

THE
OPEN
COURT

*New Orient Society Monograph
Second Series Number Five*

OCTOBER
NOVEMBER

1933

Vol. 47

Number 926

THE OPEN COURT

Founded by Edward C. Hegeler

Editors:

GUSTAVE K. CARUS ELISABETH CARUS

SECOND MONOGRAPH SERIES OF
THE NEW ORIENT SOCIETY OF AMERICA
NUMBER FIVE

CHINA

EDITED BY

BERTHOLD LAUFER

Published

Monthly: January, June, September, December

Bi-monthly: February-March, April-May, July-August, October-November

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

149 EAST HURON STREET

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Subscription rates: \$3.00 a year, 35c a copy, monograph copies, 50c

Entered as Second-Class matter April 12, 1933, at the Post Office
at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879.

COPYRIGHT

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO.

1933

COPYRIGHT
THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO.
1933

CONTENTS

PREFACE	409
<i>Dr. Berthold Laufer</i>	
THE IDEALS OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC	410
<i>Dr. Chih Meng</i>	
EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH	423
<i>Dr. Peng-chun Chang</i>	
TRENDS OF THOUGHT AND RELIGION IN CHINA TODAY	433
<i>Dr. Y. Y. Tsu</i>	
THE NEW DRAMA AND THE OLD THEATER	453
<i>Dr. Peng-chun Chang</i>	
COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY	459
<i>Mr. Julian Arnold</i>	

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Sun Wen (Sun Yat-sen), The Father of the Chinese Republic and of the Nationalist Party*Frontispiece*
2. Sun Wen's Mausoleum at Nanking (Courtesy of White Brothers) ... 419
3. Bridge in the Old Summer Palace near Peking 442
4. Mei Lan-fang in the Rôle of "The Fairy Scattering Flowers" 454
5. The Actress Chin Shao-mei 457



SUN WUN (SUN YAT SEN)
PRESIDENT of the Chinese Republic and of the Nationalist Party

Frontispiece to The Open Court

THE OPEN COURT

Volume XLVII (No. 7) October-November, 1933

Number 926

NEW ORIENT SOCIETY MONOGRAPH : SECOND SERIES

NUMBER FIVE

PREFACE

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER

THE contributors to this monograph, with a single exception, are Chinese scholars of note. In interpreting for us the conditions and aspirations of modern China, the Chinese are naturally placed in a better position and are more competent than any of us, and whether right or wrong are entitled to a fair hearing. The December issue of *The Open Court* will contain an essay on art tendencies in present-day China by Teng Kwei, which was too long to be inserted in this number.

Greece and Rome are irrevocably dead, but China with a past of five millenniums is still alive and looms in our eyes like a giant. In the nineteenth century the western world was still dominated by the ideal of classical humanism based on the study of Greek and Roman civilizations and restricted to the Mediterranean. This is a thing of the past. We now live in the better and bigger era of the Pacific humanism that recognizes the Pacific ocean as the center of world history and is more broad-minded in embracing the study of all great Oriental civilizations.

The study of Chinese civilization is not merely a fad or a capricious hobby or just one out of many hundred specialties in which the modern scholar fondly indulges. We study the language, literature, and art of China because such study has a paramount educational and cultural value and is part and parcel of a truly humanistic education. We are confident that the study of China will contribute much to the renaissance of our own civilization and will mean an important step forward into the era of a new humanism and philosophy that is now in process of formation.

THE IDEALS OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

BY DR. CHIH MENG

Associate Director of the China Institute in America, New York

CHINA'S political experience is as long as her history. Contrary to the popular conception in the West that China is changeless and unchanging, the history of China is a fascinating story of a nation which has been attempting under varying conditions to live contentedly.

The legendary emperors Yao and Shun, and Wen and Wu represent a very old political ideal; that is, the ideal ruler does nothing, and yet the nation becomes contented and peaceful. His influence comes from what he is, not from what he does. Yao was the classical example of *jen* ("benevolence") personified. He was the parent-ruler who loved his subjects and looked after them as his children. He selected Shun from among the common people because of the latter's honesty, ability, and well-known filial piety. Both Yao and Shun regarded their rule as a responsibility entrusted to them by Heaven, not as a personal or family affair. Both selected not their sons, but natural leaders whom the people admired, to succeed them as rulers.

Hence King Wen of the Chou dynasty was, according to Chinese tradition, the perfect ruler because he did not seek to rule, but the people made him their leader because of his benevolence and exemplary life. Wu, son of King Wen, used force to overthrow a despot. K'ung-tse, commenting on the two rulers, said, "The music of Wen is perfect beauty and goodness, but that of Wu perfect beauty and not perfect goodness." The name Wen also means "culture," or "civilian," and the name Wu means "force" or "military."

K'ung-tse, or Latinized Confucius (551-479 B.C.) and his disciples might have created these legendary heroes in order to make their political teachings vivid and impressive after the fashion of ancient teachers. Their teachings might be characterized as enlightened political paternalism. The most brilliant expositor and advocate of this school of thought was Meng-tse, Latinized Mencius (372-289 B.C.) who molded philosophy into definite doctrines and concrete policies.

Meng-tse was traveling among the feudal rulers whom he attempted to convert into his political disciples. Once he had an audi-

ence with King Huei of Liang. King Huei asked, "Sir, what can you teach me to obtain profit for my kingdom?" Meng-tse replied, "Your Majesty, why profit? The only way to rule is according to benevolence and righteousness." He went on to explain the difference between a rule by profit and force and one by benevolence and righteousness. The profit-motive gave rise to mutual exploitation, and force could only obtain involuntary and hence temporary obedience on the part of the people, while benevolence and righteousness inspired voluntary loyalty and mutual confidence, which naturally created a parent-child relationship between the ruler and the ruled that led to lasting contentment. He was among the earliest philosophers to make a distinction between the right to rule and the right to be ruled. About such rights he said, "In a nation the people are the most important, traditions and rituals next, and the ruler is the least important." When asked whether he considered the overthrow of a ruler by his subject as treason, he replied, "For a subject to overthrow a good ruler is treason, but to remove a despot is a benevolent act to the nation." In asserting the rights of the people, he was restating an existing doctrine of the mandate of Heaven, which was, "Heaven sees as the people see, and Heaven hears as the people hear." This means that as long as the ruler regarded the welfare of the people he had a right to rule, but as soon as he disregarded the welfare of the people, he lost his right to rule. This doctrine took root at an early age of the nation. In their history the Chinese people have exercised their right many times in changing their rulers and dynasties that lost the mandate of Heaven.

The people had the right to be ruled benevolently, according to Meng-tse, but not all of them had the right to rule because some were created to exercise their intelligence, and some were created to exercise their strength. "Let those who exercise their intelligence be fed by those who exercise their strength." "The virtue of the morally superior man is like the wind. The virtue of the common man is like the grass. The grass leans towards the direction of the wind."

The rulers should share with the people their pleasures and amusements. Taxation should be flexible. Surplus grain should be stored up in years of plenty for the relief of the people in time of famine. They should protect agriculture so that the people could sow and reap properly. They should regulate fishing and wood-cutting

so that fish and wood would be plentiful for all time, and no one would be hungry and cold, and old people might be free from labor and enjoy meat and silk.

From the time of K'ung-tse to the time of Meng-tse there developed two extreme schools of political thought—the "anarchy" of Lao-tse and the "communism" of Mo-tse. Lao-tse condemned any attempt at interfering with natural pursuit of happiness. According to him, government causes rebellion, law causes crimes, and organization causes quarrels. His utopia was one in which

Though between neighbors they hear
the barking of their dogs and the crowing
of their cocks, they should each live and
die and care not even to see one another.

On the other hand, Mo-tse might be considered as the Chinese Jesus Christ. He would have liked to transform the world into one family, so all people would love one another, bear one another's burdens, and become one another's keepers.

The K'ung-Meng school gained ascendancy because it adhered to the golden mean, also because it embodied some of the most important principles of the two extreme schools. On certain principles all three schools were agreed. They all agreed that the development of man was the most important, while the state was more or less of a necessary evil. They all recognized that force was an undesirable instrument of national and international policy. Lao-tse was, of course, opposed to all forms of coercion. In editing the *Annals of Spring and Autumn*, K'ung-tse did not recognize a single righteous war. Mo-tse advanced as one of his three great doctrines the abolition of soldiery. Meng-tse said, "In an ideal international order the less virtuous nations voluntarily follow the more virtuous. Otherwise, the less powerful will be compelled to serve the more powerful."

The result was that there evolved during the centuries since K'ung-Meng a political philosophy and attitude on the part of scholars and people, that helped to hold together the largest empire for the longest period, an empire of a population which has grown from about fifty millions at the beginning of the Christian era to about four hundred and fifty millions at present, and of an area larger than the United States or the continent of Europe. The actual Chinese empire is larger than the population and territory of China proper. Long before the expansion of England into the British Em-

pire, the Chinese by peaceful penetration had spread to all parts of the world. The cultural expansion of China has been even more far-reaching. In fact, a great part of eastern Asia has been during various periods more or less Chinese in the sense of the ascendancy of the Chinese language, literature, and philosophy.

