram to China denouncing the appointment of Liang Shih Yi as Premier.

Mr. Yeh's sincere and energetic efforts are responsible for the success of the social reception given to the American friends in the Walker Memorial Hall, Cambridge, on April 29. It was a joint undertaking with the Chinese students in M. I. T., Boston University and Wellesley College. The program consisted of many interesting features, the most striking of which were a play acted all by boys and a stunt given by the Wellesley girls. There were present about 400 guests who all went away with a deeper feeling of friendship between the two countries and a better appreciation of our Chinese spirit.

YAO C. FOO.

HOUGHTON, MICHIGAN

The essay contest we conducted has been a great success. The subject of the contest was "China at the Washington Conference." Six high schools participated in the contest. Edgar Wiedenhofer, a student of the Lake Linden High School, Lake Linden, Mich., is the winner of the first prize. His name, along with the names of other prize winners, was announced by the committee of judges in the Sunday *Mining Gazette*, of Houghton, Mich., and the *Evening Copper Journal*, of Hancock, Mich., on February 19, 1922.

The prizes that the Club offered were twenty in number. They were one first,

two seconds, five thirds and twelve fourths, and were all fine Chinese articles specially ordered by the Club at a price of \$100.

The quality of the papers submitted was highly praised by the judges because of the grasp of the subject and the rightful voice for China shown by the contestants.

Members of the Club find great satisfaction in conducting this novel plan to encourage the young Americans to study Far Eastern affairs.

The following is a complete list of the prize winners:

First Prize—Edgar Wiedenhofer, age 16, Lake Linden High School.

Second Prizes—Helen Andree, age 17, Morgan Gagnon, age 17, Lake Linden High School.

Third Prizes—Cecelia Niskey, age 18, Esther Gourd, age 18, Eva Riddle, age, 19, Elsie Vial, age 18, Painesdale High School, and Lawrence Johnston, age 17, Lake Linden High School.

Fourth Prizes—Carl Blazer, age 16, Lake Linden High School; Margaret M. MacKenzie, age 17, Lake Linden High School; Hildar Ritola, age 19, Hannon Huovinen, age 18, Charles Ritola, age 18, Edwin Paull, age 16, Olga Piira, age 17, Lois Tibbits, age 17, Painesdale High School. Frances Nadeau, age 16, Chassell High School. Adeline N. Ciange, age 16, Sacred Heart High School; J. S. Moore, Houghton High School.

C. W. PAN.

MICHIGAN

For the last few months the atmosphere at Ann Arbor has been infused with Chinese plays and music selections which were usually given at the earnest requests of the different organizations of the University and the town, and which could serve no other purpose than to bring about the popularity of the Chinese students here and better understanding of China by the American people. Ann Arbor is one of the peculiar college towns in this country where the people in general are indifferent toward foreign students.

Being aware of this fact, the Club has been endeavoring to remove their indifferent attitude whenever possible. That its endeavor has been a success is beyond question.

As for the Club itself, we held our regular business and social meetings with enthusiasm and high spirits. In addition, we have meetings on Sundays, discussing various important problems of China under the guidance of Mr. F. C. Ling. All the above enumerated successes and many others could not have been possible except for the good administration and able leadership of our President, Dr. D. S. Chen. At our coming business meeting we are going to elect new officers for next administration which I hope will continue our policy and do still better.

L. Y. HU.

NEW BEDFORD, MASS.

With the advent of the spring, followed by the bright and beautiful summer, come once more all the new hopes and adventure of the year. May the Chinese Students' Club of New Bedford offer her sincere wishes for her fellow-sister Clubs?

Our regular monthly meeting took place on April 19. In the meeting the draft of the Club constitution was fully discussed and ratified as the supreme law of the Club thereafter. The meeting was held at 92 High Street, with Mr. C. T. Tu in the chair. It was brief and comprehensive. The spirit of all the members present was remarkable. They all took a keen interest in the discussion. We hope that before the end of this term we shall at least have two more meetings.

Messrs. T. K. Pien, C. T. Tu, C. H. Hsiao, and C. H. Mung of Textile School are going to finish their courses in June and will join some mills for their "apprenticeship." Mr. W. J. Chang is preparing to enter the Michigan College of Mines after summer. Certainly the Club will miss them. We sincerely wish their success in every undertaking and hope that they will, in time, be able to serve our people at

large, at home, as they did the Club. To them the Club wishes to express her hearty thanks for their unselfish service.

H. H. YUAN.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

On account of our President's possibility of leaving for China and our Secretary's illness, our Club has accepted the resignations of Mr. Y. Low and Miss Yeng Thom, and elected Mr. C. H. Chen and Miss Florence Fung for the respective positions.

A business meeting on March 4 well illustrates the genuine spirit of our Club, for at this meeting our members showed much enthusiasm in all their discussions, particularly that concerning an endowment of books on China to the University Library. Our two chief aims of this donation are to establish in America a closer bond of friendship through a better understanding of the Chinese people, and to show our appreciation of the Chinese Famine Relief Fund which was raised last year at the University at the request of Chancellor Brown. The committee under the auspices of Mr. R. C. Chen, Miss Fung and Mr. Y. Low is endeavoring to obtain sufficient funds for at least fifty volumes.

On March 21 the members of Alpha Gamma Psi Fraternity of New York University invited our members to a smoker held at their fraternity house on Waverly Place. The evening ended with a great deal of mutual understanding between us and our American student friends.

Our next social gathering, on April 5, was a reception given in honor of the members of the Alpha Gamma Psi Fraternity at the Y. M. C. A. on 23rd Street. The program was opened by Mr. C. H. Chen who delivered a short address of welcome. Dr. Chu inspired us with a very constructive talk. We were further enlightened by a speech by Professor Charles Hodges of New York University. A word of thanks was extended to the Club by the President of Alpha Gamma Psi Fraternity.

Then Mr. R. C. Chen reported on the work of the Book Fund Committee. Then Mr. Wang, from Washington, D. C., performed many of his magics, and Mr. Ding favored us with a vocal solo. After the entertainment dancing began and refreshments were served. It is encouraging that on this occasion subscriptions amounting to \$100 were collected from our members for the Book Fund. The occasion was very successful. There was an attendance of 250 people, crowding the hall to its full capacity. For the success of the evening credit is due to both old and new officers and all those who helped.

FLORENCE FUNG.

