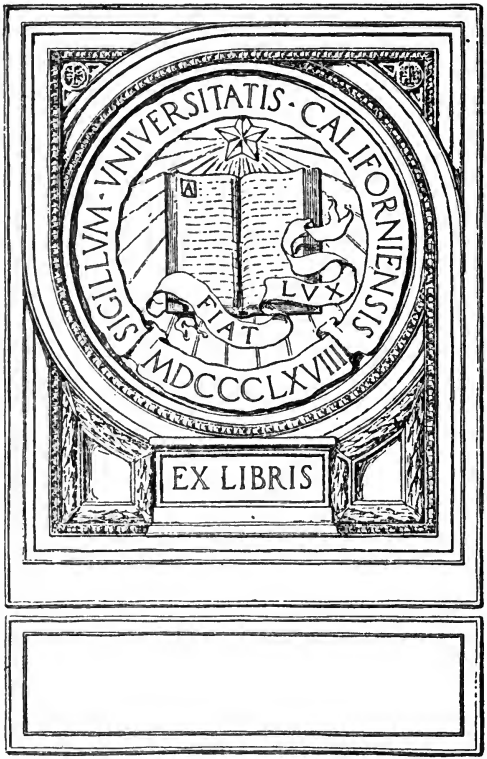

CHINA'S PLACE IN THE SUN

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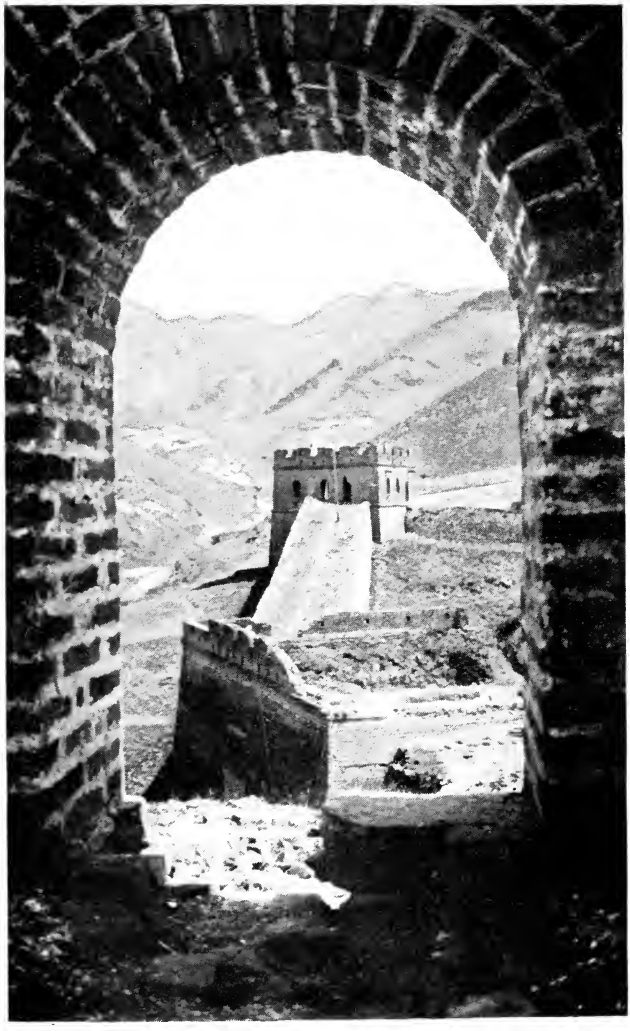

The Great Wall, skirting for seventeen hundred miles along the Mongol border, is a colossal monument of Ancient China—the China that is passing.

China's Place in the Sun

BY

STANLEY HIGH

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TO

MY MOTHER AND FATHER

PREFACE

On June 21st, 1921, General Jan Christian Smuts, Premier of the Union of South Africa, in addressing the session of the British Imperial Conference in London, declared: "Our temptation is still to look on the European stage as of first importance. It is no longer so. Undoubtedly the scene has shifted from Europe to the Far East and to the Pacific. . . . The problems of the Pacific are, to my mind, the world problems of the next 50 years or more. . . . There, I believe, the next great chapter in human history will be written."

On the same day, in Washington, the Secretary of Navy of the United States made public the plans for the reorganization of the Atlantic and Pacific fleets, according to which the finest ships in the American navy, the oil burners and the superdreadnoughts, all of the newer and greater types of warships, were transferred to the Pacific. According to the press report: "The growth of American interests in the Pacific has influenced naval strategists in favor of concentrating the greatest strength of the United States in that ocean. It is held that there is no menace to any other power in such a policy, but that with Hawaii, the Philippines and other widely separated Pacific possessions to defend it is the part of wisdom to familiarize the main fleet with the conditions which would confront it with reference to harbors and strategic conditions should the United States be called upon to defend its Pacific Ocean interests."[1]

[1] *New York Times,* June 21, 1921.

The fact that the Pacific era of world history has actually dawned scarcely requires demonstration. The accumulation by the powers of great economic interests in territories adjacent to the Pacific has gradually concentrated international attention in the Far East. Whatever doubt there may have been, in 1914, in regard to the significance of Pacific problems has been finally dispelled by the events of the world war.

To attempt to indicate how or by whom the history of this era will be determined is, however, to essay the impossible. The decisive influence in the present conference for the discussion of Far Eastern questions is unquestionably that of western nations. And, though the war gave tremendous stimulus to the growth of national consciousness among Asiatic peoples, until that consciousness is developed to the point where its ability to effectively assert itself in its own behalf has been more clearly demonstrated, the balance of power for the settlement of Oriental questions will probably remain in the hands of Occidental nations.

There can be little doubt but that, among Asiatic nations, the one most abundantly furnished with the fundamental elements essential to world power is China. China has long been a nation of great potentialities, the object of heroic prophecies and the victim of an almost too-glorious past. When the nations of the west, bent upon trade and territory, disturbed the even tenor of China's unprogressive way they forced the Chinese, for the first time, to take cognizance of a greater world beyond their own and never since that time have they lost sight of it. Now, at the end of a World War in which China herself was engaged, there are many indications that the spirit of progress has laid hold upon the people

and that, as a result of the movements now developing, the latent resources of the nation will be realized in actual power.

It was the writer's privilege to travel extensively throughout China during the months following the Peace Conference when these developments were in the beginning and to observe something of their scope and significance. In the present volume we have endeavored to review the history of these movements and to relate them, in so far as is possible to the longer, more gradual growth of the Chinese national consciousness, of which they are the most recent and probably the most significant indication. We have sought, further, to point out that in the international struggle for foreign markets in which we have been obliged to participate the United States is destined to be drawn into increasing commercial contact with China. This fact, considered in the light of China's increasing fitness to claim her place in the sun, raises an issue of the utmost concern to the United States.

Mr. B. Putnam Weale writes: "The Chinese question is the world question of the twentieth century." Of all nations America is most vitally concerned with what takes place in China. To be indifferent to the present situation or to the possibilities, for good or ill, involved in it is to ignore the chief power with which the statesmanship of 2021 will be concerned.

The author is aware that the fact of political division and civil strife in China seems to indicate the inability of the Chinese to maintain a stable, republican government. Yet, in our impatience to see the nation abreast of the nations of the west we are very apt to condemn them too hastily for their apparent failure and pass over, with too brief consideration, the evidences of real

progress. In this connection Herbert Adams Gibbons declares: "The fitness of the Chinese for self-government and the possibility of China's becoming a united and constitutional state should not be questioned because eight years of confusion and lack of harmony have followed the proclamation of the republic. What government in Europe or America has not passed through initial stages of internal discord, marked by revolution, bitter parliamentary discussion, attempted secession of provinces and civil war? The assumption of superiority by the white man in creating and maintaining the machinery of government is unfair. If we compel non-European races to elect governments patterned after our own in order to escape from our political and economic yoke, should we not give them a little time before hailing with delight their incapacity for self-government."[1]

There are many divergent factors at work in the life of China, each of them, to some extent, determining the future relationship of the Chinese people with the world. It is the responsibility of America, however, to see to it that this increasing contact with an increasingly powerful China is based upon mutual understanding and cooperation rather than upon international competition and distrust. The spirit in which China and America, the Orient and the Occident, the yellow race and the white will face each other a century hence is being determined by the statesmanship of the present day. If this book leads 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 real leadership in international affairs, and to a more intelligent understanding of America's relationship to the

[1] "The New Map of Asia," pp. 451-452.

problems of China's development, it will have accomplished the purpose for which it was written.

The author wishes to thank the Abingdon Press for permission to use the material in James W. Bashford's book, "China—An Interpretation," and to express his very deep appreciation to Mr. Charles Harvey Fahs and his associates for their kindly and invaluable assistance in placing at his disposal the splendid resources of the Missionary Research Library in New York City; to Miss Imogine Shick for her coöperation in the preparation of the manuscript, and especially to Dr. Frank Mason North for his constant and sympathetic encouragement, and Dr. Ralph A. Ward, who first inspired the author's interest in China, with whom he traveled countless miles along the uncharted and unforgettable highways of that land, and from whose intimate knowledge of "things Chinese" he has received the basis for much that is contained in this volume.

INTRODUCTION

It has been a pleasure to me to look over these pages in which Mr. High sets forth the activities of present Chinese social and economic life. These chapters clearly picture forth the life forces of China which are now eagerly striving for expression in new modes of action. The varied evidences of an astounding transition in a secular society have been observed by the author and set forth so as to indicate a true sense of proportion between the deep and enduring vitality of the Chinese social body and the temporary political ills which are just now so much in evidence.

The reader of the daily news, and even the cursory student of our Eastern affairs, is very apt to receive the impression that China finds herself in a state of chaos, being given up to warring factions and abounding in insurrections and revolutions. All progress seems to be becalmed, the nation itself drifting without lodestar for the future. Considered from the purely political point of view, there is a good deal of foundation for such an impression. Political power has never been highly organized in China. Yuan Shih-kai confounded it with his personal ambitions. The army was his personal guard, the treasury supplied the sinews of his political schemes. While his character stands out with great aptitudes for leadership, for taking responsibility and making quick decisions; while he introduced many details of Western

organization in the army, in schools, and in local government, yet the main heritage he left to China was a disastrous intermingling of personal ambitions and political power. The generals whom he commanded and held in check were in a smaller may inspired by these same ideas, and when his strong hand was removed they modeled on him. The divisions of China are not divisions of the people, but divisions among politicians and militarists, each group seeking to advance its narrower interest. In this competition those statesmen and leaders who are working to build up political action on a national basis had for a while a difficult time. But recently they have been reënforced by a great popular movement organized by merchants and students, whose aim it is to make public opinion count in national affairs.

The political troubles of the last decade have, indeed, been fraught with danger to the Chinese people. Yet they have not had the effect in China which similar controversies and divisions and declarations of independence would have had in a Western country. The political factor has always been superficial in China; one might almost say that it has not existed. Social and economic forces and relationships of direct personal loyalty have held Chinese society together. It has not had a conscious and definite formal organization of political sovereignty. Hence the troubles which have been alluded to, though they loom large in the daily accounts of the world's doing, do not really reach deep into Chinese life. To any one in China they appear to remain on the surface, while underneath flows the even, peaceful course of Chinese industry and commerce. Notwithstanding the failure of national peace conferences, the declared independence of various provinces, the occasional armed

clashes between the factions, the Chinese placidly till their fields, trade and manufacture and look upon these political troubles as chance visitations which do not deeply affect their life. That has saved Chinese society from becoming deeply disturbed and stirred up by the political happenings; one thing only has stirred it. The danger which comes to the nation from foreign aggressive action—on that matter the people are unanimous and undivided. At that point there comes in upon the nation for the first time a sentiment of what is meant by political action and organization as an expression of the life and will of a people. Their own domestic politics they had thus far not taken seriously.

Chinese friends will always tell the dweller in Peking or Shanghai, "You cannot know China before you see our villages; come to the interior, and see the village folk. Then you will know what China is."

Indeed, any one who has in the treaty ports gathered an impression of swarming indigent humanity will be in need of such a corrective to get a just conception of Chinese life and to understand why, with all its superficial blemishes, it is so sound and everlasting underneath. In the rural communities all the virtues of Chinese society can be seen. It was there that such men of insight as Simon and R. F. Johnston have gathered their knowledge through which they enable us to understand why Chinese society could last so long. Agriculture is still the first and principal activity of the Chinese, and they are most contented when they can caress the soil and bring from it ever multiplying production. Their village life typifies their civilization, and shows its great virtue as being that of intensive cultivation, an ability of extracting constantly larger returns from a given

area. A little plot of land that has originally supported four or five people may after centuries have been made to support twenty or thirty. It is a busy life, every one working without hurry, but also without indolence. There is dignity and family pride. On festal days, silks and jeweled ornaments appear and the women walk bravely in the consciousness of their splendor. But it is the old folks that give a real measure of Chinese civilization. They are happy, dignified, smiling, courteous, resting assured in the respect the younger generation traditionally proffers. It is the object of society to make the last years of life dignified and happy. With these great virtues there come occasional harshnesses and cruelties which it is difficult for us to understand, except that they often grow out of an excess of the traditional virtues of loyalty and of reverence for old age.

These communities are self-governing. The administrative interference in local affiairs to which we in the West are accustomed would seem unbelievable to the Chinese. They live by custom, not by express law and regulation. Imperial edicts were given out more by way of advice than in the sense of an enactment such as we know. The cement of society is not express law, but custom and a sense of equity which pervades the entire social body. That sense of equity may at any time be effectively appealed to. That is done informally in small controversies when the neighbors will gather in a circle and form an impromptu jury. Or again, any one who feels his rights outraged by the proud and powerful, may take recourse by stationing himself (or herself) on the public highway, preferably opposite the house of the offender, and shouting to the world the grievances. The community would pass by with callous indifference were

the shouter a known troublemaker. But if of good reputation, he will be listened to by a growing crowd, which will soon cast questioning eyes in the direction of the door of the accused notable. If the complaint seems reasonable the crowd will wait till an answer is made from the other side, and if the answer does not satisfy the popular sense of equity, then society will take its own means to enforce its verdict. If a matter is of some moment it will ordinarily be taken up by the village elders, who will arbitrate in the presence of the heads of the family. I once asked a high Chinese official, an American Ph.D., who grew up a barefooted boy in a Chinese village, how the elders were elected. He replied: "The elders are there; should one of them die or retire because of infirmity, the community is already in most cases agreed as to who his successor is, namely, the man who in the discussions of common affairs has shown the greatest amount of wisdom, and so has become recognized as a leader. Only in rare instances will there be a difference of opinion among the villagers, in which case the elders themselves will make a selection." There is, of course, a certain advantage in property held by a family, and in some villages there is something of an oligarchy of the more wealthy families. But everywhere the formations are of gradual, spontaneous growth rather of than conscious contrivance.

The primary activities of life have in China been ennobled by art. There are classic series of illustrations of the processes of agriculture, of silk raising and weaving, and of other industrial activities. In these the poetry of agricultural and manual pursuits is brought out in a most charming fashion. For centuries tradition has dignified these occupations. To any one who steeps himself in Chinese life it becomes infinitely attractive and

appealing to his humanity. Going through a collection of classic Chinese paintings, having roll after roll unfolded before one with forms of beauty and color as fresh as of the brush of yesterday, though centuries old, one will feel a strong sense of the dignity and refinement of Chinese civilization. Sung pictures of cities as they were a thousand years ago with their multiform shops, popular amusements, groups of listeners around actors and story-tellers, houseboats floating for a vacation downstream, palanquins and carts bringing the distant visitor to town, leave no doubt as to why at that time the Chinese considered themselves the center of civilization. The refinement of social life, with its readings of poetry, its gatherings of listeners to music, its tea and conversation parties, is brought home vividly to the beholder. Most characteristic are the pictures of Paradise. There are all old men wearing the happy mien we have noticed among the villagers, receiving those who come floating through the ether on the Bird of Life, sitting in groups under trees playing checkers or listening to music; a simple, naïve conception of the preciousness of a restful old age after the storm and stress of active years.

Those who love the China of the villages, of industry, and of art look with abhorrence on any movement to modernize this great society. When Mr. Rockholl last visited me at Peking he was visibly distressed by the fact that so many Chinese officials were wearing western dress-suits. The injection of unassimilated Western elements must, indeed, always bear hard on any one sensible of the high virtue of Chinese civilization. The Chinese are themselves often at fault. When they leave the safe ground of their own artistic tradition they are apt to lose all criterion of beauty and allow the most horrible

contrivances of Western furniture and decoration to invade their houses; just as, on the other hand, foreigners new to China are apt to like best the things which are least worthy.

But a purpose now to confine China to her own traditions would be futile. Western life and Western ideas have definitely found their way into the Chinese mind, which is now at work to sift these gifts of the West and to see to what extent and in what form they may be associated with the traditions and forces of Chinese life for the creation of a new unity of life. Those who know China best, and who at the same time know that she must move in a direction of greater similarity to Western nations, would pray that there may be no attempt suddenly to impose in its entirety, a new organization upon this ancient life. They believe, also, that the Chinese themselves will think these matters through from the bottom up, and when they do modify their inherited ways it will not be merely to take on an outward finish of an alien civilization less than skin-deep, but that there will result a new, essential, complex unity, in which the elements antique and modern are fused into organic cohesion.

That the Chinese at present are up and doing, that they are surveying all the possibilities of action, that they are particularly anxious for constructively improving the underlying economic conditions of their life—that will impress any visitor to China. The conversation everywhere is about new enterprise, new organizations, new social effort.

China is socially so stable in our present age of unrest and social warfare because her economic life has to our far day retained its home nourished organization in guilds and household industries. In the streets of Peking or

other great interior cities one cannot avoid the feeling of being in the Middle Ages. On all hands the traditional trades of a subtle society are being practiced by small groups gathered in the houses of the master craftsmen. The different handicrafts are grouped together in distinct quarters. In Peking there are streets and alleyways dedicated to the gold and silversmiths, the brass- and metalworkers, the weavers of rugs, the makers of kingfisher feather ornaments, the cuttes of semi-precious stones, the fashioners of bows and arrows, the woodworkers, the concocters of certain kinds of foods—so every guild has its local habitat in one or several special areas within the great enclosure of the City Hall. When one enters these shops one sees there the same joy of work, the same satisfaction with the growing product that we have witnessed on the farms. The joy and soul has not yet been taken out of work in China. The workman still has the satisfaction that comes from seeing the product of his labor gradually shape itself to perfection under his hand.

There lies the greatest economic treasure of China. If that inheritance of craftsmanship can be preserved, if all this ability can be organized on a higher plane to produce still more efficiently, but with no less of fine quality, then China may, indeed, lead the world in the perfection of her handiwork. If an attempt were to be made suddenly to introduce capitalist organization with its tremendous mechanism, this inherited craftsmanship would to a large extent be destroyed. It is also, however, a mistake to suppose that capital coming in in this manner would be likely to profit enormously because of the cheapness of labor. The advantage of cheap labor in China could be very easily neutralized through

the overhead expenses of a foreign-organized enterprise. Those who know Chinese industry best believe that its further development requires not so much the impulse of foreign capital and capitalistic management as technical expertship; that is, the guidance of men who, themselves animated with a professional interest rather than a desire for quick and rich returns, will furnish that technical mastery which is needed in order that Chinese industry may take advantage of modern processes without losing its hold upon its inherited strength and advantage. In fact, the Chinese themselves are engaging many foreign engineers and industrial experts to help them organize in an unassuming but effective way the industries of the land. If the international consortium could take the form of a group of highly experienced technical men who would study Chinese economic life and see wherein its efficiency could be heightened, and who would then point out the places where foreign capital could come in to assist to the greatest advantage, a work of real significance might be brought about.

We must not forget that China is by no means dependent on foreign capital. There is a vast amount of native capital in China. I have often been astonished at the presence of great wealth in small towns. In a silk village nor far from Shanghai, in a town of about 8,000 inhabitants, there are three families that own millions. However, Chinese capital and credit are still organized on a personal and family basis. The mechanism for making this capital available for impersonally-organized business in corporations has not yet been largely developed; although a fair beginning has been made. Chinese capital is itself now willing to follow expert guidance in new

ventures. Experienced and successful entrepreneurs will not lack capital support.

Mr. Chang Chien of Nantung-chow is perhaps the most striking example of a modern Chinese industrial leader. Mr. Chang-chien won prominence as a young man by carrying off the highest honors at the Peking Imperial examination. He therefore started life with the greatest prestige for scholarship possible in China. He has continued to cultivate his learning and is notable, particularly, for his calligraphy. Examples of his writings sell for so high a price that he is able out of the proceeds to support an engineering college where the young men of his province have an opportunity to acquire technical knowledge. He has not only founded large modern cotton-mills, but has gone back of manufacture to primary production, has brought in cotton experts from America, introduced new varieties of the cotton plant, and, after many experiments, has succeeded in producing cotton of a staple superior to any raised in China heretofore. The town of his residence he has transformed into a model municipality. From it radiate highways into the surrounding agricultural regions upon which ply passenger automobiles and trucks. He has created a new nerve center for the industrial life of his province. Among the Chinese people he has the double prestige of great learning in the classics and of successful leadership in new enterprise. The example of his career will show whither the Chinese people are tending.

Another very successful industrial leader is Mr. Moh of Shanghai. Returning to China about ten years ago with a debt for the cost of his studies, which he had pursued at Cornell, he, too, entered the field of cotton manufacture. With a great talent for organization he

created an enterprise of many branches which is still expanding. In his work another phase of New China is shown. Out of his wealth he is sending groups of the ablest young men of China to study in the United States. Until recently it would not have occurred to any one to bother about the education of those not of his clan.

By the side of industry, education is the great interest which engages the Chinese mind at present, and upon which great efforts of organization are expended. In each provincial capital and in each local center there are educational societies, some interesting themselves in general education, some in the classics, some in the development of technical knowledge. They act independently or in coöperation with the officials in supporting schools and in bringing knowledge to those already beyond school age through lectures, exhibits, and museums. China is the lecturer's paradise. Nowhere are there more patient, eager audiences interested to know about the processes of nature, the development of trade and industry, and, also, all that the great world beyond the oceans holds. It is a source of no small gratification to Americans that their fellow-nationals have taken so prominent a part in assisting the Chinese in organizing their education. Schools like the University of Peking, Yale-in-China (Chang-sha), the Harvard Medical School at Shanghai, the colleges and universities at Tsinan, Hankow, Canton, Foochow, and Chengtu have been centers from which an influence has been radiating with a strength entirely out of proportion to the number of students actually in these institutions. They have been experiment stations upon which the Chinese could model their own work. They have been conducted in a spirit of great helpfulness and an unselfish desire to be of the greatest assistance to the

Chinese without claiming an undue leadership or tutelage for themselves. Americans have also traveled through China lecturing on health and sanitation, philosophy, government, industry and engineering. The Chinese themselves have taken up this "university extension" movement; often people of high position have dedicated themselves to it. The wife of President Feng, when he was Governor General at Nanking, lectured in the principal places of that region on the care of children. Other Chinese have lectured on forestry, improvements of agriculture, and other subjects connected with social and economic welfare.

Of late the effort of the Chinese has been enlisted in building roads suitable for automobile traffic. The roads hitherto existing in China were in most cases not passable for such modern vehicles. They had been worn deep beneath the surface of the surrounding country through use for centuries, being cut by the sharp narrow-tired wheels of heavily-laden carts, more like canals than highways, forming the bed for torrents in the rainy season. In many parts of China they are worn so deep that persons riding or driving over them disappear totally from view to those on adjoining fields. Where road-building material is at hand rapid progress is already being made in the construction of macadamized highways. Roads are used as feeders of the railways, connecting them with any large commercial towns at some distance from the line. It is the plan of the government to encourage the building of a system of metaled highways connecting all the provincial capitals. In the different localities road-building associations have been formed through which local enterprises of this nature are promoted.

Railway building in China has been greatly impeded

and delayed through the war. Previous to it foreign nations had secured contract rights to make loans to the Chinese Government for the construction of certain lines. When the war rendered them unable to furnish the necessary capital, yet they insisted upon preserving their rights to do so ultimately, and the Chinese government itself was forced to wait. Some slight progress was nevertheless made through the use of Chinese capital. It has been a very decided disadvantage to China from every point of view that the two great trunk lines running north and south and east and west could not have been completed. The existing political disunion can largely be charged to the absence of such means of ready communication between the north and south and with the provinces of the remote interior. Every far-reaching economic reform in China, as well, is dependent on the completion of these means of communication. Currency cannot be completely unified nor the ruinous rates of exchange between different parts of China eliminated until there are means for more abundant interchange of products and intermingling of the commercial population. Economically the most serious drawback of the war for China was in this delay of supplying the most needed instrumentality for her national economic life.

If China had been free from contractual entanglements, it is probable that Chinese capital could have been found for completing some of these lines. It is true, as indicated above, that Chinese trade is not yet organized adequately for the undertaking of such great national enterprises, although there is capital enough available to form the material of a sound national economy. But the beginning has been made. A syndicate of Chinese banks has been formed, and for the first time an internal loan has been

spontaneously made to the government for the purpose of purchasing railway equipment, in which the government found itself ready to give to the banking syndicate every desirable pledge of accountability and security. During the last few years the Chinese Government had occasionally been obliged to pay as high as 18 per cent for funds borrowed from Chinese bankers, previous to the formation of the syndicate. To any one abroad, reading a report of such interest charges, it would seem that the Chinese Government must have been on the verge of bankruptcy. That, however, does not follow. It simply means that for the time being the Chinese Government felt itself obliged to rely entirely on the local money market, totally abandoning the idea of making loans abroad because of the strenuous popular opposition to loans from Japan. But when the government went into the local market it had to pay a percentage approaching the local interest rate. The interest rate is so high in China, not because of any especial risk inhering in the business, but for the reason that Chinese business is so organized that it can afford to pay these high rates and is glad to do so in competition for funds. This is due to the fact that Chinese enterprises are organizing for a specific and temporary purpose, such as the moving of certain products or the making of a certain construction. The enterprise is finished within a comparatively short time, the profits are divided among the partners, and, because of the intensive use made of the money in these short-term transactions, a rate of interest can be paid which impresses the outsider as usurious. This was the reason why the Chinese Government, which itself could not engage in profitable short-term business, preferred to make

loans abroad at the current world rate rather than borrow money at home at the percentage there customary.

In the future development of Chinese industrial life there is a special opportunity for American coöperation because of the confidence which the Chinese repose in America, and also because of the fact that the industrial problems of China, particularly in the development of her material resources, frequently resemble those which have been successfully solved in America. The spirit of Americans active in China either in commerce or education has been generally one of readiness to help, unobstructed by a desire to acquire some privileged or tutorial position over Chinese organization and enterprise. The American seemed in spirit to say to the Chinese, "We shall coöperate in this, we shall show you how to do it, but shall take great pleasure when you have learned to do it for yourselves." Thus, modern athletics was introduced among the youth of China; by American instructors, whose one aim seemed to be that the Chinese should be able to organize and direct for themselves this enterprise so essential for the health and active spirit of the rising generation.

During my six years in China I saw many political changes. Among them there were two attempts to restore monarchy, but neither did the powerful statesman Yuan Shih-kai succeed in establishing his own dynasty nor did General Chang Hsun revive allegiance to the old Imperial House. Thus it has been quite definitely established that the vast majority of the people of China who think of political matters at all, want a government representative of them, in which they have a voice and which aims to promote the good of all.

Until recently all non-official classes, no matter how well informed and intelligent, have only been remotely

interested in political affairs. The establishment of the Republic was a manifestation of the first awakening of such interest on the part of large numbers in China. But even during the ten years of the Republic relationship between the merchants and other intelligent classes and the government has not been sufficiently close. These classes have begun to realize what the excellence of good government means to them, but they have not yet entirely succeeded in the establishment of an organization through which their feeling and judgment is brought directly to bear on the conduct of affairs. The problem of representative government in China lies exactly there; the capacity of these classes to assist in the organizing of political authority and their willingness to make sacrifices for their commonwealth.

During the past two years there has been witnessed in China a great awakening of national opinion. This in itself is a marked step forward. A new force has been generated in Chinese life which is essential to the support of national existence and to the effective backing of any government accepted by the people. All now depends upon the use that is to be made of this new force which has revealed itself. The public has in a certain way realized its power. But permanence of such influence and its beneficent action depend very largely on the true spirit of patriotism and devotion by which the members of the movement are animated.

Viewed as a whole this awakening of China's public opinion gives us the definite assurance that in China important affairs will in the future be handled with very much consideration of the opinion, judgment and needs of the people. This is a fact of the first importance. A government can be strong only as it rests upon the broad

foundation of China is sound, the superstructure will now be soundly and carefully built.

The definition which Confucius gives of a State in his book of Rites is thoroughly adapted to the modern needs of the Chinese people, and if it were only universally followed the Chinese commonwealth would indeed be greatly strengthened. He says, "the ideal State is common to all and private to none. The officers should be selected from those who are able and virtuous. In the State, private virtue will obtain its highest perfection. Among its constituent members friendship must be cultivated. There should be no exclusive regard for one's own children. The aged, the widows and orphans, and the deformed should be, if necessary, nourished and housed from the public revenue. All strong able-bodied young men should be given a chance fully to make use of and develop their capacities, thus every man has a share in the commonwealth, every woman a place therein. Whenever men work not for their own satisfaction but for the happiness of others they will not let their energies and abilities remain unemployed. The young people should be educated by the State in an equal way. All this will assure universal peace and true happiness. In such a State there will be no internal disorder nor any unnecessary human suffering."

These ancient words are read in a spirit of new understanding by the Chinese people to-day. Chinese tradition is so rich in varied experience and thought that even the most modern aspirations will find nourishment and guidance from the sages of the past.

PAUL S. REINSCH.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE ISOLATION MYTH

TO attempt a survey of the neighborhood we call the world is to speedily reach the conclusion that no nation liveth unto itself. The great material forces and the great ideals requisite to the development of a people in this day are not the discovery or the possession of that people; they are the common heritage of the world-at-large. To live without these forces is impossible, and yet, by their possession a nation immediately binds itself inextricably to every other nation and becomes a unit in the international community. At another time in history a nation may have built a wall about itself and felt secure and self-sustained. But Electricity and Steam, Republicanism and Democracy are making of every land a dependency of every other. In the modern world isolation is the antithesis of progress.

Twenty years after the Boxer Rebellion in China, the author visited the grounds of the old British Legation in Peking where, during the summer of 1900, a little band of foreigners defended themselves against the frenzied attacks of the Chinese fanatics. We were told by one who had himself gone through the siege how the fortifications were built and how fearlessly they were defended. Cut off from

all communication with the world, the hope of each day's fighting was that the morrow might bring relief. And during the weeks while the Allied Army fought its way from Tientsin to the capital the people of many nations waited breathlessly for some word from the Forbidden City. But it was not until the soldiers of the Allies stormed the Peking Wall, forced an entrance at the Water Gate and captured the city itself that word was sent out of the safety of the besieged.

We went, that evening, from the British Legation to the City wall, where, towering above the yellow-tiled roofs of the Imperial City, the American Government has erected a powerful wireless station. A United States Marine Officer was our escort, and each, in turn, "listened in" on the message that was coming out of the ether. Finally some one asked the operator who was talking. He adjusted the receiving apparatus, listened for a moment, consulted an index of calls before him and replied:

"San Francisco is talking to Panama. I guess we're eavesdropping."