Curious enough, the political strength of China has become under modern conditions political weakness. In the first place, the Chinese political attitude is inclined to decentralization. Except for short periods of great emergency and foreign dominance, the Central Government has always been a symbol of cultural unity rather than the center of political power. Even the appointees of the Central Government have not much to do with the life of the people. There are a few highly organized bureaucratic municipal governments in China, but by far the great majority of communities have retained the old method of governing, though many of them have adopted new names such as "boards," "councils," and "committees." Take, for example, a community which I know best. It is a town of about 2,500 people, an average rural community. It has a magistrate appointed by the Central Government. He has four policemen in modern uniforms; but they have very little to do. They have practically nothing to do with schools, shops, markets, and the maintenance of public buildings, the most important of which is the dyke. They very seldom are called upon to enforce the law and to try lawsuits. The actual governing body is the gentry, a body of men who are not organized and who have no legal status but who, by virtue of their learning and prestige proven by the lapse of time, have been recognized as leaders by the community. They serve without pay. It is they who assess the people for funds to keep the schools (modern schools) going and the dykes repaired. They are usually called upon to arbitrate disputes over property, and sometimes to adjudicate criminal offenses. Cases involving public morals are rare and violent crimes almost unknown.

This leads to the question of social control. The source of control does not come from political power, but from ethical principles. For example, the traditional inscription in the Hall of Justice facing the Judge is:

Your living and maintenance
Are taken from the sweat and blood of the people,
You can easily oppress the masses,
But you cannot deceive Heaven.

The magistrate or judge is more or less a consultant on legal and technical matters. The head of each family exercises control over its members, and usually acts as envoy-plenipotentiary to assume obligations and to settle differences with other families. Improper conduct is much more swiftly and effectively punished in the family court than in an official court. The personal example of the ruler, be he magistrate or the head of a family, is often more influential than the power he wields. A recent example is Wu Pei-fu. Though stripped of actual political power, he has exerted great political influence simply because he possesses the ethical attributes of a scholar.

Unlike modern nationalism, the Chinese nation has for its objective the contentment of the individual rather than the development of sovereignty, or the destiny of the state. In fact, the doctrine of sovereignty, or the state, is not in Chinese political thought. The K'ung-Meng school proceeds from the perfection of the individual to the ordered family, to the well-administered nation, and to a peaceful world through the five human relations and not through political organization. The Chinese term for nation is kuo-chia which means a territory of families. Hence the age old proverb of the Chinese farmer:

When the sun rises, I toil;
When the sun sets, I rest;
I dig wells for water;
I till the fields for food;
What has the emperor's power
to do with me?

Contrary to the popular conception in the West "war-lords" are just as alien to the Chinese political background as modern nationalism. To the individualistic or familistic Chinese people, militarism is the worst form of oppression. The sages have always exalted learning and learned men. The influence of Buddhistic pantheism has created in the mind of the average man the sacredness of all life and the horror of taking life. The classical examination system which was in operation for almost two thousand years required almost no knowledge of military tactics but a thorough-going intellectual training. All these and other factors have helped to mold the temperament of the Chinese people in such a way that they as individuals are less pugilistic and as a group still less militaristic. In the place of force, therefore, they have evolved an elaborate system in their

mores and traditions that tend to ease emotional outbursts between persons and to lubricate social friction between groups. "Face-saving" is but one out of many such devices.

Before the nineteenth century the Chinese nation had been more or less a confederation of self-contained and self-governed communities which had been held together, not so much by political machinery, but by bonds of common literature, tradition, and a social structure of guilds and families. In the nineteenth century China was brought suddenly into actual contact with the modern western political states. After a series of defeats at war, she was compelled to seek the secret of power of the modern West. At first she thought it was something in the modern army and navy. She put her soldiers and sailors through the goose-step, put western uniforms on them, and placed in their hands modern armament, and expected them to put up a modern western fight in war. It did not work. Then she thought it was something in modern industry. So railways and steamships and factories were built on western models. But the progress was too slow to save the country. Then she thought it was the form of government. Hence the movement for constitutional monarchy was followed by the movement for a republic. In 1911 the New Republican Government decreed that cues should be done away with, that frock coats should take the place of mandarin coats, and that the nation should henceforth be governed by a republican form of government based on a constitution that combined the merits of those of France and the United States. Once more the leaders, as well as the people, became disillusioned because so far the changes had been changes of names and appearances, half-hearted at that, while old China remained unwieldy and unchanged.

It was not until after the failure of the first republican revolution of 1911 became apparent that some Chinese leaders actually saw what must be done to change China. They started immediately to destroy the intellectual obstacles to the process of modernization. They attacked and demolished mercilessly the K'ung-Meng school of thought and the thousand and one traditions, ethical patterns, and social structures, resulting from that school and other stabilizing but enslaving influences, such as the K'ung codes of ethics, the literary language, and the family system.

In the political sphere, the new nationalist movement aimed at an equally fundamental revolution. Prior to 1911, Sun Wen (Sun Yat-

sen) had believed that the Manchu regime was the greatest obstacle to political reform, and had directed all his efforts to overthrow the Ch'ing dynasty. Events during the years following the revolution of 1911 proved that the Manchu regime was but one of the obstacles. The people were not ready for a centralized republican form of government. A few military governors of the old regime, who commanded hired armies, assumed control of the provinces. They had no understanding of the real meaning of the revolution. The overthrow of the dynasty removed their object of political loyalty. So the newly established and not too healthy infant republic had to bargain with those military governors in order to survive. Yüan Shi-k'ai, the first president, was more or less successful for a short while in maintaining the authority of Central Government; but he was not a convert to modern democracy. The methods he employed in extending his personal power showed that "president" and "republic" were to him modern versions of emperor and dynasty. Between the time of his death in 1915 and the nationalist revolution of 1926, a few leaders of the old regime attempted to be president, while many others controlled the provinces as their personal spheres of influence. This period may be characterized as one of personal struggle among military leaders of the old regime.

During the period of personal struggle, Sun Wen and his followers saw more clearly than before that a more closely organized state was not possible without the spirit and mechanism of nationalism. He now realized more clearly that the people must be educated to feel that they were one and should act as one. This political oneness was the secret of the power of a modern state which itself had sovereignty, honor, and destiny even apart from any individual members of that state. Modern nationalism was as potent as a cult or religion. It had acquired dogmas, symbols, and gods. Nationalists would defend their state's sovereign rights, national flag, and strive to add to it glory and power.

Sun Wen had not made this discovery accidentally. Nor did he launch the nationalist movement on an impulse. He had given the movement serious thought and long study. In fact, he devoted a great deal of his time to reading recognized western authorities on law, government, and economics. He was eager to learn from the radicals as well as the conservatives, the communists or socialists, as well as the capitalists. His conclusions were profoundly influ-

enced by Chinese political philosophy and methods. He believed in democracy, but he made a difference between the right to be treated equally and the right to govern. "The government of a nation," he said, "must be built upon the rights of the people, but the administration of public affairs must be entrusted to experts." He took a deep interest in the improvement of the standard of living among peasants and workers, but was opposed to class dictatorship. He expanded on the traditional conception of cooperation between classes of people. His famous illustration was that a modern building could not be erected without an architect who drew the plan, a foreman who supervised the work, and a workman who did the manual labor. Each of them was indispensable. So, for the sake of erecting the building and for the benefit of all three they should cooperate. He advocated state control and development of resources and industries, but he found it impossible to accept Marxian socialism. It seemed apparent that while he was crystallizing his thinking in formulating a philosophical basis and practical program for the movement, he had constantly to deal with the Chinese background and the requirements of the modern state, the Chinese situation, and the inconclusive and limited experiences of western political science. In attempting this he had to pioneer into new fields. Perhaps some of the inconsistencies in his lectures could be thus explained. As a whole, his philosophy and program constituted a modern restatement of China's political aspirations and a modern plan to realize these aspirations.