NORTHWESTERN

Mr. Tu, the chairman of the Board of Directors of the Thirteenth Annual Conference, has recently appointed the chairmen from the different local clubs in the Mid-West Section for the following committees of the Conference, namely: Accommodation, Mr. Paul Sieux, of Northwestern; Advertisement, Mr. Louis Hong, of Northwestern; Cheer Leader, Mr. S. T. Kwan, of Chicago; English Literary, Mr. Henry Woo, of Minnesota; Decoration, Miss Helen Wong, of Michigan; Chinese Literary, W. H. Chao, Illinois; Athletics, Mr. P. Y. Kuo, of Illinois; Athletics for Girls, Miss Dorothy Kao, of Wisconsin; Inter-Club Stunts, Mr. Kao Shen, Effingham, Illinois; Public Entertainments, Mr. Henry Zee, of Northwestern; Lady Delegates, Miss Anna Lan, of Northwestern; Meals, Mr. T. B. Tu, of Northwestern; Prizes, Miss Lucy Wang, of Michigan; Resolutions, Mr. S. Y. Livingston Hu, of Northwestern; Music Director, Miss Ellen Laing, of Chicago; Chinese Music, Mr. H. C. Shen, of Wisconsin, and Publicity, Mr. K. Lee, of Columbia, Missouri. Information relative to the above-mentioned committees may be secured from the respective chairmen. If there should be any changes to be made about these committee chairmen circular letters will be sent in due time.

Professor Ross of Wisconsin has definitely promised to give one of the four platform speeches at the Conference. President Scott of Northwestern, Prof. Dewey of Columbia, Prof. Jenks of New York University, and Dr. Willoughby of Johns Hopkins may very likely accept our invitation to address the Conference. Mr. Ward of Evans-ton Chamber of Commerce has been trying to negotiate for us with the International Lyceum and Chautauqua Association of Chicago in regard to securing President Harding to address our Conference on the 13th of September if we could manage to extend the Conference till then, as President Harding has promised to come to Chicago on the 13th of September to address the Chicago International Lyceum and Chautauqua Association.

There will be a reception given by the local club for the Conference Advisory Board on the 12th of May at the City Y. M. C. A. in Chicago. The reception will be semi-social and semi-business in nature. The Board of Directors will report the Conference plans at the reception and will ask consultation advice, and endorsement of the Advisory Board of the plans submitted.

LIVINGSTON S. Y. HU.

OHIO STATE

Early in the Easter vacation we made a trip to the storage dam in the vicinity of Columbus. We started in the morning and came back in the evening.

The trip was exceedingly interesting. The morning songs of the birds, the last flutters of the sinking breeze, the towering height of the mountains, and the pleasant coolness and verdure of the spring—all were at work to gratify our senses and to banish from our hearts all care and anxiety.

We reached the dam at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. Lunch was served and sightseeing began. The dam is on the Scioto River, and bridges a rapid flow of the torrent from a height of thirty feet. The roar of the surges is audible

in a distance and the torrent with its roaring seems to flow into eternity.

Then we played baseball and other games on the lawns nearby. It was not until six o'clock in the afternoon that we started for home.

Owing to urgent business at home Mr. D. K. Tong sailed for China last week.

On April 29 Dr. J. R. Withrow, of the Department of Industrial Chemistry gave a party in honor of Dr. G. R. Twiss, who has been appointed to go to China to study the educational conditions. All the members of our Club were invited to participate and the occasion was very much appreciated.

P. W. BALDWIN HUANG.

PHILADELPHIA

This year's International Students' Spring Festival was the most unique and interesting ever given in Philadelphia. On the night of the entertainment, April 22, over 1,000 people thronged the elaborate and spacious ball room of the Bellevue-Stratford and witnessed our fantastic and artistic presentation of the execution scene from "The Yellow Jacket." The rare Chinese tapestries, the gorgeous costumes, the fantastic weapons, the symbolic paints on the characters' faces, the property man with his whimsical manners, gong, the banner, and all other conventionalities created a truly Oriental atmosphere and gave our American friends some idea of the charm and quaintness of the Chinese stage. "A Chinese play in the Chinese manner," as it was advertised. The story is one of gripping tragedy and appealing pathos. The cast of the characters was as follows: Property Man, D. G. Lew; the Farmer, C. I. Li; the Farmer's Wife and Maid to the first wife, Fung Thom; Father of the second wife, H. S. Chow; Tso the mischief-maker and maid to second wife, Marguerite Wong. To Dr. F. Poole is due much of the praise of making the play a success.

The Chinese Quartet, composed of C.

C. Yung, C. T. Ying, K. Y. Ling and D. G. Lew was another feature in the varied and international program and evoked many "encores" and applause. The singers gave "Honey Town" and "Carry Me Back to Old Virginy."

The Fellowship Dinner of the Chinese Students' Banking Club scored another success. It took place on April 12 in the Far East Restaurant. If any one had happened to pass outside he would have probably heard the sounds of chopsticks and bowls within amidst laughter and yells. All table rules of etiquette went overboard and the two round tables, around which the members sat, soon became two armed military camps. After the real hearty Chinese meal a very ambitious program was suggested, discussed and finally adopted.

Dr. Sherwood Eddy addressed the Chinese Students' Club on April 4. A lively discussion followed his speech, which was at once inspiring and instructive.

ELMER C. LING.

RENSELAER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

Ever since the start of this semester the members of our Club are undergoing the usual grinding, or from some opposite and right point of view, are having the customary enjoyment in our preparation to be engineers. One subject after another and one week after another have gone by. All of a sudden trees are again covered with leaves and lawns with grass. It seems as if we just had deep snow yesterday.

This term brings two new members to our Club, namely, Messrs. Yuknow Chin, from California, and D. S. Louie, from Cincinnati. We are going to have another engineering "Doc" in our midst. I mean Mr. E. S. Hsieh. Mr. Hsieh, as some of the old students here will remember, came to this land as a Tsing Hua student of the class of 1914. After a year's study at Cornell University he came to Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and graduated in 1918. Then he went to Europe, re-

turned to America, and took up a graduate course in R. P. I. again.

We had a meeting on April 29. The following officers for the coming academic year were elected: President, Mr. C. Y. Wu; Secretary, Mr. T. T. Hsiung; Treasurer, Mr. K. C. Yu.

We also had a committee of three chosen to redraft our Club Constitution.

In view of the deep interest and kindness which Professor Greene, head of the M. E. Department of R. P. I., who is going to Princeton next September to take up the deanship of the Engineering School, and Mrs. Greene, have been showing to us, we have decided to present to them a sterling silver vase as an expression of our appreciation.

This June, we shall see Mr. E. S. Hsieh receiving the D. Eng. degree; Mr. C. Y. Cheng, Mr. H. M. Tseng, and Mr. K. H. Wang, Ch. E., E. E., and C. E., respectively. To them we all extend our hearty congratulations! Mr. Hsieh probably will sail for China in the fall. The other three have not decided where to go yet.

Some of us here have had several occasions to speak to the American public. They have done very well.

There are now twenty-three Chinese students in Troy.