The Boxer Rebellion took place twenty years ago. The man who recounted to us, from his own experience, the history of the siege, was still a young man. But to-day it is no longer possible for a city to build a wall and write thereon: "Forbidden." No nation worthy of the name can longer call itself a "Hermit Kingdom." Korea, in her indifference, fell the victim of a nation whose chief concern for sixty years has been the adoption of every discovery and development which, in the judgment of her statesmen, has given western nations strength—from the German goose-step to modern steel mills. China aloof and disdainful of western civilization, escaped partition at the

hands of the Powers only because the plunder involved was too huge to make possible a distribution of booty satisfactory to all concerned. Russia to-day is slowly destroying herself because she chooses to stand alone against the world, preferring bankruptcy, starvation, and disease to association with nations with whom she disagrees. In the modern world no nation liveth unto itself. National isolation is the surest road to national extinction.

Kipling's lines:

> The East is East, and the West is West,
> And never the twain shall meet,

are good poetry but poor prophecy. Not only have the far corners of the earth met, they have become inseparable. Kipling's lines were written before the achievements of Marconi or of Hawker and Alcock or Commander Read. Aerial derbies around the world were not then within the range of possibility and successful aeroplane flights from Rome to Tokyo or London to Australia could be undertaken in fancy only.

In 1900 the following paragraph was included in the address of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church: "In 1800 no steamer plowed the waters, no locomotive traversed an inch of soil, no photographic plate had ever been kissed by sunlight, no telephone had ever talked from town to town, steam had never driven mighty mills, and electric currents had never been harnessed into telegraph and trolley wires." And to-day there might be added to the above address that in 1900 no moving pictures brought the events of the world into its remote communities, no phonographs had democratized the world's best music, no

submarines had plowed beneath the sea, no automobile had been driven on land and no airship through the air, no wireless telegraph had caught its message from the sky and no wireless telephone carried the voice of man through space. At land or on the high seas isolation is a myth.

In crossing the Pacific at one time the writer made the acquaintance of a British lad who had served as wireless operator on one of the many vessels that participated in the thrilling pursuit of the Cruiser Emden when that German raider was at large somewhere in the South Pacific. The incident of that chase which he related was later confirmed by a British naval officer on board our vessel. Evidently the Emden had quite escaped the drag-net of the pursuing squadron. For several days she had not been sighted and merchant ships hugging the China coast had reported no attacks. Then one night this young British operator picked up a strange message. The call was undecipherable, but he wirelessed back:

"This is H.M.S. ————. Who are you?"

To which the unknown vessel answered in the international Morse:

"This is the Cruiser Emden. Captain Von Moltke sends his compliments to the captain of H.M.S. ———, and would he be so kind as to tell us the results of the International Tennis Tournament?"

The operator, considerably excited, reported to the Captain who immediately sent back the Tournament Scores. To which the Emden answered:

"Thank you. Now I must run away."

The average American community to-day is less isolated than the national capital a generation ago. The diplomats of every cross-roads talk familiarly of problems and of places that had not entered the bounds of world statesmanship in the sixties. Following America's declaration of war in 1917, in countless small town stores and shops and multitudes of village homes imposing maps of Europe suddenly appeared and day by day, with much patience and many vari-colored tacks, the shifting lines of the allied armies in northern France and Italy were carefully traced.

And as division after division of American troops went into the line and acquitted themselves with honor tiny little flags appeared to mark the spot where they had fought and quickly a strange jumble of French names—Château Thierry, Saint-Mihiel, Cambrai, and the Argonne—were Americanized and made a part of the daily language of the land. France was no longer a foreign country to the average American. Two million boys, from every county of the nation, carried America with them overseas. And these 2,000,000 soldiers, who traveled through England and France and Italy and encamped along the Rhine, who marched along roads constructed by Chinese coolies from Shantung, relieved battalions of French Colonials, or fought side by side with the troops of India, Australia, or New Zealand—these 2,000,000 soldiers, returning, have brought world politics with them into countless corners of the land where formerly the county line marked the bounds of the average man's interest.

During the interminable months of the Peace Conference, the tangle over Fiume, the aspirations of the Czecho-Slovaks, the fears of Poland and the injustice in Shantung were regularly served throughout America with the break-

fast cereal. Daily papers began to be valued for the efficiency of their foreign service. And the American public not only read of these questions—it dared to have opinions on the problems involved. Shantung and the Island of Yap became themes for intelligent conversation in multitudes of families to whom, five years before, the problems of the Pacific were remote and inconsequential.

Not only were the events of the war and the Peace Conference heralded as matter of first importance in every nation, but the ideas and the ideals which seemed to dominate these events have become either the hope or the menace of countless millions of people in parts of the world geographically far distant from Washington or London or Versailles. It will never be possible to estimate the influence of President Wilson's Fourteen Points upon the aspirations of Nationalist leaders in Egypt and South Africa, in India and in Korea. In the latter country, the Independence Movement was certainly given tremendous impetus if not actually made possible by the "Self-Determination" ideal, which had been proclaimed as the right of smaller nations.

Even as late as 1920, when the degree of variance between the ideals of the war and those of the peace was becoming obvious enough, the Korean people—those who had caught something of the vision of a world safe for democracy and had been unable to follow closely enough the trend of affairs which gradually obscured it—were unable to understand why America, representing the principles which made that vision possible, had not intervened in their behalf. The Korean Declaration of Independence, proclaimed March the 1st, 1919, indicates how this faith

in a new world order had spread to the ends of the earth. A section of it reads as follows:

"A new world is opening before our eyes; the age of force departs and that of truth and righteousness comes in. The refined, clarified mind of humanity, matured and trained by the ages of the past now begins to cast the morning light of a new civilization on the history of the race. A new spring is dawning and life hastens to awake. As insects, paralyzed by the season of ice and chilling snow, under the influence of soft winds and warm sunshine, return to life and being, so do we, beholding the renewal of the world and the turning of the tide of the age, step forward without hesitation or fear.

"Holding fast to the inherent right of liberty, let us find satisfaction in the pursuit of happiness, and developing our distinctive ability, which alone can satisfy the heart, let the inner nature of our people bloom forth in the great world flooded with the light of spring."

Koreans still find it hard to understand why the World Powers should withhold from them the privileges which they so violently defend for themselves. And it is evident to-day in many countries that the task of withholding such privileges in a world where isolation has become impossible is becoming increasingly difficult.

Good or bad, ideas of whatever sort cannot be isolated. Bolshevism, confined alone to Russia, quite possibly would have aroused little more than passing interest. But the Bolsheviki had printing presses and powerful wireless stations and their agents had access to the communication systems of the world. Bolshevism in consequence, not only threatened Germany and Italy, Poland and the Near East,

but for several years was the chief concern of the Department of Justice of the United States; it has disturbed to a marked degree the Government of Japan, not only in Siberia but in the Japanese nation itself; caused no end of difficulty for the British in Afghanistan and Northern India, and in short made itself known and was hated or acclaimed over the entire world.

With the development of these facilities for the broadcasting of ideas there has also grown up a world-wide intellectual community. Students of every land are coming more and more to share in the achievements of a common culture. The thought life of Oriental Universities moves along lines and toward objectives remarkably similar to those which are most evident in the Universities of the Occident. The student movement in China, which is treated elsewhere in this volume, is the most recent and probably the most remarkable development of this internationalism of the intelligence. Where or when the next development will occur it is impossible to predict, but certainly student thinking that becomes increasingly democratic the world around is destined to affect profoundly the future trend of world events.

It is probably true, also, that at the present time greater numbers of students are moving from one country to another over the earth's surface than ever before in history. A Japanese scholar, Dr. S. Motoda, in the Japan Magazine (Tokio) has detected three great streams of movement: 1. Oriental students going to Japan, America, England and France; 2. Slavic students migrating from Russia and to Germany, Switzerland, Austria, France and Belgium; 3. The movement from Latin America to North America and to some European countries. It is

estimated that of the Oriental students abroad nearly 9000 are Chinese of whom 4000 are in Japan, 2000 in France, 1600 in the United States, 400 in England, and the others distributed throughout Europe. Of the 2500 Japanese students now abroad only a few are in England and other European countries, but the number is increasing.

It is further estimated that there are in the Universities and colleges of the United States about 8000 foreign students, representing over 100 nationalities and races. In England's ten Universities there are 3000 foreign students; besides Orientals, there are Egyptians, West Indians, Africans, Serbians, Americans, and Continental students flocking to Oxford and Cambridge. In the 16 Universities of France, where the number of students has decreased since the war to 10,000, more than half are foreign students. From 2000 to 3000 foreign students still attend the German Universities, and Switzerland with seven Universities has 7000 students of whom 3000 are foreigners. The world-wide intellectual community which these great movements make possible will be the future's surest guarantee of an international consciousness built upon an international conscience.

It is likewise true that in this modern day commercial isolation is quite as impossible as intellectual isolation. During a recent vist to Peking the writer was told that one of the large European Hotels in that city (of which there are two) boasted an American ownership, a Swiss Manager, a French Chef, Chinese waiters, an Orchestra of Russian refugees, and a patronage chiefly British. And, for students of world affairs, it is significant to note that neither national nor racial differences seemed to impair the efficiency of the Hostelry of Nations.

Dr. Arthur Judson Brown tells of a Chinese Presbyterian Church at Wei Hsien, China, which typifies the commercial inter-dependence of the modern world, for it contains Chinese brick, Oregon fir beams, German steel binding plates and rods, Belgian glass, Manchurian pine pews and British cement. Dr. Brown goes on to remark that "In many parts of Asia people who, but a decade or two ago were satisfied with the crudest appliances of primitive life, are now learning to use steam and electrical machinery, to like Oregon flour, Chicago beef, Pittsburg pickles and London jam, and to see the utility of foreign wire, nails, cutlery, drugs and chemicals."

Isaac F. Marcosson, the American War Correspondent, writes from the heart of the Belgian Kongo, "American jitneys scooting through the jungle" are a common sight and in the diamond district where Yankee energy and enterprise is developing a colonial project under the liberal policy of the Belgian Government "you watch five American tractors hauling heavy loads along the sand roads; you hear American slang and banter on all sides; and if you are lucky enough to be invited to a meal you get American hot cakes and maple syrup!" Commercial penetration of Africa would now make it possible for Stanley to go from Glasgow to Stanley Falls in 43 days. Already there are 46 steamers on the Upper Congo. A railway 1700 miles long runs from Cape Town to Victoria Falls. Uganda is reached by rail, and sleeping and dining cars safely run the 575 miles from Cairo to Khartoum where only in 1899 Lord Kitchener fought the savage hordes of the Mahdia.

The competition for the world's trade is carried on to-

day wherever there are materials for barter. Peoples which refused to develop their own resources have been forced aside, while other nations stepped in and took control of the exploitation in their own behalf. The world's common dependence upon coal and steel and oil, cotton and wool and wheat, and the increasing consumption of these essentials has increased tremendously the importance and the scope of international trade. No greater evidence could be found of the fact that American commercial isolation, if it ever existed, is at an end than the recent newspaper reports of a large middle-western farmers organization which sent resolutions to Congress urging a plan of ship-subsidy in order that the Merchant Marine of the United States could be assured of a permanent position on the high seas, and foreign markets secured for the products of American industry. To the mind of the farmer of 10 or 20 years ago there was little tangible relation between the foreign trade of the United States and the price of wheat or live-stock. To-day, however, prosperity for the farmer, as for every one, is very definitely related to the demands of our foreign markets.

During the war the nations of Europe borrowed practically unlimited sums from the United States. Since 1914 the world's financial center of gravity has shifted from Great Britain to the United States and New York instead of London has become the world's financial capitol. Instead of being a debtor nation to the extent of some $4,000,000,000, as was the case at the outbreak of the war, the Allied Governments owe to the United States some $11,000,000,000 in addition to several billions more in private financing. The nations of the world from China

to Brazil are seeking loans in Wall Street and American Business men are following no policy of aloofness in the commercial councils of the world.

The statesmen to-day who still insist upon the maintenance of the Isolation Myth in America's foreign policy lag far behind most of their contemporaries in other walks of life who have long since forgotten national lines as marking the bounds of their interests and achievements. American engineers have undertaken the survey of a railway through the Yangtse Gorges, the management of a diamond mine in the Kongo and numberless other of the world's big jobs as readily as a generation ago they built the reclamation dams of the Far West. The American sport loving public has followed American Athletes through the Olympic games where they were pitted against the Athletes of the world; has watched the country's best college baseball teams go down to defeat before the invading Japanese; and has followed the fortunes of American golf and tennis stars against the picked men of Europe, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, until a match is scarcely a match at all if it does not have some international interest. American doctors, working with their colleagues overseas, have traced the origin of Spanish Influenza to a secluded corner of northern Persia; have demonstrated that typhus, wherever it exists, is a menace not alone to Poland or to Panama, but to Brooklyn and New Orleans and St. Paul as well, and that the health of every part of the world is a serious problem for every other.

It is well to observe further that the world is being knit together not alone by forces of construction but quite as much by forces of destruction. The recent invention of a gun capable of shooting a five-ton projectile 300 miles

will make the chief cities of Europe a target for the artillery of the future, and the unlimited possibilities of aerial bombing which had scarcely begun to develop at the end of the Great War will doubtless bring the capitols of the world within dangerous range of each other.

If, then, isolation is impossible in the modern world the very safety of America depends upon her understanding as fully as possible the nations with whom she is to be thus intimately associated in the world neighborhood. America cannot afford to pay the price of aloofness. Chief Justice William Howard Taft, in opening The Institute of International Affairs at Williams College in the summer of 1921, declared: "Never before has it been so clear that our prosperity is dependent on our relations to other counties and the maintenance of those relations in a friendly state of mutual confidence and good will. The greatest obstruction to the world's maintaining harmony among its members is the misunderstanding between them and the lack of accurate information which one nation may have of the exact situation of the other upon that other's views of their relations."

The interests of the United States overlap and coincide with the interests of too many other nations to allow us to go on in ignorance of them. And, in the end, it may appear that the world has grown so small and the affairs of the international community so intricately interwoven that for one nation to attempt the destruction of another would jeopardize too much of the world's common property to make the undertaking profitable. In that day a war would be impossible, for no nation would dare to wage it.

CHAPTER TWO

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AS a result of the world war America has been drawn into aggressive participation in an international struggle for foreign markets. No circumstance could more effectively insure the final suppression of the isolation myth. For, in an industrial age like the present, when factories in Manchester and Pittsburgh or Detroit are coming to depend increasingly for their production upon raw materials from Malaysia or Brazil and for their sale upon the demands of India or Japan, the foreign policy of a nation—even the foreign policy of the United States—is very apt to be dictated by the demands of economic necessity.

Since the very beginning of their history the American people have given themselves to internal development and increased production, to the building of railroads and steel furnaces, the subjection of vast prairie lands, the cutting of forests and the development of irrigation systems. America owed the rest of the world several billion dollars which fact made it necessary that the nation produce largely in order to pay that indebtedness. That the United States is successful as a producing nation is evident when we consider that, with 6 percent of the world's population and 7 percent of the world's land, this country produces annually 52 percent of the world's coal, 20 percent of

its gold, 25 percent of its wheat, 40 percent of its iron and steel, 60 percent of its oil, 60 percent of its cotton, 75 percent of its corn, 85 percent of its automobiles and 60 percent of its copper.

Of this enormous total probably 40 percent cannot be consumed by American customers and must be sold to Europe, South America, and Asia. Charles H. Sabin, president of the Guaranty Trust Co. of New York, says in this connection: "The surplusage of goods above the demands of domestic consumption in the United States in 1920 has been estimated at 2,000,000 bales of cotton, 300,000,000 bushels of wheat, $750,000,000 worth of semi-manufactured raw materials and finished manufactured products and $250,000,000 worth of packing house products."

America, therefore, is faced with a new necessity. If these products are to be disposed of, it is evident that the United States must enter into vigorous competition with the other nations of the world. Whereas, formerly, the chief concern of American business interest was increased production, in the future it will be necessary to consider of first importance the matter of sale and distribution.

The American Merchant Marine which, since 1865, has been conspicuous on the high seas chiefly by its absence, has been revived. During the war the urgent necessity of transporting men and supplies overseas drove the Government to drastic action and the result was a mushroom fleet, developed overnight, which proved itself capable of transporting 93 percent of our supplies and 45 percent of our fighting forces to Europe—a cargo of some 7,000,000 tons. And, in spite of mistakes and business depression, the Merchant Marine of the United States is capable, as never before in recent history, of assuring adequate

means of distribution for the products of American industry.

But if the war forced the United States to take its place among the leading nations of the world on the high seas; if the establishment of this country as the world's greatest creditor nation throws us into competition with the rest of the world; if the tremendous production to which the American people have given themselves throughout their history has thrown on the markets of the world an enormous supply of American cotton, grain and manufactured articles; if all these things are true, it still remains for American enterprise, in competion with other maritime powers, to secure foreign customers and establish a permanent market in which these products of soil and factory can be sold.

American enterprise in accomplishing these ends for American industry is destined to turn increasingly toward Asia. Geographically and politically America has advantages in the Far East unequaled by any other nation. Few Americans realize that the United States is closer to Asia than it is to South America, being about 50 miles distant via Alaska from the shores of Asia; that it is possible to connect Asia and the United States by rail through a tunnel across Bering Straight; that Manila, in American insular territory, is closer to China than is Tokio; that the United States has for the past 20 years governed an Asiatic colony nearly as large in area as Japan and with a population of 10,000,000 people; that the United States with its insular possessions has a greater Pacific coastline than has any other nation and probably as great as China and Japan combined.[1]

[1] From an article by Mr. Julean Arnold.

As the position of the United States in the Pacific advanced it has become increasingly evident that the future development of Eastern Asia is distinctly an American interest. The Alaskan purchase was doubtless dictated in part by a desire to establish America permanently as one of the paramount powers in the Pacific. The acquisition of Hawaii was an evidence of the fact that foreign control of the mid-Pacific is to be excluded and the taking of the Philippines was often explained on the ground that the United States needed a center from which American business could move into the markets of the Orient and an outpost which would insure such business equal rights in Asia. The Panama Canal brought Yokohama 1800 miles nearer New York than Liverpool is near to Yokohama where formerly Liverpool was approximately 2000 miles nearer Far Eastern Ports than New York. The eastern manufacturing sections of the United States are thus given access to the benefits of Asiatic trade. In fact, the usefulness of the Panama Canal, to-day, depends in large measure upon its relation to a definite American policy in the Pacific.

That the advantageous position of the United States in relation to the markets of Asia is recognized by American commercial interests is indicated by the growing demand for American products in Japan, China, India, and other centers of Far Eastern trade. American shipments to Asia nearly tripled from 1915 to 1917, the increase amounting to more than $280,000,000, against an advance of less than $170,000,000 in exports to South America during the same period. From 1909 to 1913 Germany was making rapid gains in its Far Eastern business, its exports to British India, Germany's largest Oriental

customer, almost doubling during the 5 years preceding the war. In the same years, German sales to China more than doubled and an increase of 60 percent occurred in shipments to Japan.[1]

American goods, however, have supplanted German products to a remarkable extent. Our exports to British India more than doubled from 1915 to 1917, in the latter year being within $2,000,000 of Germany's shipments in 1913; those to China have increased 150 percent since 1915, being some $16,000,000 above Germany's high water mark in trade with China; and those to Japan have advanced over 300 percent during the same period.[2]

The center of America's commercial interest in Asia, however, is China. This is not alone because China is the world's greatest potential market but because the American and Chinese people are bound together by historical relations, by ties of traditional friendship and by a common interest in the future peace of the Pacific. Mr. Thomas F. Millard, an eminent authority on the Far East, in his book "Democracy and our Far Eastern Question" says: "Toward China the United States many years ago and recently assumed specific obligations and responsibilities written into international treaties and agreements. Furthermore, almost every modern authority on the Eastern Question has reached the conclusion that of all western nations the United States, because of geographical juxtaposition and modern economic propulsions has the greatest practical interest in the future course of China, and also that no satisfactory future for China can be assured without the direct and active participation—some say

[1] "Weekly Review of the Far East," Sept. 7, 1918.
[2] Ibid.

leadership—of America." Dr. Chilien Tsur, Chinese Consul General in New York, said recently in speaking for American leadership in the development of China: "China is the largest and richest undeveloped purchasing and producing area on the face of the globe. The Japanese are trying hard to get a monopoly of Chinese trade, but the Chinese prefer to have dealing with Americans because America has shown more than any other nation a desire to deal with China on a 'fifty-fifty' basis—on the basis of giving adequately for what it takes."

The opportunities for American trade which these advantages make possible present probably the most fascinating prospect in the business history of the United States. Japanese statesmen recently have spoken of Japan as America's best customer in the Pacific, basing their statements on the fact that while Japan's 60,000,000 people in a recent year (1918) purchased $270,000,000 worth of American goods, the 400,000,000 people of China purchased only $43,000,000 worth of American merchandise. In other words, Japanese purchases of American goods were $4.50, while Chinese purchases amounted to only 10 cents per capita. The most significant thing in such an assertion, however, is the absorbing idea that comes when one considers what China's purchases will total when the average Chinese buys as the average Japanese is buying now. Taking the above figures as a basis, China's 400,000,000 at $4.50 per capita gives a total of $1,800,000,000 or nearly 30 percent of the grand total export trade of the United States in 1918. Figures for the year following (1919) indicated that there is some foundation for such calculation for while Japan's purchases from the United States increased more than 33 per cent, those

of China more than doubled. Between 1908 and 1918 China's imports from Japan increased 714 percent, from the United States 244 percent, and from England 49 percent.

This merely serves to indicate the remarkable potentialities of trade with a country of such enormous population, whose total bill of foreign goods averaged only $1.39 per capita in 1918 and $2.25 in 1919. Mr. T. Fred Aspden, Vice-President of The International Banking Corporation, writes in the "Transpacific" (Tokio): "Among the 400,000,000 inhabitants of China even the slightest modification in the prevailing mode of life is capable of creating an enormous market for specific classes of imported goods, and, with the entire social structure in state of flux and progress, trade possibilities may be characterized as limitless."

There is little to be expected in trade returns from the development of a thinly settled country such as Persia. Other countries require the investment of enormous capital before business is productive. But conditions in China are similar to those of no other country. The nation is virgin soil for commerce and within the next few years there are scores of import and export items which can be expanded infinitely because the Chinese people are there to produce or to consume in unlimited quantities. It would be interesting, for example, to figure on the possibilities of a chewing gum campaign, similar to the cigarette campaign of the British American Tobacco Co., having as its slogan: "A stick of gum in the mouth of every Chinese."

Mr. Julean Arnold, American Commercial Attaché for China, has estimated that if China's foreign trade, which

is now more than one billion dollars a year, should equal the present per capita trade of Australia it would reach the enormous annual total of 60 billion dollars. The development which occurred in Japan will doubtless take place in China once the purchasing power of the people is liberated. The change, of course, will be more deliberate but, for the world of trade, the results will be more far-reaching. Japan's foreign trade during the past fifteen years exactly quadrupled. If China is able to do the same during the next fifteen years, by 1934 she will have a commerce of at least $6,000,000,000 a year, which will place her very high among the world's trading nations.

The United States is not a newcomer in the field of China's commerce. From the very beginning of the Republic—as soon, that is, as the restrictions prohibiting a British Colony from engaging in foreign trade were removed—American ships sailed to Canton. The first Yankee vessel to invade this hitherto exclusive territory of the British East India Company was the *Empress of China* which arrived in Canton in 1784 with a cargo of ginseng. With this ship came Major Shaw, who carried a commission from George Washington as consul to Canton, where he took up his residence as commercial agent without diplomatic functions. The trade thus begun, grew rapidly. In 1805, thirty-seven American vessels carried more than $5,700,000 worth of American goods into the port of Canton and returned to the United States loaded with Chinese products. By 1852, no less than 50 percent of the foreign trade entering the port of Shanghai was under the American flag. In 1860, 47 percent of China's total foreign trade was carried on with the United States. In 1904, however, owing to short sighted legisla-

tion and other causes, this percentage had dropped to 14.9 percent and in 1910 it was still further reduced to 6.5 percent.

But since 1910 America's trade with China has steadily increased. American business has gone to China and it intends to stay, and there is every indication that, within the next ten years, the United States will have regained the position which she occupied a half century ago. American enterprise has begun to build up permanent markets and American products have penetrated to every corner of the country.

Those who have traveled in interior China will recall the famous tins in which the Standard Oil Co. transports its oil. The Chinese are almost as eager for the tins as for the oil itself and they put them to every conceivable use. Several years ago the author was traveling along the Great Road that runs through Szechuan Province between Chungking and Chengtu, some 1200 or 1400 miles inland from Shanghai and hundreds of miles from a railroad. It happened that the citizens of the village where our caravan stopped one night had just completed the erection of a new Buddhist temple, and, in the course of the evening, some of the head men of the town waited upon us with an invitation to visit it. Being in China, which is first of all a land of courtesy, there was no alternative but to accept. We found the temple an unusually beautiful structure, and the fine wood-carving and brilliant coloring exceptional for so small a village. But with an interest in Chinese curios, I was particularly fascinated by a very curiously wrought incense burner which hung in the holy of holies, in front of the Golden Buddha. I examined it rather carefully hoping to find the stamp of some ancient

craftsman. The only mark I could discover, however, was on the inside, where, somewhat blackened by incense smoke but next to the god himself, I found these words: SOCONY (Standard Oil Co. of New York).

When our party returned to Chungking some weeks later, we were invited for dinner one evening to the home of the President of the Chinese Red Cross in that city. We went, I believe, with some misgiving for we had had previous experiences with 25 or 30 course Chinese feasts and realized that one unaccustomed to their intricacies was very apt to be incapacitated for several days thereafter. And we were certain that in Chungking, located at the headwaters of Yangtze steamer navigation, and west of the Yangtze gorges, a Chinese home and Chinese food would be unalloyed Chinese. We were amazed therefore, when ushered into the house of this Chinese gentleman, to find that it was furnished with American furniture in most excellent Western style. We sat down at an American table and were served American food which we ate with knives and forks—and that was a real privilege. Later the eldest son played for us on a made-in-America piano and, for the first time in weeks, we enjoyed some genuine American Jazz on an American phonograph. And this was in the city of Chungking, 1200 miles inland from Shanghai— a city which, up to a few years ago, could be reached only by a trip of several weeks on Chinese junk from Ichang-below-the-gorges.

The total foreign trade of China in 1864 amounted to $154,000,000; in 1874, 198,000,000; and in 1890, to $270,000,000. In 1901, with business depression it had increased to $436,000,000. In 1888, America's share in this trade was $21,0000,000; in 1898, it was $38,000,000;

and in 1908, $48,000,000. In other words, in the ten years (1898-1908) in which the trade of China grew 40 percent, the American share of it increased 60 percent. As indicated by the reports of Mr. Julean Arnold to the United States Department of Commerce, exports from the United States to China increased from $37,042,298 in the fiscal year 1914 to $55,889,380 in 1917, and to $158,863,617 in 1918. In 1919, American imports registered a slight decrease—to $154,385,806. It must be borne in mind, however, in studying the figures of trade returns, that to judge the volume of trade by the total amount of American dollars indicated in the reports, leads very often to fallacious conclusions. Trade returns as figured in the currency of the United States, during the past two or three years, have often fallen as a result of general price reductions, when during the same time, perhaps, the actual volume of trade has not been greatly altered and, in some instances, actually increased.

It is indicative of the vitality of China's trade, however, that in the face of political strife and disturbances, famine, earthquake, fall in the price of silver and world business depression, the total value of the foreign trade of the country in 1920 exceeds the totals recorded for any previous year.

Up to very recently, approximately 80 percent of America's trade with China was handled by other than American houses. Foreign firms, knowing something of the success that generally follows the American business man around the world, were interested in keeping him out of the Chinese market. Mr. Julean Arnold is authority for the statement that foreign firms in China have been known to accept American agencies for the sole purpose of keep-

ing Americans out of the field. In the long run the business that prospers is that which is carried on by personal contact. The man who stays at home and depends upon his correspondence, if he is forced to compete with the man on the field, very seldom lands the trade.

A case in point is told by Evangeline Cole in the "World Outlook" for April 16, 1917: In the past, very few American shoes were sold in China. Only one well known brand was handled by a British firm which made no effort to push it. Many of the foreigners in China were having their shoes made by Chinese shoemakers, who made a cheap but ill-fitting shoe after a paper pattern of their own cutting. In 1916, however, the Walk-Over Shoe Co. rented a big store on one of the busiest streets of Shanghai. They sent out two men from America and all the equipment of a good American shoe shop. The foreign residents flocked to it immediately. To-day if one goes into the Walk-Over Shoe Shop he has to wait his turn, and it has been necessary to employ two Chinese clerks to handle the native trade. Within six months this shop, notwithstanding the high rent it had to pay and the costs of its elaborate fixtures, was paying expenses and now pays handsome dividends. All of the conditions which made the success of the Walk-Over Shop were present before that company entered the field. There was a foreign population to start the trade and Chinese, among whom a demand could be developed. The other American brand, handled by a British Concern, might easily have secured this business had they had foresight enough to send out their own representative and rent their own shop.

Another similar incident is related by the same writer. Up to February, 1914, not more than fifty Cash Registers

had been sold in all China. In 1917, the sales averaged over 50 a month and were steadily increasing. The reason for such a tremendous spurt is clear. The National Cash Register Co. sent out experts, salesmen, and factory men, to adapt their machines to the market. They had to face the problem of special steel for the interiors because the damp climate rusts ordinary steel in a fortnight; then the numerals, phrases on the checks, etc., had to be put into Chinese characters and adjustment had to be made by special construction for Chinese currency. In the end, however, a real demand was created for cash registers because they were adapted to China and sold direct to the Chinese.

Standard Oil furnishes a still further illustration of the extent to which trade can be developed when a concern actually enters the field. Standard Oil does a business in China amounting to nearly $9,000,000 annually, and has established offices in the centers of trade, storage tanks far in the interior and operates its own steamship lines for coastwise and river trade. Practically all of China, including the large cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more are lighted by Standard Oil. Another pioneer of American business is the Singer Sewing Machine Co., whose expeditions to drum up trade have carried their agents into the remotest sections of the country where public exhibitions of what a sewing machine can do cause as much excitement as a carnival in the Middle West. About 15,000 machines are being sold each year to the Chinese, 80 percent of them going to native tailoring establishments, although more and more a demand is being built up in the individual households of the country. America sells to China approximately 66 percent of the motor cars im-

ported; 62 percent of the leaf tobacco; 57 percent of the kerosene; 47 percent of the nails; 42 percent of the tinned goods and 38 percent of the steel plates.

American business concerns have learned that China-trade is too huge in its possibilities to permit of any haphazard methods in handling it. American busness men are coöperating as never before to advance their interests. The first American Chamber of Commerce to be organized outside of the United States was formed in Shanghai in 1915. In 1918 it had a membership of 65, which was increased in 1920 to 200. The success of recently founded American periodicals is another indication of the increase of American interests. "The Weekly Review of the Far East" (formerly "Millard's Review") which first appeared in 1917, has become recognized internationally as an authority on political and commercial affairs in Asia. The "Transpacific," a monthly trade journal published in Tokio, is an American publication of International Service, which is rapidly gaining recognition in financial circles in America.

In all the chief port cities of the country one finds representatives of American firms, the great majority of them being young business men, recently out of college; alert, keen and enterprising to the nth degree of their Yankee energy. Kipling wrote of the unfortunate end of a man who "tried to hustle the East." Doubtless, the poet, at that time, had not encountered many of America's present generation in China. On a visit to Shanghai in 1919, I was asked one day to attend a meeting at the American Club where an organization of former aviators was being formed. Upon inquiry I was surprised to learn that in Shanghai alone, there were some twenty-five young men all

of whom had served as either pilots or observers in the air forces of the United States army during the war and had already come to China to engage in business there.