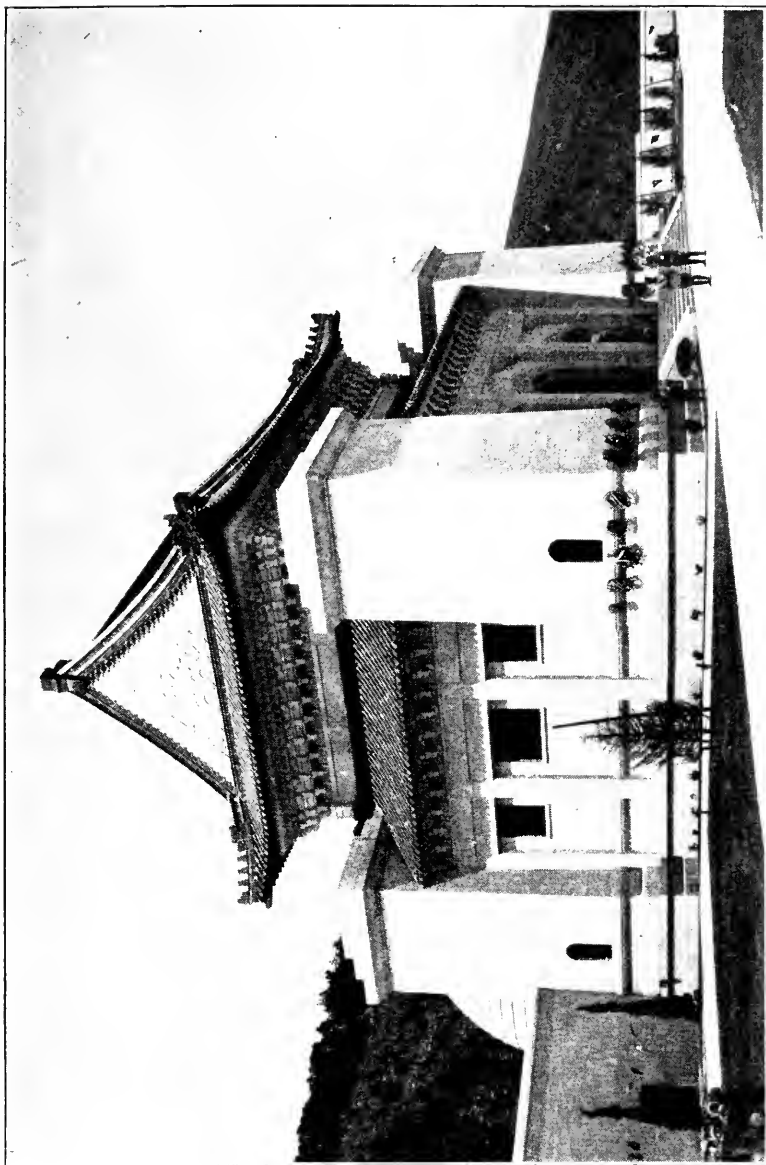
The nationalist movement, briefly, was to reconstruct a new understanding, a new physical environment, and social relationship. The people were to be educated to learn how to exercise the powers and privileges of a democracy. Their standard of living was to be elevated so that none needed to live on the verge of starvation. The new society was to be more organized, so that individual wishes would be more subject to state well-being. All this involved the overcoming of the tremendous inertia of the traditional Chinese political individualism and *laissez-faire* attitude. The problem was made more difficult because of the inadequacy of the physical basis for a modern state, such as modern means of communication, also because of the group of "war-lords" who were by-products of the recent disorganization and who could not fit into the new scheme of things. Therefore, the movement was compelled to use certain stimuli strong

enough to shake to its foundation the political inertia and to substitute a new incentive for the new state.

Since the Opium War China had been repeatedly defeated by foreign powers which had established concessions and settlements in China and had deprived her of some of her territories, resources, and sovereign rights. Because of their *laissez-faire* attitude, the Chinese people as a whole had not been conscious of such foreign aggression. The Nationalists began a campaign to create patriotism by making the people conscious of the wrongs and humiliations brought upon them by foreign powers. Second, there must be inculcated in the people a more aggressive and positive attitude toward life. Thus, a deliberate attempt was made to overthrow the old religious and philosophical attitude of passiveness, moderation, and toleration. The death of Sun Wen in 1925 resulted in the creation of a most powerful symbol for the new national unity. Sun Wen has justly become the national hero whose life exemplifies unselfishness, courage, intelligent industry, and devotion to the cause of his country and whose teachings became the adopted principles and sacred testament of the nationalist movement and party.

In 1926 the Nationalist Party began to carry out the first step of the national revolution; that is, to unify China through military expeditions. It achieved success quickly because of a number of contributing factors. In the first place, the nationalist movement had reached all parts of China. Second, the life and teachings of Sun Wen had inspired a new hope and loyalty. Finally, the party utilized Russian experts in helping to organize a modern army and political machinery. The split within the party in 1927 caused a temporary setback. Soon the conservative wing of the party consolidated and succeeded in ousting their communist allies and established the National Government at Nanking.

In 1917, when the first republican revolution succeeded, Sun Wen went to the temple of Ming T'ai-tsu, founder of the Ming dynasty and a nationalist hero, to pay respects to that great spirit in behalf of the nation. In 1928, General Chiang Kai-shek represented the Nationalists in reporting the successful conclusion of the military revolution to the spirit of Sun Wen. This dramatic incident signified the beginning of a new era. The traditional political individualism and *laissez-faire* were no longer tenable. The Nationalists were now obliged to turn their attention to the next two stages—po-



Courtesy of White Brothers.

SUN WEN'S MAUSOLEUM AT NANKING

litical tutelage and constitutional government—in order to realize fully the Three People's Principles—the People's Livelihood, the People's Democracy, and the People's Nationalism.

Space does not permit me to go into details as to the history and organization of the Nationalist Party (Kuo-min-tang) and the National Government. Suffice it to state here that during the period of political tutelage the party is the official organ for the political education of the people. The people are taught gradually to understand and to exercise their constitutional rights. Before they are able to do so, the party assumes the direction and supervision of the government. The National Government is divided into five *Yüan*—the executive, legislative, judicial, examination, and the control. The first three correspond to the usual divisions of a western republic and form of government. Civil service examination has always been regarded as a most important function of the government. The Nationalists have modernized the procedure and made it one of the five supreme divisions of the government in line with this tradition and also with Sun Wen's principle of securing experts to administer public affairs. In the traditional government of China there has always been a board of censors whose duty has been to detect corruption and to criticize lack of duty by government officials. The Central *Yüan* is intended to perform the same functions in a modern government through its powers to impeach and to audit.

The National Government has not had an easy task in attempting to reach the objectives of the nationalist movement and the party. In some respects it is considered to have fallen short of its idealistic declarations. For instance, the unequal treaties have not been entirely abrogated. There are still disturbances in some parts of the country, and the problems of the people's livelihood have not all been solved. But no fair criticism can be made of any government without taking into consideration the conditions under which it has to operate. Considering, for example, the immensity of the territory and population it has to deal with, as well as famines and floods, foreign aggression, and other baffling difficulties, the National Government must be given due credit for many accomplishments.

In the first place, it has done much toward making itself a government of the people. Since 1927 it has not borrowed a cent from abroad, but has relied entirely upon domestic loans for government financing. In spite of the economic depression it has been able to

balance its budget. This unusual achievement has not only restored the confidence of the people in the Government, but it has also made possible cooperation between the Government and the people who have become partners in governmental affairs.

Foundations have been laid for the realization of the Three People's Principles. Laws have been promulgated and courts established, which have taken cognizance of the progressive legal and judicial tendencies in the West. The monetary problem has been carefully studied by experts, and gradual steps have been taken to stabilize currency and exchange. This and the establishment of the Central Bank have strengthened the Government's credit at home and abroad despite adverse circumstances.

In foreign relations the achievements of the National Government have been impressive. Tariff autonomy was recovered during the first two years of its administration. In the meantime, steps were taken to abolish extraterritoriality. Several treaties based on equality and reciprocity have been concluded. A number of powers have restored to China concessions and leased territories. The vitality of the Government was formally recognized by the members of the League of Nations which elected China to be a member of the Council of the League in 1931.

True to its traditions, the Government has been actively interested in research and higher learning. The Academia Sinica was founded in 1928 for the purpose of research in physics, chemistry, engineering, geology, astronomy, meteorology, history and philology, literature, archaeology, psychology, education, social science, zoology, and botany.

In conclusion it must be pointed out that on account of its peculiar background the development of the Chinese nation has not been so much influenced by or dependent upon political readjustments as that of a modern western nation. In spite of disturbances in some areas (which usually receive an undeserved share of attention in the West), the Chinese people have been making steady progress in material reconstruction. They have been rapidly developing civil aviation and building motor roads, about 35,000 miles of which have been built during this decade. In steamship transportation and in manufacturing they are emerging from a period of complete foreign control to a position of dominance.

The international situation has exerted and will continue to exert influence which will mold the political future of China. So far Chi-

nese nationalism has been moderated by the traditional background of the people. For instance, although their consciousness of nationality is young, it contains no element of narrow-mindedness, and although militarists still sway great power, the people do not believe in militarism or military dictatorship. They still believe in to live and let live. Developments in the Far East during the last year and a half are alarming to those who thought that the new order had arrived. If the Chinese people are not left alone to work out freely their political destiny and if the world's peace machinery proves impotent to guarantee to them this freedom, they may be compelled to undergo a second childhood in reverting to the short-cut method of dictatorship and militarism in their struggle for survival.

EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

BY PENG-CHUN CHANG

Professor at Nankai Middle School, Tientsin

IN discussing the present status of education in China it may be well not to limit attention to the organized intricacies of the educational system as such. Education is but one phase of the highly significant and complex movement of China's adjustment to the modern world. How has its aim been formulated in view of national needs? What are the difficulties that hamper educational endeavor? And what new tendencies are discernible in the problems of education for the populace and of education for a new leadership?

It is well known that China before the nineteenth century was a country that had a culture comparable to the culture of any nation in the world before the coming of the modern scientific and industrial era. Beginning with the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the modern world by means of improved weapons of war came to China with a threatening gesture. We shall not retrace all the unfortunate and regrettable happenings of the impact. By the beginning of the twentieth century the Chinese, especially the intellectual leaders among them, realized that, in order to exist as an independent people in the modern world, they must take cognizance of the achievements of modern industrial civilization, learn from abroad methods of scientific mastery, and adopt new institutions for the purpose of China's modernization.

Stimulated by the success of Japan's efforts at modernization through the establishment of a modern school system, the Chinese government appointed in 1904 a commission to draft a plan for a system of national public schools. This plan was accepted and promulgated by decree in 1905. The old civil service examinations—a practice for the selection of public officials inaugurated about two thousand years ago—were abolished. A public school system of the modern type with its provisions for different grades of education, primary, secondary, and university, was put in force.