T. T. HSIUNG.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Before everybody gets busy on the toe to meet the coming final examinations of the term the Springfield Chinese Students' Club held its last regular business meeting at the American International College on May 5, for the election of new officers of the coming year.

The new officers for 1922-1923 are: President, Mr. G. Hoh; Secretary, Mr. S. F. Chang; Treasurer, Mr. L. Lee.

Reviewing the activities of the Club in the past year, we feel very much contented to say it was the most successful year we ever had. But we still hope that the Chinese Students' Club at Springfield will do better showing

in various activities to better our friendship with the American people here in this city.

By a unanimous vote the Club will have an outdoor social or rather picnic on May 30. We all expect to have a grand time on that day.

We are sorry the Club will lose two of its active members by their graduation this summer. Both Miss E. Lum and Mr. C. F. Song will sail for home in June, and we wish them *bon voyage*.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

In a spring afternoon the Chinese students of the State University of Iowa held a social meeting. Many University professors, pastors and secretaries and the Student Volunteer Group were guests of the occasion.

A Chinese song by Frank Hsu and a solo by L. T. Yuan received great applause. Then the lecture by Dr. William Russell, Dean of the School of Education, was very inspiring. Dr. Russell, chairman of American Educational Commission to China, has just returned from China after an extensive investigation into the Chinese educational system. He pointed out three things on account of which China's future is very brilliant. They are: (1) the antiquity of Chinese civilization; (2) the fact that China today is the focus of best ideas and ideals of the world; (3) the eagerness and self-sacrificing spirit of the Chinese returned students to build up their country. He also gave two valuable advices to the returned students, namely: (1) Be not enslaved by Western ideas, and respect your own old culture; (2) Be economical and humble in your starting, as many students have been disappointed after their return to China. Lastly, Dr. Russell pointed out two weak points in the Chinese educational system: (1) Enslavement of curriculum and text-books on the part of the teachers, and (2) politics and inadequate finance. He said that before China can have a perfect educational system these two weak points must be removed. Above all schools must have

independent finance through some good method of taxation.

LEONARD S. HSU.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

In addition to the many seasonal activities during this spring, the membership of our Club has been steadily increasing. Mr. J. Y. Yee, graduate of the University of California and now serving the U. S. Government in the chemical laboratory of the Agricultural Department, and Mr. I. C. Mei, formerly of the University of Chicago, have recently joined us as active members.

The capital of this country is quite a center of religious activity. It is not seldom that our Club sends its members to speak in the various churches upon their request. Mr. I. H. Chan, president of the Club, and Mr. A. C. Waung, formerly secretary, were quite often invited to give speeches to different associations.

As there are many hundreds of Chinese in this city, our Club always tries to come in close contact with them through one way or another. On occasions like October 10th and May 7th, the Club would call meetings among all the local Chinese and give them patriotic speeches. Last year we had gigantic meetings here on May 7th and October 10th, and the principal speakers were Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, ex-Minister to China, and Dr. William Dennis, ex-Adviser to the Chinese Government, respectively. We expect to cooperate with the local Chinese and call big meetings again whenever such occasions present themselves.

RUTH H. MOY.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

Through the visit to Lowell made last Christmas by three members of our Club, the Art Association there discovered our little play "Sacrifice." They urged us to give it in a Chinese Fête given in honor of the Chinese students of Lowell Textile School. The Fête took place on March 16. Most of the guests wore fancy oriental costumes, all Chinese and none Japanese. Our

play was a Chinese tragedy written in English, with costumes as ancient and beautiful as we could get in a foreign country. It was the longest and last item in the program before they started to dance. Of course one did not expect perfection from an amateur performance, and our efforts were rewarded by the saying: "The play was the best of whole program."

A few weeks later we received another invitation to give this play, but we offered a short stunt in its place. It occurred on the 29th of April, the Chinese students of greater Boston and Wellesley gave an entertainment in honor of their American friends in Walker Memorial Hall, Cambridge. Our stunt was dramatized from the famous proverb: "When the heron and the clam fight each other, the fisherman gets the advantage." It was given as a pantomime with a prologue and entitled in the program: "The Fisherman's Luck." An American friend drove us back to Wellesley in his big comfortable car late in the evening. We were as lucky as the fisherman except from a contrary cause.

In the last meeting of our Club we did not elect all the officers for next year, because we were not sure whether there will be enough members for a regular Club or not. We only elected a chairman to take care of our little

property and to be responsible for future actions. Miss Zung Nyi Loh was elected by unanimous vote.

T. HU.

YALE

Athletics have recently received a healthy boost at the hands of the Club. A tennis tournament is in progress which has elicited the enthusiasm of practically all the members of the organization. In fact so great is the interest that it was possible to raise a sum large enough to purchase a prize for the winner and thereby a new phase of activity was exploited. So far, the tournament has been featured by the unexampled modesty of the contestants, most of whom have refrained from exhibiting their prowess before a coldly critical world.

Furthermore plan for a swimming meet is in progress.

On May 2 the members of the Club endeavored to provide entertainment for the Cosmopolitan Club of Yale University. A short dialogue and readings of Chinese poetry were favorably received, but when Kwai rendered a solo upon a Tasmanian guitar, a heavy cloud of depression descended visibly upon the audience and remained there for the rest of the evening.

A. Y. KWAI.

PERSONAL NOTES

Director G. T. Chao of the Chinese Educational Mission has recently completed an educational investigation tour in the Middle Atlantic States.

Mr. Hing Wang, news editor of *THE CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY*, 1910-1911, Publisher and Editor of *Canton Times, Canton*, and representative of *The Weekly Review of The Far East*, Shanghai, is making a tour of the United States to raise funds for the Puy Ying Academy, Canton, of which he is member of the board of trustees.

Dr. S. N. Cheer, M. D., '20, Johns Hopkins, will take his homebound trip by way of Vancouver in the middle of June. After having served his internship in the Massachusetts General Hospital, he has been appointed Resident Physician to the Hospital of the Union Medical College at Peking.

Dr. Telly H. Koo has recently received his degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History from Harvard University. Dr. Koo will sail for England about the 20th of June. He expects to take up special studies in Oxford University for about half a year, after which he will sail for China to take up his duties as Editor in the *Commercial Press* in Shanghai.

Dr. C. E. Lim, Assistant to General Manager of *THE MONTHLY* and Assistant in the Department of Immunology in the School of Hygiene and Public Health of the Johns Hopkins University for the current year, will start for China the latter part of June. He has accepted a temporary appointment by the Peking Union Medical College as Associate in Bacteriology.

Messrs. C. H. Lin, J. P. Chu, and L. C. Cha, graduates of Columbia University, will sail by the S. S. "Aqui-

tania" for China by way of Europe in June. To them we extend our sincere wishes for a pleasant voyage.