From the foregoing survey it is evident that America has been drawn into an aggressive participation in the struggle for world markets; that American enterprise, in seeking markets for the products of American industry is destined to turn increasingly to Asia; and that the great center of America's commercial interest in Asia is China. This increasing commercial contact with the Chinese nation is destined to have a profound effect upon the future relation of the two great republics of the Pacific. To-day Chinese business men are looking to the business men of the United States for guidance and direction. To-morrow China, influenced by that leadership, will alter the economic balance of the world for good or ill. The opportunity of American business in China is equaled only by its obligations.

CHAPTER THREE

CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL RENAISSANCE

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THE Industrial Life of China is in transition. Upon what basis or in what form the new industry of the nation will be built it is impossible to predict. The movement is only in its beginning and the outcome still uncertain. The change, whatever it may involve, will not be immediate. Ten, or even twenty years, will not see China's trade conditions completely revolutionized. But a very definite progress is already apparent and one fact is fairly clear: namely, an industrial renaissance in a nation so finely furnished with the essential natural resources, and among a people numbering one-fourth of the earth's population is certain to move mightily the future course of world events.

In the previous chapter we have pointed out, in a general way the extent of America's Commercial Stake in China. It was our purpose in that chapter to make clear the fact that with the development of the foreign trade of the United States, and the consequent search for markets the commercial interests of America are destined to be drawn into increasingly intimate contact with those of China.

In studying China's Industrial Renaissance, in the present chapter, we will make no attempt to trace the ultimate implications of the movement, since its definite tendencies are as yet obscure. It will be our purpose, in the first place, to point out some of the actual, recent developments

in Chinese industrial life; and, in the second place, indicate something of their bearing upon this increasing commercial contact between America and China.

China has an area of 4,277,000 square miles. If the United States and Alaska could be laid upon China there would still be uncovered territory around the borders sufficient for several Great Britains. Chinese territory, although mostly in the temporate zone, extends from the 54th parallel of latitude southward to the 18th, and possesses every variety of climate from the arctic north to the tropics. The soil of China is of fabulous fertility, 600,000,000 acres of which are said to be arable. The fact that after thousands of years in which it has been intensely cultivated as no other portion of the earth's surface there is no indication of a loss of productivity, is evidence of its richness. The nation is also remarkably well-supplied with rivers which provide cheap navigation as well as furnish abundant water for irrigation.

China, likewise, is fortunate in possessing, in abundance, those great essentials to modern industrial development—coal and iron. Every one of the 18 provinces is reported to have workable deposits of coal, and Shansi, according to the German geologist Richthoven, is one of the most remarkable coal and iron regions in the world, while Kansu province is said to rival Shansi in the richness of its resources. According to Mr. V. K. Ting, director of the Geological Survey of China, the coal deposits of that country are sufficient to supply the world's needs at its present rate of consumption of 1,000,000 tons a year for 1000 years. And Professor Fernald of the University of Pennsylvania estimates that the total coal deposit of China

amounts to 1,200,000,000,000 (one trillion, two hundred billion) short tons. In addition to coal and iron, China controls a large proportion of the world's supply of antimony, and is generously supplied with tin, lead, copper, and gold. Mr. Putnam Weale declared ("Transpacific," November, 1919): "China is the mineral reservoir of one-quarter of the globe; on her reserves depends the continued prosperity of one-third of the world's population." And China's Industrial Renaissance is making possible the development of these enormous resources which, throughout the centuries, have lain dormant.[1]

On August 6, 1921, there appeared in the press of the United States a dispatch from Shanghai stating that "the work of installing engines and mechanical equipment in the hulls of the steamers *Oriental* and *Cathay* is proceeding rapidly and it is believed that before the summer is over these two ships, which are the last of four built in Shanghai for the United States Shipping Board will be delivered at San Francisco." The significance of this news item is not to be found in the fact that the size of the United States' Merchant Marine is soon to be increased by several thousand tons. Too much of the shipping already afloat is idle to make apparent an immediate need for more. Of much more importance is the fact, only implied in the press report, that there exists in China to-day an industrial leadership with courage and enterprise sufficient to have ever begun such an undertaking.

The Kiangnan Dock and Engineering Works at Shanghai which, in 1918, was given a contract by the United States Shipping Board for four 10,000 ton vessels, is dis-

[1] Julean Arnold, "The Transpacific," Oct., 1919.

tinctly a Chinese concern, employing some 3000 Chinese laborers, is managed by Chinese directors, and backed by Chinese capital. Its Secretary, Mr. H. K. Kwong, belongs to the new type of business men who are rapidly coming to power in China's emerging industrial life. Mr. Kwong secured his elementary education in Canton and later studied in St. John's College, Shanghai. In 1909, he was sent to America as an indemnity student, where he attended Andover Academy for one year of further preparatory work and in 1911 entered Princeton. In college, he was the first foreigner ever appointed to the editorial board of the "Daily Princetonian," was a member of the "Key and Seal Club" and during his last year was on the staff of the "Springfield Republican."

As secretary of the Kiangnan Dock and Engineering Works, Mr. Kwong has managed the construction of a modern shipbuilding yard, fitted with the most up-to-date machinery and capable of turning out ocean carriers complete in every detail. The urgency of the United States Shipping Board order and the fact that the specifications called for special types of boilers made it necessary to import steel plates from America, but the Shanghai yards could have furnished the entire equipment had they been called upon to do so. In building their plant, the Company has imported, from the United States, air compressors, pneumatic tools, electric furnaces, plate rollers, punching and shearing machines, ten and twenty ton electric cranes, and drilling and milling machines.

The achievement of the Kiangnan Dock and Engineering Works is a product of China's Industrial Renaissance. Not only has the construction of these vessels been undertaken, but experts assert them to be among the best ships

of the many built for the shipping board. Doubtless when these vessels with their Oriental names—the *Celestial, Oriental, Mandarin,* and *Cathay*—are commissioned and sailing in and out of American harbors they will awaken in the United States a new interest in China and the Chinese industries which are so rapidly growing in importance in that country.

The history of Chinese industry goes far back beyond the Christian era. Bishop James W. Bashford, in his comprehensive volume: "China—An Interpretation" places the Chinese among the very earliest of peoples to discover the industrial advantages of a division of labor and of an exchange of products. Iron mines, according to this authority, were opened in very early ages, iron was used for money and hammered into tools and the industry had considerable importance between B. C. 1122-221. Hand grain mills and hand looms and hand embroidery were in use and fishing with lines and nets for food are mentioned as occupations a thousand years before Christ. Spinning, weaving, dyeing, the rearing of silk worms, and the wearing of silk are claimed by the Chinese as belonging to an even earlier date. Confucius, who lived B. C. 551-478, mentions rope-making and carpentry as industries established long before his time.

The earliest Chinese recorded history is about B. C. 776. At that time slavery was unknown, although all labor was at the disposal of the sovereign and no man without the sovereign's permission could work at a task different from that which occupied his father. Trades had some organization and, in the cities, were segregated in different streets. Up to very recently, however, the industrial life of China has been static. According to Bishop Bashford:

"For the past 2000 years there has been very little change in the articles of food, raiment or instruments of production, or in clothing, house building or any other of the industrial arts, save that cotton growing, introduced into China between A. D. 960 and A. D. 1280, caused a marked change in the clothing of the people."

China is still a nation of community manufacturing. The family factory is the most productive industrial organization in the nation. To walk through the average village of China's vast interior is to see the women at their spinning, and the men at the forge or the cobbler's bench. The ordinary village is almost wholly self-sustaining. The average home is able, with feeble means, and little difficulty, to encompass the complex problems of production and distribution, of high prices and poor quality which beset the economic pathway of the individual whose lot has been cast in that part of the world which we call modern.

China has been slow to introduce the materials necessary for her commercial and industrial expansion largely because of the superstition and fear with which she regarded them. The fact that in the first decades of her commercial intercourse with the West, the Chinese people were eager for more intimate trade relations may lead to the conclusion that, to a certain extent at least, her more recent opposition to such contact has been due to the treatment which she received at the hands of foreigners. However that may be, the fact remains that up to a generation ago it was practically impossible to lay a mile of railroad or open a mine anywhere in China without arousing superstitious opposition on the part of the population. The earth was considered to be the abode of horrible mon-

sters and it was thought that to lay rails across its surface or sink shafts beneath it would arouse these spiritual beasts to destructive anger or disturb the spirits who swarmed the air and lurked about the ancestral graves. The first railroad in China, built by the British in 1876, between Woosung and Shanghai was only ten miles long. But, because in its unfortunate course it traversed a Chinese burying ground, the people became so alarmed over the impending disturbances among the spirits of the departed that the Government purchased the road outright and hired its builder to tear it up.

In 1895, however, permission was granted by the Chinese Government to build a railroad from Nanking to Shanghai; in the same year further permission was secured to build a line from Tientsin to the Lukow bridge near Peking, and to-day China has 6,500 miles of railway. An additional 2,400 miles are under construction and prior to the war, concessions for the building of 14,000 more had been granted. The populace of the country, from the officials and gentry down, are coming to appreciate the value of better communication systems and are eager for railways so long as those who build do not impair the sovereignty of the people in their construction.

A further illustration of the extent to which the old superstitions which hindered the progress of China are being removed is furnished by the industrial progress of Hunan province.[1] Hunan was the last province in China to open its doors to the foreigner and foreign enterprise. Up to 20 years ago even the missionaries were unable to gain admittance. Although one of the richest provinces of

[1] Julean H. Arnold in "The Commercial Handbook of China," Vol. II, pp. 319.

the country in mineral resources, mining operations on a modern scale had not been undertaken until very recently. Hunan is especially rich in its deposits of antimony and the great demand for that mineral as a result af the war has wrought a transformation in the life of the province and in the attitude of its people toward foreigners. Hunan now supplies 80 percent of the world's consumption of antimony. In addition coal, lead, zinc, and tin are listed among its exports. Modern industrial plants have appeared in Changsha, the capitol. Modern buildings are being erected along its streets. The city wall has but recently been torn down to make room for a boulevard and miles of good roads are being constructed. A railway has already been built connecting Changsha with Hankow and soon another will be complete joining with Canton. Yet Hunan, a few years ago, was the seat of conservatism, the center of opposition to foreigners and things foreign, the "Hermit Province" of China.

Mr. B. Putnam Weales, the well-known English authority on Chinese affairs, relates a story of Chinese Industrial development in the "Transpacific" for November, 1919. He writes of the incident as follows: "There is not more than a stone's throw from the spot where this paper is being written a machine shop where pots and kettles were mended until two years ago. The owner somehow got a job which required lathes and gradually developed his business into a machine shop. A year ago damaged motor cars began to stop in front of his door. Beginning with an ancient Ford that had collided with a telegraph post and almost fallen to pieces, worked steadily to a higher level, until a couple of months ago a big English steam roller panted up in the last stages of exhaustion with a burnt out

boiler. The whole engineering staff, recruited from all over North China, turned out and contemplated the derelict for half a day wondering how it was to be tackled. On the second day they got to work. A big hoist was rigged up and mainly by man power and cold chisel the roller was taken to pieces and the boiler extracted. Then began a struggle of ingenuity and artifice. New steel plates had to be bent; new tools purchased. With the most primitive appliances the work went on night and day for 42 days; most of the neighborhood participating in the experiment. At the end of that time, the roller, rebuilt, repaired, and repainted, steamed majestically away. The old pot and kettle shop had climbed one stage higher."

In the past it has been commonly said that the only guarantee of efficiency in large Chinese organizations was foreign management. Thus in 1863, Sir Robert Hart was accepted as Chinese inspector of Customs, and the British still supervise the service; the construction of telegraph lines was committed to the Danes; the British assist in the management of the Salt Gabelle, and most of the railroad construction has been undertaken by foreigners.

But China's Industrial Renaissance not only is destroying the old, deep-seated opposition to innovations of the modern world. It is developing a national Industrial Consciousness among the Chinese business leaders. And this new spirit, already evident, is destined to supplant the foreign manager and proceed on the basis of Chinese business by and for the Chinese.

The rapid rise of Chinese Chambers of Commerce since the overthrow of the dynasty is an indication of this spirit. In many cases these new institutions have come to exercise more influence than the officials themselves and their pos-

sibilities for the commercial development of the country are limitless. They are non-government organizations, composed of citizen groups who are free to determine the scope of their own activity, but, in the words of Upton Close,[1] they are "Held responsible as sort of a godfather for the mutual harmony, good behavior and progress of the merchant family."

The official position of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce is that of middleman between the Government's Ministry of Commerce and the similar departments in the province, on the one hand, and the merchant class on the other. They provide practically the only means whereby the small business man can become acquainted with foreign articles of trade, foreign methods of shipment, credit and payment and the needs of the foreign market. They have the power to examine the books of native concerns and give opinions as to their standings and it is almost impossible for a Chinese to set up business without first securing the approval of the local Chamber. With the erection of beautiful buildings in many of the leading cities, the founding of a National Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai, and the establishment of valuable exhibits, industrial conventions and industrial schools these new organizations are in a position to greatly further the industrial transformation of the country.

In the "Weekly Review of the Far East" (Shanghai) on February 2nd, 1921, there appeared an obscure item to the effect that "at the last meeting of the shareholders of the Han Yeh Ping Iron Works it was unanimously resolved that all Japanese shares should be redeemed." The Han Yeh Ping Iron and Steel Corporation is, in many respects,

[1] "The Transpacific," July, 1920.

the most outstanding industrial organization in China. The plant covers an area of some 100,000 square feet, employs over 6000 Chinese laborers and is equipped with 4 blast furnaces, 7 open hearth Martin furnaces for steel with a capacity of 30 tons per charge, and is capable of turning out 300 tons of steel rails per day.

Chang Chih Tung, the enlightened Viceroy of Hupeh Province, first ordered this plant built at Wuchang, his official residence, where from the windows of his "yamen" he might behold the smoke rising from its chimneys. But plans for construction ran amuck of a dangerous dragon purported to dwell in a hill behind the city and the opposition of the populace was so intense it was finally necessary to establish the industry at Hanyang. As an indication of the waning popularity of dragons—and other superstitions of like sort—it is interesting to note that a tunnel was recently completed through the very center of this once sacred hill.

The industry, in its early history, was a government enterprise, but in 1898 it was converted into a commercial concern. To-day, the capital stock amounts to nearly $50,000,000. Owing to the fact that the Han Yeh Ping Co. owns the Ping Hsiang Coal mines and the Ta-yeh iron mines, both of which are of easy access, the plant is unusually well supplied with the minerals essential for its operation, and, under adequate leadership, bids fair to do for the Chinese Steel Industry what the United States Steel and the Bethlehem Steel Corporations have accomplished in America. Consequently in 1912, when, owing to severe financial embarrassment, the company asked for assistance from the then existing provisional Government and was refused, it was not unnatural that Japanese capital, ever

alert to such openings, should step in and offer its assistance. Since that time, although the management of the company has been in the hands of Chinese, the actual control has been semi-Japanese.

The action of the remaining Chinese stockholders who have set out to redeem the Japanese shares is probably not without political significance. From China's point of view, there are many reasons why Japan's control of a huge steel plant, and iron and coal mines in the Yangtsze Valley is not desirable. But probably of even greater significance is the indication that Chinese business men, whenever they are able to do so, are determined to make the industries of China distinctly Chinese. It is only reasonable that, in the present state of Sino-Japanese relations, this determination should first make itself evident in concerns controlled by Japan. But eventually all foreign-owned or directed Chinese companies will feel the effect of this National Industrial Consciousness.

It is necessary to note one further evidence of this life in Chinese financial circles. "Native banking of China," according to Upton Close in the "Transpacific" for May, 1921, "has awakened to self-consciousness and asserted emphatically its intention to act as the watchdog of the nation's financial integrity." This, he continues, "is the greatest development of the era in China's financial world and a circumstance of tremendous import to banking circles in Japan, America, Great Britain, and France, for Chinese finance has become a large potential factor in the Wall Streets and Bourses of the Powers."

To uphold his contention Mr. Close, who is an authoritative writer on China, outlines in detail a plan proposed by Chinese financiers to place the government on a sound

The Steel City of Hanyaug located near Hankow, six hundred miles up the Yangtze from Shanghai. An evidence of the new industrial order that is developing in China.

business basis. These men are acting on the assumption that the Chinese nation is capable of supporting itself and that difficulties in the past have been due to maladministration rather than to poverty. They believe they can place and maintain China's finance on a sound basis and that, henceforth, there will be little need of foreign intervention to bolster up the nation's wobbling credit.

Early in the year (1921) this group of bankers made an initial loan, to the government, of $6,000,000 for the purchase of sorely needed rolling stock for Government railways. In this negotiation, the Chinese followed the precedent already established by the new Consortium Group of proposing to loan for constructive purposes only and insisting upon a strict supervision of all expenditures. Immediately following this loan the Chinese bankers offered to work out a program for China's future finance and proposed means for seeing the Government through the dreaded period of New Year settlements. Mr. Chang Chia-ngau, vice-governor of the Bank of China, who, according to Mr. Close has been the life of the new movement said in regard to the plans of the Chinese group: "We are confident of the ability of the Chinese to finance China and even provide for its material progress when the confidence of the investing public has been gained, and that confidence we have set about to win. . . . We are with the people and the people are with us. The southern banks are coöperating with us. There is no North and South among China's commercial and financial men." And the closing words of a memorandum referred by this group to the national government are significant: "We, the Chinese bankers, demand that we be allowed to take part in the discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of any pro-

posed financial move which concerns the nation, before the Government comes to a decision."

The plans of the Chinese group may never materialize. They are certain, at least, to be extensively modified. But such an expression of self-consciousness, however impotent that self-consciousness may be to fully assert itself, presages something of the policy which will dominate Chinese industrial and commercial life, once the spirit to proclaim has been reënforced by the power to perform.

It is necessary to bear in mind, further, that this national industrial consciousness cannot be forever confined to the leaders of Chinese industry. Sooner or later it will reach that great, inarticulate mass of laborers among whom toils the "average Chinese." New ideas seep but slowly into his consciousness. Still more slowly comes the change which new ideas demand. But eventually these developments which may now be far beyond his ken will come within the horizon and Chinese labor will speak for itself. And in a nation where the power of combination is so great, and the very essentials of democracy so deeply rooted in the lowliest man the voice of labor will be unmistakable, and its power for good or evil infinite.

A Chinese workman to-day labors, at the least, twelve hours out of twenty-four. His wage varies through the country from ten to forty cents a day. There are no labor laws, or if there are any, they were long since buried and forgotten in the dusty archives of Peking's governmental depository. As a rule, he is given one meal a day by his employer, and except in rare instances no attention whatever is paid to his moral or physical well-being. If he becomes ill, he dies, unless by some happy chance a Chinese doctor saves him. If the lint from the cotton mill clogs his

throat and he becomes tubercular he is dismissed and a stronger man or woman takes his place. No provision is made for his housing, children labor side by side with their parents, there are few safety devices, and fewer conveniences for the workmen. Much of Chinese industry has operated upon the major principle of the limitless exploitation of the laborer.

It is not true, of course, that such conditions are universal throughout China. Many of the nation's far seeing business men who have had a share in China's first industrial awakening are coming now to recognize that there must be some common ground upon which capital and labor can meet in a way that will avoid much of the unrest and agitation that is disturbing the western world. In fairness, it must be added, that many foreign firms, even in this day, are far behind the Chinese themselves in introducing labor reforms.

The "Commercial Press," for example, owned and managed as it is by a Chinese who himself was born in poverty, furnishes a free clinic for its several thousand employees; maintains a system of compensation for accidents and deaths occurring in the course of employment; provides evening classes for the benefit of the workingmen; in the case of women workers the company provides a vacation of one month before the birth of a child and one month after with a sum of money for mid-wifery, etc.; and maintains a kindergarten for the children of the employees.

The author, in conversation with Dr. Woo, General Manager of the Han Yeh Ping Iron works, was told that this company has built model homes for its employees, and laid out a park for their families. A day school for the children was in process of organization and an interde-

partment paper for the factory was being published. From these activities the concern planned to move on to motion picture shows, special lectures, and social service work possibly under the direction of the Y. M. C. A. When asked about labor difficulties Dr. Woo, who was educated in England and is thoroughly familiar with labor conditions around the world, replied that, without doubt, such difficulties would come to China, unless the Chinese employer realized that by building up a right relationship between himself and his employees they could be avoided.

Recently labor unions somewhat similar to those in America, but without their political features, have sprung up. These are to be differentiated from the ancient guilds which have existed from China's early history and include all Chinese industry, save the farmer, from the banker to the beggar and the thief. A few of the railway workers and miners organized on a modern basis before the revolution of 1911, and newer types have been established since that time. The chief purposes of the Chinese labor union are two: First, the education of the worker and, second, the increase of wages. From indications which have so far appeared these organizations are neither socialistic or radical. But that they are growing rapidly in numbers and influence is evident. Chinese labor will strive for higher wages and shorter hours and better working conditions. Already this movement is apparent in many industries. The future is almost entirely in the hands of the Chinese capitalist who may, if he chooses, guide these growing organizations to a place of real usefulness in the industry of the nation.

Thus China's Industrial Renaissance is moving irresistibly to work the transformation of the nation's economic

life. Its progress is not revolutionary, but it is profound. It reaches to the very foundations of much that is most ancient in China's social and economic structure. A few decades hence instead of 100,000 workers in the factories of the land there will be 20,000,000.[1] Instead of a few isolated industrial plants, the cities of China will bristle with smoke-stacks as present-day Japan. Instead of a pawn, China will be a factor in the game of international finance. But there is no greater opportunity problem before American industrial leaders and financiers than that of assuring for China an unhampered development to the place where, strong and self-reliant, she may prove a blessing to humanity.

The Chinese themselves are the last to deny the need of foreign guidance through this perilous period of change. Mr. Chang Chia-ngau, quoted above as the guiding personality behind the group of bankers who have asserted themselves in favor of underwriting the Government with Chinese capital, expressed his belief that the industrial progress of China "can be very much more rapid if assisted by foreign money, lent in the spirit of friendly commercialism, and untrammeled by political influence." Mr. Julean Arnold, America's Commercial attaché in China, has declared: "China needs foreign help and guidance. A weak, dependent China alone will prove a menace to the world." A Chinese official has likened his country to a child learning to walk. "The nation needs to be helped. There must be some strong hand to keep it from falling."

Leading Chinese are looking more and more to America to provide that steadying influence, for they recognize that American interest in China will not involve an im-

[1] Julean Arnold in "The Transpacific," Oct., 1919.

perialistic domination of China's industry. Such leadership will doubtless bring its adequate return in trade balances. Japan, opened first by the United States and guided in her economic development by American example more, perhaps, than she is willing to admit, carries on a large percent of her foreign trade with the United States. The production of raw silk is easily the most profitable industry in Japan, and in 1919 out of every $100 worth of raw silk which she exported to the world, America bought $96 worth. She is practically dependent upon the United States for cotton and wool with which to clothe her people. In the same year (1919) of the total imports of semi-finished iron and steel, engines and machinery Japan secured considerably more than three-fourths from the United States. And we furnished almost every dollar's worth of materials which she purchased for building bridges, docks, railways, and ships. In gross trade Japan buys from and sells to the United States more than twice as much as any other country.[1] With China developed industrially as Japan and conducting a like proportion of her foreign trade with the United States, American business will have established itself in an enviable position in the world's greatest market.

But there are questions involved in China's Industrial development which are much more vital than the trade returns. What is involved in the situation is pointed out by Dr. Walter E. Weyl:[2] "China will either grow into an effective and capable industrial nation or will be held subject at least temporarily, to international control and international exploitation. . . . Imperialism which has di-

[1] Walter B. Pitkin, "Must We Fight Japan?" pp. 32-33.

[2] "Harpers Magazine," October, 1918. Quoted by W. Reginald Wheeler in "China and the World-War," pp. 161-2 footnote.

vided up Africa and much of western Asia, now knocks at China's door. . . . How it will all end, by what means, if any, China will be able to hold her own, to develop herself and take her equal place among the great nations—is a baffling, haunting question, a challenge not only to the Chinese, but to those friends of China in the Western World who wish this problem to be settled justly and in peace."

If imperialism continues to be the order in China; if engineered strifes continue to demoralize the nation; if, in the future, back of every governmental move is the selfish influence of special interests involved, China will continue to be the great world clearing house for international debaucheries; the great remaining field where rival diplomats can meet and engage in the ancient and sinister pastime of spoilation. And the China which will finally emerge—and in spite of all obstructions a China will emerge—will have indelibly stamped upon its soul the seal of hate, engendered by the vultures who have robbed her.

But the confidence of the Chinese people in America places the business interests of the United States in a position of leadership. And because American business is coming to realize this responsibility the development of Chinese industry, which we have outlined in the present chapter, is destined to draw America and China into still closer commercial contact. It is within the power of American business men to thwart the plans of forces inimical to China's welfare. It is likewise within their power to insure a continuance of the progress which China's Industrial Renaissance has begun. The United States can ill afford to ignore the issues involved, for upon their just settlement will depend, in no small measure, the future peace of the Pacific.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHAT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE?

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CHINA'S greatest potentiality is man-power. Her people are hampered and oppressed by a multitude of ancient precedents and superstitions. Their lives, from childhood, are enslaved by the bitter demands of economic necessity. The first impression of a Chinese city is that of ceaseless, unremitting labor. Day after day, year in, year out, without variance or progress, from generation unto generation, China's millions are ground out with ceaseless toil. And always at the door there lurks the haunting menace of famine, eager to destroy when drouth or pestilence or flood interrupts their labor. Through many centuries the Chinese have been thus relentlessly held subject. But China's greatest potentiality, still, is man-power.

In the foregoing chapters we have indicated the extent of America's Commercial Stake in China. We have reviewed some of the actual developments in China's Industrial Renaissance. In short, it has been our purpose, not alone to point out some of the factors which are drawing the interests of the United States into increasing commercial contact with those of China, but to take inventory of the country's material resources and indicate something of her own ability to develop them.

In the present chapter and that following, we will undertake a similar inventory of the nation's human resources, and later survey whatever efforts are being made to develop them. With all these materials, with the development of Chinese industry, with even the new spirit which we have noted among Chinese business leaders, with all these things, we still may ask, "What of the Chinese People?" Do the real, the average Chinese, the 399 out of the 400 million, possess those great fundamental qualities of character which are essential if their nation is ever to reach a place of permanent power?

Some one paraphrasing Abraham Lincoln's expression has said, "God must have loved the Chinese people because He made so many of them."

Of the world's total population one-fourth is Chinese. Estimates made in 1920 by the Chinese Post-office place the number at 427,697,214.[1] In other words China's population is 7 times that of South America and nearly equivalent to that of all Europe. And hereafter, instead of referring to Belgium when we wish to emphasize density of population we will speak of Kiangsu Province which, according to the Postal estimates, has an average of 875 people for every square mile; Chekiang Province stands second with 600 per square mile; and Shantung, usually considered the most thickly populated province of China, is third with 550.

We can better appreciate the enormity of this population if we use the illustration of an English writer who declares that if, in a war, an enemy started killing Chinese soldiers at the rate of 1,000,000 a year, and if China were using 10 percent of her population in that war (an army

[1] "Transpacific," November, 1920.

of 40,000,000) it would take forty years to destroy her first armies and in that time two further Chinese forces of 50,000,000 each would grow up to face the enemy.

Doubtless, there is some merit in mere mass. But the population of China—vast as it is—could not interest us as it does were it not for the fact that the Chinese possess in their very nature the fundamentals requisite to development. We may say, even further, that these fundamentals are so universal and so deeply rooted in the Chinese character that this development, once it has begun, will guide the nation to a place of world leadership.

Amos P. Wilder, former American Consul General in Shanghai, declares that, "There is nothing decadent about the Chinese—absolutely nothing. There are countries across the Atlantic that depress one, for decay and degeneracy are obvious, but the Chinese are full of power and capacity. They give the impression, whether official, merchant, student, or coolie of a people that could do anything, not merely industrially but intellectually. It has been proved that one may take children from the streets, from the boat population, from the dirty, diseased villages and with education and sympathy make men of power. They are physically strong, virile, forceful. As four chair-bearers, perspiring, panting, yet exulting in their humble task—with no vision of higher employment—as they bear their human burden home from the club luxuriously asleep, up steep inclines at better than four miles an hour, one has the uncomfortable feeling that all their labor may mean storage of power against some day when the law of compensation will reverse conditions." [1]

[1] Blakeslee, "China and the Far East," p. 194, Clark University Lectures.

Sir Robert Hart says of the Chinese: "They are well-behaved, law abiding, intelligent, economical and industrious; they are punctiliously polite, they worship talent, and they believe in right so firmly that they scorn to think it requires to be supported or enforced by might." [1] And Bourne, another English authority, asserts that: "a man of good physical and intellectual qualities regarded merely as an economical factor is turned out cheaper by the Chinese than by any other race." [2]

It must be admitted, at the outset, however, that these qualities are not apparent immediately upon one's arrival in China. For example, the author was told repeatedly before he reached Shanghai that "you may not like the sights and sounds and smells of China, but you can't help loving the Chinese people." When we finally landed it was on a hot August day. At the bund our party was assailed by a howling, shouting mob of half-naked coolies who swarmed over the boat and us and took riotous possession of our baggage. And before well on shore we had agreed that never could we learn to like the "sights or sounds or smells of China"—particularly the smells—and that Old China Hands who insisted on loving the Chinese people were merely suffering from a distorted viewpoint. Their proximity to conditions probably made it impossible for them to see or better, perhaps, to smell things as they actually existed.

Then, too, for the first few weeks in China one labors under the prejudice of those misconceptions which are always the product of superficial contact with a people—

[1] Quoted by Dickensen in "Letters of a Chinese," p. 63.
[2] Quoted by Colquhoun "China in Transformation," p. 58.

and which, in America, too frequently color our whole attitude toward various races. One of my first impressions of the country was of the quite evident fact that the Chinese appear to do everything exactly the opposite from the way in which we do the same thing in the rest of the world. This impression was so frequently forced upon me it was difficult not to conclude that the Chinese deliberately planned to do everything backward in order to aggravate foreigners who might be passing through their country. The author made a list of such opposites in his diary and that there is some basis for such an idea will be evident when these are set down.

In the first place we were told that the compass in China points south—a fact for which there was some difficulty accounting, but which we decided was quite in keeping with the spirit of the country. In reading a book the Chinese begin in the back and read toward the front, and instead of reading across they read up and down the page. Chinese boatmen, instead of sitting down and rowing with their back toward the point of destination, stand up and face forward. The most luxurious beds in China are not soft, but hard. Courteous Chinese in meeting a stranger shake their own hand instead of his, and in speaking a name, do not say, "Mr. Jones," but, "Jones Mr." A Chinese lad wishing to pare an apple, rather than hold the apple still and move the knife, holds the knife still and moves the apple. Horses are mounted on the right side instead of on the left and the place of honor is always the left.

The old men play marbles and fly kites while the children gravely watch them. A coffin is a most acceptable

present to a rich parent in good health. The roads have no carriages, the ships have no keels, and the seat of the intellect is the stomach. It is rude to remove the hat, white clothes are worn for mourning, the men wear gowns and the women trousers. In such a country, it is not strange that we should find a literature without an alphabet, a language without a grammar, and women to whom the greatest compliment is conveyed when one asks their age.