In the impatience of seeing China modernized, those responsible for the change did not take time for a careful evaluation of the imported formula. This hurried importation left many problems for

the decades that followed. Nevertheless, laboring under great difficulties, a modern school system has been in existence for the last twenty-eight years, and thousands of schools and hundreds of thousands of students show evidence of its operation.

I

A brief review of the different formulations of the aim of education, as announced by the successive governments, will show us the progressive steps in the realization as to how China was to be modernized.

When the new school system was first introduced, the government was under the old imperial régime. The aim of education was stated as being fivefold: loyalty to the emperor, respect to Confucius, public spirit, military bravery, and practicality. The first two were traditional, and the last three showed conscious effort toward modernization. Public spirit was to be encouraged especially in forms of patriotism in the modern nationalistic sense. Military bravery was needed for the defence of the country. And practicality implied the introduction of the sciences in the schools and the adoption of modern industrial methods.

With the coming of the Republic after the revolution of 1911, the educational aim was restated. The first formulation in 1912 emphasizing moral education, technical education, education for a military citizenry, and esthetic education was soon felt to be not specifically appropriate for a republic. In 1918, at the National Education Conference, a resolution was passed and adopted by the government, to include in the educational aim the cultivation of the spirit of democracy.

In 1922, after the influence of the American school system became more explicitly felt, a reorganization was announced by presidential order. The number of years in the different grades of institutions was rearranged: from primary school seven years, middle school five years, higher preparatory three years, and university three to five years, to primary school six years, junior middle school three years, senior middle school three years, and university four to six years. Seven controlling principles were enunciated: adjustment to evolutionary changes in society, promotion of democratic spirit in education, provision for the growth of individuality, development of people's productive ability, emphasis on life-situation in education, to

make education accessible to all people, and to allow elasticity for the meeting of local needs. Those who are familiar with educational thought in America a decade ago can easily and clearly discern American influences in this reorganization.

After the establishment of the National Government in Nanking in 1927, the principles of the Kuo-min-tang began to be applied to education. In 1928, the Central Executive Committee of the party recommended as the educational aim of the country the following: Education of the Republic of China is to be based on the "Three People's Principles"—to promote the spirit of nationalism, to hasten the realization of political democracy, and to effect the betterment of people's livelihood. These principles were formally announced by the government in 1929.

Through the various formulations of the aim of education in the past twenty-eight years, we can detect a general trend making China into a modern nation. But transforming a nation of the size of China with as old traditions is by no means a simple task. What are some of the difficulties that disturb the smooth working of the educational system?

II

Let us inquire a little into the social setting that conditions educational effort. The more obvious factors in the social setting would include threatening foreign invasions, disorder in the political machinery, changes in social institutions, and the breaking down of the old economic structure. But for an appreciation of the essential difficulties in educational work I should lay stress on the psychological factor in the social setting.

By the psychological factor I mean the traditional conception of education deeply rooted in the mind of the people. To be brief, it is the conception of education as the specific preparation for the "scholar." The place of the scholar in Chinese society of the past was unique. According to the time-honored classification, people were supposed to belong to four vocational groups—the scholar, the farmer, the artisan, and the merchant. Although this classification was at no time strictly applicable and although there were always other vocational occupations beside the four mentioned, the scholar was respected by all and enjoyed the privileges and prestige of official employment. Education for hundreds of years was considered

to be the exclusive and specific means for the preparation of the scholar. The civil service examinations were instituted for the purpose of selecting candidates for official positions, and the scholars successful in the examinations were the acknowledged leaders in political and social life and enjoyed the privileges of the leisure class.

This traditional conception is still potent in the minds of the people, though often in a veiled form. Some effects of this conception on the new school system may here be mentioned. First, the conception of education as the specific preparation for the scholar has tended to make the common people hesitate in sending their children to the new schools. The farmers and artisans, especially in the rural districts, are still very much of the opinion that sending their children to the new schools for three or four years is somewhat a useless luxury, inasmuch as farmers and artisans, according to their traditional outlook, require no "education."

Second, the traditional conception has left behind an undue respect for and reliance on book-knowledge and literary expression. In the old days, the scholars knew their classics by heart and practised literary compositions of a special style required by the civil service examinations. In the modern schools we find this undue respect for book-learning one of the great impediments in inculcating a realistic attitude of mind towards modern problems.

And third, the old "scholar-ideology" has seriously limited the outlook of the students in the higher schools. In most people's minds, the new school system has come to take the place of the old civil service examinations. Those who attend the universities are somehow expected to enter upon official careers. This explains the fact that more than one-third of the students in the universities, according to the statistics of 1930, are in colleges of law, which according to the Chinese system include departments of political science. And even those who take up other studies are often found upon graduation among the aspirants for positions in government offices. Thus, talent is diverted from other pursuits that the nation urgently requires for its economic reconstruction and social reorganization.

With all the difficulties in the social setting, however, educational efforts in China, far from being discouraged, are pressing forward in new directions in order to fulfill the mission of guiding the extremely complex process of the nation's cultural transformation.

III

NEW DIRECTION IN THE EDUCATION FOR THE POPULACE

In the pre-industrial days the skills involved in agriculture and in craftsmanship were traditionally handed down from one generation to the next by the apprenticeship system and by cooperative work within the family. As to social conduct, oral traditions in the form of precepts and personal prestige in natural social groupings contributed to the cultivation of personal integrity and group cohesiveness. "Education," as already mentioned, was considered only as the preparation for the intellectual leaders who served as administrators of public affairs and as upholders of social customs.

When the new school system came in, the general populace, except the city-dwellers, could not appreciate education as given in the primary schools. Even in cases where there are no economic impediments, such as the inability to clothe the children properly and the necessity of setting the children to work to assist in the dire struggle for mere subsistence, the farmers and artisans in the country districts have hesitated to send their children to school. It is not because they are not conscious of the value of education. It is rather because they value "education" too highly as being the specific preparation for the "scholar."

The government has announced a program for carrying out compulsory education in the whole country. The Ministry of Education plans to train 1,400,000 primary school teachers and to provide a million class-rooms within the next twenty years. It is hoped that by 1951 forty million children will be enrolled in the primary schools. These figures may give us an idea of the numbers of people that must be taken into account. The problem is necessarily gigantic.

While provisions are being made for the extension of formal school instruction, far-seeing educational workers have begun to realize that due attention should be given to the psychological factor involved. The traditional conception of education must be frankly faced; otherwise, organizational devices and government requirements such as the age at which children should be sent to school, the number of years to stay there, the consolidation of village schools, will, it is feared, only bring bewilderment to the populace. Based on this realization, new experiments are being carried out in several parts of the country. The chief contention motivating these experi-

ments is that education should be brought to the people, not only in terms of formal school instruction, but also in terms of concrete assistance to improve their livelihood. Effective means are worked out for the relief of poverty of the people and for their enlightenment as to national needs in the face of foreign invasions and of readjustments in political, social, and economic life. This new direction in general education, I am pleased to report, is gradually finding support in public opinion and government action. The Mass Education Experiment in Ting-hien, Hopei, the Provincial Rural Reconstruction Institute at Tso-ping, Shantung, and the rural extension work in parts of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Shansi, Anhui, and Kwangtung, all indicate the new interest in the betterment of the populace. Through such means as the literacy campaign, the spread of information concerning new agricultural methods and implements, and instruction in health and citizenship, the educational workers with the new vision are attacking bravely the tremendous problem of education in rural districts, which contain approximately 85 per cent of the huge population of the country.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE EDUCATION FOR LEADERSHIP

For the past quarter of a century, more than fifty universities under government and private agencies have been established. This phenomenon is unique in the history of education. It reflects the respect for learning of the Chinese people. While there may be much to criticize concerning the quality of instruction and inadequacy of equipment, it cannot be gainsaid that the people realize the supreme need of supplying the nation with a new educated leadership. Here also, the traditional conception has contributed difficulties that must be faced as realities. When the civil service examinations were discontinued, the newly established universities were supposed to take their place in supplying candidates for official positions. The fact that most students in the universities are still looking forward to entering the much coveted officialdom, as pointed out above, is a problem challenging solution.

Attention is now being directed to the correction of this defect. Public men in various parts of the country are declaring against the unhealthily crowding of applicants for official jobs. And there is a general realization that productive pursuits should be encouraged and that studies and research in engineering and the sciences should,

at the present juncture of China's need for economic reconstruction, be emphatically promoted. The Ministry of Education has recently ordered that no new Law and Liberal Arts Colleges will be recognized by the government. In some of the newly founded provincial universities, as, for instance, in the Provincial University of Kwangsi, all students are encouraged to take engineering, agriculture, or the sciences. They are also required to devote part of their time to actual productive labor. Some secondary schools have also undertaken to try new experiments. For instance, at Nankai School, Tientsin, a group of students is undergoing a new kind of training, devoting half of their time to studies in class-rooms and the other half to productive labor in shops.

We may say, then, that the new direction in leadership-education aims to supply China, not with leaders who know nothing but books, but with leaders who are well equipped in the solution of concrete problems and who can think scientifically and work collectively for the nation's good.

IV

We now proceed to a consideration of the new interest in scientific studies and scientific research.

The intellectual reorientation involved in the introduction of modern science is one of the most basic movements in the cultural transformation of China. In regard to the introduction of foreign intellectual products, the Chinese have never taken an attitude of aversion. When the value of these products is clearly demonstrated, they have been willing students and ably adapted the imported ideas to the fertilization of the indigenous culture.