Miss V. T. Nyi, M. D., graduate student in the Johns Hopkins Medical School, will leave for China early in June. She expects to do clinical work in Shanghai.

Mr. E. S. Hsieh will receive the Doctor's Degree in Engineering at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute this month for his thesis on "An Investigation of the Horizontal Thrust of a Mass of Sand on a Vertical Wall."

Dr. F. C. Yen, Principal of the Hunan-Yale College of Medicine at Changsha, is now on his way back to China, after having made a successful tour of the United States in enlisting the services of new members for the teaching staff of "Yale-in-China."

Miss E. Lum, of the American International College at Springfield, Mass., will return to Honolulu this summer after her graduation to teach at one of the girls' colleges at Hawaii Islands.

Mr. C. F. Song, B. S., now a senior at the Springfield College for physical education, will return to China this June. Upon his return he will be the physical director of the Wayland Academy at Hangchow.

Mr. S. F. Chang represented the Springfield College in the Eastern Intercollegiate Track Meet held in Springfield, Mass., as a high hurdler. He is also a popular member in the varsity soccer team of the college.

Mr. K. L. Chun, Dartmouth, captured the first place in running broad jump in the Dartmouth-Columbia Dual Track Meet, held in New York on the 13th of May.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

The **EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE** of the **EASTERN SECTION** of the **CHINESE STUDENTS' ALLIANCE**, will be held at **CORNELL UNIVERSITY** FROM **SEPTEMBER 6TH TO 13TH**. A **CONFERENCE BOOK** will be published and distributed among the Alliance members of the Eastern Section about the end of July. Those who wish to have a copy of the book mailed to them, please send in their summer addresses not later than July 31st to the **CONFERENCE SECRETARY, 301 DRYDEN ROAD, ITHACA, NEW YORK**.

Conference Executive Officers,

L. K. Chang, Chairman;

Paul C. Fugh, Secretary;

K. P. Pao, Treasurer.

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BOOK REVIEWS

An American Diplomat in China.
By Paul S. Reinsch. Doubleday
Page & Company. 1922.

The book is the record of the experiences which the American Minister passed through during the six years' stay in China; and as it naturally would be expected, the political part of the narrative forms the most interesting and from some points of view the most important part of the book. No one who reads the last three sections of the book (there are altogether four sections) can help realizing the significance of the most critical periods which the republican form of government has passed through in China. Much of the material must therefore be necessarily familiar to the majority of the readers not only among the Chinese but also among the foreigners. And yet the great value of the book lies precisely in recounting a tale which everyone believes he is familiar with. The truth is that Mr. Reinsch has revealed to us in some of the most fascinating and gigantic political movements the secret of their inner springs of action, so that what seems to us to be familiar we come to appreciate and interpret in a new light. And then, again, no one who reads these pages will fail to realize that the position of the American Minister, for good or for evil, is a very important and significant one in helping to determine the structure and tendency of Chinese politics itself. The very close relationship which exists between China and the United States is a matter that we, especially, feel to be absolutely certain; but its real and full significance does not come to us until we read the actual affairs which took place and understand to what extent American influence, through the American Legation, decided their eventual outcome.

All this goes to show how important it is that we should have a really first-class person to act in the capacity of American Minister in China.

Most of us will probably disagree in the greatness of the man who, in those glorious and exciting days, stirred the world from its very depths—I mean former President Wilson. But there is one point on which we are all agreed. No better choice could have been made than to appoint Mr. Reinsch as the American representative in China. Like a broad-visioned and far-sighted man that he has always been, Mr. Wilson saw the magnitude of the problems that were coming to the forefront of the world's attention from the Far East, and he undoubtedly knew that to appoint a man with mediocre abilities to handle these problems would be a most disastrous thing not only to the interests of the United States but also to that of the world. Himself a college professor and a college president, Mr. Wilson has faith in scholarship, in men who have received sound and thorough intellectual training to tackle the problems of our everyday life. Mr. Wilson's failure to realise his ideals is, as the vulgar people are apt to think, the direct result of his scholarship, of his not being a "practical man," whatever that may mean. We shall, however, let the people have their way; but in his appointment of Mr. Reinsch I think no one could ever hear a dissenting voice. Mr. Reinsch, prior to his tenure of office as American Minister, was a professor, and an eminent one; a man who has always tried to solve great national problems in the light of some permanent truth. And that is why he was so successful, and exerted such potent and healthy influence upon events that evolved in the Far East. It is this particular aspect of Mr. Reinsch's work that we wish to lay special emphasis

upon. The account that he told of a strictly diplomatic and political nature we have said is extremely important, but what has real permanent value are some of the observations that he made upon the transformation that is going on in China, not only in the sphere of politics but in every department of her national life. Those views, I say, have permanent value; because whether we agree with them or not, they are important as offering us another point of view with which to regard the changes that are going on. Mr. Reinsch's views are strictly those of a professor, and they are all the more valuable on that account. We shy when we hear the word professor; but taken at its best, it means one who is not satisfied to see things on their surface as many of us are only too inclined to be, but to see the inner law of their development. The interesting parts of the book, and the parts that will make the greatest appeal, will always be the anecdotes and stories which Mr. Reinsch has very attractively and very beautifully described; but I am sure Mr. Reinsch himself attaches especial value to some of the very penetrating and brilliant ideas which he has thrown out on the deeper questions that affect our present-day Chinese society. Let us take a few samples. This is what Mr. Reinsch said of the relationship between the people and the government. This is an idea which probably is very familiar to many of us; but great ideas are always worth recounting. "As a matter of fact," he said, "China was divided only on the surface. Deep down into the life of the people political controversies had not penetrated. They went on, placid and industrious, regardless of the bickerings of politicians. Chinese revolutions and declarations of independence might be bruited to the world, which might think China had plunged into anarchy. As a people the Chinese are freer from governmental interference than any nation living. If the entire Central Government should suddenly disappear from the face of the earth, it would

make little difference in China" (p. 321). Nothing can be more true and nothing can be better put. But then, what practical sagacity does Mr. Reinsch show when he immediately followed his thought with another which is equally important: "Yet the long continuance of political conflicts lets foreign intrigue into the national quarrels, and so reacts dangerously." From the first statement, one would get the impression that Mr. Reinsch was teaching the Chinese to accept the present situation. But nothing can be more alien to his thought. And what sound ideas did he express when in one of his letters to Sun Yat-sen, he said: "I believe that we should at all times keep in mind the fact that we are not dealing with a new country, but with one in which social arrangements are exceedingly intricate and in which a long-tested system of agricultural and industrial organization exists. It is to my mind most important that the transition to new methods of industry and labor should not be sudden but that the old values should be gradually transmuted. It is highly important that artistic ability, such as exists, for instance, in silk and porcelain manufacture, should be maintained and protected, and not superseded by cheaper processes. The one factor in modern organization which the Chinese must learn to understand better is the corporation, and the fiduciary relationship which the officers of the corporation ought to occupy with respect to the stockholders. . . . So, at every point where we are planning for a better and more efficient organization, it seems necessary to hold on to the values created in the past, and not to disturb the balance of Chinese society by too sudden changes." These are what we must say are the ideas of a man who thinks soundly. They are entirely of a different order from those of a man who uses the inventory method of judging the progress of society. Where we had the two schools we now have four—progress. Where we had cotton socks, we now have silk socks—

progress. Where he used to smoke the water-pipe, we now have packages and packages of Manila cigars—progress.