But if one's China travels are not confined to the treaty ports, these superficial impressions are soon overcome and the conviction begins to grow that, after all, the Chinese, the average Chinese, possesses traits of character which demand one's admiration. And in the end, it will probably be necessary to conclude that Old China Hands who insist upon loving the Chinese people and proclaiming abroad their greatness are not so abnormal in their viewpoint as we had at first supposed.

The most apparent quality and one of the most essential for any nation is that of industry. Colquhoun, an English writer asserts: "That which marks the Chinese as a race, whether at home or abroad, is beyond doubt his industry. He has almost a passion for labor. In search of it he compasses land and sea." [1] Dr. Arthur Judson Brown, an authority on things Chinese, says: "Wherever a Chinese can get a foot of ground and a quart of water he will make something grow." [2] How much Chinese industry, as well as some other of their good qualities, are the product of economic necessity it is impossible to say. The fact remains that wherever

[1] "China in Transformation," p. 252.
[2] "New Forces in Old China," p. 44.

you find a Chinese, whether in a laundry in San Francisco, a University in New York or a rice paddy in Szechuan, early and late he is invariably at work. Bishop Bashford [1] relates that the late Empress Dowager was in the habit of summoning her ministers to council long before the dawn and he continues: "We have frequently gone to sleep at night hearing the sound of a rice huller, or a blacksmith hammering on his anvil, and have awakened in the morning with the same sounds continuing, as if the labor had lasted throughout the night."

Among the real Chinese there is no leisure class. The soldiers are the only idlers. Chinese Main Streets have no lounging places for there are none to lounge. From dawn until long after dark the village merchant keeps open shop, the street hucksters shout their wares and the cobbler whose store may be boarded up at dusk still labors at his bench by lamp light. From the small lad who helps his father with the sam pan or toils as an apprentice, to the old men, industry is a universal characteristic of this people.

Chinese education under the old examination system had no rewards save for diligence. Arthur H. Smith, whose long experience in China has established him as an authority on the characteristics of the people, tells of a grandfather, son, and grandson all competing in the same examination for the same government degree, age, persistence and industry being rewarded at the age of 80 by the long coveted honor. In 1889, according to Dr. Smith, there were 35 competitors for degrees over 80 years of age and 18 over 90. It is possible that the uniformity with which Chinese students distinguish them-

[1] "China—An Interpretation," p. 48.

selves in American universities is a result of this same diligence quite as much as their mental ability.[1]

But the Chinese are not alone industrious. They are economical and thrifty. A Chinese proverb applies economy as well for the rich as the poor:

> Though you be a millionaire
> Mend one-half the clothes you wear.[2]

It is doubtful if even in India materials and food are more carefully conserved than in China, another fact which is probably largely a result of economic necessity. At one time, when in Shantung Province, the author climbed Tai Shan, China's sacred mountain. From the foot to its summit we constantly passed Chinese men who were painstakingly sweeping up the leaves and twigs from under the splendid trees that line the stone highway up the mountain. When we remarked upon the pride of the Chinese in keeping in such excellent condition this bit of China's Holy Land, we were told it was a need for sufficient fuel in winter that drove them to collect this refuse, rather than interest in the cleanliness of their surroundings. Outside the Peking City Wall in mid-winter, we have frequently seen Chinese lads throwing huge clubs into the tree-tops hoping to break off dead limbs for fuel.

Prof. F. H. King, who made an extensive study of China's Agricultural Methods, writes that this inborn necessity to save affects not only the constitutional habits of the people, but reaches the cattle and the sheep. He relates having seen, many times, men herding flocks of 20 to 30 sheep along the narrow unfenced pathways,

[1] "Chinese Characteristics," p. 27 ff.
[2] Bashford, "China—An Interpretation," p. 50.

winding through the fields and on the graveland at a time when prevailing drought had left but little green for grazing in these places. And although the sheep were literally brushing their sides against fresh green wheat and barley they never molested them. Frequently these flocks were actually stampeded into the grain by an approaching train, but immediately returned without taking a nibble. The voice of the shepherd and an occasional well-aimed lump of earth only being required to bring them back to their uninviting pastures.[1]

The simple diet of the people further reflects this same rigid economy. Beans in various preparations, rice millet, garden vegetables and fish represent the chief foods, with pork as a very occasional luxury at feasts or as a reward to load-coolies after a particularly hard day.

The average Chinese, in ordinary years, furnishes wholesome food for his family for a few cents a day, which implies, of course, a high skill in its economical preparation and that there is little waste is evidenced by the universal condition of the dogs and cats. In order that fuel may likewise be conserved, the bottoms of kettles are made thin so as to heat quickly, and in parts of the country during the winter, the heat from the kitchen is passed under the "kangs" on which the beds are made.

Professor King describes the agricultural economy of a Chinese farmer who was obliged to support a household of twenty from the products of half an acre. The crop at the time of Prof. King's visit was cucumbers, a crop of greens which had been grown between the cucumbers having just been marketed. "With ingenuity and much labor," says Professor King, "he had made his half

[1] "Farmers of Forty Centuries," pp. 234-5.

acre of cucumbers equivalent to more than two. He had removed the vines entirely from the ground and provided a travel space of two feet wide upon which he was walking and he had made it possible to work about the roots of every plant for the purpose of hoeing and fertilizing. Four acres of cucumbers handled by American field methods would not yield more than this man's one-half, and he grows besides two other crops the same season." It is a frequent sight to see three crops growing in the same field but at different stages of maturity, one nearly ready to harvest, one just coming up and the other at a still earlier stage. By means of heavy fertilization the soil is thus made to do full duty during the entire growing season.[1]

Dr. Smith asserts that "Many better ways can be devised of doing Chinese work than the ways which they adopt but none which makes insignificant materials go further than they do with the Chinese. They seem to be able to do almost everything by means of almost nothing, and this is a characteristic of their productions whether simple or complex. It applies as well to their iron foundries, on a minute scale of completeness in a small yard, as to a cooking range of strong draft, made in an hour out of a pile of mud bricks, lasting indefinitely, operating perfectly and costing nothing."

The shrill screech of China's vast army of wheelbarrows is further evidence of economy. A few drops of oil, applied with some degree of regularity, might eliminate the nerve-racking noise, but, among the Chinese, nerves are cheaper than oil and the squeak, therefore, goes on in its stridulent glory. The difficulty of procuring ready-

[1] "Farmers of Forty Centuries," pp. 203-4.

made tools is accounted for by the fact that to buy the parts separately and fit them together one's self is cheaper, and since every one agrees to such a saving ready-made implements of any sort are hard to secure.

Coupled with their industry and thrift the Chinese people have a remarkable trading ability. General Grant, after he returned from his trip around the world was asked the most remarkable thing he had seen. He replied at once that the most extraordinary sight which he anywhere beheld was the spectacle of a petty Chinese dealer, by his keen competition, driving out a Jew. It is true that the existence of a Jewish colony was discovered by the Jesuit Fathers in the 17th Century at Kaifung some 450 miles southwest of Peking in Honan Province. When W. A. P. Martin visited the place in 1866, he found the synagogue in ruins, the Jews dispersed and no one among their admitted descendents able to speak a word of Hebrew. For anyone familiar with the ways of the Chinese merchant it is easy to understand how his competition accomplished this Jewish dispersion. It is well to recall, in this connection, that whereas the Jews represent but a handful, the Chinese are one-fourth of the world's population.

The following incident well illustrates the Chinese instinct for close bargaining.[1] Two foreigners were seated on the bund in one of China's port cities, when a sam pan man came rowing slowly upstream eagerly scanning the shore for a possible customer. A man hailed him with:

"Cross the river. Cross the river."

[1] "The Weekly Review of the Far East," July 11, 1917.

The rower suddenly became deaf, turned away his head and put extra pith into his oars.

"Six coppers to cross the river," shouted the customer.

"Fifteen coppers," replied the sam pan man, but without stopping or turning around.

"Seven coppers, eight coppers, O, go to blazes," shouted the customer and off he went.

The sam pan man came around in a flash, and calling "lai, lai, lai" ("come") he hurriedly made for the jetty. He intended to get his customer all of the time, but of course, waited to drive a better bargain. Time is nothing to the average Chinese if by losing it he can make a better deal.

In the Philippines there are only 50,000 Chinese, less than one percent of the total population and yet this handful controls 90 percent of the retail trade of the islands, while the remarkable success of Chinese business men in Malaysia where they have entered into competition with foreigners is a further illustration of this same ability which seems to persist down to the humblest coolie in the land.

A further characteristic of the Chinese and one sometimes doubted by westerners is that of honesty. It was on the journey of 250 miles through Szechuan Province, which has already been referred to, that the writer first came to appreciate this quality. The "Great Road" over which we traveled was not more than six or seven feet wide at its widest point and we were consequently obliged

to journey by coolie caravan. Some good missionary friends, long experienced in the mysteries of ways Chinese, gathered together for us in Chungking a motley horde of some 75 or 80 coolies and to their good graces we rather fearsomely committed our baggage and ourselves for the ten-day trip over this remote and brigand-infested highway. In the division of labor previous to starting, it fell to the author's lot to handle the finances of the trip, including the task of paying our half-naked, forbidding labor battalion. In Chungking, therefore, we secured several hundred dollars in silver. It was necessary to carry silver because, in the interior, paper money depreciates in value so rapidly one can never be sure in the morning just how much it will be worth at night. So we secured silver, packed it away in an ordinary traveling bag and entrusted it, along with the rest of the equipment, to one of our caravan.

For ten days we journeyed down the Great Road from the Yangtsze off toward Thibet. And every morning as we left our little Chinese Inn—and the pigs and chickens, with whom we had spent the night—we opened the little traveling bag, took out a few dollars and gave them to the head coolie—the "laban"—as we called him, in order that he could buy rice for the men at noon and tea in the afternoon. And then we would return the bag to the coolie in whose load it was carried and probably not see it again until we stopped for the night. Without doubt every one of the 75 coolies in our caravan knew where the money was carried—count on a Chinese coolie for that. Doubtless also, they all knew that the amount in that bag was sufficient to provide a life-long endowment for any half dozen of them. And yet, though

we were on that road for ten days, we did not lose a dollar in money nor a single item of our numberless pieces of baggage. And although after this trip in West China we spent weeks in similar journeys through the interior, depending always for the safety of our outfit upon the honesty of these coolies, we did not have a single experience of dishonesty, and in every case, we came to our trip's end with everything exactly as we had started. And it must be remembered that Chinese coolies—especially chair-coolies who are obliged to carry other men for a livelihood—are ranked among the very lowest in the Chinese social scale.

In speaking of this quality of honesty among the Chinese, a foreign manager of the Hongkong-Shanghai Bank is quoted in the "Weekly Review of the Far East" [1] as follows: "Of course there are exceptions to every rule but to show that there are good reasons for making such a strong statement, I may mention that for the last 25 years the bank has been doing a very large business with Chinese in Shanghai, amounting, I should say to several million taels, and we have never yet met with a defaulting Chinese." The same article refers to the dependability of the Chinese comprador: "Foreign business men sit around the hotel or club and discuss the merits and demerits of their compradors much the same as they discuss their automobiles. The discussion usually turns to stories illustrating their proverbial honesty, and in general he has a proud history of integrity in business dealings in the archives of his profession or guild. It is often said that there were no dishonest compradors until the foreigners taught them dishonesty.

[1] June 16, 1917.

Originally it was never considered necessary to have a written contract or agreement between the foreign firm and the comprador, a verbal promise alone being necessary."

Between themselves the Chinese are often the prey of mutual distrust, which frequently hinders their success in stock companies and coöperative organizations, but when responsibility is placed upon the individual Chinese, and he realizes his own accountability the almost universal testimony is that he can be counted upon not to betray that trust.

But with all their honesty, industry, thrift and ability to drive hard bargains the Chinese are decidedly a cheerful people. Through centuries of bitter struggle they have learned "in whatever lot they find themselves therewith to be content." Dr. Arthur H. Smith [1] says, "Even the multitudes, who are insufficiently clothed and inadequately fed preserved their serenity of spirit in a way which to us appears marvelous. . . . One of the main enjoyments of the Chinese seems to be chatting with one another, and whether they are old friends or perfect strangers makes little difference. That this appreciation of human society is a great alleviation of many of the miseries which the Chinese suffer cannot be doubted."

We found again that Chinese coolies, in spite of the terrific toil from which their lives are never freed, almost always reflect this philosophy of good nature. In West China we traveled via sedan chair, carried by three coolies, two of whom walked in front and one behind with the chair swung between them on long bamboo poles. Because our highway, narrow and slippery as it was, was

[1] "Chinese Characteristics," p. 167.

lined with uninviting rice paddies or still more uninviting terraced ponds, it was frequently advisable that the last coolie of our three, who could not see what lay ahead, should be warned whenever we encountered a bad stretch of road or another caravan approached. Before we had been long on the way we noticed that the leading coolie never failed to shout a warning when necessary and these warnings always seemed to be in rhyme. And to every shouted signal the last coolie replied and his reply was also always in rhyme.

When we asked some of those in our party who had been long in China to explain this poetical block-system, we were told that these Szechuanese coolies had rhymes of the road. Some of them were verses of long standing for occasions that were certain to arise on every journey, and others were improvised to fit the particular situation. And always the last coolie would reply with a rhyme either stock or improvised, but this reply invariably reflected the cheery good nature of these coolies.

For example, a stone might be missing from the ill-repaired highway, and the first coolie would shout out, with characteristic Oriental indirection,

> A great gulf yawns below,
> A wide bridge we must throw.

To which the last coolie, having stepped carefully across the spot, would reply,

> The road has little cheer,
> But stars above are clear.

Or, perhaps, at the approach of a pretentious looking caravan the warning would be something like this:

A great official rides today,
His bearers crowd the narrow way.

and the answer would come back:

A great official? More a friend,
For we've but three days to our journey's end.

Often when a coolie improvised something particularly fitting all those who heard would join in the laugh and the verse would be passed down the line for the benefit of those who had not. Very frequently if the warning was called forth by the approach of other travelers, the answer was at their expense, and the two caravans in passing derided each other for their miserable chairs, their incompetent bearers, and the insignificant burdens which they bore. But always, wherever we found them, these coolies, unless drugged by opium, exhibited this cheerfulness which is characteristic of the Chinese people.

The moral and intellectual gifts of the Chinese will be mentioned more in detail elsewhere.[1] In the present chapter, their spirit of justice and democracy remains still to be pointed out. There has been no real aristocracy in China save that of learning, and the ranks of scholarship have always been open to the humblest student. In the days of the Empire, Chinese officials in certain parts of the country were allowed a certain number of chair-bearers, according to the importance of their position. Thus a magistrate was allowed three and three only; while higher officials were permitted four. But in addition to those high officials who were allowed four bearers, this honor was also accorded to married women for, it was said, a woman may become the mother of a

[1] Chapter 5.

son, and no one can foretell to how high a place the son of a Chinese mother might attain.

In the "Shuking," one of the most ancient of Chinese classics, three canons of Government are laid down, of which one is that the people have the right to depose a sovereign who either from active wickedness or vicious indolence gives cause to oppressive or tyrannical rule. Student [1] strikes and many other forms of popular protest were always ready to check any excesses on the part of the Emperor, who would not, without exciting general indignation, dare to violate the rights of any of his subjects. The people of the country have enjoyed, from time immemorial, almost unexampled liberty, and the Government has played a very small part in the scheme of national life. The Chinese enjoy freedom of industry and trade, of travel, of amusement, of religion and whatever regulations are required are supplied less frequently by act of Parliament than by voluntary associations or local self-government.

Chinese proverbs concerning government indicate clearly this demand for democratic institutions. For example,

"If the Son of Heaven breaks the law, he is guilty like one of the people."

"Heaven sees as the people see;
Heaven hears as the people hear."

"The Emperor is the father of his people, not a master to be served by slaves."

And Mencius is responsible for the saying: "Killing a bad monarch is no murder." [2]

[1] Colquhoun "China in Transformation," p. 285.
[2] Bashford, "China—An Interpretation," pp. 167-8.

However far some Emperors and many lesser officials may have departed from the actual practice of justice and democracy, the fact still remains that the average Chinese, in his own small sphere, demands both for himself, and with difficulty is made to submit to unfair impositions. The story is told in Foochow of an interior city where the people, enraged at the misdealings of an official, took him by force, carried him to a nearby lake and there held him captive in water neck-deep until he repented of his ways. When the Manchu rulers issued the proclamation that queues should be worn by all Chinese as an indication of submission to the dynasty, the Szechuanese obeyed the mandate only when forced to do so, and in order to hide the sign of their subjugation, covered their queues with turbans. And so long has the custom been established that even up to the present the Chinese in Szechuan wear turbans although their queues were cut upon the overthrow of the Manchus in 1912.

Thus, in a very general way, we have seen that the Chinese people possess in great measure the fundamentals requisite to their development. We have seen that in the character of the average Chinese, there are certain deep-rooted characteristics which, at some future day, will prove themselves the basis and the bulwark of a modern China. With little opportunity for growth, stunted for centuries by innumerable oppressions, these qualities still persist and to-day when China stands at the beginning of a new day in which oppression will be done away and development assured, we well may ask to what high place of world leadership this strength will guide the nation.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CHINA'S CIVILIZATION

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THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CHINA'S CIVILIZATION

THE Chinese people are the inheritors of a rich and ancient civilization. Through the ebb and flow of forty centuries their heritage has been accumulating. Many of the achievements of western lands are but crude barbarities to this people whose culture has developed through the countless cycles of Cathay. And to-day, in the pride of material conquest, western peoples must still stand with some humility in the presence of a race that, from a thousand years before Christ up to the modern day, has sustained and isolated itself from the world in the well-established superiority of its civilization. The strength of such a race may well demand more than mere passing consideration from those who are concerned with the future course of world events.

In the previous chapter we have undertaken a survey of China's human resources, as in the preceding chapters we surveyed its material resources. We endeavored to make clear that the Chinese possess many of the fundamentals requisite to their development as a people. We have suggested, further, that the development of these characteristics, deeply rooted as they are, in the Chinese people, will aid in guiding the nation to a place of world leadership.

In the present chapter this survey will be continued.

We will seek to point out some of the great achievements of China's civilization and indicate the moral and intellectual qualities of the people which have helped to make those achievements possible. And, in the end, it may appear that, coupled with the qualities of industry, honesty, cheerfulness, and democracy are others, of as high an order, which lend even greater certainty to a belief in the nation's future.

Prof. E. A. Ross estimates Chinese civilization as follows: "Chinese culture has spread and spread until all Eastern Asia bows to it. Nestorian Christianity flourished there and vanished. The Jews of Kaifeng-fu lost their language and religion and became Chinese in all but physiognomy. The conquering Manchus have forgotten their language and literature. 'China,' it has been finely said, 'is a sea which salts everything that flows into it.' The guardians of a culture so vanquishing may well be pardoned for regarding as presumptious any endeavor to improve on it." [1]

Dr. Arthur Judson Brown says of the Chinese people: "Let us be free enough from prejudice and passion to respect a people whose national existence has survived the mutations of a definitely known historic period of thirty-seven centuries and of an additional legendary period that runs back no man knows how far into the haze of hoary antiquity; who are frugal, patient, industrious and respectful to parents as we are not; whose astronomers made accurate recorded observations 200 years before Abraham left Ur; who used firearms at the beginning of the Christian era; who first grew tea, manufactured gunpowder, made pottery, glue, and gelatine, who

[1] "The Changing Chinese," p. 57.

wore silk and lived in houses when our ancestors wore the undressed skins of wild animals and slept in caves; who invented printing by movable types 500 years before that art was known in Europe; who discovered the principles of the mariner's compass without which the ocean could not be crossed, conceived the idea of artificial inland waterways and dug a canal 600 miles long; who made mountain roads which, in the opinion of Dr. S. Wells Williams, 'when new probably equaled in engineering and construction anything of the kind ever built by the Romans'; and who invented the arch to which our modern architecture is so greatly indebted." [1]

Partly as a consequence of the severity of life in China, which for centuries has burdened the people with constant suffering and hardship, there has developed an endurance and a race vitality among the Chinese which is unequaled in any other people. Prof. Ross,[2] who writes with authority on such subjects, asserts: "It is safe to conclude that at least a part of the observed toughness of the Chinese is attributable to a special race vitality which they have acquired in the course of a longer and severer elimination of the less fit than our North European ancestors ever experienced in their civilized state. . . . I have no doubt that if an American population of equal size lived in Amoy, or Soochow as the Chinese live, a quarter would be dead by the end of the first summer."

Chinese coolies eating unspeakable food, at impossible inns with public chop sticks, seem absolutely immune to the innumerable dangers that menace the way of the foreigner. They carry unbelievable loads still more

[1] "New Forces in Old China," pp. 39 ff.
[2] "The Changing Chinese," pp. 33-35.

unbelievable distances, sleep anywhere with a brick for a pillow and stalks for a bed, utterly oblivious to the rest of creation and the disturbances that distract us. We have watched, with amazement, Chinese trackers in the Yangtsze gorges from dawn until long past dark bent to the ground with their labor straining hour after hour against the long rope cable pulling their boat, literally inch by inch from rapid to rapid through the 52 or more that lie between Ichang and Chungking. And at night when we lay anchored in mid-stream we still could hear these men pulling the junk to the safety of some sheltered inlet singing in rhythm as they swung together in regular pulsation against the force of the stream. How they were able to continue such terrific exertion for such hours on such food, as we knew they had, we were unable to comprehend.

A friend relates that upon leaving Shanghai for America at one time he hired a wheelbarrow man to transport his baggage to the dock. There was a characteristically American pile of trunks, boxes and miscellaneous bundles and it was, of course, expected that the Chinese would engage other wheelbarrow coolies to help him as was the usual custom. But no, upon arriving at the Bund our friend was astonished to see coming toward him a single wheelbarrow loaded down and piled high with every piece of luggage in the lot. And when the whole of it was weighed the total—moved by one coolie on one wheelbarrow in one load—was slightly over 1100 pounds.

Physicians who have practiced in China, are almost universal in the assertion that the Chinese physique, in recovering from severe operations and in ability to throw off disease, is superior to that of westerners. Surgical

shock is very rare, rapidity of recovery from terrible injuries is amazing, and, in particular, it has been observed that the Chinese are able in a remarkable way to resist the effects of blood poisoning. It is the common opinion that under similar conditions the Chinese will make a more certain and more rapid recovery from a major operation or a serious sickness than the foreigner.

The same urge of constant necessity that has developed this physical resistance in the Chinese people has doubtless helped to make possible some of their actual achievements. The use of tea, which dates back historically beyond the Christian era and in tradition some 2700 years earlier, had its foundation in the need for something to make boiled water palatable for drinking purposes, since boiled water had been adopted as the most universally available and thoroughly efficient safeguard against those deadly diseases which cannot be kept out of the water of any densely populated country.

Prof. King [1] says of the Chinese farmer: "In selecting rice as their staple product; in developing and maintaining their systems of combined irrigation and drainage, notwithstanding they have a large summer rainfall; in their systems of multiple cropping; in their extensive and persistent use of legume; in their rotations for green manure to retain the humus of their soils for composting; and in the almost religious fidelity with which they have returned to their fields every form of waste with which they can replace plant foods removed by the crops, these nations have demonstrated a grasp of essentials and fundamental principles which may well cause western nations to pause and reflect."

[1] "Farmers of Forty Centuries," p. 274.

Prof. King[1] also states that it was not until 1888 after a prolonged war of some thirty years, wherein the best scientists of Europe and America debated; that it was finally conceded that leguminous plants are chiefly responsible for the maintenance of soil nitrogen, drawing it directly from the air to which it is returned through the process of decay. But this fact had been discovered long before by the Chinese who, for centuries, had been growing legumes in rotation with other crops for the express purpose of fertilization. And the same writer concludes; "And so it is literally true that these old world farmers, whom we regarded as ignorant, perhaps because they do not ride sulky plows as we do, have long included legumes in their crop rotation, regarding them as indispensable."

In the construction of canals and irrigation systems the Chinese have come to appreciate the value of water in crop production as no other people. According to tradition, the construction of a great irrigation system was ordered by the Emperor Yao more than 4100 years ago, and certain sections of the Grand Canal are said to have been built about the sixth century B. C. To-day it is estimated that there are some 200,000 miles of irrigating canals in China.

For hundreds of years the Chinese have used a wheat drill, which has always been considered a western invention. Wheat is planted in rows and frequently in hills as corn, is carefully cultivated, watered, and fertilized while growing so that where Americans average some 15 bushels of wheat per acre and the Japanese 17 bushels, the Chinese farmer averages 25 bushels per acre. Chinese

[1] "Farmers of Forty Centuries," p. 10.

Terraced and Flooded Rice Fields.

history states that the plow was first invented by Shennung (who now is worshiped as the god of agriculture) between 2737 and 2697 years before Christ. And the more the farmers of China are studied the more remarkable their achievements become. For, according to Prof. King,[1] with a population of some 500,000,000 people, the farmers of the Far East (China, Korea, and Japan) tilling less than 800,000 square miles of land and much of this during twenty, thirty, and even forty centuries, without the aid of mineral fertilizers, supported this enormous population by the efficiency of their methods. And in China, it is true, that one-sixth of an acre of good land is ample for the maintenance of one person.

It was likewise necessity, though of another sort, that led the Chinese to construct the Great Wall which for hundreds of years has stood along the northern frontier of the country an impotent barrier against aggression. but a mighty monument to the perserverance, the ability, and the daring of the nation which it stands to defend. It is more than 20 feet wide at the base, twelve feet at the top, rising fifteen to thirty feet from the ground with parapets along both faces and towers every 200 yards rising 20 feet higher, and for 1700 miles it runs from the sea off toward Thibet. It is said that, in its construction, 20,000 masons toiled 10 years, defended by an army of 400,000 men, fed by a commissariat of 20,000 more who were supported by 30,000 others in the transport service, and the quarries.

In the striking language of Prof. Ross[2]: "The Great Wall is undoubtedly the grandest and most impressive

[1] "Farmers of Forty Centuries," p. 195.
[2] "The Changing Chinese," p. 27.

handiwork of man. Beside its colossal bulk our boasted railroad embankments and tunnels seem the work of pygmies. Save the Pyramids of Egypt and the Panama Canal there is no prodigy of toil to be mentioned in the same breath with it. The brick and stone in every 50 miles of this wall would rear a pyramid higher than that of Cheops, and there are at least 1700 miles of it."

In western Fukien Province, hundreds of miles from the nearest railroad and the evidences of western civilization, our party one day made a detour to visit a famous bridge—"The Bridge of Ten Thousand Ages" it was called. We found it a magnificent structure, 421 paces in length, and having 23 beautiful stone arches. It is so greatly reverenced by the Chinese that the wheelbarrow men are forced to carry their wheelbarrows over it in order not to deface the stone used in its construction. And to-day there are some 1700 walled cities in China. There are countless beautiful bridges, perfect in their architectural construction, hundreds of miles of less beautiful and less perfect stone roads, thousands of pagodas —all of them built by the physical toil of the Chinese themselves, unassisted by modern machinery and labor-saving devices.

While in China, the author met the Vice-President of a great missionary University who related that when, as a young man in England he was preparing to come to China as a teacher, a member of the British Parliament one day took him aside and asked him about his plans. The young man replied that he expected to go to China and teach in a Mission school. To which the politician answered.

"Well, you're a brave man if you think you can teach

anything to the Chinese people. Do you realize that the Chinese people have discovered and developed the most widely used staple food in the world—which is rice; they have discovered and developed the finest drink in the world—which is tea; and they have discovered and developed the finest cloth in the world—which is silk. You are certainly a brave man if you think you can teach anything to the Chinese people."

Learning in China was reverenced above all other attainments long before it existed in the younger nations of the west. China's education is the oldest system of government education known to history. State schools were referred to as far back as 2357 B. C. At a time when no other such system was in existence anywhere in the world the Chinese recognized the necessity of providing general instruction for all the people, and the schools conducted were superior to those among the Jews, Persians and Syrians of the same period. Seventeen hundred years before Christ a minister of instruction was appointed and pupils were classified according to their varying abilities. In addition, there was a uniform curriculum based upon the Chinese Classics but including also arithmetic, geometry, etc., and in B. C. 1122 the Emperor ordered that in admitting students to school no difference was to be made between those high in authority and those of humble station, between the rich and poor. The son of this Emperor, heir to the throne, was educated in a common school as though the son of a common laborer.

In the various grades of Chinese society the scholar was placed first because, in the words of a Chinese writer,[1] "the mind is superior to wealth, and it is the intellect

[1] Quoted by H. P. Beach, "Dawn on the Hills of Tang," pp. 45-6.

that distinguishes man above the lower orders of beings and enables him to provide food and raiment and shelter for himself and other creatures." Second, in rank to the scholar is the farmer for "the mind cannot act without the body and the body cannot exist without food so that farming is essential to the existence of man, especially in civilized society." Third, in importance, is the mechanic since "next to food, shelter is a necessity, and the man who builds a house comes next in honor to the man who provides food." Fourth comes the tradesman, because "as society increases and its wants are multiplied, men to carry on exchange and barter become a necessity and so the merchant comes into existence." His occupation, shaving both sides—the producer and the consumer —tempts him to act dishonestly, hence his low grade. Fifth in rank, is the soldier, "who stands lowest in the list because his business is to destroy and not to build up society. He consumes what others produce, but produces nothing that can benefit mankind."

The hope of every parent in a son was that some day he might successfully compete in the examinations and attain to the rank of scholar. Stone tablets and pillars in many parts of China mark the homes that have been thus highly honored. The ambition of every village in the land was that a lad, born within its walls, might go out to a place of great learning. Countless pagodas on the hills of China reveal the efforts of the nearby villagers to attract to some one of their humble homes the "spirits of the air,"—who guarded the gifts of scholarship.

As a result of this reverence for intellectual attainments, the quantity of Chinese literature is very great. It has been estimated that, under the patronage of the

Manchu Emperors, over 170,000 books were issued, and 1000 years ago 140 volumes were required to catalogue merely the books devoted to the two minor religions of Buddhism and Taoism. Doubtless numberless thousands of volumes were then in existence on history, philosophy, and the practical arts as well as dramas, novels, and lighter literature.[1]

Of the quality of Chinese literature Professor Herbert A. Giles [2] writes as follows: "It is remarkable, first, for its antiquity coupled with an unbroken continuity down to the present day; second, for the variety of subjects presented and for the exhaustive treatment which not only each subject but also each subdivision, each separate item has received, as well as for the colossal scale on which many literary monuments have been conceived and carried out; third, for the accuracy of its historic statements so far as it has been possible to test them; and, further, fourth, for its ennobling standards and lofty ideals as well as for its wholesome purity and almost total absence of coarseness and obscenity.

Along with their great physical vitality the Chinese, emphasizing the intellectual above all other attainments, have developed an equally remarkable mental vitality. The Chinese are constructive thinkers, slow to reach conclusions and not easily convinced. But once a Chinese, having followed the way of his own devious mental deliberations, reaches the point of conviction his determination is as unchangeable as his thinking was deliberate. And given the facts of a problem, the average Chinese, even among those oppressed with the daily toil, will arrive

[1] Bashford, "China—An Interpretation," p. 147.
[2] Quoted by Bashford, "China—An Interpretation," p. 159.

almost always at clear and logical conclusion, and if called upon to do so will have little difficulty retracing along the path of reason the steps which brought him there. Prof. King says of the farmers: "The important point regarding these Far Eastern people to which attention should be directed is that effective thinking, clear and strong, prevails among the farmers who have fed and are still feeding the dense populations from the products of their limited areas." [1]

Professor Ross made inquiries of some 43 men—educators, missionaries, and diplomats—whose long experience in China qualified them to speak of the mental qualities of the Chinese people. To every one he put the question "Do you feel the intellectual capacity of the yellow race equal to that of the white race?" and with but five exceptions the answer in every case was "Yes." One man who had spent a lifetime in the country as missionary, educator, and legation advisor made the somewhat startling statement, "Most of us who have spent twenty-five years or more out here come to feel that the yellow race is the normal human type, while the white race is the 'sport.'"