An example from an earlier period may be given here. Some fifteen hundred years ago a foreign intellectual movement came into China with the introduction of Buddhism. That was the most potent intellectual stimulus from the outside world that the homogeneous culture had received up to that time. At first the Chinese intellectuals learned from the Indian teachers who came to China. Later, they went to India for more authentic knowledge. They carried with them the Chinese habit of patient and tenacious application in learning. They studied in India under the best teachers and brought back to China manuscript upon manuscript which upon their return they translated into Chinese. Some of the translations, no-

tably those by the famous Hsüan Tsang, were so well done that they are approved by modern scholarship as being both faithful and expressive. Incidentally, with their respect for written records, the Chinese have saved many a Buddhist document from destruction, and much modern knowledge of early Buddhist literature has been made possible on the basis of Sanskrit originals and Chinese translations.

The intellectual stimulus that came from India contributed much to the flourishing culture in the T'ang and Sung dynasties. At present we are in the midst of another movement of intellectual transmission—this time from the modern West. The core of this movement is modern science, which came to China in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Chinese turned their attention to it because they felt that science made western nations strong in war. The early translators of scientific works were mostly those connected with the Kiangnan Arsenal established in 1865 for the manufacture of modern weapons of war, or with the new army and navy. Translations of Lyell's *Principles of Geology* and Tyndall's *Physics*, for instance, were first published by the Kiangnan Arsenal. The translator of the Darwinian theory into Chinese, Yen Fu, was a student sent to England to study naval science and later became interested in the natural sciences.

The wide-spread promotion of the study of modern sciences came with the new school system inaugurated in 1905. Modern sciences, such as are usually found in the curricula of western schools and universities, have been introduced into all institutions established under the new system. Students sent abroad have returned and carried on scientific research with very promising results.

Societies for the encouragement of scientific research are necessarily of recent date. Prominent are the National Geological Survey, 1913, the Science Society of China, 1914 (its Biological Research Laboratory in Nanking 1916), the Research Institutes of the Academia Sinica, 1927 (nine institutes have so far been organized: Institutes of Physics, Chemistry, Engineering, Geology, Astronomy, Meteorology, History and Philology, Psychology, and Social Sciences), the Fan Memorial Biological Survey, 1928, and the Peiping Research Institute with its departments of physical and biological sciences, 1929.

It is but natural that the first results of research should come

from those studies that are more closely connected with natural phenomena somewhat regional in character, such as geological studies, research of fauna and flora, and studies in palaeontology and archaeology.

Research contributions in geology have already gained recognition in China and abroad. Geological mapping, stratigraphy, seismology, and study of mineral resources have all been undertaken with very significant results. They have been not only of importance to science as a new intellectual discipline, but also of practical value to the nation. For instance, in the study of mineral resources, about one hundred and forty million tons of iron ore, 15 per cent of the grand total of the nation's reserves, were discovered by the investigators of the China Geological Survey. Of general interest is the discovery of the so-called Peking Man (*Sinanthropus pekinensis*), a contribution to the knowledge of earliest man. We shall not mention the scores of technical papers in geology and palaeontology that have been contributed by investigators. Suffice it to say that the results are now acknowledged by more experienced fellow scientists outside of China, and these should be qualified to judge.

In biological studies, contributions from Chinese scientists are coming forth in increasing volume. Fauna and flora that have been unknown to the scientific world are being collected, classified, and described with indefatigable energy and scientific scrupulosity. Researches in agricultural entomology and pharmacology of Chinese drugs have already brought forth much useful knowledge for the eradication of natural pests and for the relief of human suffering. Stimulated by the challenging opportunities in a still virgin field, the workers in biological research are all filled with enthusiasm, and are pressing forward to make new discoveries of importance to science.

One of the departments of research that has recently claimed attention is that of archaeology. Archaeological studies were highly developed by the time of the Sung dynasty in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. On account of their reverence for the past it is natural that the Chinese should have always paid great attention to ancient records and ancient objects. But systematic study with the help of modern equipment was started only in recent years. It is sponsored by the Research Institute of History and Philology in Academia Sinica. The work undertaken in An-yang, Honan, has re-

vealed results that are of great significance to historians of China's early age. The An-yang site was known to be the capital city of the Shang dynasty, about 1500 B.C. The investigation has yielded much information not to be found in written records. By means of careful stratigraphical study the investigators have been able to find, to mention one instance, that the people of the Shang dynasty had already mastered the casting of bronze to an advanced degree and made weapons, ceremonial vessels, and other ornaments. While some of the interpretations may be still contended by experts, the fact that the Chinese are making use of modern scientific methods to ascertain facts concerning the life and culture of their early history is a very significant development. And it is bound to promote thought to a great extent.

It would be too much to expect that, with less than a generation's effort, a great deal could have been produced. But there is no question whatsoever that Chinese intellectuals have definitely taken a new direction and have joined their fellow-workers in other parts of the world in the advancement of scientific knowledge for the discovery of truth and the mastery of nature.

TRENDS OF THOUGHT AND RELIGION IN CHINA TODAY

BY DR. Y. Y. TSU

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

WE ARE in the midst of another period of intercultural contact of China and the outside world. Once more her civilization is in a state of flux. Thought patterns, modes of living, time-honored traditions and institutions, all are undergoing far-reaching transformation. Changes in form of government, momentous as they may be, are accompanied by more fundamental changes in ideology, in the outlook on life, and in intangible realities, such as tastes and standards, beliefs and loyalties, which make up the spirit of a new age.

The present period of intercultural contact began in the middle of last century. The leading industrial nations of the West were then looking for foreign markets to absorb the output of their factories; and as Asiatic countries were unindustrialized, both diplomatic and forceful means were used to open up these countries to foreign trade. Because of lack of modern scientific and technical knowledge, the Chinese were placed at a disadvantage in these political and economic relations, and to remedy the situation, the government took steps to encourage the study of foreign languages, translation of scientific books, sending of students abroad, and employment of foreign experts. The Tung Wen Kwan was opened in 1880 at Shanghai for the study of European languages and sciences. A translation department was maintained by the newly established Arsenal at Shanghai for the translation of scientific and technical books. The eminent scholar Yen Fu translated Huxley's *Essays on Evolution*, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Mill's *Logic*, and Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*. Another scholar, Ling Shu, rendered into Chinese masterpieces of western fiction, such as the works of Scott, Hugo, Dumas, Balzac, Ibsen, Cervantes, Tolstoi, and others. These introduced our students to a new world of thought and life. Some time in the nineties, Liang Chi-ch'ao was able to list three hundred European works then available in Chinese as the result of twenty years of translation. In the preface of his compilation

he wrote, "Knowledge is power. When we compare the Westerners' knowledge of sound, light, chemistry, electricity, agriculture, mining, industry, with our own learning in historical criticism, literature, and ethics, we realize how little we do know; and yet we still slumber on dreaming of our own greatness! Therefore to make our country strong, it is our first duty to translate more western books. If students wish to become accomplished, the most effective way is to read more western books. I hear that the national library in London has more than three hundred thousand different works. What we have translated is like a piece of hair in a herd of oxen."

Liang Chi-ch'ao's distinguished teacher was K'ang Yu-wei, the father and leader of the first Reform Movement of 1898. An advanced thinker and accomplished writer, his memorials to the throne on the necessity of political reform and the adoption of western methods and institutions in government, education, industry, and agriculture were literary models, which provoked admiration even in conservative circles, though his ideas were too radical for acceptance. His chance for putting his ideas into concrete form, at least on paper, came in the summer of 1898 when he was made adviser to the emperor Kuang-sü, who under his guidance sought to transform the country overnight by edict. This episode, known as "One Hundred Days of Reform," ended disastrously for the reformers.

K'ang Yu-wei's political ideas are found in his essay *Ta t'ung shu* ("The Utopia of Great Harmony"). The inspiration came from a passage in the Book of Rites (*Li ki*) which describes the beautiful Confucian conception of the ideal state:

When the Great Teaching prevails, the world will be a commonwealth. The wise and able will be selected (for office); people will be bound by universal ties so that none will claim only his own kin as kin, or have regard only for his own children; the aged will be looked after; those in full manhood will find useful employment; the young will be properly nurtured; the widowed, orphaned, and disabled will be taken care of; the men will have their proper duties, and the women will be suitably married. As for property, while disliking to have it go to waste, none will keep it as private possession; as for men's talents, while not refusing to develop them, none will utilize them for selfish purposes. In this way, rebellion will not raise its banner, robbers and thieves will not pursue their misdeeds, and house-doors need not be locked at night. Such a state we call *Ta T'ung*.

K'ang Yu-wei elaborated this ideal into a socialistic world state or league of nations, with such features as state responsibility for the upbringing of children, equality of educational and vocational opportunities, abolition of private property, a universal language, uniform weights and measures, state enterprises in industry, sanitation, and medicine. The aim of such a state would be the abolition of human misery. He wrote, "The causation of misery assumes many forms, *natural*, such as floods, epidemics, earthquakes; *social*, such as the dependent state of widows and orphans, lack of medical care, and poverty; *biological*, such as still-birth, infant mortality, congenital deformities; *political*, such as heavy taxation, war, oppression; *emotional*, such as hatred, passion, stupidity. The common causes of conflict among men are the artificial distinctions of class, nationality, and sex. Hence the cure lies in their abolition."

As an historical document, the essay is valuable in mirroring the social conditions of the time which turned men's thoughts to the building of utopian castles in the air.