All this is very good, but I am afraid Mr. Reinsch will immediately call a halt of this enumerating, measuring by the yardstick and taking change for progress. Now there are only too many of such superficial people among us, and it is well that Mr. Reinsch should give them the timely advice that civilization is not a matter of quantity and number. Such a man we can count upon to appreciate the virtues of China's own culture, what to the ordinary men are a mass of antique incongruities utterly useless to our modern world. Let us have one or two more quotations and then we have done. Mr. Reinsch thus speaks of the towers and walls of Peking: "The towers and city walls of Peking, an impressive and astounding apparition of strength and permanence, befitted this scene. Solemn and mysterious, memorable for their size, extent and general inevitableness of structure, they can be compared only with the Pyramids, or with the great mountains fashioned by the hand of Nature herself. Looking down upon these plains, where so many races have met, fought, worked, lived, and died, where there is one of the chief meeting points of racial currents, these walls are in themselves the symbol of a memorable and long-sustained civilization." Is there anything to beat that! The section of Mr. Reinsch's is full of these wise and sound observations, and this is especially recommendable to the attention of the reader.

H. H. CHANG.

China At The Conference: A Report.

By Westel W. Willoughby. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md. 1922. 419 pp. \$3.00.

Since the adjournment of the Washington Conference on February 6 last, there have appeared at least six books dealing with that conclave in one way or the other. The work of Professor

Willoughby under review has the distinction of being the first and so far the only book exclusively devoted to the Far Eastern phase of the Conference. In his preface Professor Willoughby tells us that "the present work is in the nature of a report upon the work of the Chinese Delegation at Washington, but not being official in character, there will be an opportunity for the author to speak upon some points at least, rather more fully and frankly than it would be appropriate and expedient for the official representatives of the Chinese Government to do." Concluding the same preface, he expresses the hope "that this volume will be found to be a convenient supplement to the author's *Foreign Rights and Interests in China*, published in 1920, bringing to date, as it were, many of the statements of that work." So, right from the beginning Professor Willoughby reveals to us the three-fold purpose of his work and has thus furnished the reviewer with a yard-stick, so to speak, of his (the author's) own making which may be profitably and properly used in measuring the degree of success the author has attained towards reaching the standard he has set for himself. This method the present reviewer proposes to employ.

The author's eminent fitness for this particular task is well known to all conversant with current Far Eastern political literature. After a period of prolonged, distinguished academic service in Johns Hopkins, Professor Willoughby went out to the East as Legal Adviser to the Chinese Republic for about a year. There he brought to the service of that young Republic high scholarly attainment and a trained, legal mind. There, also, he acquired first-hand, intimate knowledge of Far Eastern politics which later on his return to the States, enabled him to write that splendid volume, *Foreign Rights and Interests in China*. During the Washington Conference he was Technical Expert to the Chinese Delegation and, in that capacity, was of course on the inside to know. So, if there is any

"foreigner" (the reviewer is speaking from the Chinese point of view) who is especially endowed for writing the present volume by virtue of his rare combination which includes experience, a good and thorough knowledge of the facts and direct, personal contact with the situation, that "foreigner" is Professor Willoughby.

And Professor Willoughby has put his rare assets to good use. In a little over 400 pages (including appendices and index) he has given us an account and chronicle of China at the Conference, taking up every topic, big or small, important or otherwise, which had found its way to the Conference table or its committee room. His account is at once compact, accurate and complete: *i. e.*, as complete as it can possibly be made, short of reproducing *verbatim* the Minutes. The method of presentation is a topical one, generally a chapter per topic. After two preliminary chapters narrating the events which led up to calling the Conference and the atmosphere surrounding it, leads us on to the organization and procedure, China's program, the Root Resolutions, Shantung, Tariff Autonomy, and so on down the list of topics. Chapter XXIV, the last in the book, contains a summary of the results which the Conference has achieved. Here the author expresses some opinions to which we shall have occasion to refer later. To the main body of the text are appended the treaties and resolutions emanating from the Conference, the Japanese, American and French statements regarding Siberia made therein and a full list containing the entire personnel of the Chinese Delegation from Chief Delegate down to the smallest Clerk. An index brings us to the end of the volume. So far as the *reporting* part of the book is concerned, it is, as has been intimated above, accurate, concise and complete. In the matter of space, Shantung and Tariff Autonomy each take up about 50 pages, an allotment which is altogether justified in view of their importance and complicatedness.

Professor Willoughby's hope of making the volume under review serve as a sort of supplement to his earlier work, *Foreign Rights and Interests in China*, has been but imperfectly fulfilled. There are many subjects touched on by the earlier work which are not even mentioned in the present volume. For this, however, the author can not be held responsible. He is here primarily reporting and, in the nature of things, a reporter can set down only those events as have actually occurred. In so far as those foreign rights and interests had come up for consideration in Washington, they and their subsequent status have all been completely recorded, some have been subject to careful analysis. Beyond that the author has not gone, indeed he can not be expected to go. So, despite its incompleteness imposed by the course and character which the deliberations of the Conference had respectively taken and assumed, the present report forms a true, albeit a partial, supplement to the author's earlier and larger work.