It is the vitality of the race mind that makes China's assimilative power so enormous. It is a mistake to suppose that the Chinese will ever submit to domination by Western nations as India or Africa has submitted. It is true, of course, that the last dynasty was Manchu, but it is well to remember that the Manchus settled in China and ruled the nation from within and at the end of their reign, although they kept a separate name, they have not made Manchus of the Chinese and rather have themselves

[1] "Farmers of Forty Centuries," p. 207.

been all but lost in the engulfing mass which they sought to control. Without doubt the foreign nation which attempts to rule China or maintain a supremacy over even a large portion of the nation will some day awaken to a burden which, overnight, has grown unbearable. The troubles of Pharoah with the recalcitrant Jews will be of small significance compared to the problems which the conqueror of China will be called upon to solve, and it is not at all unlikely that, finally, the conqueror would find its subject in the place of power and itself the conquered nation.

That Chinese civilization for several centuries has been static and the Chinese mind in a state of stagnation it is impossible to deny. The Golden Age and myriads of deified ancestors have furnished retrospective inspiration for the Chinese people for too long a time to admit of much progress. However, it is one thing to recognize this lack of progress and quite another to agree that Chinese civilization and the Chinese mind have become permanently sterile and unproductive. Certainly the qualities which, even in this day, persist to such a marked degree in the average Chinese, are capable of development to the place where once again the world may be benefited by their contributions to its advance. If such development were not possible the question of China's Place in the Sun could be easily answered and our attention immediately turned to a study of those Pacific Powers which possess greater potentialities for leadership.

Prof. Ross denies that the decadence of the Chinese mind is in any sense permanent. He says:[1] "It is rash, therefore, to take the observed state of the Celestial mind

[1] "The Changing Chinese," pp. 58-9.

during the period of intercourse with the West as proof of race deficiency. Chinese culture is undergoing a breaking up process which will release powerful individualities from the spell of the past and of numbers and stimulate them to high personal achievement. In the Malay States, where the Chinese escape the lifeless atmosphere and the confining social organization of their own land, their ingenuity is already such that unprejudiced white men have come to regard them as our intellectual peers. Civil engineers, will tell you that in a score or two of years, after bright Chinese youths have access to schools of technology equal to those of the West, there will be no need in the engineering and technical work of the Far East for the high priced white expert."

Any one familiar with the records of even the average Chinese student in America will readily affirm the fact that there is, among them, no evidence of mental sterility. A young Chinese student, a Doctor of Philosophy from Columbia University, with whom the author had been talking over the plan for the present volume, vouchsafed the information that he, too, was writing a book. And when we inquired upon what phase of China's life he was writing he replied that his subject was not China, but a philosophical treatise, in English, on "The Problem of Evil."

The return of hundreds of such students to China is bringing into the life of the nation a new and dynamic force. Education and modern movements—even political movements, inexplicable, and disheartening though many of them may be—are gaining an irresistible momentum and will finally sweep the entire nation into a new social order where the Chinese people themselves will face toward

the future and the deadening pall of the past will be supplanted by the spirit of progress.

The characteristics which mark the Chinese as a people capable of world leadership are therefore evident, not only in the Chinese themselves, but in the achievements of China's civilization. No good to the world will result from a hurried under-estimate of these fundamental qualities with which the Chinese are so generously endowed. The world's future history may be written with much less hate and blood if, on the contrary, we recognize the strength of the Chinese character and his potentiality and make certain that the nation's development is dominated by forces which will make of the China of To-morrow a democracy able to bless mankind.

CHAPTER SIX

THE GROWTH OF A NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

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THE transforming course of modern world events has reached and is vitally affecting the Chinese nation. Its people, as never before in their history, are facing toward the future. The changeless China of yesterday, static and unconcerned, is becoming more and more finally a fact of the past. The movement toward change is slow, as any such movement is apt to be when it concerns the life of one-fourth of the human race. But it is none the less certain and its progress none the less irresistible, for the Chinese mind, once it has determined that the transformation shall come, will be as inflexible in favoring the innovations and the reforms involved as formerly it was hostile to them. For China, this new day holds the opportunity of a realization of that power which the nation's resources, material and human, make possible. For the world it is ominous or heartening, depending upon the ideas and purposes which are allowed to dominate it.

We have taken a somewhat general inventory of the nation's material resources and have pointed out that, in China's Industrial Renaissance, a movement is under way which indicates that this great unexploited wealth will be developed and, in all probability, developed by the Chinese people.

We have, likewise, taken inventory of the nation's human resources. The great, fundamental characteristics requisite to the development of any people we have found to be deeply rooted in the Chinese character. We have seen further that the qualities which mark the Chinese as capable of world leadership are evident, not only in the people themselves, but in the achievements of China's civilization.

It will be our purpose in the present chapter and the several following to show that comparatively recent events in China reveal a movement to develop the human resources of the nation to a place where their potentialities may be realized in actual power. In developments which, even now, are in progress among the Chinese people and which we will study, these tendencies are even more apparent. Our chief aim in reviewing these movements is to make clear the fact that, not only are the material resources of China being laid hold upon but the human resources, in like manner, are subject to similar forces, so that, finally, there will appear valid reasons for asserting that the Chinese nation is fitted and destined for a place of world power.

Mr. Julean Arnold, American Commercial Attaché in China and a man intimately familiar with the recent course of events in the Far East, declares:[1] "The new era in China has dawned. It is hard for some to realize the fact that the old China, the China of self-sufficiency, the China of the Middle Kingdom, has passed. The mind of the Chinese of to-day is changed. He frankly admits the weaknesses of his people and sees in the West ideas and institutions worthy of adoption and use."

[1] "Weekly Review of the Far East," March 1, 1919.

Prof. Ross in the closing paragraph of his excellent volume "The Changing Chinese" writes as follows: "The Crucifixion was 280 years old before Christianity won toleration in the Roman Empire. It was 128 years after Luther's defiance before the permanence of the Protestant Reformation was assured. After the discovery of the New World, 115 years elapsed before the first English colony was planted here. No one who saw the beginning of these great, slow, historic movements could grasp their full import or witness their culmination. But nowadays world processes are telescoped and history is made at aviation speed. The exciting part of the transformation of China will take place in our time. In 40 years there will be telephones and moving picture shows and appendicitis and sanitation and baseball nines and bachelor maids in every one of the 1300 hsien districts of the Empire. The renaissance of a quarter of the human family is occurring before our eyes and we have only to sit in the parquet and watch the stage."

A variety of causes have contrived to hinder China's transition from a Medieval to a modern civilization. For one thing the country has been isolated from the rest of the world—both geographically and because of her pharisaic pride—and there has been little opportunity to come in contact with other cultures. Stagnation which is the inevitable result of self-sufficiency resulted. Again there is no ruling class in China capable of taking the lead in the reformation of their country. The people of China are free of caste and fundamentally democratic, facts which insure a slower, but more certain progress. Then, too, the Chinese people from time immemorial have exercised a remarkable amount of self-government, which has

tended to detract from the national government and divide the country into innumerable, and largely independent communities. Save in times of threatened foreign invasion there was little interest in the general government of the land and, in consequence, while national reforms were easy to introduce they were seldom adopted beyond the household of the Emperor.

It must also be remembered that China has been the victim of a stereotyped system of education which functioned in such a manner as to cast the intellect of the nation in a mold, and leave practically no opportunity for individual mental initiative or genius. And, again, the final unit in Chinese society was the family rather than the individual, family loyalty was emphasized almost to the exclusion of national loyalty and the average Chinese felt little responsibility for the betterment of his nation. Related to this is still another reason for China's century-long inertia. Under the influence of Confucius the Chinese people for 2400 years have been looking backward rather than forward—and with eyes toward the past they were unable to assure for themselves a future worthy of their history. And, in the last place, lack of adequate communication systems in modern times has encouraged the development of varying dialects in different sections of the country, made it impossible for one province to benefit by the advantages of another and, in short, perpetuated long beyond its natural lifetime the isolation myth as a hindrance to the nation's progress.

As a result of these and other less important reasons there is scarcely no such thing in China today as a national consciousness. Of course, among certain very limited classes such sweeping statements do not apply.

But, in spite of this limited enlightenment, the average Chinese not only is unfamiliar with the world beyond his city wall—he is absolutely uninterested in it. Perhaps his disinterest may be the consequence of the severe economic pressure that concentrates his attention on one purpose in one place from everlasting to everlasting. But however it may be explained, there can be no denying that his interest and his life are most definitely centered in a very few things in a very small area.

The huge city gates that open every morning at daybreak to the farmers from the country-side, the tradesmen of nearby villages and the very occasional traveler admit but few new ideas, and generation after generation, they swing clanking into place again at sundown on much the same walled world. Responsibility ends with the family or the clan, and as the Chinese brooks no interference with the even order of his own narrow way, so, also, he refuses to have part in those institutions which interfere with the ordered way of others.

Even those whose station might enable them to widen their horizon prefer usually to live peaceably within the limits of a sphere where the problems are understood and the unexpected unlikely to happen, than to venture into the great uncertainties beyond. The author was told by the President of a University in South China that 6 members of the graduating class in 1919 were taken on a special excursion to the island of Formosa. When the party returned it was found that, with the exception of one student whose home was in Amoy, none of these college graduates had ever before been more than 25 miles from home. If these college graduates are at all typical of others in China there was doubtless little hesitation

among them over the perils which a wider familiarity with the world might involve, but their parents, and the sons of other homes in their native village are still probably under the pall of provincialism.

In spite of the persistence of provincialism, however, a great many events in China's recent history derive their significance from the bearing which they have upon the development of a national consciousness in the nation. Certainly there must grow up in China a civic and national consciousness that will transcend in loyalty the old allegiance to family and to clan. The very continuance of China as a nation depends, first of all upon that. Until that time there will be division and strife and the country will continue to be bled at the pleasure of those uniformed and unscrupulous banditti who loot the nation at the point of a bayonet, and in the name of the law, and flee to the flag when threatened. The burdens of an unprincipled soldiery and the curse of self-seeking politicians will be finally done away when the Chinese people—those whose villages are burned and whose crops are destroyed—are given an open channel through which to express their opposition and realize their power by using it. An intelligent, national conscience based upon an articulate national consciousness would solve most of China's present difficulties. And while such an ideal is far from being realized, there are certain facts which indicate a development in that direction, and certain further forces are at work which reveal this tendency with even greater clearness.

China's defeat at the hands of Japan in 1894-5 aroused the nation as few single events in its modern history. Previous to that struggle a small group of Chinese, some

of them very influential, discontented because their nation failed to progress with the modern world and secretly planning the overthrow of the Manchus, organized a Reform Party. There had been, it is true, a society for the accomplishment of this latter purpose ever since the foreign dynasty gained the throne, but its efforts were without direction and unavailing. With the victory of Japan, however, the Chinese—those who were aware that the war had been fought and who realized something of its significance — suddenly came to see that China's vaunted and age-long superiority over her neighbors was at an end. And, however small this group may have been, the humiliating position in which their nation had been placed in the eyes of the world by the ascendency of Japan served as a constant stimulus to urge them to unceasing activity. Always in danger of discovery and death, but working with missionary fervor, these men were a powerful leaven in the life of their country, and their example and the things which they achieved have proved an inspiration for the present generation of young men in China who are seeking to spread their spirit to the furthest village in the land.

In this connection it is important to bear in mind the fact that many of the recent events in China's history, unfortunate and humiliating though they may have been for the Chinese people, are none the less proving the goad which is finally arousing the nation from its state of immemorial lethargy. Japan, in much of her relationship with the peoples of the Far East, has an inglorious record. But the very nature of her dealings is hastening the development of that democratic spirit which her whole Asiatic policy has sought to thwart.

The Koreans were long considered the most docile and unassertive of Oriental peoples. Even the missionaries, inveterate friends as they are of the people among whom they work, felt almost certain that nothing short of a cataclysmic millenium could disturb Korea's calm. But nine years of Japanese oppression transformed the immobile Koreans into up-standing, self-conscious people and fitted them to control with success their own affairs as centuries under the Emperors had never done. Japan's tactics were splendidly, though not consciously designed, to foster the Independence Movement of 1919, which Japanese soldiery suppressed.

What took place in Korea is occurring in China. We will make no effort to review the history of Japan's dealings with the Chinese people except as they served to stimulate the development of a national consciousness among them. But that service they have performed most excellently. And, in the future, a free Korea and a powerful China may realize the debt they owe to present-day militaristic Japan for the spur of its unscrupulousness.

The effect of the Sino-Japanese war, however, was by no means confined to a small group of more radical reformers. Many of the Chinese people, realizing that Japan's power resulted from her acquisition of modern methods, sought eagerly to acquire those methods for themselves. The missionaries were unable to care for those who sought to learn English, modern books were widely circulated and a number of the advisors of the Emperor became students of western science and political economy. In the five years from 1893-98 the book sales of one society, that for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese, leaped from $817

to $18,457 annually, and every mission press was forced to run to full capacity to supply the demand.[1]

The Emperor Kwang-su, was himself greatly impressed by a book on Japanese reforms and doubtless feeling the increasing tide of public opinion which was pressing for progress, suddenly issued a series of Imperial Edicts which he hoped would inaugurate an era of advance, rally the Chinese masses to his support and place China in a position of power—a regenerated and modern nation. His paper transformation was accomplished with lightning rapidity and the people—unused either to such suddenness or such radical innovations—were startled into reaction.

It is evident from the scope of these proclamations that the young Emperor intended to leave nothing undone that would accomplish China's modernization. He proposed the establishment of a University at Peking, and the commissioning of Imperial clansmen to study abroad the European and American systems of Government. He ordered the establishment of agricultural schools in the provinces, encouraged arts and sciences, and offered special rewards to authors and inventors for any noteworthy achievements. The foundation of a school board was ordered in every city of the Empire, a western budget system was proposed, a bureau of mines and railroads, and commercial bureaus for the encouragement of trade were established and western arms and methods of drill ordered for all the Tartar troops.

But the Chinese, eager as many of them were for reforms such as these, could not be stampeded thus overnight from the Middle Ages into the 20th century. In-

[1] Arthur Judson Brown, "New Forces in Old China," p. 189.

stead of reform the Emperor soon found that he had brought on a revolution. Conservative, reactionary China—the China of aloofness and isolation—found its final futile expression in the Boxer Uprising of 1900. It is true, of course, that progress since that time has been often obstructed and frequently brought to an apparent standstill, but never, since then, have the advocates of reaction been able to rally the Chinese people to their support as they did in the Boxer Rebellion. Progress has become increasingly popular. A national consciousness in 1921—indefinite though it still may be—is nevertheless developing about ideas diametrically opposite to those which dominated in 1900.

Following the allied intervention and the capture of Peking, the Empress Dowager was restored to the throne of China probably because, in her, the Powers recognized a ruler competent of leading the Chinese nation. And once again in power she deserted the conservatives and directed a series of noteworthy reforms. The old system of examination essays based upon subjects drawn from the most remote past and one of the most deeply rooted of China's myriad customs, was abolished by Imperial Edict in 1901. In its place it was decreed that henceforth candidates for degrees or office should submit essays on such modern subjects as western science, governments, law and kindred subjects.

The following extract from the examination questions for the Chu Jen (M. A.) degree in 1903 will reveal the revolutionary nature of this change: "What improvements are to be derived from the study of foreign agriculture, commerce and postal systems? What are the chief ideas underlying Austrian and German prosperity?

Explain free trade and protection. What is the bearing of the Congress of Vienna, the Treaty of Berlin and the Monroe Doctrine on the Far East? Wherein lies the naval supremacy of Great Britain? What is Herbert Spencer's philosophy of sociology? Define the relations of land, labor and capital. State how to promote Chinese international commerce, new industries and savings banks, versus the gambling houses of China. State the educational system of Sparta and Athens." [1]

A system of national education was established by the same edict in which schools of all grades were to be supported by the government and the course of study to include western as well as Chinese subjects. Immediately the country was swept by a demand for this new education. Examination halls—relics of the ancient system—were razed and modern university buildings erected on their sites as monuments of the new. A new spirit began to appear in the land. The deadening past was less potent in the present. A national consciousness, born of confidence and hope, was developing in the schoolrooms of China.

Then, in 1906, the Empress Dowager issued another proclamation ordering that the growth, sale and use of opium should decrease ten percent a year and cease wholly at the end of ten years. Since its introduction into the country, opium had been steadily sapping the vitality of the Chinese and the helplessness of the nation was destined to continue so long as the people continued to drug themselves into impotency. It was, doubtless, a realization of this fact and a desire to make China fit for real progress, as well as the influence of thousands of

[1] Arthur Judson Brown, "New Forces in Old China," pp. 335-6.

missionaries and Christians throughout the land who united in their protest, that led to this reform. But, without doubt, the struggle for the complete stamping out of opium which followed was the most revolutionary reform ever successfully undertaken by any nation. And, at its conclusion the national consciousness of China had found still another rallying point, for thousands of Chinese, in scattered villages throughout the land to whom the new education had meant but little, came to appreciate, in the opium crusade, the possibilities of a nation-wide unity of purpose.

Prof. E. A. Ross writes of this ten-year campaign as follows: [1] "Think of it. In thousands upon thousands of communities over this huge empire a battle has been going on. On one side the poppy-growers, den-keepers, dealers and some of the smokers; on the other, the thoughtful few, reformers and patriots, who realize China is doomed to be the world's serf if the drug is to go on sapping the strength of the people. . . . And the people are coming out of their stupor and their selfishness. They are becoming unified through a common cause. A public has come into being—a public which cares about moral questions. Public opinion which was biting its coral three hundred years ago in the coffee-houses of Shakespeare's London is taking its baby steps in China. Millions for the first time in their lives have thought, 'What is the Public Good?' "

But in spite of these reforms there was a growing discontent throughout the country against the Manchu dynasty. The Manchus during the latter years of their control, consistently provided China with a line of mediocre

[1] E. A. Ross, "The Changing Chinese," pp. 169-170.

rulers who continued to lead the nation from tragedy to disgrace. The Boxer rebellion, encouraged by them, led to the occupation of Peking by foreign troops and forced the Chinese to undergo insufferable humiliation at the hands of the Allies. Then, too, the Manchu emperors had shown utter incompetence in their foreign relations. China under their control, had suffered repeated reverses in war, lost territory to foreigners and granted concessions to the powers which threatened the independence of the nation itself. A Chinese dynasty might, possibly, have secured a longer lease of life after such a misrule, but the fact that the Manchus were foreigners fanned the flames of hatred and hastened the revolution.

The outbreak came in October, 1911, when a plot to assassinate the Viceroy was discovered in Wuchang, Hupeh Province. The conspirators were found and executed with imperial promptitude. But their execution served to stir the remaining revolutionists to desperate action, Wuchang was captured, the Viceroy fled and the greater part of the provincial army mutinied and joined the rebellion. Immediately Prince Chun sent General Yin Ch'ang, minister of war, with 30,000 troops to quell the outbreak, but before he reached the scene the insurgents gained control of several other cities and captured the Hanyang Arsenal.

In the meantime other provinces joined the movement by declaring themselves independent of the Imperial Government and the Prince Regent found himself utterly unable to handle the situation. Hoping, by eleventh hour pronunciamentos to save the throne, he granted liberal concessions, proclaimed a constitution which reduced the Emperor to a figurehead in the affairs of state and vested

the governmental authority in a legislature to be elected. Yuan Shi Kai, who had been dismissed the previous year from the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, was recalled and appointed Prime Minister. But these measures seemed only to encourage the revolutionists and soon the leading cities of the country had passed over to their control, and on December 2nd, 1911, a decree was published announcing the abdication of the throne by P'u Yi and of the regency of Prince Chun, and the Manchu dynasty was at an end.

On January 1, 1912, a Republican Government was established in Nanking with Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who long had worked for the revolution, as its President, and with an assembly, consisting of delegates from the provinces which had joined the revolt as its parliament. A provisional constitution was drafted, adopted and proclaimed by this assembly and became the fundamental law of the republic pending the promulgation of a permanent constitution.[1]

There was, at this time, considerable sentiment in China in favor of a monarchy. Representatives of foreign powers to whose interests a republic might prove detrimental exerted no little influence against the republican form of government. Young China, however, was wholeheartedly for the republic, arguing that a despotic monarchy could never again maintain itself, and that it was no less difficult to govern themselves through a constitutional monarchy than a republic. On February 12th, 1912, therefore, Lung Yu, the dowager empress, stepmother of the boy emperor, formally accepted the

[1] The foregoing account of the Revolution in China is based upon Mr. Henry Chang's illuminating book "Modern China—A Political Study."

republic and pledged the Manchu support to it; on February 14th, Sun Yat Sen resigned as provisional president and Yuan Shih Kai on the following day was elected President of the United Chinese Republic and formally inaugurated March the 2nd, 1912.

Since the inauguration of President Yuan, the path of the Chinese Republic has not been a smooth one. Revolutions and counter-revolutions, usurpation, restoration and abdication, and finally civil strife and the division between the north and south have kept the country in a state of constant turmoil. Friends of the monarchy in China have found, in the history of the last ten years, abundant material upon which to base plausible arguments. For those who are not eager to see a strong republic in China, ample evidence is available to support their attitude of "I-told-you-so."

But it is well for those who would pass too hasty condemnation upon the Chinese Republic to bear in mind that no problem of governmental reformation has ever been undertaken in the history of the world which equals, in magnitude, the effort of the Chinese to establish a republic. Other revolutions have been followed by chaos quite as widespread and lasting as that which has reigned in China, but no other revolution equaled the Chinese in area and numbers of people affected or surpassed it in the profundity of the changes involved.

Mr. T. R. Jernigan writes as follows of the change involved in the establishment of the Chinese Republic:[1] "Here are a people with a continuous life reaching back to the age of the Assyrians and to the days when Isaiah preached in the streets of Jerusalem, and with a self-suf-

[1] "Weekly Review of the Far East," Oct. 13, 1917.

ficing culture rooting them to ideas and ideals of government fundamentally at variance with the conception and practice of democracy, boldly breaking with their historic past in order to adopt the system of sovereignty and rule which American statesmanship has worked out. . . . Such a renaissance in the national life of the Chinese carries with it not a little disorder and disarray. But the factional disputes and party conflicts which have incurred the criticism of foreigners ignorant of their own national history are a feature of every country in the throes of creative change. National transformation is in essence a conflict and can be only worked out by and through methods of strife; the old ideas, the hoary customs, and practices and abuses and the ancient gods must be fought and struck down before the verities and sanctities of the new dispensation can become a part of the national life. And at least for a generation or two the struggle between the old and the new forces of life must go on and men quarrel and strive one with another before the new age can be entered in the pages of history. . . . Stated thus it will be seen that the Chinese question is analogous to the problem confronting every type of life in the midst of a changing condition of experience."

Americans, especially, should remember that our constitution written between the years of 1783 and 1789, sought to solve the governmental problems of but two and one-half millions of people and sixty years later we had not yet determined the question of State's Rights. China overthrew the Republic in 1911 and sought to set up an established government for 420,000,000 people, probably 95 percent of whom are uneducated. Her problem, even from the standpoint of population, is something

over 150 times as complex as that of the Revolutionary Fathers and the 2,500,000 men and women of our colonies were fitted for self-government with a preparation infinitely above that of the average Chinese to-day. We are making no effort here to minimize the seriousness of the present situation in China, but only seeking to indicate that the disturbed state of affairs following the revolution is not unparalleled in history and does not necessarily indicate the inability of the Chinese to govern themselves.

The overthrow of the Manchus, although perhaps more a political achievement than a popular uprising was, nevertheless, a further evidence of the developing national consciousness among the Chinese people. This same consciousness, although it has been unable to bring the north and south together or at all times insure the ordered development of the nation, asserted itself in forcing Yuan Shih Kai to surrender the throne and finally to abdicate; in 1917 it blocked the attempted restoration of the Emperor and, although politics has been badly mixed with patriotism, the Chinese people have learned through these experiences, not alone that strong national consciousness —a feeling of national unity and responsibility—will solve many of China's present difficulties, but that such a consciousness has become the possibility of a not distant future. In the further development of this spirit is to be found the surest guarantee that China's human resources will be realized in actual power.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE WORLD WAR AND THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

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THE changes wrought by the World War were nowhere more epoch-making than in China. The way over which the Chinese were forced to go in determining to cast their lot with the Allies was a much longer road than that traversed by any of the other nations who found themselves drawn into the conflict. The multiplication of China's schools and the substitution of modern educational methods for the old were too recent facts in the history of the country to have freed the mind of the average Chinese from the entanglements of the past. In spite of the revolution and the republic the roots of China's national institutions were still nourished in the soil of Medievalism. The events which the war brought on and China's final entrance into it involved, therefore, much digging in the sterile soil of the Middle Ages, much rude uprooting of deeply implanted ideas, and brought on the serious post-war problem of preparing new ground and planting and nurturing in it the seeds of 20th century progress. But the Chinese, after forty centuries of farming, are qualified agriculturalists, and already the first fruits of this planting are appearing.

In the preceding chapter we have seen that comparatively recent events in the history of China point toward the development of the human resources of that nation.

We have indicated some of the reasons which, heretofore, have hindered the transition from a Medieval to a Modern State and have noted, in particular, that, in the growth of a national consciousness, which these recent events reveal, is to be found the surest guarantee that the potentialities of the Chinese people will be realized in actual power.

In the present chapter we will continue this study of the growth of a national consciousness particularly as it has been furthered by the events of the World War; by Japan's aggressions in Shantung, the Twenty-One Demands, China's entrance into the war, The Peace Conference, the student uprising, the boycott of Japan.

Mary Ninde Gamewell, who has made an intimate study of recent developments in China, writes of the effect of the World War as follows: "With all the rest of the world, China has suffered, has learned and has been benefited by the European War. . . . China's share in the war has given her a new sense of international relationships and obligations. If a vestige of the old exclusiveness remained, it must have disappeared forever. . . . China has caught the spirit of true patriotism which leads men to labor and sacrifice, not for an individual, a family or a clan only; but for a nation." [1]

On August 23rd, 1914, Japan declared war upon Germany, and followed her declaration by immediately blockading Kiaochow in the Chinese Province of Shantung. On September 2nd, a Japanese army was landed, on November 6th Kiaochow was captured and later Tsingtao, the German stronghold, fell before the attacks of the Japanese assisted by a few regiments of British regulars.

[1] Mary Ninde Gamewell, "New Life Currents in China," pp. 20-31.

Thus speedily did Japan intrench herself in the former German position in China. And immediately China—cumbersome, drowsy China—began to bestir herself.

The Chinese people at this time were not pro-ally. In fact, a very genuine admiration on the part of many leaders in China for German methods, and the generally favorable impressions created by Germany's business representatives among the Chinese had formed the basis for considerable pro-German sentiment. And as between Germany and Japan in the province of Shantung the Chinese, in 1914 as, doubtless in 1921, much preferred Germany. Following the Japanese coup d'etat, therefore, whatever sentiment existed in China regarding the war quickly concentrated itself in an opposition to Japan and rapidly spread to a nation-wide feeling of hatred for the neighbor across the Yellow Sea.

The reasoning which led to this bitterness was perfectly plain to the Chinese. For, they maintained, regardless of the unscrupulousness which characterized the action of the late German Emperor in securing the 99 year lease of Kiaochow, there was nothing in the proceedings to justify Japan in appropriating the territory save a willingness to perpetuate the same unscrupulousness. China had never surrendered her sovereignty over the city and Japan's prompt action was, consequently, a violation of Chinese neutrality. And through the smoke screens which have been repeatedly laid down since that time the Chinese have kept the issue clear by consistently asserting that Japan deliberately exceeded her rights in 1915, and, certainly, has exceeded them since then by steadily refusing to return the German rights in Shantung and particularly the Shantung railroad to China.

It soon became apparent, however, that the capture of Kiaochow and Tsingtao and the occupation of the line of railroad to Tsinanfu were merely initial moves in the greater game which Japan was playing. As events revealed, Japan's ambitions in China were five in number, expressed in the Twenty-One Demands served on China January 18th, 1915. Mr. W. Reginald Wheeler states these aims as follows:[1] "First, to succeed Germany in its position and possessions in Shantung; second to consolidate the Manchurian territory won in the war with Russia and to add to it a part of Mongolia; third, to gain a controlling share in the iron output of China; fourth, to secure the military safety of Japan by rendering impossible the lease of any of China's ports or coastal islands; fifth, if possible, to enter into such close economic, military, and political relations with China as to make it, with all its vast resources, tributary to Japan."

That Mr. Wheeler's statement of the extent of these demands is eminently fair to Japan is evident to any one familiar with their details. The bewildered efforts of Japan to conceal their exact nature, the widespread press denials that they had ever been issued and the consternation of the Chinese indicate something of their drastic character. Once the terms were made known, however, Japanese statesmen treated the world to an exhibition of international side-stepping which finally ended when Yuan Shih Kai, the President of China, was forced to accept the demands in a revised form, Japan having issued an ultimatum in which the non-restoration of Kiaochow was used as a weapon to coerce the Chinese.

Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck, an authority on Far East-

[1] W. Reginald Wheeler, "China and the World War," p. 11.

ern affairs, sums up the situation at this time, as follows:[1] "Whatever her intentions, Japan has accomplished in regard to China at least five things: She has consolidated her own position in her northern sphere of influence, Manchuria; she has driven the Germans out of their former sphere of influence, Shantung, and has constituted herself successor to Germany's rights; she has given warning that she considers Fukien Province an exclusive sphere for Japanese influence; she has undertaken to invade the British sphere of influence; and she stands in a position to menace and to dictate to the Peking Government. . . . Japan is in a position, should she choose, at any moment to grind Peking between the millstones of her military machine. So far as strategy is concerned Japan has North China commercially, militarily, and politically at her mercy."

Influenced by a number of reasons, chief among them being China's desire for representation at the Peace Conference and the example of the United States, the Chinese government severed diplomatic relations with Germany on March 14, 1917 and five months later declared war. The concluding paragraph of China's note of protest against unrestricted submarine warfare which preceded the severance of diplomatic relations is noteworthy for it indicated that, weak though she still may be, China has forever put behind her the last vestige of aloofness from world affairs and is determined henceforth to take the full share of her responsibility as a unit in the international neighborhood. It reads as follows: "In case, contrary to its expectation, its protest prove ineffectual, the Gov-

[1] Quoted by Reginald Wheeler in "China and the World War," pp. 22-23.

ernment of the Chinese republic will be constrained, to its profound regret, to sever the diplomatic relations existing between the two countries. It is unnecessary to add that the attitude of the Chinese Government has been dictated purely by a desire to further the cause of the world's peace and to maintain the sanctity of international law." [1]

Mr. Thomas F. Millard, who is qualified as few men to speak on Far Eastern questions, wrote of China's entrance into the war as follows: "In deciding to cast her lot with these forces that are now getting concentrated with the major nations in the allied association, China has not, however, acted wisely or cleverly solely on the ground of expediency. She has taken a road which leads towards where China ought to go—a civilization in which China can be free from fears of external encroachments incited by the old predatory and exploiting spirit, free safely to develop her own nationality by peaceful processes into a firm and respected position in the world." [2]

Thus, China, hoping in vain for undisturbed tranquillity, became aware that the storm in Europe was threatening the Far East, and that the very blackness of the war clouds served as a screen over Asia behind which international looting could be carried on with comparative impunity. And the national consciousness of China which had stamped out opium, driven the Manchus from the throne, defeated their attempted restoration and dared to maintain a republic, found itself again uniting in a common cause. Whatever may be the eventual disposition of Kiaochow and Tsingtao, the Japanese by the very brazenness of their aggressions in 1914 and 1915

[1] Cheng, "Modern China—A Political Study," p. 258.
[2] "The Weekly Review of the Far East," July 18, 1917.

and by their later tactics at the peace conference greatly hastened the day when a well-ordered, intelligent public opinion in China will be able to consistently assert itself for the welfare of the nation. And China, for the same reason, has become a part of the mental topography of thousands of westerners who formerly were as uninterested in the Far East as they were ignorant of it.