A close colleague of K'ang Yu-wei in his reform movement was Tang Tse-tung, who at the age of thirty-three forfeited his life as one of "the Six Martyrs of 1898." It is generally believed that he was the actual writer of the edicts of the Hundred Days of Reform and, when the movement collapsed, he refused to flee because he believed that "only by the flow of blood could the cause be advanced." His book *Jen Hsüch* ("The Philosophy of Benevolence") is an exposition of his political and economic views, but it is also illustrative of the spirit of revolt against the thralldom of tradition and political corruption. He wrote, "In this vast universe I am like a minute drop of water in the ocean; how can one describe the miserable feeling of futility! Under the manifold oppressions (of the social order), one must in silence drink the cup to its dregs. If one attempted to protest against the ignorance, poverty, and weakness in the land, one would be scoffed at as a demented person. But should one not describe a thousandth part, like a cry in the wilderness, fighting against odds, to hasten the destruction of the net of ignorance and bequeath his words as medicine for an evil time? The net is heavy, ubiquitous, and manifold, but we must destroy it piece by piece—political ambition, literary formalism, social tradition, religious fatalism. Only by breaking through can the net be destroyed: only by destroying it can we hope for freedom."

He held advanced ideas about the use of machinery for production and the exploitation of natural resources, and urged men of wealth to use their means to build up industries. "The whole secret is in utilizing natural resources through human ability, and by aiming at benefiting the many one also benefits oneself. It is like trying to keep a small sprinkler on one's land during a drought. It will never last. The thing to do is for all to work together on some large irrigation project. We need machinery for large-scale production. One machine can duplicate the work of a hundred men. Thus labor is saved for other needed work, while the people will have an adequate supply of goods. Further, machinery will relieve our people from much of their hard toil. Our people sometimes sell themselves into slavery, and are driven like oxen; so low has human life fallen because of poverty. On the other hand, see what has happened to the nations that use machinery. Their wealth has increased, and the general plane of living is raised. Machinery has done it."

Liang Chi-ch'ao was the most brilliant of K'ang Yu-wei's pupils and the Erasmus of the Reform Movement. Encyclopedic in his scope of knowledge, well informed in modern intellectual and political trends, wielding a pen that is lucid, forceful, and scholarly, he more than any one else must be given credit for the national awakening of China in the beginning of this century. For forty years the productivity of his pen was like torrential rain on a thirsty land. His collected writings now fill eighty volumes. We shall have occasion to refer to his scholarship below.

In recent times, the most representative scholar is unquestionably Professor Hu Shih of the Peking National University, popularly known as the father of the Renaissance Movement of 1917. The chief features of this movement are emphasis on the scientific method, critical reevaluation of China's cultural heritage, and the use of the vernacular style as literary medium. The last feature is epoch-making, being known as the Literary Revolution. Not that the use of the vernacular was a new idea; it had been widely used by novelists, dramatists, and Buddhist writers for centuries, but Hu Shih, Chen Tu-siu, and their colleagues were instrumental in overcoming the opposition of the scholarly tradition and making the vernacular the accepted medium of formal writing. Hu Shih's arguments in favor of the vernacular (*pai hua*), first published in 1915 in *La Jeunesse*, organ of the Renaissance Movement, were that the vernacular was the living language of the people, in daily use by

them, and thus a more accurate medium of expression than the classical style (*wen li*), which was highly artificial, unintelligible to any except a minority, and as far as the common people were concerned, a dead language.

Hu Shih is an ardent advocate of modernization. He is impatient with those who with false pride esteem eastern civilization as more spiritual and deprecate western civilization as more materialistic. On the contrary, he claims that eastern civilization is more materialistic in the sense that we are helplessly handicapped by our material environment because of lack of knowledge and enterprise for making use of natural resources. In his essay, "Conflict of Cultures" (*China Christian Year Book*, 1929), he wrote, "I regard as truly spiritual that civilization which makes the fullest possible use of human intelligence and effort in a search for truth and in the multiplication of instrumentalities in order to control nature and transform matter for the service of man and to reform social and political institutions for the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Using the evil custom of foot-binding to drive home his point, he continued, "Foot-binding is not an isolated fact; it represents the most cruel form of human suffering of a whole sex for a period of ten centuries. And when we realize that religion and philosophy and morals have conspired to blind and deaden the Chinese conscience for a proper recognition of its inhumanity and that poets wrote enthusiastic eulogies and novelists produced lengthy descriptions of the small feet of women, we must conclude that something must be fundamentally wrong in a civilization in which the moral and esthetic senses have been so grotesquely distorted."

A younger man among modern scholars is Professor Ku Chih-kang of Yenching University. Espousing the historical realism of Tai Tung-yüan, Tsui Tung-pi, and others of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Ku is devoting himself to a reconstruction of Chinese history according to the scientific method, and when the first volume of *Ku shih pien*, embodying the fruits of his research, was published, Hu Shih declared it to be the most epoch-making work in a century on ancient Chinese history. In the author's introduction to the first volume, an autobiographical document of intense human interest, he refers to his early fondness for philosophy. His failure to arrive at a satisfactory philosophy of life by way of abstraction led him to see the necessity of the study of facts as the basis of philosophizing. "I recognize now the mystery of the uni-

verse; the ultimate truth lies hidden in the 'box of the gods', and not published abroad for all to see. Man has the desire for knowledge, but not the ability, hence we try to do the impossible. We really do not penetrate the mystery of the universe; we just scrape the surface of things. Theologians and metaphysicians may say to the scientists, 'You deal with the phenomenal, we walk with the gods.' This sounds well, but is it not a delusion? Preferable is the slow, painstaking labor of scientists to learn about the truth of things. If we are after knowledge, we had better begin with details. It is like piling up earth; if we want to pile high, we must broaden the base. We may not strike the stars, but the pile will get higher day by day. Now my ambition is more subdued. I realize that ultimate truth need not be vainly sought; only like a farmer, I till the soil bit by bit, and sow the seed grain by grain. With this realization I see that past philosophies were built on speculation. The new philosophy of science is just beginning; we cannot tell of its final achievement. This much, however, may be said: if we want true philosophy, we must begin with scientific research. Let each adopt a specific field of knowledge and till it. When the different fields have been developed, there will come men who will synthesize them and form the new philosophy." The author's introduction has been translated by Dr. Arthur W. Hummel under the title "The Autobiography of a Chinese Historian."

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, RELIGION

The preceding sketch indicates that the main trend of thought in China today is realistic, scientific, and humanistic, with emphasis on the social objective, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." As to philosophy in the proper sense of the word, sufficient time has not elapsed for any new system to appear. Principal attention is given to a reinterpretation of the traditional schools of thought—Confucianist, Taoist, Buddhist—in the light of the new knowledge that has come from the west. Among systematic treatises of this kind, the earliest to appear was the *History of Chinese Ethics* (1908) by T'sai Yüan-pei, formerly Chancellor of the Peking National University, while the best known work is Hu Shih's *History of Chinese Philosophy* (1919), a part of which was also published in English under the title, *Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*. Liang Chi-ch'ao's *Chinese Political Thought before the T'sin Dynasty* (1923) and Feng Yü-lan's *History of Chinese*

Philosophy (1931), like Hu Shih's work, cover only the ancient period, down to the unification of the country under the first empire-builder of the third century B.C. In Japan, several works covering the whole of Chinese philosophy have been published, the latest of which is Watanabe's *Brief Introduction to the History of Chinese Philosophy* (1922).

Between the traditional schools of thought and the infiltration of western philosophical ideas, certain significant tendencies may be noted. Reference has been made to the emphasis on the scientific method, or the emphasis on what is factual, which means first-hand knowledge as contrasted with book learning or mere speculation. This note is not entirely new; Yen Shi-chai (1635-1704) long ago had sounded it. He wrote, "It is like learning to play the violin. Merely to read music books and learn the laws of harmony does not bring you within ten thousand miles of the art. Practise with your hands, handle the violin, try the strings, and get the correct tones; in this way, the mind and the hands become unconsciously habituated. It is like studying to be a medical practitioner. Now students merely read medical books and despise clinical experience and the actual manipulation of instruments and herbs. You may be as learned as you want, but diseases will grow rampant, men will die of them, and you will never be able to help them."

Confidence in science has become an all-absorbing faith. Science is looked upon as the magic key that will ultimately open all doors of knowledge, solve all mysteries of the universe, and eliminate all the ills of life. William James somewhere in his writings referred to the dogmatic attitude of undergraduates about the omnipotence of science, so that to stop an argument all that was necessary was to call a man unscientific. Such an attitude prevails in China at present. An eminent thinker once publicly stated that philosophy was poor science, and theology, poor philosophy—a statement reminiscent of Auguste Comte's three stages of intellectual progress.

The assumed supremacy of science raised the question of the relative position of science and philosophy in the business of living. In 1923 a heated public debate was launched in the press; a dozen well-known writers and thinkers took part in it. It started with a lecture on the philosophy of life by Carson Chang, professor of philosophy at Yenching University, who maintained that, as science dealt with the objective world and with uniformities and averages, whereas a man's philosophy of life was subjective, volitional, and

individualistic, it was a sphere in which science could play but a small part, in which, however, personal influence and choice counted most. China's philosophers, from Confucius and Mencius down to the rationalists of the Sung, Yüan, and Ming dynasties, had emphasized this discipline of the inner life, and the result was a spiritual civilization. Europe, during the past three hundred years, had emphasized man's control of nature; the result was a materialistic civilization, which culminated in the catastrophic World War. China was at the fork in the road; she would have to choose which way to go; the key to the situation was an adequate philosophy of life.