Thus far we have been dealing with facts, and on facts it is much easier to agree. When it comes to opinion, the matter is not quite so simple. But, fortunately for the reviewer, there are not very many places where Professor Willoughby expresses an opinion, and when he does so, he expresses it in such a cautious, qualified, balanced and temperate manner that he is almost always on safe ground. Upon the whole, he thinks the policy and tactics of the Chinese Delegation good and its diplomatic victory almost complete. For the Chinese Delegation, especially the three Chief Delegates, the author has unwonted admiration. He says "that China obtained all, and possibly more than, it was reasonable to expect that, under the existing circumstances, she would be able to obtain" (p. 333). In the treatment and interpretation of existing facts and conditions, the author is decidedly of the realistic school. As to the future, he does not venture to say much. There are, according to Professor Willoughby, four main factors bearing

on the situation in future, namely, (1) Japan's good faith in executing the Washington treaties and agreements, together with the extent to which she may be willing to go in reversing her former aggressive policy; (2) Anglo-American co-operation; (3) China's ability to develop and maintain a stable government in the near future, and (4) the rapidity and degree of constitutional and liberal development in Japan accompanied, presumably, by a liberalization of her foreign policy. On the second point, that bearing on Anglo-American co-operation in the Far East, the author thinks it exists and is likely to continue in its operation, presumably to the advantage of China. On the other three factors, no very definite opinion is expressed. Generally the author contents himself with a mere statement of each plus the facts and tendencies bearing thereon. Perhaps this is all that he can do with some degree of safety and certainty. Now that China is in a state of flux, even the rashest of persons will think twice before venturing a prediction as to the course or turn future events may yet take her. To speculate on the policy Japan may adopt towards China is just as futile, for, as Mr. A. M. Pooley tells us, Japan is "at the crossroads" both in internal development and in foreign relations. Professor Willoughby seems to pin considerable faith on the democratization and liberalization of the Japanese Government as a moderating and sobering influence on her foreign policy. This may be so. But it also may not. That a love for one's own liberty should lead to a like respect for other people's freedom seems natural and logical enough. Unfortunately, however, the conduct of nations, just as the conduct of individuals, is not always regulated by logic or natural reason. Hypothetically, the mob is just as liable to be lured away by the glory and vainglory of foreign adventure and foreign conquest as the aristocracy and the bureaucracy. And as a matter of cold historical fact, was not the Opium War forced on us by

constitutional England *after her Great Reform of 1832* when liberal ideas were in full swing? Even today, we have the strange sight of "the Mother of Parliaments" passing riots acts, press laws, etc., in order to hold under subjection, against repeated protests of its inhabitants, the greatest of overseas empires. After all, constitutionalism and liberalism at home may still go hand in hand with imperialism abroad! However unpleasant, the conclusion seems irresistible that under the existing system of national states acknowledging no common superior, the League of Nations notwithstanding, the only dependable instrument of national self-protection is still the old, familiar weapon of physical force. Following this line of thought, it is easy enough to lay down the dictum that so far as China is concerned, the Question of the Pacific will never be solved, nor will she herself be safe, until she can stand on her own feet, capable not only of defending itself, but also of bearing whatever share of the common burden as may fall on her broad, reinvigorated shoulders.

But we are entering into highly controversial ground. Obviously, a book review is not the proper place to air one's pet ideas. Lest we be led further afield, it is best to let the matter rest here. Still, to raise a question is not to answer it, and the temptation to offer some plausible solution occasionally gets too strong to be successfully resisted. For the reviewer's own part, he would venture the suggestion that the recent Conference is only an initial step, and not the last of its kind. There will be many more such before the Pacific and Far Eastern questions are settled, if they can be settled in peace at all.

Returning to the proper task of the book review, there is little more to be added except to point out a few minor defects and some misprints. No mention was made of the exchange of notes between Secretary Hughes and the Netherlands Minister at Washington

extending the scope of the Four-Power Treaty so as to include the Dutch Indies. Nor in regard to the lapse of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, was President Harding's letter to a member of the Senate confirming that view, included. Both, we think, are sufficiently important to be given due recognition. From the index both Briand and Balfour are omitted. Now Briand's part in the Conference might not have been important enough to have his name indexed. But certainly this excuse is inapplicable in the case of Balfour. Balfour's part has been so important and continuous in the matter of Shantung, Weihaiwei and a host of other questions that the omission of his name from the index is a very serious oversight on the part of the index-maker. Possibly this is due to the haste with which the latter does his work. Traceable to the same cause of haste are also some misprints the proof-reader has failed to correct (i. e. in p. 342, line 9, where one or more lines are missing; in p. 332, line 12, where *Genoa* should probably have been *Geneva*, as the author speaks about the League of Nations; in p. 354, line 9, where *regulations* was put in for *negotiations*; and other similar errors). All these will certainly disappear in a second edition. But even with their presence the present volume, while short of mechanical perfection, suffers thereby but infinitesimally little.

On the other, more vital part of the book—its substance—enough has been said above. By way of concluding the review, it is fitting to add that in making available at such early date so complete and judicious an account of China at the Conference, Professor Willoughby has performed a signal service both to the Chinese Delegation and to the reading public. The present work, together with his earlier and larger volume, forms a very good reference set on the foreign relations of China, indispensable to business man, student, diplomat and publicist alike. Professor Willoughby has thus put us

under heavy obligation, as the value and general serviceableness of his two books can not possibly be overestimated.

PAO-TIEN HSIEH.

The Rising Temper of the East. By Frazier Hunt. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1922. 248 pp. \$2.50 net.

The inviting title of this book recalls to mind Dr. Lothrop Stoddard's publication two years ago on "The Rising Tide of Color." But the book under review presents a striking contrast to that of Stoddard's in that it is not dominated with an alarmist attitude that the yellow, brown and black races are fired with rage for race revenge, ready to swoop over white Europe and its great outposts of white culture on the first available opportunity. Nor does it make an abuse of that much abused statistics by presenting highly colored maps, as Dr. Stoddard does, showing the rapid spread of color consciousness throughout the world threatening the extermination of the whites from the surface of the earth. In contrast to Dr. Stoddard's studied aim to stagger and to alarm and to prepare against a possible menace from a gigantic conflagration against the whites, Mr. Hunt, on the other hand, tries to show the awakening of the peoples of the East from a saner viewpoint. He sounds a word of warning that the white man's domination of the billion so-called backward peoples of the East by mere force must cease. Robbing "backward" ancient peoples and "civilizing" them in the western sense of the word, or injecting them with Christian culture *all for the good of those poor ignorant heathens* can no longer be conveyed on the vehicle of force. The self-imposed "white man's burden," if any, must be borne on other shoulders than those that carry the bayonets.

The author went around the world, much after the well-known style of a

special correspondent, with the object of sounding, as he stated, the human note in the world-wide cry for land and liberty. He went to India to interview Mahatma Gandhi, and to Egypt to study the Egyptian movement for independence. In turn he visited Arabia, China, Japan, Korea, Siberia, Haiti, the Philippines and Mexico. In this book he relates his personal observations and the results of his various interviews.

The subject matter is presented in twelve chapters, each devoted to the consideration of a respective country. Certain portions of the book have been published in popular magazines and journals, but that does not detract from their value when published in a book form.

The book opens with a chapter on "Gandhi and His India." Gandhi is so much a part of India in these days, that to write about him is to write about the new spirit in India. The author paints in lurid terms the story of this hero and saint of India—what he is, why his agitations against the British and what his aspirations are for the deliverance of his people. After reading it the reviewer cannot help but subscribe to the pious wish that in the end a new India will be born—an India essentially of the East, assimilating the essence and not the veneer of Western civilization.