The deep resentment of the Chinese against Japan, which had been growing ever since the occupation of Shantung and the subsequent issuance of the Twenty-One Demands, finally found expression in connection with a military alliance between the two countries which was proposed in the spring of 1918 by the Japanese as a protection against a possible German menace in Siberia. Regardless of the fact, which later appeared, that this agreement with Japan was entirely dissociated from the drastic Fifth Group of the Demands, which had been held "for further negotiation," and did not involve the many dire consequences anticipated, a wave of feeling swept the country which indicated that the people of China were becoming keenly conscious of the policy of the Japanese and of the attitude of their own government in meeting it.

Chinese students in Japan at this time began leaving the country en masse as a protest against the proposed agreement; the native press of China was bitter in its denunciation of the government and of the Japanese; the edtor of the leading Chinese newspaper in Peking committed suicide, saying that he would not live a slave to a foreign power; Mr. Eugene Chen, editor of the influential Peking Gazette and a consistent friend of the republic, was imprisoned because of his criticism of the Premier,

Tuan Chi-jui, and finally the activity of the students throughout the country brought such pressure to bear upon the Government that in order to prevent further trouble the terms of the agreement were made public.

Something of the significance of this successful student demonstration is indicated in the comment of a pro-Japanese Shanghai daily: "The manner in which the Chinese students have been acting in connection with the Sino-Japanese agreement is one that would not be tolerated in any other country. . . . That they, as school boys, should have the audacity and impertinence to criticize the acts of the Chief Executive and the Government, and the power to force the President to receive their delegations and to exact from him the contents of the new instrument, is a matter of the greatest importance. In the first place, it shows that they acknowledge no discipline; secondly, it proves how weak the government is and what little control the educational authorities have over those whose studies they are supposed to direct." [1]

The Chinese students were thus fitting themselves to become the vocal organs of the masses. Upon the announcement from Paris that the Peace Conference had given Tsingtao to Japan and the Japanese were to fall heir to all the German rights in Shantung Province China's delegates reflecting the spirit of the nation which they represented refused to sign the Treaty. Immediately these Chinese students spoke for the Chinese people and their language was as plain as it was unprecedented.[2]

[1] Translated in "The Weekly Review of the Far East," June 1, 1918.

[2] This account of the beginning of the Student Movement is taken from the "Weekly Review of the Far East." An article by Hollington K. Tong.

The Peace Conference decided the Kiaochow question in favor of Japan on April 30, 1919. Two days later this news reached China and on the 3rd of May, the Shantung question was the topic of the day throughout the entire country. On the same morning a group of influential residents of Peking, including members of Parliament, University Professors, merchants and students met and organized the "People's Determination Society" and this group fired the first shot in the organized effort to oust Japan from Chinese territory by dispatching a telegram to Chinese Chambers of Commerce and other commercial organizations throughout the country calling upon them to "henceforth sever all relations, whether commercial or otherwise, with the nationals of Japan." Doubtless, this peremptory proclamation aroused much mirth and little real concern among the nationals designated, but the students were too busily engaged planning their campaign to heed the ridicule. And, as later events revealed, they well could afford to delay their own merriment.

The boycott of Japan which was thus inaugurated as a protest against the Shantung settlement was not the only purpose of the student movement. A second purpose was the ousting of Tsao Ju-lin, Minister of Communications; Lu Chung-Yu, Director General of the Currency Reform Bureau, and Chang Chung-hsiang, three pro-Japanese officials charged with having sold the national birthright of China to Japan, and held responsible for China's failure at the Peace Conference. The movement, therefore, was national in its character, it speedily won the approval of the entire people and spread from the semi-tropics of Kwantung province to the arctic regions along

the Mongol border, and from the Yellow Sea to the Kuen-lun Mountain. The students, who launched it, had no ax to grind and no selfish ends to gain. The attempt of one student to kill himself by bumping his head against a stone pillar in the Tientsin Chamber of Commerce to show how easily a student could die for his country, the open defiance by the students of the bayonets of the soldiery in Japanized Tsinanfu, the willingness of orphan children to be imprisoned in the place of arrested students and to die for them if necessary, the kneeling of Tientsin students on the ground in the scorching sun for four or five hours in order to secure permission from the soldiers surrounding them to parade through the streets are a few illustrations of their intense patriotism.

On the 4th of May some three thousand students in Peking, most of them from the Government University, marched in a body to the Legation Quarter to present a petition to the British and American ministers protesting against the award of Shantung. Prevented by Chinese guards from entering the Legation Quarter they made for the house of Tsao-Ju-lin, whom they regarded as the country's arch traitor, forced an entrance, broke the windows, smashed up the furniture and finally administered a sound thrashing to Chang Chung-hsiang, Chinese Minister to Tokio and one of the hated triumvirate. As the crowd was dispersing the police reserves appeared and arrested thirty-three of the boy patriots. But these lads had kindled a flame which was destined to sweep the nation, purging it of many of the self-seeking leaders who had misguided the people and making a place for the development of a real, China-wide democracy.

On the afternoon of the same day in which the above

China's Representatives in the Far Eastern Olympics.

events took place, the American and European returned students in Peking called an emergency mass-meeting. Admiral Wu presided at this assembly which voted to proceed in a body on the 7th of May to the British, American, French, and Italian legations presenting to each a petition calling upon their respective governments to accord China fair treatment at the Peace Conference.

In the meantime, the treacherous triumvirate tendered their resignations—having sought refuge during the respite allowed them by the students, in a Japanese hospital.

The cabinet was immediately called to consider their resignations and a report was at once circulated that it had been decided to bamboo the thirty-three students captured in the recent raid. The students aroused by this rumor held a mass meeting in the Law Department of the Government University which was attended by many merchants and teachers. At this meeting it was decided to send forth student emissaries to the leading cities of China for the purpose of arousing the students and merchants to a similar movement. And, after the manner of the loaves and fishes, six buckets-full of money—ranging from copper cash to ten-dollar bills—were gathered on the spot to finance the campaign. On May 7th, the government was forced to liberate the thirty-three youths, unable longer to ignore the popular protests against their imprisonment.

On May 8th, the organization of a boycott of all Japanese goods was under way and circulars were being broadcasted over Peking urging the people not to buy Japanese commodities. On the same day the school girls of Peking issued a proclamation stating that, on behalf

of the 200,000,000 women of China, who were concerned over the fate of Shantung, they aligned themselves alongside of the men in their fight for justice. And on the following day, the situation became so aggravated that the cabinet members tendered their resignation to the President.

An anti-Japanese movement was organized in Shanghai on the 10th of May and on the 11th a huge gathering in the public gardens of Tientsin inaugurated a similar movement. Telegrams from every province and the remotest cities of China continued to pour into the officials in Peking urging against any compromise with Japan, but the Government still delayed definite action regarding Kiaochow and consistently accorded friendly treatment to the triumvirate. Consequently, on May 18th a general strike was called of all students in Peking, and as a result of persistent and widespread agitation the boycott began steadily to extend to the Lower Yangtsze Valley.

Toward the end of May, however, the intense activity of the students began to subside and it appeared that the entire movement might gradually die out. But on June 1st, two mandates were issued attempting to white-wash two of the officials who had been opposed by the students and immediately the flame was fanned anew. In the face of repeated threats from the government, lecturers suddenly appeared in every important street of Peking, and with flaring proclamations, and posters and great maps of Shantung province, explained to the populace, in language which the populace could understand, the history of Japan's activity in Shantung, and the plans for the boycott. As a result of this persistent agitation, several hundred of these boys were arrested and imprisoned.

But popular sentiment was with the students and within five days the troops guarding them were removed and the prisoners ordered to go home. But the prisoners replied that they would not go home until they were told why they had been arrested in the first place. And they followed this declaration with a series of demands upon the government, all but one of which were granted.

The effect of this incident was not confined to Peking, however. The following graphic account of subsequent events in Shanghai appeared in the "Weekly Review of the Far East," June 14, 1919: "Shanghai—typical Shanghai —which knows and understands China, especially that part of China bounded by the bund, Soochow Creek and the Recreation Grounds looked on the student uprising with considerable indulgence. In America and England —where strikes are usually conducted by peaceful working men armed with guns, dynamite and bombs—there will be no understanding of a strike in China conducted by fierce students (ages 12 to 20 years) armed to the teeth with murderous banners, inscribed with such seditious terms as "Down with the Traitors," "We Want Tsingtao Back" and similar inflammatory language. To repeat, Shanghai looked on the parades of the students and the posting of boycott notices with considerable indulgence—until a report reached Shanghai to the effect that the Chinese military officials (the same gang that gave Shantung province to Japan) had arrested several hundred students because of their patriotic speeches delivered from the street corners and other advantageous points.

"When this report reached Shanghai, the Chinese merchants, big and little, closed up their shops. It all hap-

pened in about 30 minutes on Wednesday morning, June 4th. (No one who didn't happen to be in New York on a gasless Sunday or when the coal supply gave out last winter will have any idea of the peculiar condition brought about by 'Shopless' Shanghai. This was a real calamity and Shanghai—typical Shanghai—began to take notice and discuss.) . . After the shops had been closed for two days word was received from Peking to the effect that the merchants' protest had been effective and that the students had been released. But with their power established the merchants naturally decided to make a clean slate of it and demanded the resignations of the 'pro-Japanese traitors' at the Capitol."

Meanwhile, the students were joined by many large non-political organizations such as the Chambers of Commerce, the lawyers' associations, the educational and agricultural associations, and citizens unions were established throughout the country, which provided free, non-political channels for effective expression of public opinion. Through these groups the boycott of all Japanese goods was continued with increasing effectiveness.

(Mr. Upton Close wrote of the significance of the boycott as follows: "It is impossible to longer ignore the effects of the boycott. Speaking for North China, in every port Japanese shops are closing out. Japanese efforts, frantically exerted, failed to keep the boycott out of the Shantung Railway area. . . . Far more important, however, than the closing of a few drug, notion, and photographic shops and the riddance of a few advance agents whom their government does not consider worth while to support, is the cessation of Chinese wholesaling and retailing of Japanese goods. Not a tithe of the Japanese

merchandise sold in China was sold through the Japanese themselves. As far as appearances are concerned Chinese dealing in Japanese goods has stopped absolutely. With the first promulgation of the boycott, dealers were allowed to sell off their Japanese stock on hand but to purchase no more. . . . Japanese shipping is already embarrassed by lack of cargo and the difficulty of obtaining long-shore service and supplies in Chinese ports. . . .

"The spirits behind the movement, well aware that ignorance of the populace and the cupidity of the merchant class were the causes of failure in the past, have planned that while their educational and patriotic campaign is gradually progressing, a barrage of resolute coercion be safely laid over temptation on the part of those whose love of the dollar or Japanese articles is greater than their love of country. To this end they are fighting fire with fire by enlisting the guilds and chambers of commerce in every city—setting the merchant class to policing itself, and inflicting heavy penalties in the event of transgression of the unwritten law: 'Thou shalt have no dealings with the Japanese.' . . .

"Meanwhile the students have spread to every hsien and, supported by popular subscription, are carrying their propaganda and educational campaign through every village. They are teaching an audience, stirred for the first time to listen, the rudiments of geography, political science, and patriotism. Along with this they instill the hatred and fear of Japan and set forth the boycott as the only hope of salvation from the fate of Korea and Formosa. Literally millions of farmers, dealers, and artisans are talking for the first time of national and international affairs which it never entered their minds that

they could express an opinion on, not even when stirred up by the recent revolutions. One can go to any food shop among any group of laborers on the job and hear it all about him. The signs in the tea shops: 'Don't talk politics' are out of date. It is a remarkable thing which these young crusaders are doing—perhaps the real awakening of China at last." [1]

During the fall of 1919, the author was traveling through western Fukien Province, and one day, while ferrying across a small stream, a Chinese friend started conversation with one of the chair coolies, who, to our amazement, entered upon a most violent harangue at the climax of which he pulled from beneath his tunic an anti-Japanese poster depicting Japan as a thief stealing the rice from starving China. My friend stated that this coolie showed a most remarkable understanding of the situation in Shantung coupled with an equally amazing mastery of Chinese expletives which he freely applied to the objects of his enmity.

Later in the same year while in Shanghai, we set out to purchase a foot ruler and at the "Commercial Press" we were shown a whole drawer-full of the exact article for which we were searching, but our clerk courteously informed us that these had been purchased in Japan and, therefore were not for sale. Bribes proved ineffectual and although we walked from shop to shop for the remainder of that afternoon we were obliged to leave Shanghai without the ruler. In the city of Chungking, 1200 miles up the Yangtsze, a steamer was pointed out to us which we were told had come up-stream loaded with Japanese goods and the coolies in Chungking, hearing of this, refused to

[1] "Weekly Review of the Far East," August 2, 1919.

unload the vessel and it was eventually forced to return to Shanghai with its cargo.

It is related that a Japanese ship loaded with coal which docked at Ningpo was unable to unload because the Chinese coolies refused to work. The ship then returned to Shanghai where the same action was taken. A return to Ningpo with the same cargo brought the same luck and the captain is said to have taken his steamer back to Japan. Japanese papers in Shanghai reported that Japanese ships arriving from China carried only one-half and even less cargoes and ships in the coastal trade are having an equally difficult time.

A fall from 154 tons per trip in 1918 to the average of barely 71 tons per trip during the first ten months of 1919 in the business of one Japanese company is sufficient proof of the teeth of the boycott.

Between May and September, 1919, China's imports from Japan in certain articles of daily consumption revealed the effectiveness of the boycott as follows: [1]

Article	May	June	Sept.
Cotton Yarn (piculs)	12,470	3,099	3,954
Paper (piculs)	21,097	7,956	7,450
Cotton Cloth (yards)	867,000	356,000	167,000
Umbrellas	343,000	49,000	6,000
Canvas bags	1,378,000	474,000	456,000
Matches (gross)	499,000	115,000	269,000

These figures show an average decrease over the entire period of 70.75 percent.

Not only did the boycott effectively stop the dealing in Japanese goods in China, it aroused an interest among the Chinese in the establishment of industries which could supply those products for which they had formerly been

[1] "Weekly Review of the Far East," Jan. 3, 1920.

forced to rely upon Japan, and increased the demand for "Made-in-China" articles. Thus, when we were in Chengtu, the remote capital of Szechuan Province, we were told that the students in the University there had secured a full page in a native daily paper and on one side were printing the Japanese commodities which the Chinese had been accustomed to buy and on the opposite a list of those Chinese-made products which were a satisfactory substitute. "Support Native Industry" was an inscription frequently seen on the banners of student strikers. In some of the schools, night schools were started for the purpose of teaching Chinese workmen to make Chinese products and the students in the Peking industrial schools decided, when the strike came, to devote themselves to the instruction of native artisans in the increase of their own production.

The results of the student movement are thus summed up in the "Weekly Review of the Far East" for June 28, 1919: "1. They forced the resignation from the Chinese cabinet of the three worst offenders who have 'been bartering away China's birthright to the militarists of Japan.' 2. They have started a strong boycott against the consumption of Japanese merchandise in China and it is effective in that Japan's trade in China has already been cut down from one-third to one-half its total before the boycott. 3. They have brought a new element into the political situation of China that will have to be considered in the future, especially if the movement develops into a national political party as many believe and hope. 4. They have to a very small degree stimulated among the Chinese merchants a desire to promote the industrial development of China. 5. They have severely frightened

the old fashioned conservative official and military class in China and also in Japan and regardless of the future, this demonstration of public opinion in this country, that has never known public opinion before, will serve as a check upon the actions of the officials in the future. . . . 6. The Chinese students since they were acting with the knowledge and consent of their parents and teachers give a strong indication of the present feeling of China toward Japan and other foreign nations having predatory designs against China. The students . . . power is thus established and will always be ready for action in the future. 7. The student demonstrations in reality were an appeal for free speech and a free press in China similar to the conditions in other free countries. . . . The student demonstrations which were caused by the cession of Tsingtao and former German possessions in Shantung Province to Japan instead of returning China's territory to China has shown the people of China the real weakness of this country. If this causes a real reunion of China's conflicting political elements and causes attention to be paid to correcting her weaknesses much final good will be accomplished."

Mr. Hollington K. Tong, Peking Correspondent for the "Weekly Review of the Far East," estimates the significance of the student movement as follows:[1] "A new chapter of Chinese history has now commenced under the heading 'Civilian victory over the militaists.' . . . The military men are powerless to save themselves as they are overwhelmed by moral force. . . . This unqualified triumph, though temporal it may be, bespeaks well for the future of China. By coercing the government to yield to

[1] "Weekly Review of the Far East," June 21, 1919.

the popular verdict, and by making the militarists powerless, the civilians have achieved much. The first revolution which resulted in the establishment of the republic was a revolution of the miltary men. The movement to overthrow the Yuan Shih Kai monarchy in 1915 was likewise undertaken by the militarists. The overthrow of General Chang Hsun's monarchical attempt in 1917 was also accomplished by the soldiers and generals. It was not until 1919 that China witnessed the ascendency of civilian influence and its great achievement. The movement deserves a place in the national history of China."

Doubtless much of the active anti-Japanese agitation in China has subsided during the past 18 months, but China's national consciousness has been tried in the fire of a real crisis and has measured up to the test and henceforth Japan, having learned to her loss of this new spirit, will be obliged to tread more lightly on the toes of the Chinese people. The Japanese suffered no little discomfiture because of China's refusal to sign the treaty, and the student movement and boycott, and in the future this same force will be in readiness to work even greater discomfiture whenever and wherever China's rights are violated.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CHINA'S INTELLECTUAL RENAISSANCE

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TO study the history of China is to study the intellectual currents of Chinese thinkers. The real leaders of China are, first of all, the real thinkers. The Chinese classics which, to an unbelievable degree, dominate the life of the nation, reflect this appeal of the intellect. The origin of great national movements among the Chinese is usually to be found in the intellectual processes of the people themselves. Consequently, present-day movements which reflect a remarkable transformation in Chinese thought life derive much of their significance from the fact that in China, more than in most countries, such a transformation is the necessary precursor of widespread change in the life of the nation itself.

In the present chapter it will be our purpose to study further the development of China's human resources and the growth of national consciousness which this development is making possible. We have reviewed recent events in Chinese history both previous to and resulting from the World War and have pointed out some of their consequent effects. There still remains for us to study what is doubtless one of the most significant movements in the nation's history—the Intellectual Renaissance, for the events which characterize it are a revelation of a revolution in Chinese thinking. To attempt an accurate evalu-

ation of the Renaissance is impossible for it is only developing at the present time. We will attempt to trace, therefore, the history of the movement itself, some of the general tendencies which are already apparent and their possible relation to the rise of a national consciousness among the Chinese.

Mr. Putnam Weale, who writes from the standpoint of one who has been a long observer of the Chinese people, says:[1] "The Chinese people are trembling on the edge of a phenomenal renaissance, in politics, in finance, in commerce and in spirituality. You have but to question any missionary to get the most amazing story of the brain storm raging among the educated and the proletariat alike, and of their immense new desire for truth. The net increase in population since the Boxer year of 1900, which is estimated at 68,000,000 souls, is stuffing the country full of young men and young women and this rising generation demands truth, more truth."

Prof. John Dewey who, as lecturer at the Peking National University, has been a prominent factor in giving the movement sane direction, writes of it as follows:[2] "One may assert that, with all its crudities and vacillations, the new culture movement provides one of the firmest bases for hope for the future of China. It does not take the place of better means of communications—railways and highways—without which the country will not be unified and hence will not be strong. But in China there is need, too, for a unified mind, and that is impossible without the new intellectual movement."

It is impossible to dissociate the Renaissance from the

[1] "The Transpacific," Sept., 1919.
[2] "Asia," July, 1921.

student movement which was launched on the 4th of May, 1919, and which we have reviewed in the previous chapter. Its actual origin antedates the events of 1919 but the success of the student strike and boycott of Japan and the China-wide student consciousness that developed as a consequence gave it tremendous impetus, and from a remotely possible ideal, cherished in the hearts of a very limited circle of advanced thinkers it has become a nation-stirring movement with definite and realizable purposes. The developments of the spring and summer of 1919 were brought about under the stimulus of a great national crisis, was patriotic in character and the immediate ends in view were largely political. The Renaissance, on the other hand, though uninfluenced by the pressure of a national crisis, is none the less patriotic and its significance much more profound.

For instead of aiming to secure the overthrow of a few unscrupulous politicians and the ousting of a mistrusted nation from Chinese soil, the Renaissance is endeavoring to make it increasingly difficult for such situations to come about. For the accomplishment of this, the very roots of Chinese life are being brought to light and examined. And regardless of the marks of venerable antiquity which may distinguish them, the unproductive are marked for certain destruction and only the fruitful retained. And, in the end, if it is wisely directed, a movement which shows so little regard for the progress impeding precedents of the past and so great an eagerness for every constructive element that may make the future certain, will help to assure that union between the best in ancient China and the best in modern civilization which the friends of China desire.

Something of the Renaissance spirit is indicated in an editorial from the Canton *Times* (Chinese):[1] "Most of our people are slaves to precedent. . . . Daily we witness efficiency sacrificed on the altar of custom and tradition. Precedent binds the race to the past. It curbs all efforts at progress. It impedes the beneficial stimulus of evolution. It compels the people to face the decadent years of antiquity instead of looking forward into the dawn of the future and interpreting the God-given message which gradually unfolds its wonderful promise in the light of the world's to-morrows. . . . But a new emancipation has come to our people. There are those among us who dare to challenge the authority of the past. . . . It is not enough to say: 'China is not ready for modern things.' We must make her ready. . . . Let us take the work of reforming our province out of the realm of mere theoretical speculation and tea-house discussion and make it a vital, pressing, present-day problem requiring our immediate endeavor and coöperation. In this way our interest and patriotism will be appreciably stimulated and we will not lose entirely those lofty ideals and unselfish aspirations which were the inspiration of our student days."

The Renaissance, which has been called in turn, the "Literary Revolution," the "New Thought Movement," and the "New Civilization Movement," is known in Chinese as the Hsin Ssu Chao, meaning literally the "New Thought Tide." It originated in the growing demand for a living literature—for a literature which is written in contrast to the mandarin (pei hua) or the spoken lan-

[1] Translated in the "Weekly Review of the Far East," May 10, 1919.

guage. There has never been a popular literature in China because worth-while literary productions have nearly always been written in the classic language—the Wen Li—which is no longer spoken and is only intelligible to the classically trained few. Consequently the Chinese literature of to-day is largely a dead literature quite inaccessible to the masses of the people.

The literary revolution and its proposed reform of the written language of China should not be confused with the Phonetic Script Movement which is endeavoring to introduce a Chinese alphabet. The new phonetic has reduced the 40,000 characters of the big Chinese dictionaries to an alphabet of 60 and has reduced the time required in learning to read widely from a ten year study to a month's intensive work. The literary revolution, on the other hand, is an attempt to substitute a simple, conversational style of writing for the ancient literary style for the purpose of familiarizing Chinese readers with the big ideas and ideals of the world which previously had been withheld from them.

For a number of years there has been a growing consciousness, especially among some of the leading Chinese educators, that some definite course should be adopted which would secure for China the tremendous advantages of a popular, universally understood written language. This demand found its first expression through the columns of a magazine called *La Jeunesse* (*Sing Tsing Nien*). This magazine, founded in 1915, began as an obscure paper purporting to be interested primarily in the general discussion of political, social, economic and literary problems and in its earlier issues it conformed closely to the ordinary Chinese journals of a like nature.

In January, 1917, however, Mr. Hu Suh, a Doctor of Philosophy from Columbia University and Professor of Literature in the National University, published an article in the columns of *La Jeunesse* on the need of radical reform in Chinese literature, and especially of the need of adopting some medium for written expression accessible to the "average Chinese." Dr. Suh's contentions, striking, as they did, at the very foundations of that which was oldest and most highly reverenced by the literati of China, brought down an avalanche of criticism.

Dr. Suh, himself, writes of this criticism as follows: "It is this vulgate encroachment upon the sacred realm of literature that has aroused the horror and wrath of the literati of the old schools. . . . That the vulgate tongue can be effectively employed in prose composition has been sufficiently proved by the great novels of the last seven centuries. But, say our critics, such novels are not literature for no classical master ever wrote vulgate novels. Accordingly when Lin Shu undertook to translate Dickens and Rider Haggard, he made Oliver Twist and Nell and Micawber and Haggard's Zulu heroes talk the language of Su-Ma Chien of the second century B. C. Little wonder that our literati held up their hands in horror when we proposed to write poetry exclusively in the spoken language. How can poetry, the holy of holies in literature, be written in a language of the lowly and the vulgar which has never been refined by the usages of the literary class."

As a consequence of this heated debate, which raged for over a year between these so-called literary radicals and the sponsors of the classical language, it was decided in 1918 to devote *La Jeunesse* to the exclusive publication

of prose and poetry in the vernacular. Dr. Suh had begun to write what he termed "experimental poetry" in the vernacular, others followed his example and the number has been steadily increasing since that time. These writers have experimented with meter, rhythm, the arrangement of lines and stanzas and general methods of treatment and have exercised unprecedented freedom of composition. It was to be expected therefore, that the advocates of these revolutionary changes should be assailed on every hand as unpatriotic and dangerous. But in the face of tremendous opposition they have persisted in their purpose, hoping finally to convince their opponents by the very success of the experiments which they have undertaken.

Other forces than the publication of *La Jeunesse*, however, were hastening the development of this movement. The National University located at Peking was given a new lease of life upon the selection of Tsai Yuan-pei as Chancellor. Chancellor Tsai had studied in France, and with wide experience as a student of China's educational problems he set about his task with a definiteness of purpose which previously had been noticeably absent in the conduct of the affairs of the University. The professors, under former régimes, had frequently been inefficient, uninterested, uninteresting, and lazy. But Chancellor Tsai has been gathering about him a faculty of keen, wide-awake men, most of whom received their training in Japan, Europe or the United States. These educators eagerly supported the literary movement, they contributed articles for various Chinese publications until the field of experiments which Mr. Suh had opened was greatly enlarged and the scope of the movement itself began, very

rapidly, to widen. To-day Peking University is considered to be the very center of the Renaissance.

The literary revolution which characterized the beginning of the Renaissance spread with much greater rapidity than had been anticipated by its supporters. At present there are some 150 periodicals which have adopted the vernacular as their language of publication, articles in the vernacular are published in the leading Chinese papers from Peking to Shanghai and westward to Chengtu and three magazines are devoted exclusively to the cause. These are *La Jeunesse* (*Hsin Ching Nien*), *The Renaissance* (*Hsin Chao*), and *The Weekly Review* (*Mei Shih Ping Lun*).

The literary revolution, however, marked only the beginning of the Renaissance Movement. It provided a channel through which the ideals of the Renaissance might be carried to the Chinese people. Without the literary revolution the later developments would have been unavailing and unimportant because only a limited few would have been aware of them. But the time is past when the best of Chinese literature and the most constructive of Chinese thought can be uselessly confined among those with classical training. And by like token the average Chinese has been admitted to a realm of ideas wherein he will become conscious not only of his responsibility to other Chinese but also of the relation of China to the world and the means by which that relationship may be adjusted.

While the first concern of the leaders of this movement was the form of literary expression, this soon gave place to an increased interest in the content of what they wrote. Though this new and democratic medium of ex-

In the Laboratory of the New China.

pression the whole range of social, political, moral, and religious questions which have, in their turn, disturbed or are at present disturbing the western world were brought to the Chinese people from vers libre to the I. W. W. And more and more the force of these new ideas was turned against the old and the critical attitude came to be characteristic of the Renaissance spirit.

Mr. Timothy Tinfang Lew, writing in the Chinese *Recorder*,[1] states that he had just returned to China from the United States and having heard of the far-reaching character of this new movement he undertook a preliminary investigation of it. He says: "One evening I roamed through the streets and dropped into various book-stores and newspaper stands and gathered together 47 different kinds of magazines, including weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, and semi-annuals. I spent one whole night glancing over their contents. I found that there were more up-to-date things discussed in those magazines than any combination of 47 magazines picked up from an American newsstand and a wider range of opinions expressed."

A survey of the contents of the three magazines devoted to the Renaissance Movement will indicate something of the wide range of subjects under serious consideration. The following tables of contents are given by John Stewart Burgess in *The Survey*:[2]

The Renaissance. Volume II, No. 3:

The Christ before Jesus.
The Foundations of Anarchy, and the Society of Anarchy.
Opposed to the Life of Individualism.

[1] May, 1921.
[2] May 21, 1921.

The Field of Psychology (McDougall).
Industry in Relation to Livelihood.
Woman's Rights and the Law.
The Present-day Power of Democracy.
The Building of Public Opinion.
The Methods of Sociology.

La Jeunesse, Volume VI, No. 4:

Pragmatism.
The Foundations of Russian Revolutionary Philosophy.
Work in Relation to Life.
Discussing the Foundations of Electoral Franchise.
Revolution in Thought.
Men's and Women's Social Relations Should be Free.

Emancipation and Reconstruction, Volume I, No. 2:

Leadership, Competition, and the Labor Movement.
Labor Unions.
A Criticism of Socialism.
Biological Egoism, Altruism, and Universal Love.
The Education of Commercial Apprentices.
The Logical Leadership of the Labor Movement.
Lenin and Trotsky—the Men and their Ideas.
The Definition of Socialism.

The book-stalls of China are selling Chinese translations, not only of the standard books on Law and Constitution, Sociology, Philosophy, and Religion but also the works of Karl Marx, Kropotkin, Ibsen, Tagôre, Bernard Shaw, and H. G. Wells. Such volumes as Rousseau's "Social Contract," Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," Herbert Spencer's "Social Principles," Darwin's "Origin of Species," and Benjamin Kidd's "Social Evolution" have been widely read.

Another influence that has contributed greatly to the growth of the Renaissance is a Chinese society called Shang Chih Hsueh Huei, which was organized in 1910 among a number of prominent Chinese in Peking for the purpose of furthering education particularly through the publication of books. In 1918, Mr. Fan Yuen Lien, one of the leaders in this organization and the present minister of education, made a visit to Europe and America during which he conceived the idea of securing a number of outstanding European and American scholars to lecture in the National University. Upon his return, a definite plan was agreed upon and Prof. John Dewey of Columbia University and later Prof. Bertrand Russell of Cambridge University were invited to Peking. It is now proposed to invite Bergson of France, Einstein of Germany and Eucken of Germany, although the latter, because of his age, may be unable to accept. Professor Dewey, during his two years in China, traveled extensively throughout the country, lectured in Shanghai, Hangchow, Nanking, Tientsin and Mukden as well as in Peking and gathered about him a large group of leading Chinese thinkers and a vast following of students. The influence of Professor Dewey in directing the variant factors of the movement toward certain definite ends has been very great, and doubtless its final contribution to China will be enriched because of his experienced leadership.