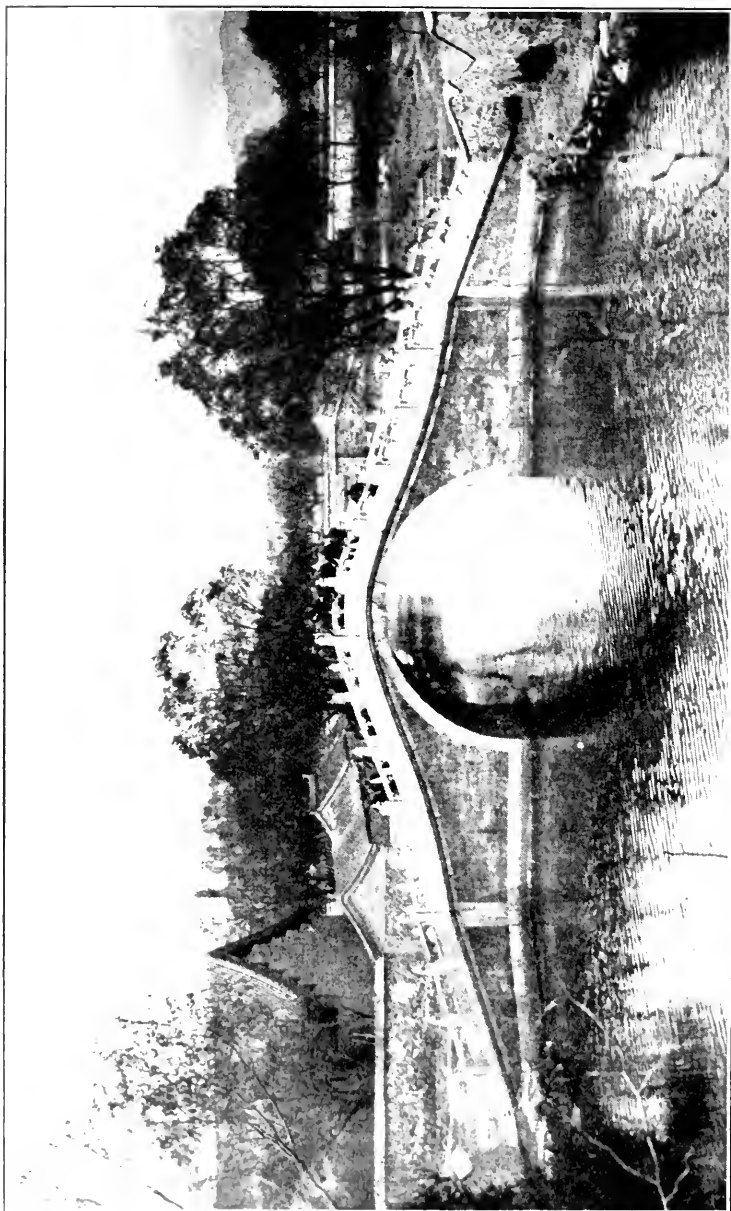
This deprecation of science was strongly objected to by Dr. V. K. Ting, eminent geologist, who regarded Chang's thesis as a revival of medieval metaphysics. He considered the pursuit of science an excellent means of self-discipline; according to him, it would not only break down prejudices, but also create a love of truth; it would inculcate a calm and balanced attitude, and develop one's intellectual powers. Only by understanding biology and psychology could a man really know the meaning of life. Such appreciation of life could be acquired only by those who had looked through the telescope and realized the vastness of the universe, and through the microscope and realized the minuteness of life, but is denied to those who merely indulge in vacuous contemplation. Chang countered by saying that science is only one of several avenues leading to truth and that there are spheres into which it is incompetent to enter; a scientific analysis would be meaningless in an experience of the beauty of a sunset. Liang Chi-ch'ao showed that the truth of the matter probably lay somewhere between the two opposing views by pointing out that "a large part of the problem of life should be and can be solved by science, but that a small portion and a more important one is beyond science. Human life cannot separate itself from the intellect, but the intellect cannot embrace the whole of life."

When these discussions were collected in one volume, Hu Shih was asked to write an introduction. As was to be expected of one who considered Huxley and Dewey his best teachers, he threw his weight on the side of the scientists and expounded his "naturalistic view of life." In the concluding paragraph he writes, "Living in the natural universe, in infinite space and eternal time, this human being, five to six feet tall, endowed with two hands, enjoying a life span of not more than a hundred years, seems a pitiable creature,

circumscribed and subject to nature's rigid laws. But it has its own place and value. With his two hands and a big brain, man has succeeded in making tools creating civilization, taming beasts, understanding nature's laws, and in making electricity to run his cars and ether to convey his messages. In increasing his knowledge, he not only increases his powers, but also elevates his mind. He casts away his fears and finds his own freedom. The very expanse of space which used to oppress him helps to develop his esthetic powers, and even the law of struggle for existence helps him to appreciate the value of cooperation and to strive to diminish nature's ruthlessness and wastefulness. In short, the naturalistic view of life is not without beauty and poetry, moral value, and creative wisdom."

In this naturalistic scheme of life, with its doctrine of spontaneous evolution, religion as supernaturalism has no permanent place. At best it is a passing phase in man's arduous upward climb; at worst, it is a positive hindrance to progress. This does not mean that Chinese scholars find no interest in the study of religion as a phenomenon in social evolution; in fact, recent archaeological and ethnological studies have greatly increased our knowledge of the religious ideas and practices of past generations, as, for instance, the discovery of the oracle bones at An-yang left by the people of Yin. But as a factor in social progress, religion has outlived its usefulness to most Chinese thinkers, a view quite in keeping with the humanistic tendency in Confucianism.

T'sai Yüan-pei once proposed to substitute esthetics for religion as a means for the enrichment of life. He thought that esthetics had all the advantages of religion in adding to the zest, color, and sweetness of life, without any of the drawbacks, such as the deceptive notion of a deity and the spirit of intolerance which religion generally fosters. According to him "beauty is universal; it cannot be privately appropriated; it can be shared by all without being denied to any one. It brings people together instead of dividing them. Its influence is not only cultural, but also ethical; it cultivates tolerance and cures selfish acquisitiveness." This position is challenged by others who, granting that there is much in common between religion and art, maintain that there is a fundamental difference between the two in that religion deals with the ethical life and carries an imperative "Thou shalt," whereas art involves no ethical necessity and is a matter of individual taste which varies with



BRIDGE IN THE OLD SUMMER PALACE NEAR PEKING

the degree of intelligence. To put it briefly, art aims at expression, but religion aims at salvation.

In place of religious faith, there is among our people a sense of collective responsibility which almost amounts to a social religion. Its basis is to be found in the cult of ancestor worship. While religious creeds teach the immortality of the individual soul, ancestor worship emphasizes the immortality of the group. The individual perishes, but the group continues; and yet every individual leaves a permanent impress upon the collective life of the group, like drops of water merged in a vast stream flowing continuously onward. This is a popular idea among our people. Hu Shih, in connection with his naturalistic view of life, said, "The self, microcosm, is mortal, but humanity, the macrocosm or our larger self, is immortal. To live for the humanity of all ages is the highest religion." Liang Chih'ao in an essay, "My View of Life and Death," wrote in the same vein, "We all die and we do not die; what dies is our individual self; what does not die is our social or collective self." This social religion has driven scholars like Chen Tu-siu and others from the seclusion and detachment of the school-room to turn to the turbulent life of active politics and even radical agitation for social justice. Not a few despairing of the present social order have embraced more radical schemes such as offering a way of securing not only consistency in individual living, but also welfare for the masses. This social passion is a distinct note in modern Chinese literature. The name "proletarian literature" has been coined, not to indicate its origin, but to describe its championship of the cause of the socially oppressed. Hu Shih's poem, "The Autocrat" is a good illustration:

High on the hill-top sat the autocrat,
 Sending his slaves in irons to the mines.
 "Which of you can disobey my word?
 I wish you to be slaves, and slaves you are."

Ten thousand years the slave gangs toiled,
 Till bit by bit the iron chains wore out.
 "When these old shackles snap, revolt!"
 They cheered each other in the mines.

Hard did they toil beneath the hill
 Spadeful by spadeful digging, till
 The whole was hollowed out and fell,
 And with it crashed the autocrat and died.

The best known writer in this field was Tsiang Kwang-se, whose impassioned outpourings, in verse and prose, in novel and short story, voicing the suffering of child-laborers and the wail of wronged women, speaking for peasants toiling in the fields and soldiers bleeding to death in battle, serve to awaken our social conscience. The following two pieces are taken from his volume *Chan ku* ("Battle Drum" 1929). One, "Last Night I dreamt of Heaven," pictures an ideal society, and the other, written on Christmas Day, bitterly assails the present economic order:

Last night I dreamt of the Kingdom of Heaven,
 Away in the mountains of time to come.
 It has given me a deep-graven lovely image,
 Which though awake I can never forget.

Men, women, young, old, neither high nor low;
 You and I, we and they, all are one;
 All sorrow, hatred, struggle. . . .
 Not even a shadow of these is seen.