Under the caption of "The New Religious Nationalism of the East," we have before us a stirring account of the Egyptian revolt against British domination. We are told it was no work of a few rattle-brained, loose-tongued Egyptian lawyers and boy-students as we have been given to understand from British official sources, but a real movement for independence and nationalism where Moslems, Christians, Jews and Copts have cast religious differences aside and joined hands in their fight for freedom and liberty.

Then follows a section of greater appeal to us. In the space of twenty-six pages, under the usual title of "Young China," the author has given an un-

usually accurate account of this big country. He points out the quality of the people, condition of the region, the old situation and the changes now taking place. The topics range from the munching of watermelon seeds to the rise of nationalism, from the emancipation of women to the possibility of a Chino-Japanese alliance against Europe. The accounts are 99 per cent to the point. Mr. Hunt has succeeded most wonderfully to present a real picture of 400,000,000 people and 4,270,000 square miles of territory in a description of about 8,000 words, probably the best concise, representative verbal painting of that kind that ever appeared. His secret of success lies on a right choice of companion: incidentally, he mentioned two, a Chinese educated in America and working in the railway, and Jimmy Hunter, a young social and scientific American missionary. It is through the former that he acquired the opportunity to study the scratched and scratching Young China; it is through the latter that his peep into the "common" China could be made a success.

In rapid succession we pass from chapter to chapter, thoroughly absorbed in the book; from Toyakiko "Kagawa of Kobe" crying in vain against Japan's imperialism and dreams of conquest to "Struggling Korea" and "Ivan the Jap Killer."

The portion of the book on "White Australia" is particularly interesting. The slogan sounds to the author far-fetched and unnecessary, but the Australians will no doubt differ from him. Australia with an area greater than the United States has a population less than five and a half millions. Of the non-Europeans, there are in round numbers 37,000, of which 23,000 are Chinese (one-fourth born in Australia). No Asiatic native can enter Australia except in the case of a student, merchant or traveler. This exclusion has been most effectively carried out through the application of an elastic educational test including a fifty word dictation test that may be in any or all

European languages. This test may be so stretched to exclude anyone who might be learned enough to wear even a Phi Beta Kappa key! It seems that no amount of cry of the East for racial equality would be able to raise this *color bar*.

Three chapters are devoted to the consideration of American problems in the Philippines, Haiti and Mexico. Here it is sufficient to add that it is certainly a credit to the author to write on questions affecting his own country in so unbiased a manner.

"The Lamp Bearers," a title appropriate and good enough for a religious tract or propaganda, is the heading for a chapter on the part played by missionaries in the East. Mr. Hunt's view on the new missionaries will come as a surprise to most of us, especially in these days when we have heard so much scorning and jeering of missionaries by Americans and Europeans alike in steamship smoking-rooms, hotel lobbies, clubs and scientific circles. Mr. Hunt went out a strong anti-missionary and came back a thorough convert to the cause of the missionary. It is truly a case of one "who came to scoff

remained to pray." The greater part of the chapter is devoted to the consideration of the work of the American missionaries in China. But the author is observing enough to note that religious proselytizing *per se* is not plausible if it were not associated with the work done mainly by the teachers, doctors and nurses attached to the missions in introducing the benefits of modern civilization, science and medicine to the East.

The concluding chapter of this book will provide ample food for thought and subject for discussion to all those interested in the welfare, happiness and liberty of other nations as well as those of their own. Throughout the book it can be detected that the author has tried to be always the observer and the reporter, but in this closing chapter his personal sentiments are given full vent. On the whole, Mr. Hunt has succeeded very well in presenting his interesting experiences and observations simply and frankly with fairness and sincerity. It is one of the best books of its kind that has been published in recent years.

C. E. LIM.

CORRESPONDENCE

IMPROVING THE MONTHLY

THE MONTHLY is, like Nietzsche's books, for all and none. Some give it a passing glance; others do not even know that it exists. That it should have a continuous existence for over a decade is puzzling even to those who have had the privilege of handling it at one time or another.

The number of Chinese students in this country is increasing from year to year. We need a paper that will represent us properly and faithfully. THE MONTHLY, to be representative, must be more than a student's paper—a compilation of childish orations and high-schools compositions. If, on the other hand, a magazine like THE MONTHLY can not represent the Chinese students at their best, why, then, take the trouble at all?

The experience which the Editor has gone through is, indeed, a painful one. Being a students' enterprise, there is, of course, no remuneration to speak of. Of the manuscripts that have been sent in, very few could be used. Those who can, or ought, to write, would invariably, upon request, give a courteous but negative reply. For improving the substance of the magazine, a closer co-operation between the Editor and his associates is highly desirable.

Improvements of the magazine lie in two directions. Either to make it more academic by collecting theses materials and term papers, papers that embody the results of research and study, or to make it a magazine of current topics competently written by mature judges of current events. No time does America need to know more intimately about China than she does now. After eleven years of Republic, China is, to the average Americans, still a land of queued mandarins and bound-feet women! The Americans, on the other hand, desire

to know more about what we think of them. Nothing but a critical and free expression of opinion could enhance the value of any magazine.

THE EDITOR.

OHIAO TUNG PU STUDENTS

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of a circular mailed from New York regarding the non-payment of monthly allowances to the students sent to the United States by the Ministries and the Provinces.

It states that the students sent out by the Ministry of Communications have also been suffering from the recurrent failures in payment of allowances.

May I make a few remarks in answer to the circular.

When I was Minister of Communications the first time, the allowances to the students were remitted regularly without any delay.

On December 28, 1921, I came back to the post for the second time. After ascertaining the amount of students' allowances that the administration previous to my second assumption of the Post of the Ministry had not been forwarded in time, I immediately had them remitted at an early date.

On January 13, 1922, the allowances for the last winter were duly sent and on January 27 the allowances for the spring season were also remitted.

And in a few days the Ministry will transfer the fund for the summer season.

Therefore I wish to make it known that during the periods of my administration no irregularities in the payment of allowances have so far been made.

YEH KUNG-CHO,

Former Minister of Communications.

CHINESE STUDENTS ABROAD

Dear Editor:

I read Mr. Nathaniel Peffer's article on "The Returned Students" with a good deal of impersonal interest.

I caught myself inwardly saying, "Those criticisms are meant for the other fellow, not you." This is a curious trick which our mind now and then plays on us—that of passing the rebuke meant for us to the other fellow—and I dare say I am not alone in the experience. It is comforting to be shielded from what is unpleasant to face and thus enabled to maintain our personal equilibrium. Undoubtedly the mind has acquired this habit, as the Darwinian evolutionist would say, because of its survival value. For if we were to be ever subject to and sympathetically affected by every whiff of criticism, where would be our self-respect and independence of conscience. But a danger lurks in the too easy exercise of "passing the rebuke," for it may result in moral callousness and false self-complacency.