As a result of their deep dissatisfaction with present conditions in China, leaders of the movement have set about deliberately and by scientific methods to discover the cause of their nation's weakness. Chinese customs and Chinese institutions have been subjected to scientific study and forced to submit to the pragmatic test. The right

of the parents to exercise absolute domination over the future of their children is called into question, and students who have heard from infancy the 2000 year-old story of filial duty are asking whether it is not time to consider the duties and obligations of parents. Doctor Suh, who raised this question through the columns of *La Jeunesse* relates that he was immediately accused of blasphemy and sacrilege and when he translated Maupassant's story "The Parricide" it was interpreted as an indication that he was advocating the killing of parents by their children.[1]

These discussions and investigations rapidly grew to include the whole wide range of modern social problems as they apply to China. Former movements of reform have been concerned chiefly with political revolution, but the Renaissance is primarily interested in social reconstruction, its leaders maintaining that the political evils of the nations will be remedied only when the more fundamental social problems are solved. Not only is the reconstruction of the family life under consideration, but the status of inferior classes—the coolies, the rickshaw men, and the factory workers—is being studied and plans for the amelioration of conditions proposed.

One of the problems most widely discussed is that of the position of women. Professor Suh in the article previously quoted says in this regard: "We advocate what has been called the 'single standard of sex-morality.' If we require chastity and fidelity of our women, have they not a right to demand the same chastity and fidelity from us men? Moreover we are strongly opposed to forms of legal and governmental encouragement of girls renounc-

[1] Hu Suh in the "Weekly Review of the Far East," April 4, 1919.

ing family life after the death of their fiancés whom they have never seen, and of young women committing suicide after the death of their husbands. All this has been interpreted by our 'pillars of society' as meaning to abolish sexual morality in toto and to justify adultery on the part of women."

Chinese women, themselves, are, in some respects, keeping pace with the men in this movement. The Chinese "Ladies Home Journal," founded in 1914, has a monthly circulation of about 4000 copies and its contents include complete and continued novels, editorials, a department of housekeeping, beauty talks, a literary department and a department for children. In recent issues articles have appeared on such subjects as "The Choice of Husbands," in which a Chinese girl maintained that, in choosing a husband one should be well acquainted with his family, his character, his occupation, temper, morality, and his views on the management of the home and general living conditions. "Prevention of Diseases among Children," "How to Can Your Vegetables" and "Woman's Rights." Another unmistakable sign of this awakening among the women of China is to be found in the recent declaration of war against the ancient and widespread system of concubinage. The Chinese Women's Patriotic Association of Tientsin fired the first shot in this campaign by signifying its determination to combat the evil institution which has made miserable the lives of millions of Chinese women. This same organization is sending out 80 or 90 women to lecture on public questions and these speakers, including teachers, students, matrons, and young women, are carrying their gospel of a free-womanhood to those who are less fortunate than they.

At the present time, however, as was the case in the European Renaissance of the Middle Ages, the focal point of the Renaissance is Christianity. The critical attitude which has characterized its leaders in their approach to Chinese social problems has been as fearlessly exhibited in their study of religion. The frankness of these men in approaching a problem, however sacred it may have been considered, is occasioned by their intense earnestness and from no desire to be spectacular. Professor Suh says of the Renaissance attitude toward religion: "We have maintained that all religious creeds, be they Confucian or Christian, must be critically examined before they can be accepted and acted upon. For this reason we have criticized a number of the untenable superstitions both in Christianity and Confucianism."

As stated by Mr. Lew [1] the various attitudes assumed toward religion in general may be summarized something as follows: 1. Religion is useful, important and essential to a well-rounded life, but it requires adequate philosophical interpretation, for philosophy is a mediator between religion and science and can reconcile the two. 2. Religion is useful to-day as a strengthening force to aid mankind until science progresses to the point where it can supplant religion which will then gradually die out. Philosophy, according to this view, must be in harmony with science for religion will eventually be a negligible factor. 3. Whether or not religion will live as a vital force depends upon whether or not it is able to stand the test of the modern age through which it is passing. The question here is whether or not religion can satisfactorily prove the existence of the God which it professes to be

[1] "The Chinese Recorder," May, 1921.

true; whether or not it can actually carry out and establish the ideals which it professes to uphold; and whether, finally, it can shake off the shackles of traditions, and autocratic ecclesiasticism and maintain its position in the face of modern science. 4. Religion has been useful and perhaps is useful still, but the very reason why religion is useful is because it inspires, comforts and sweetens life, all of which advantages may be secured through æsthetics. This particular attitude is being more widely defended every day and the leader of this wing of the movement, which proposes to substitute æsthetics for religion, is Chancellor Tsai of the National University. 5. Religion is invaluable because of its spirit, attitude and faith. These give people strength and victory and these qualities are sorely needed in China to-day, although it may be possible to secure them without the aid of religion.

Mr. Paul Hutchinson and Mr. R. Y. Lo, who have made an extensive investigation of the religious phase of the Renaissance, write as follows:[1] "In matters of religion the students are frankly skeptical. They are prejudiced neither for nor against religion but critical. In this connection Christianity is being more searchingly studied than ever before. To the thinking class, any religion that has an important bearing on society is worth study. 'In my opinion,' a prominent writer states, 'the rational attitude toward Christianity is to treat it seriously and study it as a subject of great social significance. I hope we shall not continue to talk about it with eyes closed as is the past.' With the exception of a few who find religion so irreconcilable to science as to denounce it as a retarding force in human progress and an enemy

[1] "The Chinese Recorder," April, 1921.

to civilization, the majority of the students are open-minded, believing that a right kind of religion is the salvation of China. As another writer of renown declared: 'As I am not a member of any church, I am not interested in the protecting of any organization or advocating the excellence of any particular faith. But I have often felt that religion contains within it the highest ethics, and so I think that if we want imperfect mankind to make progress toward perfection we cannot lightly set religion aside.' "

These same writers assert, however, that this open-mindedness is not an indication that the leaders of the Renaissance movement are ready to endorse religion as an absolute necessity for China, or Christianity as the highest fulfillment of religious requirements. A body of Government students recently called upon a Christian Professor in their institution to give reasons for the faith that was within him by answering a series of questions which they submitted. Some of them were as follows: What proof have you that there is a God? What do you gain if there is a God? Can you be a Christian without believing in God? Is not religion a past issue, something that served humanity during a certain stage in the development of society but is now worn out? Is it not possible to absorb or include in Christianity, Buddhism and Confucianism? Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Lo after reviewing a list of religious questions proposed by Chinese students conclude as follows: "In many and many a school there is evidence that thoughtful students, who have been under Christian instruction for years, are reaching the point where, over against all religion, Chris-

tianity as well as the rest, they are writing that sinister word superstition."

Professor Dewey says of the attitude toward Christianity: [1] "Some of its leaders are as non-Christian as they are anti-Confucian. They do not attack Christianity. They are merely indifferent to it. Others, especially in active educational work, are Christians. But I have generally found that these men are profoundly indifferent not only to denominational and dogmatic Christianity, but to everything except the social aspect of Christianity. They do not even take the trouble to call themselves liberals in religious belief. They approach Christianity from such an angle that they are indifferent to the distinction between conservative and liberal in belief. In effect they assert their claim to develop a distinctively Chinese Christianity. And though the movement toward an independent Chinese Church has not as yet gone far, it is likely to be a large feature of the future."

Thus the Renaissance is making possible a critical and distinctively Chinese approach to social and religious problems. Its future is fraught with much danger, for a movement which involves such fundamental change among such a vast number of people may be misguided and blunder tragically. The leaders of the movement are endeavoring, in a few months of intense activity, to overthrow precedents and institutions which are the product of centuries of effort. Given adequate leadership, however, even that impossible task may not be hopeless and in its accomplishment, certainly, the Chinese people will be greatly benefited.

[1] "Asia," July, 1921.

Mr. Lew [1] summarizes the general results of the Renaissance Movement as follows: "1. It has given the students in particular and the public in general a new attitude toward the problems of life and developed a critical attitude of mind. 2. It has inspired the race with a new hope and courage. This movement has sounded a new note of hope of the ultimate triumph of justice and righteousness. 3. It has taught the people the value and the absolute necessity of science. It has introduced scientific methods and is very loudly advocating the omnipotence of science. 4. It has given the people a new tool of expression. The movement has come into power chiefly through its consistent, courageous, merciless attack upon the old Chinese literary writing. 5. The Renaissance has introduced a new method of studying the things which are old and has given them a new valuation. A feature of the movement is its interest in the ancient Chinese customs, literature, and institutions which runs parallel with the worship of the new. 6. The movement has taught the people how to think. The Chinese people have been dissatisfied with existing conditions. They have been groping in the dark. They have found that bad fortunes came upon them one after another and it seemed that no matter which way they turned they faced disaster and defeat—but this movement has taught the people to think fearlessly, to think critically and to think persistently, finding solutions for their perplexing problems, instead of rushing to activities without forethought."

The new spirit which has found its first expression in the Renaissance is likely to maintain itself as a potent factor in the life of China. Regardless of political di-

[1] "Chinese Recorder," May, 1921.

vision and strife, the remotest sections of the land are uniting in this intellectual community and are working together, as never before in Chinese history, for certain ends and the establishment of certain definite ideals. The national consciousness of China, with more adequate means for self-expression, is destined to exert a constantly increasing influence in determining the future of the country. The development of the human resources of China has become the first concern of those who have caught a vision of the New China which this nation-wide spirit has made possible, and the time has been brought much closer when, realizing their power and free to undertake their responsibility, the Chinese people will assume that place in world affairs which is rightfully theirs.

CHAPTER NINE

THE HISTORICAL RELATIONS OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER NINE

THE HISTORICAL RELATIONS OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES

THERE are two outstanding attitudes among the Chinese people to-day in regard to their relation to foreign powers. One is hatred of Japan, the other friendship for the United States. Of these, the former has been an important factor in bringing about the most recent developments in China; while the latter is a constructive force which has exerted profound influence upon the course of Chinese history ever since that people first were forced to abandon their immemorial isolation as a result of the glorious globe gobbling greed of empire-seeking nations. With the exception of the Exclusion Act, America has consistently practiced in her relations with China the best of those ideals upon which the American nation, itself, is built. As a consequence a background of traditional friendship has been established between the two people which can insure much for the future.

Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, former Chinese minister to the United States and the present minister to England, pays tribute to the cordiality existing between the two nations as follows:[1] "Here between China and the United States we have a concrete example of how two na-

[1] "Current History Magazine," November, 1917. Quoted by W. Reginald Wheeler, "China and the World War," p. 155.

tions always basing their mutual intercourse on justice, could get along in cordial relationship and in perfect understanding; more than a century of trade intercourse, eighty-seven years of missionary work, seven decades of diplomatic relations and nearly half a century of educational coöperation, have all been characterized by a sustained feeling of friendliness and cordiality, so that Chinese and Americans, wherever they meet can always talk to each other without hidden thoughts and with perfect confidence in the good will of each toward the other. There is no suspicion or friction between them. The two countries are living in a happy state of friendship that grows from day to day."

Mr. Henry Cheng, in his recent book "Modern China—a Political Study" writes as follows:[1] "Of all the treaty states, America is the only one who holds no territorial concessions in China and has proved not only by words but also by deeds that she is ready to help her; and in consequence she can do many things which it would be useless for other States to attempt." And Dr. F. W. Williams in "China and the Far East"[2] declares: "There is a genuine community of interests with China and the United States. Political and social forces now operating in the East are steadily inclining China toward closer contact with America and, in my opinion, it requires only circumspect diplomatic activity for our nation to become the most influential power with the empire. . . . The interest of the United States in the balance of power in the Pacific Ocean is fundamental and the policy of our

[1] Pp. 293-4.
[2] P. 92—Clark University Lectures.

government should be shaped in recognition of the fact that China is the true axis of political stability in the Far East."

The early friendship between the United States and China began, largely, as a result of America's attitude on the opium question. The Chinese government which was seeking some means for the suppression of the opium traffic was encouraged toward this end in 1858 when the United States declared in a treaty with China that its governmental support would be withdrawn from American citizens engaged in opium trade. In 1880 a treaty was concluded formally prohibiting opium traffic between the two countries: "Citizens of the United States shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the open ports of China, to transport it from one port to another open port, or to buy and sell opium in any of the open ports of China." [1] This prohibition was absolutely enforced to the great gratification of those leading Chinese who saw in opium a menace to the welfare of China.

Again the good-will between China and the United States was fostered by the American attitude on the coolie traffic which was almost as vicious and extensive as the African slave trade. The United States, therefore, put an end to American participation in the traffic by enacting a law in 1862 prohibiting American vessels from transporting Chinese subjects or those of any other Oriental country to foreign ports to be held for labor.

As early as 1843 a treaty between the two countries declared the position of America to be "one of complete neutrality, friendship, and disinterested aid in the pres-

[1] Bashford, "China—An Interpretation," pp. 420-1.

ervation to China of her sovereignty and her place among the nations." [1] This position, strengthened by our attitude on the opium and coolie traffic, was further strengthened by the appointment by President Lincoln of Anson Burlingame as Minister to China. Mr. Burlingame reached Canton in 1861 and spent his first months in China traveling to the various treaty ports for the purpose of familiarizing himself with Chinese affairs, arriving at Peking in 1862. His six years in Peking inaugurated the cordial diplomatic relationship which has ever since characterized the relations between the two countries.

At the conclusion of his term of service Mr. Burlingame was made "diplomat-at-large" for the Chinese government to represent that nation to the Nations of the West. Previous to his acceptance of this post he wrote to Mr. William H. Seward, American Secretary of State, as follows: "When the oldest nation in the world, containing one-third of the human race, asks for the first time to come into relations with the West, and requests the youngest nation, through its representative, to act as the medium of such a change, the mission is one not to be solicited or rejected." [2] The purpose of Mr. Burlingame's mission was the revision of the Treaty of Tientsin, but owing to his death the only nation to act upon his proposed plan was the United States. The treaty drawn up by Secretary Seward was a model of justice and friendliness, "stipulating," according to Bishop Bashford,[3] "the preservation of the territorial integrity

[1] Bashford, "China—An Interpretation," p. 418.
[2] John W. Foster, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," p. 263. Quoted by Bashford, "China—An Interpretation," p. 424.
[3] Ibid., pp. 435-6.

of the Chinese empire, and disavowing any right upon the part of the United States to interfere with her rights of eminent domain or jurisdiction over her subjects and property, recognizing the right of China to regulate her own internal trade; providing for the appointment of consuls; securing exemption from persecution of Chinese citizens on account of religion; recognizing the right of voluntary emigration; pledging the privileges of residence and travel to the citizens of either country in the other on the basis of the 'most favored nation'; securing the privilege of establishing schools and colleges in China; disavowing any intention to interfere with the domestic administration of China in respect to public improvements but expressing the willingness of the United States to aid in such improvements when so requested by the Chinese Government."

The Open Door policy, first proclaimed by John Hay and acceeded to by the Powers in 1899, made the maintenance of China's political integrity the basis for a world covenant and sought to remove that nation from the field of international political competition. In the words of Secretary Hay the purpose of this agreement was to "seek a solution which might bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve its territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed by treaty and international law and safeguard to the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese empire." And due to the firm position of the United States in regard to the enforcement of this policy no nation in any treaty or agreement it has made in recent years, whatever its purposes, has felt free to omit a re-affirmation of the Open Door. Conse-

quently all of the nations interested in China have placed themselves on record in favor of the maintenance of China's national integrity as outlined by Secretary Hay.

Dr. F. W. Williams, in "China and the Far East," declares: "The 'open door' of the twentieth century is in all essential respects the same objective that was desired by our countrymen who first sailed around the Cape to compete in a world market without expectation of supper from naval forces behind them.

"In the hundred years since that intercourse began we have refused to yield to the temptation presented by military weakness unexpectedly exposed. We have steadily refrained from coercing a helpless people ourselves, though we have not denied to others their right to defend their commercial and political interests by stern measures, nor have we shown a quixotic reluctance to reap from these measures the benefits that accrued to all. We have accepted no cessions of territory, even at the treaty ports. We have never menaced the territorial integrity of China and have been among the foremost in upholding her sovereign rights to her own soil." And this same authority concludes: "It reasonably may be claimed that every important proposal concerning the international status of China that was at once practical and sincere, which, during this period (1900 to 1910) the powers have been induced to accede to, was promoted by the United States."

At the time of the Boxer Uprising in 1900 when the troops of the allied powers occupied Peking and were prepared to impose their terms upon the Chinese Government, the United States intervened on behalf of China. Mr. W. W. Rockhill, commissioner to China during this

period, wrote of the American attitude as follows:[1] "Throughout the negotiations our object was to use the influence of our Government in the interest of justice and moderation. . . . As soon as the chief culprits had been punished. . . . The United States threw the weight of its influence on the side of moderation and prevention of further bloodshed. . . . The United States did not lend its support to any plan which contemplated either the prolonged occupation by foreign troops of any portion or points of China or the erection of an international fort in the city of Peking from which to carry on friendly relations with the Chinese Government. Our Policy has always been in favor of a strong, independent, and responsible Chinese government which can and will be held accountable for the maintenance of order and the protection of our citizens and their rights under the treaties."

It later proved necessary for this conference to demand of China the sum total of their losses which amounted to the enormous sum of $330,000,000. The representatives of the United States opposed so large an amount, and as a result of their insistence, although they were unable to reduce the total, it was agreed to arrange that the indemnity be paid in bonds issued at par and bearing a low rate of interest and running for a period of 40 years. This action considerably lightened the burden upon China, resulted in the speedier evacuation of the country by foreign troops and made possible a more rapid restoration of order in Chinese governmental affairs. Again in 1902, when the fall of the value of the silver tael led the foreign powers to insist that China pay the indemnity in gold, thereby virtually increasing it, it was the United States which intervened to moderate these demands.

[1] Blakeslee, "China and the Far East," 76 f.

On July the Fourth, 1908, the Government of the United States notified the Chinese Government that the larger part of the Boxer indemnity due America according to the terms imposed by the allied conference had been remitted to China. There were no conditions imposed and no suggestions made as to what China should do with the money thus returned. It is therefore very much to the credit of China that, on the same day, a despatch was sent to the American Legation in Peking which stated: "From the year when the return of the indemnity begins, one hundred students shall be sent to America every year for four years, so that four hundred students may be in America by the fourth year," and further declared that a definite number would be maintained in the United States during the entire indemnity period of about 40 years. On October 28, 1908, the Chinese Government turned over to the American Legation in Peking the regulations providing for the sending of students to America and in addition provision was made whereby the Chinese Government undertook the responsibility for the establishment of a proper training school in which to prepare these students for entrance into American colleges. In the regulations of this institution it is interesting to note that "Eighty percent of the students sent should specialize in industrial arts, agriculture, mechanical engineering, mining, physics and chemistry, railway engineering, architecture, banking, railway administration, and similar branches and 20 percent should specialize in law and the science of government." [1]

[1] J. B. Powell, "The Weekly Review of the Far East," Jan. 26, 1918.

It is difficult to over-estimate the influence of these American trained students upon the life of China. A census recently made in Peking among the various governmental department officers, experts, and clerks showed that 23.2 percent of all individuals now in these branches of service are returned students. In Shanghai, the chief commercial center of China, practically all of the leading commercial houses, whether native or foreign, employ returned students in responsible positions. Tsinghua College, the institution established by indemnity funds, has a faculty of some sixty teachers, 17 of whom are American, one British and the remainder Chinese. The late president of the institution was a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, the dean a graduate of the University of London, and a former president was a graduate of Yale.

The stream of Chinese students, however, began flowing to the United States long before the return of the indemnity fund. It began with Yung Wing who, in 1854, took the A. B. Degree from Yale University. Largely through his influence a sum of $1,500,000 was set aside in 1871 for the purpose of educating Chinese boys in American institutions. The first detachment of these lads came to America in 1872, but in 1875 a reversion to conservatism led the government to discontinue the plan.

But Chinese students have continued to come to the United States for modern education in spite of frequent official opposition. Dr. Mary Stone was an early Chinese graduate of the University of Michigan and is now the head of a great hospital in China. Mr. Liang Tun-yen, Yale '82, and left-handed pitcher for the 'varsity ball team in his college days, was Minister for foreign affairs

in the Manchu dynasty and intimate advisor to Yuan Shih Kai. Mr. Chung Men-yew, coxwain of the Yale Crew and a graduate of '83, is Director-General of the Shanghai-Nanking Railway; Mr. Pah Liang Fong, telegraph superintendent of the Canton-Hankow railway, studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1880 and 1881. Mr. Jeme Tien-yow, Yale '81, the present Director-General of the Hukuang railway, was chief engineer of the first railway built by Chinese engineers. In the decade from 1905 to 1915 four Chinese graduates of Yale University became cabinet ministers; one, Vice-President of the Senate; two, Presidents of Government Colleges. Mr. V. K. Wellington Koo, former minister to the United States and at present Chinese minister to England, secured his doctor's degree from Columbia University; the present minister to the United States, Dr. Alfred Sze, secured both his High School and College education in America; and the first premier of the Chinese Republic, Mr. Tong Shao-yi, is a graduate of Columbia.

The list of returned students who have become prominent as leaders in the life of their country might be greatly expanded. There are, at present, some 1600 Chinese men and women studying in the colleges and universities of the United States. They are learning American methods of doing business, the use of American machinery, the organization of American industry, and the ideals which they carry back to China will, in no small way, have been molded by their American contacts. American business men have been slow to take these young Chinese into their confidence and give them the advantages of their experience. France has thrown wide open the doors of her industrial institutions and has invited young Chinese to

learn, first hand, the use of French machinery. These young men, returning to China to develop the industry of their own nation, will naturally demand and secure French machinery for their equipment and French capital, when necessary, for their backing. It is a short-sighted business policy which prevents American firms from allowing these students similar privileges in the United States. We could well afford to have a few of our pet processes stolen if by so doing we could insure the continued belief of Chinese business men in the superiority of the "Made-in-America" quality of articles.

The work of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations among the foreign students in the United States, however, has not been characterized by this spirit of indifference. The Committee on Friendly Relations with Foreign Students of the Y. M. C. A. has represented the good-will of America to hundreds of Chinese who otherwise might have been less favorably impressed with this country; it has made them a part of the College and University life of the United States; it has aided in the direction of their interests and at every point has strengthened the bonds of friendship which their experiences in America have established. America, at some future day, may recognize the debt of gratitude which she owes to this and similar organizations for the work which they are doing among the students, not alone of China, but of every land.

An indication of the alertness of Chinese students in the United States may be seen from a survey of the various publications which they support among themselves. The Chinese Students Alliance of the United States of America publishes as its official organ in English the

"Chinese Student's Monthly" and the "Chinese Student's Quarterly" which is published in Chinese and circulated in China for the purpose of introducing Chinese students to the native reading public. "Science" is a more scholarly periodical than either of the former and has for its purpose the encouragement and advancement of scientific learning in China; the popularizing of the sciences among the general public in China and the promotion of Chinese industries. In the contents of a recent number were articles on: "The Study of Bacteria," "Principles of Mining Survey," "The Latest Theories about Magnetism," "Hygiene and Economics," "Agricultural America," "Moving Pictures and Natural Sciences." A number of other periodicals are supported by Chinese students in America, among them being a bi-monthly "Learning and Labor," published by the "Learning and Labor Society" and having for its purpose the encouragement of self-support among students. This paper preaches the doctrine of the dignity of labor and advocates nation-wide industrial education in China. It was established in May, 1917, and its first number had discussions on "A Compulsory Education and the Principles of Learning and Labor," published a translation from Booker T. Washington's "Up From Slavery" and contained an article on the life of Pestalozzi and a review of his principle teachings.

The following paragraph from an article in the "Chinese Student's Monthly" [1] reveals something of the bonds of common idealism which are uniting America and China through the influence of the returned students. It is as follows: "There are many things we can learn from

[1] Quoted in the "Weekly Review of the Far East," Feb. 2, 1918.

America. One of these is the spirit to win and another is the spirit to lose. Before a presidential election all of the candidates may make known their party platforms and their own future policies, point out the mistakes of their rivals as exemplified in their past records and may even bring strong accusations against them. As soon as the election is over, however, the defeated candidates send congratulatory messages to their successful rival, regardless of personal or party prejudices. There is no more kicking or torpedoing from behind. . . . It is this spirit to lose, especially, that we should learn. China is cherishing great hopes in us. Let us bring back to China, at least this one spirit—the spirit to lose."

Thus the ties of friendship which span the Pacific between China and the United States are not only those of commercial cordiality and diplomatic good-will. In the minds of thousands of students returned to their native land from American Universities there is the firm conviction that in the continued sympathetic coöperation between the two great Republics of the Pacific is to be found the means of establishing the ideals of democracy in the Far East. Many of these men, in the past, have attained to places of power in the nation's life. Many more in the future will win like success. Their influence upon the foreign policy of China will be incalculable. Aided by their friendship the relations between China and America can continue in mutual understanding and helpfulness.

The "Weekly Review of the Far East" [1] thus characterized the spirit which pervaded the first returned Students' Conference held in March, 1918, in Peking: "Above all

[1] April 13, 1918.

was the spirit of determination. . . . Not once was there a note of selfishness struck. The questions they raised were not: How can we find means of making the most money? but rather, How can we best use our education to help China out of her troubles? How can we best help our friends to study abroad in the near future? How can we best spend our leisure time so that what we learn will be profitable to those who may turn to us for help in their time of need? . . . The deep earnestness which pervaded the whole series of meetings; the determination of the men to see the thing through and to prepare themselves for the bettering of conditions in China, social, political, and religious, regardless of the cost to the individual; the recognition of the necessity of coöperation if anything is to be accomplished and the conviction, shared by all, that action must result from such a heart to heart discussion of problems and that it must come quickly are indications that the great body of returned students is at last coming into that state of high seriousness which will place its members collectively and individually in the leadership of the great movement for the amelioration of conditions in China."

A further source of good-will between the two countries is the work of the China Medical Board which was established about 50 years ago as the Medical Missionary Association. The purpose of this organization is "to promote the gradual and orderly development of a comprehensive system of medical education in China, embodied in institutions which shall become an organic part of Chinese national life." [1] The way has thus been paved

[1] Elizabeth Allen, "The Transpacific," October, 1919.

for union medical work and, doubtless, for a nation-wide medical system with its central plant in the college of medicine of the Rockefeller Foundation in Peking. The Rockefeller Foundation which is coöperating with the China Medical Board has just completed the construction of this institution which equals in completeness the finest schools of medicine in the world. The high standard to be maintained at this college will make it possible for Chinese students to obtain a thorough training in medicine without going abroad. Plans are under way for an even larger medical school in Shanghai, and the American aid which has thus been extended will help to make possible a generation of Chinese physicians and the final relief of much of the widespread suffering in the land. During the recent famine the distress of the Chinese was constantly before the American people. American missionaries organized the distribution of supplies in the stricken area, American business men sacrificed their time in order to secure a famine fund, American magazines featured China as never before and the American people responded with contributions which were more than sufficient to feed the starving millions in China's northern provinces.

Thus between China and the United States there is a community of understanding and good-will which has grown through nearly a century of friendly relationships. China has sat at the feet of America and learned many lessons. Ancient in civilization, she is young in the experiments of modern democracy and the experience of America has always been at her disposal. Unable often to solve her own difficulties or relieve her own distress the

strength of America has been pledged to see her through. Nor has the full fruitage of this friendship yet developed, for China, whose memory goes back into antiquity beyond the time of written history, will not easily forget the seeds of strength which through the influence of America were planted in her soil.

CHAPTER TEN

CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA

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WE were in the little city of Ngieu Sieu in the province of Fukien. Now Ngieu Sieu is a town peculiarly blessed of providence. At least, so its citizens informed us. A year before, in stifling mid-summer, the community was visited by a scourge of cholera that ran, in the breathless night, like an unchecked prairie fire, along the filthy congested streets into every darkened doorway. The villages of the entire countryside were swept by the same grim visitation, while poor, ignorant sorcerers struggled pitifully against its ravages with their wild witcheries. In the great city of Foochow, miles away, the epidemic raged, and missionary doctors, with their trained, native assistants fought desperately, against unbelievable odds—with their own lives as the stake. But for Ngieu Sieu there was no aid and, from the merchant's home to the beggar's straw, every family —save one—paid tribute.

One house, from some unaccountable cause, remained untouched and the people of the city marveled because of it. Then one day, when the cholera had nearly spent itself and the ancient burying grounds were dotted with new-made graves, a member of this household discovered in front of his home a huge green frog. Immediately the mystery was cleared and it was proclaimed through-

out the town that a sacred, green frog, doubtless some ancestor re-incarnated, had watched over this dwelling and guarded it from disease. And the people of the town gathered together—a great company of them—and neighboring villagers came and an altar was built and offerings placed upon it and now, for a year, providence, in the person of this green frog, had watched over the city of Ngieu Sieu.

The Cult of the Green Frog had prospered. The great gilt altar before the silk-covered cage in which the god reposed was piled high with offerings; a new temple was being erected wherein the hastily ordained priests might conduct more extensive incantations; believers came from afar and worshiped with frenzied faith. The animal—sadly shrunken and shrivelled but royally enthroned on a silken pillow—was brought out for us to view. And at the sight of the poor beast the little children who had followed us to the temple dropped to their knees in reverence, their elders bowed and the priests joined in a fearful chant. We waited while a native doctor, with the aid of a Chinese ouiji board, received a diagnosis of the case of a prominent patient and the proper prescription—all of which was written out by one of the priests—the Green Frog's "secretary"—and received with tremendous seriousness by the physician who hurried out to work his havoc.

We ate Chinese food that night with the pastor of the Christian chapel in Ngieu Sieu. The walls of his little church were decorated with Chinese adaptations of Sunday School picture charts, the homemade seats were in a sad condition and the building, itself, sorely needed repairing. But it was clean and the air was refreshing

and it seemed a place apart. And the pastor, too, was different. His face reflected a life that was free from haunting superstitions and as he told us of his work his eyes were lit with a light which had not been in the eyes of the Green Frog priests.

"Did the new religion in Ngieu Sieu affect his work?"

"Oh, yes, the past year had been an especially hard one. Few had wanted to hear his message since the Green Frog frenzy had taken hold of the people. But there were still some who came and his work with them had been worth while."

"Didn't he believe that, perhaps after all the best thing to do was to sell the church and leave Ngieu Sieu entirely?"

"No, he could not leave Ngieu Sieu, for to the people that would prove his cowardice and the falseness of Christianity. Then, too, the government teachers had left and his mission school was the only one in any of the villages round about. And this year two boys were going from it up to the higher school in Foochow and there would be others next year and if he left they could never go. No, he could not leave Ngieu Sieu."

So we left him there—the solitary guardian of this feeble outpost of Christianity. And he is ignorant and the work he does from the western viewpoint may be unimposing and the Christianity he represents in Ngieu Sieu may not attract us. Furthermore this pastor and his church and school are typical of countless other Christian outposts throughout China—in fact, throughout the world, about which to the casual observer there is little enough to justify "missionary statesmanship" and the world program which it boasts. On the other hand, there

is much to bolster the arguments of those who declare that Christian missions is merely an expensive exhibition of western conceit seeking to foist an unwelcome and undesirable religion upon a religiously contented people merely because in the west it has served a commendable purpose. In consequence, one hears of illustrations, such as Ngieu Sieu, on transpacific liners, in the hotels, and clubs of the chief port cities; in fact, almost always where two or three transient foreigners are gathered together expounding cocktail solutions of China's ills one hears the missionary damned.

Usually the most wholesome condemnation is from foreign business representatives who themselves are engaged in similar foisting undertakings—and not always with a product as uplifting or a purpose as worthy as that of the missionary. At least, it must be said, that even if one count the actual, positive results of missions as zero, the presence of the missionary in the field has given to the natives a glimpse of some vitalized western idealism which they otherwise might have been denied. There is, of course, little doubt but that the frequent unwillingness of the missionary to establish friendly relations with the business man in China—even when the business man is thought to be morally inferior—has brought about a great deal of misunderstanding and the missionary has suffered most severely as a result. It is even possible that if certain chosen Christian representatives were to devote some time to the evangelization of certain of their fellow-countrymen in China their efforts might not be amiss. At any rate the missionaries gain nothing by their present policy of aloofness—even though its abandonment might

occasionally precipitate them into the presence of a whiskey and soda or a dinner dance.

But however much the Christian pastor in the pagan town of Ngieu Sieu may give cause for ridicule, it must be said that the program for which he stands is the only ray of hope which, thus far, has penetrated so deeply into the gloom of the interior. In countless other villages sanitation is as much a thing unknown, disease as unattended and superstition only a little less fanatical. The presence of a Christian chapel foretells a dispensary, perhaps a hospital, lectures on hygiene and public sanitation that will aid in stamping out the scourge from which these people suffer. The great hospital in Foochow had its beginning in a plan which first established just such a chapel. In Ngieu Sieu there is no assurance that such things will come to pass save in the presence of this Christian pastor and the program which he represents.

The little mission school is the beginning of the end of superstition; the lads who go up to the higher school in Foochow are the forerunners of other lads who will go on through the college there and, returning, bring with them new ideas that will stand and a faith that will abide. The Fukien Christian University to which they go began in an equally dingy school room. Outside that little room, with its handful of forlorn and ill-clothed pupils, there is, in Ngieu Sieu, no way by which these lads can learn the road to the greater, undreamed of world beyond.

And the chapel itself—inadequate though it may be—stands for the spread of those individual and social principles which have served as the great dynamic in the west-

ern world. Social service, the world around, grew from the inspiration of some such humble chapel. Except for that Christian pulpit and the gospel which is preached there, no voice would be raised in Ngieu Sieu to protest against evil or to proclaim the dawn of a new day of truth. The presence of a Christian pastor in that pagan town foretells the end of the Green Frog era and heralds that of the God of enlightenment.

"The Weekly Review of the Far East"—the outstanding journal in English in China—estimates the work of Christian missionaries as follows:[1] "The missionaries are the people who are really opening up China to the outside world and modernizing its people and institutions. Their only gain from their enterprises is a meager living, under adverse conditions and a deep satisfaction of good work, for a good cause, well performed. . . . The business man who would belittle or sneer at their efforts and influence is a fool. We know no shorter or uglier word."

Mr. J. B. Powell, the editor of the same publication, writes:[2] "It isn't that there are too many [missionaries] in China—there should be and there will have to be twice as many and then more if the masses of this country are to be lifted from a condition of medievalism in the next 50 years. . . . Every right minded business man knows that the greatest single influence in the development of this great country is and has been the missionary educational influence."

Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister to England, declares:[3] "Even more significant than the trade

[1] "The Weekly Review of the Far East," April 17, 1918.
[2] Ibid, October 9, 1918.
[3] "World Outlook," April, 1917.

relations between China and the United States has been the work of American missionaries in China, than whom no class of foreigners is more friendly in their attitude toward the Chinese people. The spirit which has underlain and still underlies the relations between China and the United States is nowhere better illustrated than in the devotion of this comparatively small group of Americans in their useful services in China and in their readiness to uphold the cause of justice and fairness. . . . Nothing which individual Americans have done in China has more strongly impressed the Chinese mind with the sincerity, the genuineness, the altruism of American friendship for China than the spirit of service and sacrifice so beautifully demonstrated by American missionaries."

Yuan Shih Kai once said to a missionary friend, after having made the statement that the Christians in China brought about the revolution and the establishment of a republic: "After you Christians came to China and went about preaching the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man, despotism forever became impossible." [1] Sir Robert Hart declared that in China the only hope of averting the yellow peril lay either in partition among the great powers, which he regarded as so difficult as to be impracticable, or "in the miraculous spread of Christianity which will transform the Empire." [2] And Mr. Thos. F. Millard writes: [3] "The civilizing force of foreign missions has been incalculable." And Professor Ross declares: "To judge from the beatific expression on the faces of certain superior converts I have met, the

[1] Bashford, "The World Outlook," November, 1918.
[2] Brown, "New Forces in Old China," p. 354.
[3] Thos. F. Millard, "Our Eastern Question," p. 341.

Gospel means to them what the opening of the hatches of a captured slave ship meant to the wretches pent up in its hold." [1]

The friends of missions, however, do not argue that Christianity alone will save China. The task of the missionary is a big one and, therefore, if he goes about it zealously one should not hastily conclude that he is unmindful of China's need for railroads, and highways, and industrial growth and efficient governmental education. He believes most heartily in all of these developments—he even hopes to train up young men capable of bringing them to pass, but his own job, which he also believes to be essential, is in a different field and he stays with his job.

Nor do the friends of missions argue that the Christianity, as we know it in the Occident, should be transplanted without change or adaptation into Oriental soil. Other nations have made their contributions to Christianity and it would be strange, indeed, if the Chinese people by their own peculiar interpretation of its teachings did not enrich the Christian message.

The missionaries themselves assert that their purpose in China is to bring to the Chinese, not a creed nor a dogma nor denominational strife, but a principle of life. When Christianity becomes a functioning agency in the life of the Chinese people the missionaries can withdraw. A well-filled church roll is becoming less and less convincing to the inquiring Chinese. More and more they are asking: Where are the evidences of Christianity? Does the Christian act with greater unselfishness and honesty and devotion than the non-Christian? Is the missionary

[1] Ross, "The Changing Chinese," p. 233.

program producing better men and women in China? And it will be a tragic day for Christianity when the church in China in answering these questions seeks to substitute dogma in the place of living evidence.

But to-day there is no lack of living evidence. While in the city of Nanking, I was asked to speak to the girls of Ginling College on the subject of aviation. Ginling was the second woman's college established in China. The fame of its splendid work has spread to the ends of the land. West of the Yangtsze Gorges we met Chinese girls whose great goal was Ginling. Wherever mission teachers had gathered about them a few unpromising girls, we found the nucleus for transformed womanhood in that community—and sooner or later in the heart of some one of these there begins to grow the wondrous dream of college—and the missionaries—with added sacrifice—make possible its realization. And so the girls of Ginling have come—and for four years they learn and during four years the ideals of Christian womanhood are planted deep in their lives and finally when, once again, they return to their native city, they have become the living evangels of a New China. And Ginling, and Yenching in Peking and Hua Nong in Foochow are not waiting for the railroads or industry or the renaissance—but quietly year after year they are actually working the regeneration of China's womanhood.

I accepted the invitation to speak at Ginling with some hesitation for I had attempted once before to speak on aviation to a Chinese audience through an interpreter and everything sailed along smoothly until I attempted a description of loops and tail spins, at which the interpreter threw up his hands in despair declaring there was nothing

in the Chinese language to adequately describe a tail spin. So I felt not a little misgiving. But upon arriving at the college and making inquiry I was surprised to find that each one of the girls is required to have at least eight years of English before she is admitted, so an interpreter was unnecessary.

Aviation, being a subject more or less replete with technical terms, is not easily explained, even to the ordinary audience, but to explain it in English to 100 Chinese girls, most of whom had never seen an aeroplane, was exceedingly difficult. However, with the aid of a blackboard, some remotely aeronautical drawings and much graphic gesticulation I undertook to make flying easy, wondering, meanwhile, just what fraction of my remarks was intelligible and marveling at the discipline of the students who could so long remain quiet during an impossible chapel talk. And then, when I had finished, to my amazement a score or more hands flew up and waved frantically in my direction. The instructor in charge said she believe that the girls wished to ask questions. She was right. For three-quarters of an hour I stood a cross-examination at the hands of these Chinese college girls which would have done credit to an aviation ground school. And, in the end, I apologized for being so poorly informed.

While in West China I made the acquaintance of a young Chinese preacher—a Mr. Tsang—who for several years had been the pastor of an institutional church in the city of Tze Tso along the Great Road. Tze Tso is a prosperous trading center of some 100,000 inhabitants and when Mr. Tsang, who had just graduated from the West China Union University in Chengtu, took charge of the church, he set out to build up an institution in keep-

Chinese College Co-eds.

ing with the city in which it was located. And he did. With the aid of free stereopticon lectures and an organized campaign of propaganda he secured the backing of the officials and merchants, established a dispensary and street chapels, reorganized the day schools, organized a troop of Boy Scouts, and raised money sufficient to build a new church—which would serve as a church on Sunday and a community center for the remaining six days of the week.

Then the denomination to which Mr. Tsang belongs elected him to come to America to represent the work in West China at a great world-conference of that particular church. Although he spoke excellent English and had secured from his reading a wide knowledge of the western world, Mr. Tsang had never been out of Szechuan Province. We traveled together down the Yangtsze from Chungking and at Hankow, which is the first modern city below the gorges, we got off together there and I pointed out to Mr. Tsang his first electric street lighting system, his first bicycle, his first motorcycle, his first automobile and his first train. And because the streets in West China are so narrow as to make their use impossible, I took him for the first ride in a rickshaw.

Several months later I again met Mr. Tsang at the world-conference for which he had come to America. I saw him serving on important committees side by side with American lawyers and doctors and business men—delegates to the same gathering. The vision which he had been working out in the City of Tze Tso was expanding to include the world-wide Christian program. At the conclusion of that conference, he entered an American University for a year of advanced study and now he has

gone back to his city along the Great Road. And the work on his community church is nearing completion; and the dispensary is developing into a hospital; and the officials and merchants are more than ever with him in his plans. The Boy Scout organization has grown and young men and women are going out each year from Tze Tso to places of higher learning and the things which he is doing have made his work a radiating center of new life. He, too, is working the regeneration of China.

It is rather a significant fact that of China's five delegates to the peace conference, four were graduates of mission schools. At the time China declared war upon the central powers her ambassadors to the United States, England, and Germany were all three graduates of mission schools. The Superintendent of the Hanyang Iron and Steel works, the Secretary of the Kiangnan Dock and Engineering Works, the General-Secretary of the Shanghai-Nanking railway, the former President of Tsing Hua College were former mission students.

While in the city of Foochow, I was a guest one evening at the home of the President of the Anglo-Chinese College which is located there. Twenty-eight graduates of that institution were present—all of them Christians and all prominent and successful men. One was a national Senator, another the head of the Salt Gabell which annually collects some $3,500,000 in this province, another owned the largest saw-mill in Fukien, one was formerly Secretary for Foreign Affairs, while still another had been President of the Provincial Assembly.

It is exceedingly easy to forget the teacher, once the pupil has attained success. Critics of missions often find it difficult to trace the origin of the developing ideals in

China to some humble mission source or find that many of China's great leaders received their first encouragement and their most abiding idealism from Christian teachers. Doubtless some of these men, many of them perhaps, would still be toiling to-day at the tasks over which their ancestors toiled, in some obscure corner of the nation, had it not been for the influence of Christian missions which entered that corner and placed a hand upon the shoulder of these boys and led them out and fitted them for places of great leadership.

Mr. Upton Close declares:[1] "Missionaries have taken a large part, directly and indirectly, in the political awakening of the Orient. Such democratic institutions as exist have been encouraged and fostered by them, while they have consistently preached the doctrine that the official exists for the benefit of the people and not the people for the official. . . . What missionaries have done in direct encouragement of native agriculture would make a long and interesting study. Shantung farmers and farm products dealers will never forget the pioneers who introduced the American sweet potato, which has entirely supplanted the native white yam, the fat Virginia peanut which has taken the place of the miserable multified ground-nut; or the American maize which has become the chief bread of the poor on the crowded plains of North China. The wonderful fruit orchards about Chefoo and Tsingtao producing the highest quality and largest varieties of fruits in China sprang from missionary saplings and the same is true of the vineyards of Hwanghsien. . . . In a general way the missionary is a stimulant to trade through his moral teaching. Business and corporate in-

[1] "The Transpacific," May, 1920.

tegrity, mutual confidence and coöperation are the foundation of business on a large scale and they are a large part of the missionary's propaganda. Big mission organizations in which the natives are coming more and more to predominate and in which men from every section of the country rub shoulders are teaching team work and eradicating the spirit of provincialism. When it is pointed out that 80 percent of the responsible native employees of the largest Chinese firms in the Orient come from mission schools the influence of the missionary's teaching in fitting men to bear responsibilities demands large consideration."

Modern missionary methods place an increasing emphasis upon the necessity of bettering economic conditions and raising the standard of living as a prerequisite to making a community Christian. Consequently one hears a great deal of talk and witnesses a great deal of activity in missionary circles nowadays in regard to agricultural experiments, model farms, re-forestation, sanitary engineering and modern building construction. An examination of the budgets of the various mission boards would prove interesting to some of those who have limited missionary enterprise to direct evangelistic effort.

I met an advocate of this practical Christianity when in the city of Shao Wu, Fukien Province, two years ago. He was a graduate of the Ohio State College of Agriculture and for two years he had been at work revolutionizing the economic life of this Chinese community. He had, on hand, three plows, two wheelbarrows, a harrow and a cultivator together with a lot of skeptical Chinese, a plot of ground of about fifty-five acres and an undaunted conviction that the road to China's salvation lay down the

path of a furrow—a much deeper, better furrow than any at present, of course, but a furrow nevertheless. He demonstrated that an American plow will not only turn up a furrow twice as deep as a native plow, but will break sod that formerly had to be broken with hand hoes at an almost prohibitive cost. And he is demonstrating that better agriculture is sometimes as vital a consideration as more churches.

In the same way in the field of agricultural education missionary enterprise is pointing the way for China's development. The University of Nanking, an interdenominational institution, is doing probably the most outstanding piece of work along agricultural lines in China. Experiments carried on there cover a wide range including mulberry production, development of silk worms, the introduction of foreign varieties of cotton, corn, rice and wheat experiments and very extensive forest nurseries. These latter, by the way, contained forty-four species of over seven hundred thousand seedlings and trees last year.

The cotton experiments are particularly interesting because of their practical bearing on one of China's most interesting industries. The work carried on by Nanking University has had to do mostly with the testing out of foreign varieties of cotton seeds. The problem is to learn what variety is best adapted to a certain section of the country and then to produce the seeds for distribution to the farmers, and this can be accomplished only by careful and extensive experimentation. In order to determine what varieties of cotton were best adapted to various sections of China a coöperative experiment is now in progress in eight provinces and twenty-five locali-

ties. These stations will all be visited by experts from the College and the work continued until some one variety shows superiority and proves to be worth cultivating extensively. That these experiments are considered worth while from a commercial standpoint is indicated by the fact that the work is now being supported by the Cotton Mill Owners Association of China, the Shanghai Cotton-Anti-Adulteration Association and the Chinese Cotton Mill Owners Association.

In China to-day there are 6,000 Protestant missionaries scattered throughout every province of the country in more than 1,000 mission stations. In addition to these 1,000 stations, the residence of one or more foreign missionaries, there were, in 1917, 6,121 out-stations manned by Chinese Christian workers. In the same year 191,033 Chinese boys and girls attended mission schools of various grades including college, and the 330 mission hospitals in China treat annually about 2,250,000 patients. Chinese Christian workers have increased from 9,192 in 1905 to 23,345 in 1917. Between eight and twelve million dollars (gold) are expended annually in Protestant missionary work in China. Since the Boxer uprising 21 years ago the Protestant churches have had an increase in communicant membership of more than 200,000 Christians, and during the past seven years of missionary effort Protestantism has made more progress than it made during the first seventy years. The total Chinese membership in Protestant Christian churches is something over 400,000, while the Catholic membership amounts to 1,954,693.

Because of the enormity of the field and the scarcity of workers, the various denominations carrying on work in

China have allotted the territory in such a way as to avoid denominational over-lapping and a consequent duplication of effort. Mission workers during the past few years have found it difficult to train assistants rapidly enough to care for Chinese seeking Christian instruction and in a number of sections of the country it has been necessary to limit the annual percentage of increase in church membership in order to insure adequate teaching to those who are admitted.

Christianity in China is creating a community of idealism between that nation and the United States upon which the most lasting friendship may be built. A Christianized national consciousness in China, representing, not theology or dogma, but a nation-wide recognition of the great living principles which Christ represented would be the most certain guarantee of the advance of democracy in the Orient and the permanent preservation of the peace of the Pacific. It is not, alone, that Christianity is hastening the advance of education, or that it is an aid in making the country modern. Of greater significance is the fact that Christianity, in every aspect of its world program, is striving to establish, above all other values, those of individual and international righteousness. America, if she deserves her place of high world leadership, cannot allow a principle less worthy than this to dominate in the New China.

After all, missionary chapels and hospitals and schools are not ends in themselves. To the missionary these are but the instruments by means of which the Chinese people will be led into a more abundant life. And there is no confusion of purpose. In the operating room or at the agricultural experiment station—the big thing back

of it all is Christian living. At sunset a Chinese nurse will slip quietly into the woman's ward and read from her Chinese Testament of Mary the Mother of Jesus and of the life of her great Son; while across the hall in the men's ward the surgeon, himself, relates how a humble worker gave Himself that their lives might be more fully lived and the children on another floor will sing together of the Christ-child. And then, when the song is ended, the surgeon and the nurse will go again about their ministerings, but their work is worship and their hospital a sanctuary and though few may care and many fail to comprehend, into the wards, amid the suffering and hopelessness, there has come a great peace: "The Peace of God that passeth Understanding."

CHAPTER ELEVEN
CHINA'S PLACE IN THE SUN

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THE World's interest in China is still, chiefly an interest in that nation's potentialities. In spite of profound changes in the life of the Chinese people, there are authoritative writers on Far Eastern questions who assert that China will not be a serious factor in international affairs either during the present generation or that which follows. There are others who maintain, with equal authority, that two decades will see China so well equipped with their implements of modern civilization as to fit her for a place of leadership in Asia. On one point both groups agree: that eventually, through a period of change and continual adjustment, China will grow to power, and that growth will cease only when the nation has exhausted those vast resources with which she is endowed. And as world statesmanship comes more and more to deal in futures and seeks to solve world difficulties by foresight rather than by a constantly repeated mopping-up process, the problem of China will come to be of increasing significance. For good or ill China, finally, will win her place in the Sun. The ultimate consequences of that victory are being determined at the present moment.

To-day it is more than ever true that, as one noted

authority asserts:[1] "It is no wiser to speculate upon the Great Powers around the Pacific Basin a hundred years hence and leave China out of the reckoning than to write a treatise on oceans and leave the Pacific Ocean out of account." A Japanese-Anglo-American Alliance in the Pacific would find itself chiefly occupied in solving the problems of a fourth nation, unincluded—larger than any of the three mentioned. If such international supervision becomes necessary, then it is to be hoped that Japan and Great Britain and the United States can agree upon a common Asiatic Policy, but the time must soon be past when Lansing-Ishii Agreements concerning China can be promulgated without the consultation of the nation most vitally affected. And a League for the solution of the problems of the Pacific which does not include China in full and equal membership will not only ignore one of the outstanding factors in the problem but will make the development of China, itself, a slower and more difficult process.

The people of the United States are destined to be drawn into increasing commercial contact with China, and China, potentially powerful in human and material resources, is destined, by the development of these potentialities, for a place of world leadership. In the consequences of that development are contained issues of the utmost significance, not alone for America, but for the entire world.

Whatever peril they may contain is chiefly of western origin. The militarism of Japan is based upon a German model; those Orientals who believe that in a policy of force is to be found the most certain solution of inter-

[1] Bashford, "China—An Interpretation," p. 443.

national problems are following long-established and recently re-affirmed western precedent; and racial hatred among Asiatic peoples for the nations of the west is not an inborn antipathy, but a gradual growth nourished by the empire-seeking exploitations of the white race.

As an illustration let me quote an exceedingly frank suggestion from an English authority. The writer,[1] in speaking of Great Britain's dealing with the Chinese, declares: "The touchstone of all discussion has been force; and the Chinese have remained true to the character which the late Lord Elgin gave them of 'yielding nothing to reason, but everything to fear.' The same testimony has been borne out by his successors in the representation of Great Britain in Peking. Accordingly, whenever a question reached the point of urgency they would simply ask their referee, 'Does it mean war?' If the answer was 'yes', they would instantly yield, and if 'no', they refused to give way. Had foreign powers understood the true state of the case—and it was often explained by their agents—*their diplomacy might have been greatly simplified.* Anything could have been obtained at any time during the past 37 years, just as we see anything can be obtained to-day, by threats in which the Chinese Government believes." And in another place[2] this same author writes: "Our diplomacy must, in short, be supported by force, naval, and military."

The fact that the above statement was written a number of years ago does not deprive it of significance, for if western nations during the past twenty-five years have become more cautious in their operations in the Far

[1] Colquhoun, "China in Transformation," p. 223.
[2] P. 348.

East, it has not been generally revealed that their fundamental purposes have been greatly altered. The yellow peril bogey originated with the German Kaiser and for many years he devoted himself most assiduously to its careful nourishment. But it is a mistake to assume that all or even most of the imperialistic schemes which make its growth a possibility blew up with the Berlin to Bagdad railroad or went with William II into exile. It is, indeed, an anachronism to see scare-head propagandists—with whom America seems to be oversupplied—heralding the approaching menace of the Oriental peoples and at the same time fostering policies in the East many times more menacing than any which Eastern peoples could ever hope to impose upon us. America and the western world need only fear in their relations with the Orient the recoil from their own guns.

Not the least threatening of western policies in China is that which is seeking to impose upon the Chinese people, as a substitute for opium, alcohol and cigarettes. Mr. I. C. Suez, Chinese Consul-General in New York City, declared in a speech on the ninth anniversary of the establishment of the Chinese Republic that, as a means to developing the friendly relations between China and the United States: "American financiers should be encouraged to divert their activities to all parts of China, barring beer and cigarettes. We welcome constructive and productive enterprises. Now that China has just loosened herself from the clutches of the opium fiend she seems to be pushed headlong into the smoking abyss and an ocean of intoxication." And almost as serious in its possibilities is the stream of inferior and immoral motion pictures which is flooding the ports and many cities of the

interior. Pictures too vulgar or too worn to be used in the United States are consigned to China, with the result that the Chinese are gaining impressions of the west almost as hideous and untruthful as the impressions which westerners derive of China from motion pictures in the United States.

It is true, of course, that the nation which to-day looms largest in the Far East is Japan. The Japanese, comparatively few in numbers and living in a small area, have accomplished, in a short space of time, the developments which in China are requiring much longer. But it is well to bear in mind that however much Japan may occupy our present attention she can never become a permanently dominant nation in the Far East without China. With poor soil, without mineral resources of her own, her supplies of coal and iron being hopelessly inadequate, Japan will either be driven to the extensive occupation of the Asiatic mainland, or, failing in that, be forced to yield her dream of domination to some nation better equipped with the requisites for leadership. China, on the other hand, once assured of an open road to development need ask nothing from the world. Her soil is fabulously fertile, her mineral supplies apparently inexhaustible, and she is under no necessity to seek territory in East Africa, or Australia, or Brazil. Mongolia and Manchuria could easily support 100,000,000 inhabitants instead of less than 20,000,000 as at present. North of Harbin China possesses some 300,000 square miles of territory not one-tenth of which is cultivated while east and northeast of the same city is another splendid tract of 100,000 square miles much of which might be utilized.[1]

[1] Chas. Ernest Scott in the "Transpacific," March, 1921.

And it has been frequently asserted that Chinese territory could support a population of 1,000,000,000 people and still have food for export.

There are three possibilities involved in discussing the so-called "yellow peril." The first is the swamping of white societies by the overflow of Chinese laborers. When China has learned to utilize the discoveries of modern science in saving human life the death-rate is bound to decrease and the population of the country increase with enormous rapidity, and this surplus will represent "the rising tide of color," against which the white laborer will be unable to compete. Rigid exclusion laws are usually advanced as the most likely means for averting this danger.

A second possibility, related to the first, is the peril of industrial conquest of the Occident by the Orient. It is true, of course, that the Chinese with his low standard of living, his industry, his thrift, his keenness as a trader, and his ability to learn is admirably fitted to develop China into a manufacturing nation which will underbid and undersell the west and drive the products of white-manufacturers from the markets of the world. Neither immigration legislation or tariff enactments would be able to save western industry from such a tragedy.

The third possibility is that of a militarized China, equipped with the implements of modern warfare and led by another Ghengis Khan or Tamerlane which would drive the white race out of Asia, overrun Europe and establish itself the Oriental as master of the world. And here the average westerner is apt to smile. The docile, unassertive Asiatic may be a hard worker and thrifty but as material for a great fighting machine he is impossible.

But the unanimity with which authorities agree upon the fighting qualities of the Chinese is rather too significant a fact to be lightly passed over.

Lord Charles Beresford of the English Navy said, after a personal investigation of many of the troops in China:[1] "I am convinced that properly armed, disciplined and led, there could be no better material than the Chinese soldiers. . . . They have all the characteristics to make a good soldier. They are sober, obedient, easily managed and very quick at learning." Admiral Dewey reported that the 50 Chinese who served under him at the battle of Manila Bay fought so magnificently that they proved themselves equal in courage to American sailors and should be made citizens by special enactment.[2] Wingrove Cooke, the *Times* correspondent with the Allies in 1857-8 and a wide student of Chinese affairs; Count d'Escayrac de Lauture, one of the Peking prisoners in 1859-60, Chinese Gordon and Lord Wolseley have all spoken highly of the courage of the Chinese soldier and one who had experience in Gordon's "Ever Victorious Army" writes:[3] "The old notion is pretty well got rid of, that they are a cowardly people, when properly paid and efficiently led; while the regularity and order of their habits which dispose them to peace in ordinary times, gives place to a daring bordering upon recklessness in time of war." Major Eben Swift, late of the General Staff of the United States Army, declares:[4] "The Chinese soldier has few needs, is obedient and a fatalist by nature. His daily life would be a trial and a hardship to almost any other

[1] Beresford, "The Break-up of China," p. 282.
[2] Brown, "New Forces in Old China," 306 ff.
[3] Quoted by Colquhoun, "China in Transformation," pp. 358-9.
[4] Blakeslee, "China and the Far East," p. 177.

soldier. He subsists on little, travels long distances and seems immune to those common diseases which have destroyed many armies."

And China's history has revealed little of the innate pacificism which is so frequently asserted to be the fundamental characteristic of the Chinese people. Mr. Nathaniel Pfeffer, a well known writer on China, asserts that the history of China "has been one of a constant succession of wars similar to those of any European country. It was no peace-at-any-price people that, under the Han rulers two centuries before Christ, drove the Tartars to Turkestan and annexed Mongolia. And those same Mongols—the fierce warriors of Genghis Khan that overran North China in the 13th century are the blood of the Chinese of to-day. And they, in their turn, under the Ming Emperors in the 15th century conquered and annexed Tonkin and Cochin China, only themselves to be subdued 150 years later and put under the rule of the Manchus. If there is inherent in the Chinese people an aversion to physical combat it is not evident in its history." [1]

Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, formerly United States Minister to China, declares: "If Chinese partition should be made the stepping stone to world control, Western nations would be forced to fight for their civilization, and a century of terrible conflicts would be imminent. Such a struggle could only end in the final preponderance of one power in a world absolutism more deadly than Rome in that there would be left no vigorous elements to revive a dying civilization. It is not strange, then, that many should be looking forward to a time which will try men's

[1] "The World Outlook," February, 1917.

Chinese soldiers, at drill near the city of Peking, learning the German goose-step.

souls, and insisting that we make sure of rallying about only the best in our civilization and of struggling, not for material gain and the vulgar glory of the hour, but for the permanence of our highest ideals, in order that the world may retain an abiding-place for truthfulness and honesty in light and thought. No one who sees the seriousness of the present situation will rashly cry for war and headlong national aggrandizement." [1]

Although the "yellow peril" did not grow as a result of American policies, the responsibility for thwarting its possibilities is largely an American responsibility. And though industrial expansion and commercial growth are vital needs in China, infinitely greater need is for the firm establishment of Christian idealism in the life of the Chinese people. The development of the nation will be fraught with danger just so long as lesser than Christian principles are allowed to dominate.

Dr. C. T. Wang, Chinese Peace Commissioner at Paris, states the necessity for a new order in China as follows: "The whole point is that if the four hundred millions of Chinese people are to be forced to fight for their own existence and to get hold for themselves of the 'strong mailed fist,' there will be a terrible war between the white peoples and the Chinese. . . . We younger men in China are doing our best to convince China to go against militarism and to develop on democratic lines. We are firmly convinced that our cherished idealism, our belief that war is a curse is correct; that the nations can adjust their differences through a right conception of the relation between nation and nation and through the supremacy of

[1] Reinsch, "World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century as Influenced by the Oriental Situation," pp. 243-245.

international law over violence and physical force. In our effort to establish a true democracy in China we are convinced that an effective way of realizing our objective is to bring Christianity to the Chinese people." [1]

Viscount James Bryce has declared that "the one sure hope of a permanent foundation for world peace lies in the extension throughout the world of the principles of the Christian Gospel." [2]

And the responsibility of America is not that of a people—Divinely called—seeking to impose its superior principles upon the less-enlightened world, but rather as a people who have striven after the truth and frequently have failed and now are willing, in humility, to call the world to a common recognition of Christian internationalism as the greatest hope for the future of mankind.

Bishop Bashford writes: [3] "If the Chinese and the Americans preserve their moral soundness, we venture the prophecy that in the twenty-first century the two peoples which will loom largest on the globe will be the Chinese and the Americans—or, perhaps better, the Chinese and the Anglo-Saxons. Whatever course human history takes, therefore, China will bulk large in the coming centuries. If the United States follows a statesmanlike, just and Christian policy, she too will bulk large in the coming centuries."

The spirit in which these two nations will face eacn other across the constantly narrowing Pacific a century

[1] "The London and China Express," May 22, 1919. Quoted by Fahs in "America's Stake in the Far East."

[2] Quoted by Arthur Judson Brown, "The Mastery of the Far East," pp. 485, 486.

[3] Bashford, "China—An Interpretation." pp. 443-4.

hence is being determined by the statesmanship of 1921. Obsessed with materialism, dominated by racial prejudice, engendering perpetual hate, China and America—the Orient and the Occident—the yellow race and the white, 100 years from now may each be bent upon the destruction of the other. This alternative is no mere mirage built from imagination upon some impossible horizon. Prussianism has its devotees, more numerous than many will admit, among Oriental peoples. The white man, master of the world from time immemorial, by the very arrogance of his boasting, speeds this possibility. But in the struggle which, inevitably, will follow there will be little quarter and less idealism. Man's ingenuity will have contrived new machines for his own destruction, beside which the poison gas and high explosives of the recent war will be but trivial toys. The issue of the conflict will be the death of civilization itself, and none will care to live, for nothing worth living for will have been spared.

But there is another alternative. The nations of the earth in their orbits, at this moment, are passing closer to each other than ever before in history. Centuries may elapse before another equally propitious time arrives. If once again they resume their ancient courses a greater magnetism than any at present abroad in the world will be required to draw them back. To-day America may choose to follow unselfishness and toleration and the principles of Christ, and her choice will be that of the entire world. And the pall of petty prejudices will be lifted; people will see with new clearness; there will be more understanding and less suspicion; more sympathy and less intolerance; more international fellowship and less na-

tional bigotry. And 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.