To some of us, the so-called "Returned Student" is a remote being, and if related to us "Students Abroad" at all, very distantly related to us. We overlook the fact that only few days of sea-sickness separate the "Student Abroad" from the "Student Returned," and no soul-transforming miracle occurs at the re-crossing of the 180th Meridian. So if we wish to avoid being the type of "Returned Student" that Mr. Peffer rails at, we have no time to lose. What we hope to be tomorrow, we must strive to be today.

Of course I do not accept Mr. Peffer's "relentless attack" in toto. He and other critics like him seem to have an inflated conception of the efficacy of western education. They seem to think that an educational trip to a western college for a Chinese student is like a visit to Mount Olympus and a feast of the Wellsian Food of the Gods, so that in three, four, five years, he is transformed from a being of common clay to a giant, morally as well as intellectually. We wish that it were so, unfor-

tunately the fact is against the assumption. And not only are our critics in need of disillusioning at this point, but also some of us ourselves and our friends. At rare moments of sane self-estimation, I discovered myself not unlike a balloon, inflated and floating poetically in the clouds. The good that adverse criticism does is to puncture the gas-bag, let out the gas and let us down to earth. The shock is far from being pleasant—for the higher one floats in the clouds, the heavier one falls to earth.

For the illusion of our own greatness, we are not entirely to blame. What did Shakespeare say about personal greatness? Some are born great—as for instance, fat babies—some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust on them. Most of us "Students Abroad" seem to belong to the third estate of human beings. Let us recall our experience from the time we contemplate taking a trip abroad to the time we pack our pennants and sheepskins and bid good-bye to the land of our academic sojourn—how continuously we are objects of adulation—increasingly patted on our backs, so to speak. The moment we announce our intention of going abroad for "higher education," as if such can only be obtained through a foreign medium, our classmates begin to look upon us with admiring envy, and our cousins and uncles say all manner of pleasing words in our ears about the glorious future that must be ours, etc. The bride preparing her trousseau could not have found it more exciting and romantic than we preparing for the voyage. We receive invitations galore at which wise parting words of counsel and advice are profusely given, always ending with the same refrain, that our cousins and uncles have started. After a brief interval in which the ocean shows absolute impartiality of treatment to rich and poor, learned and ignorant, the feting begins again, the welcomes and the send-offs speeding our journeys to our respective colleges. In college any sign of ability we show is noted by our fellow students and our

teachers, because they had not expected it, having associated ability with the "pale skin" only. And so the patting and pampering continue on. Can anyone blame us for acquiring a generous self-esteem and feeling like inflated balloons? We would not be human, had we remained immune to such a continuous process of spoiling.

What is needed then is an occasional stock taking of ourselves, so that we may know where we stand. Introspection is a difficult art and it can be overdone. But in these modern days when our thinking has been so much objectified, self-examination is almost a lost art, and it may be good physic to take ourselves severely in hand once in a while and go through some kind of spiritual discipline, such as the saints of mediaeval times were masters of.

Speaking of spiritual discipline reminds me that we as a group are rather inclined to be mechanical-materialistic in our thinking. The physical sciences claim most of our students as their devotees. We place so much faith in the efficacy of the physical sciences in building up our national fortune. Now let us not say a word against these sciences or against the desire of our students to serve our country as engineers, chemists, railway administrators, captains of industry, etc., for we shall need them all and none too many to spare in the next half-century for the industrial and economic development of our native land. And the pursuit of these useful sciences need not make us mechanical-materialistic in our thinking. But when one hears enlightened people talk about "the superstition of religious belief" and such like words, one wants to ask where has one all the open-mindedness which we as scientific students are so proud of. It is a misfortune for all concerned that we have never experienced what Arnold describes as a power not our own working for righteousness, or heard of James' work on the reality of religious experience, or felt Wells' and Shaw's anxiety for a common religion to buck up un-

steady civilization, not to mention the testimony of hosts of other writers. Science gives material efficiency, religion gives spiritual dynamic, and according to our strange composite constitution, we need both the aid of science and of religion for the fullest realization of life. We cannot afford to impoverish our lives and restrict our achievements by ignoring the power of religion. And even applying the standard of national welfare, we need more the austerity of idealism than the prosperity of materialism.

To return from our excursion, let us remind our critics and friends and ourselves alike that we "Students Abroad" are just ordinary folks, perhaps a little more fortunate for our opportunities, but essentially made out of the common lump with all the excellences and shortcomings of this great average group, and that whatever achievements we are entitled to are earned by real hard work and not by perfumed words. We want neither undue pampering nor undue scolding, but the same strict standards that groups similarly situated are judged by. With our sanity restored in this matter, much of the optimism and disappointment that have been freely expressed about "Returned Students" of late will disappear.

I cannot better conclude than by quoting from a private communication which I have received from a bright and conscientious Chinese student who is studying law in an eastern university. He has read Mr. Peffer's article and was stirred and felt the point of criticism in a personal way.

"How can we expect students of such despicable type to regenerate our beloved country? It is without doubt true that the students who are in a position to come across to pursue some branch of learning belong to the privileged class of the whole Chinese population. If they who have this wonderful opportunity are not to place the burden on their shoulders, whose business it is to deliver China from corruption and il-

literacy? It is imperative for us to be instilled with the spirit of self-denial and sacrifice, and equally essential. This spiritual growth should start during the period of preparation in this country."

This is the best answer to adverse criticism and augurs well for our nation.

Y. Y. TSU,

347 Madison Ave.,
New York City.

Announcement

THE CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY takes pleasure to announce the election of **MR. T. Y. SZE** (Columbia University), as **GENERAL MANAGER** of **THE MONTHLY** for the academic year 1922-1923.

The Editor-in-Chief and the General Manager wish to express their indebtedness to all those whose help in both departments of **THE MONTHLY** has contributed largely to make the present administration a success.

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Dow Pump & Diesel Eng. Co.
Erie Pump & Engine Co.
Luitveller Pumping Eng. Co.
Red Jacket Mfg. Co.
Swaby Mfg. Co.
Geo. D. Roper Corp.
Richmond Mfg. Co.
Mahew Steel Products Co.

Morse Twist Drill & Mach. Co.
Rivette Lathe & Grinder Co.
Rockford Milling Mach. Co.
Silver Mfg. Co.
Union Tool Co.
L. & I. J. White Co.
The Whelan Co.
United Printing Co.
Sharples Separator Co.
Brown & Sharp Co.
Hart Mfg. Co.

Our Chemical and Engineering Staff will quote on any chemicals or machinery or equipment. They will give estimates and data on complete plants for all kinds of industries. Prompt shipment guaranteed. Our experience in Chinese trade is large and varied, and inquiries are welcomed.

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