No cities, no hamlets, all is a garden:
 Men dwell in the spaces of Nature's beautiful house.
 For lovers of music, the concert hall stands by the workshop;
 For those who dance, the dancing place neighbors the home.

Birds are singing in praise of the radiance of spring;
 In me they awaken answering chords of joy.
 These people truly enjoy a happy life;
 They mingle their voices with the songs of birds.

The flowers are fragrant, the grass is green:
 Men are alive to the poem and rhythm of life.
 Joy is life, and life is joy;
 Who remembers toil, misery, death any more!

Yes, that land is in heaven, not among men;
 When will the Kingdom of Heaven come among men?
 My soul is scarred by the wounds of pain;
 Would I might stay in that land and never depart.

Christmas!

Resistance is sin;
 The slave must obey his master;
 The slave must have no divided heart;
 The master can do no wrong.
 Does this, Jesus, square with your law?

Poverty and wealth are foreordained ;
 The poor must not hate the rich ;
 The rich daily enjoy good meat ;
 The poor starve unheeded.
 Is this, Jesus, your boundless love ?

Patience is a virtue ;
 After death you go to heaven ;
 Joy in heaven is real ;
 What matters suffering on earth ?
 Is this, Jesus, your gift of peace ?

Blood-stains are everywhere ;
 The powerful squander the lives of the weak ;
 The world has become a slaughter-yard ;
 Darkness has overcome light.
 Is this, Jesus, your power divine ?

Having given a cross-section of how men think and feel about life and its problems, from which true philosophy and religion spring, it remains for us to review briefly the present status of the ethico-religious systems that have come down from the past under the title of "Three Religions of China."

CONFUCIANISM

With the passing of the monarchy in 1911, Confucianism as a state cult became a thing of the past. Its central tenet, the divine commission of kings, dramatized in the worship of Heaven conducted each spring and autumn by the sovereign on the altar of Heaven, became an anachronism in a republican regime. An attempt was made to revive Confucianism by legislation in 1915 and make it the established religion of the country, as Shinto is in Japan, but popular opinion was strongly opposed to it, and the proposed legislation was defeated. In those years, the Confucian Society, sometimes known as the Church of Confucius, was very active: funds were raised, and the foundations laid for the erection of a national Confucian cathedral in Peking. Local societies were organized for ethical culture, with membership initiation, Sunday services, and hours of meditation patterned after the usage of Christian churches, but the movement was short-lived. Its failure was attributed to the fact that Confucianism was not a religion in the true sense of the word, and the interest aroused by political considerations evaporated with the passing of the specific occasion.

Some Confucianists still look upon Confucianism as the manifestation of Chinese national culture, and bemoan the tendency of the younger generation to discredit it as an antiquated system. They attribute the political and social turmoil of the day to the break-up of the Confucian tradition with its central doctrines of filial piety and political loyalty. They fear that the nation is in danger of losing its soul, and believe that anarchy prevails because we are drifting away from the anchorage of our spiritual life. In a lecture on "Confucius, Confucianism, China, and the World Today" (1927), Professor Wu Mi said,

The world is now in a sea of trouble, and men suffer from spiritual rather than economic causes. Culture is in a process of extinction. Above all we suffer from the tyrannical excess of naturalism born of the power of science which has run wild and has been much abused; also from all kinds of emotional sophistry, of which Rousseau's romanticism is but one form of expression. Man is overruled by nature, and has listened to the voice of false prophets. Both right reasoning and experiences of past ages tell us that our hope lies in a humanistic movement, primarily in the field of education, and that the much-needed medicine for us in the essence of the truths of humanism that could be drawn from sources of the world's humanistic traditions. Here is obviously the value of Confucianism and its meaning for the world of today.

Modern Confucianists, or Neo-Confucianists as they call themselves, would like to go a step farther and build around the time-honored reverence for Confucius a popular religion for the edification of the masses. For this purpose they would develop a ritual of worship and even erect an altar to the deity. They recall the concept of "God" or "Supreme Being" (Shang Ti) of the ancients, and although they themselves cannot accept it as meaning more than the personification of moral law or "first cause," they would revive it for the benefit of the people who still need religion as a prop to the moral life. Rather than let Buddhists and Taoists monopolize the business of catering to the spiritual needs of the people, Neo-Confucianists propose to erect upon the humanistic foundation of Confucianism a religious superstructure and with the help of art, liturgy, and ritual to build up a new modern faith.

Few, however, entertain such a fantastic dream, while with the majority of scholars the question as to whether Confucianism is to maintain its dominant position in Chinese life or not is not one

of policy or artificial manipulation, but one of inherent merit and historical evolution. This detached view was well stated by Feng Yü-lan in his essay "The Place of Confucius in Chinese History,"

Historically Confucius was primarily a teacher; but soon after his death, in the fourth and the third centuries B.C., he was gradually considered the Teacher. In the second century B.C., he was considered even more than the Teacher. According to many Confucianists of that time, Confucius was actually appointed by Heaven to start ideally a new dynasty to succeed that of Chou. Ideally, though without a crown, he was a king; ideally, though without a government, he ruled the empire. In the first century B.C. he was considered greater than a king. According to many people of that time, Confucius was a god among men; but this did not last very long. Confucianists of the more rationalistic type soon got the upper hand. After the first century A.D. Confucius was again considered the Teacher. Only at the end of the nineteenth century, a little over three decades ago, the theory that Confucius was actually appointed by Heaven to be a king was revived. But soon after he was considered less than that, even less than the Teacher. At present we say that historically he was primarily a teacher.

TAOISM

In the religious history of the world, no religion can probably exhibit a record as rich as that of Taoism in ecclesiastical fabrication, political manipulation, fictitious creation of deities, and wholesale borrowing, whereby a religious system was erected upon slender and fortuitous foundations. Taoism arose as a rival to Buddhism, a home product against an importation from abroad. Buddhism had a pantheon, and Taoism created one of its own and a richer one to match. It appropriated the then current Lao-tse myth and elevated him to the highest place in the pantheon with the title of Ta Shang Lao Chün ("the Most High Old Ruler"). Buddhism had a great library of sacred scriptures, and so Taoism proceeded to manufacture one equally voluminous, starting with the little understood essay, the *Tao te ching*, supposed to have been left by Lao-tse before he disappeared from the public eye. The evolution of ecclesiastical Taoism took five centuries to complete. In time a Taoist papacy was established, tracing an unbroken apostolic succession through eighteen hundred years. The so-called popes resided on their hereditary domain in the province of Kiang-si, enjoyed extraterritorial privileges, collected taxes, married, and raised families; thus they

handed down their office from generation to generation as a family heritage. The papacy came to an ignominious end in 1927 when as a part of an agrarian movement dissatisfied peasants in the papal domain rose in revolt and expelled the pope.

This history of Taoism as an ecclesiastical institution has nothing to do with Taoism as a philosophical school which began in the fourth century B.C. and with which the writings of Lao-tse, Chuang-tse, Lieh-tse, and others are identified. The alliance of philosophical Taoism and its ecclesiastical name-sake is more or less accidental. Philosophical Taoism has exerted a great influence upon Chinese thought and culture, especially in painting and poetry, where its romantic naturalism is far more stimulating than the unimaginative, disciplinarian orthodoxy of Confucianism. The Taoist philosophy of life with its protest against the artificiality of our social and ethical standards and its plea for the natural as against the conventional and for individual freedom as against group authority has much to justify itself. In all ages, men weary of the strife and turmoil of life have found refuge and solace in its doctrine of *wu wei* (*laissez-faireism*). Confucianism has always stood for the opposite principle of *yu wei*, human effort, for law and order in government as contrasted with the anarchistic tendency of Taoism. Whatever the merits of Taoism, it seems unsuited to the temper of the modern age with its doctrine of strenuosity and its requirement of a highly disciplined habit of collective effort.

BUDDHISM

In a recent article on Buddhism in Asia I wrote, "The response of a religion to the impact of a new age usually takes the course of internal reformation, the development of a new apologetic, and the formulation of a social creed, in the order given. Self-preservation requires that it first spend its energy in adjusting its own organized life to the new social environment in which it finds itself and from which it derives its sustenance. Then comes the intellectual task of restating or justifying its doctrines (or else modifying them) in the light of new ideas that sway the thinking of the age, and finally it develops a social gospel; that is to say, it becomes conscious of its social mission." Buddhism in Japan has made considerable headway along these lines in adjusting itself to modern conditions. Buddhism in China, while alive to the necessity of modernization, is severely handicapped by lack of leadership and inertia of conservatism.

The first wave of reform was almost entirely political in motivation. The principle of religious freedom in the new republican constitution of 1912 acted like a stimulant upon the traditional religions which had until then led a moribund existence. There ensued a period of missionary enthusiasm and propagation. A National Buddhist Federation was created at that time for promoting the common interest of Buddhists throughout the country and for better representation in public affairs. The real awakening of Buddhism came about ten years later as a consequence of the Renaissance Movement of 1917. The latter was subjecting everything—historical facts, traditions, customs, ethical standards, religious beliefs—to a rigid examination in the light of modern scientific method and social needs, a sort of cultural house-cleaning with a strong iconoclastic tendency. In the face of this, internal reformation was absolutely necessary if Buddhism was to survive. Tai Hsü, then a young monk from the famous sacred island of P'u-t'o, and his colleagues sensed the signs of the time and began organizing lay groups for a revival. They started the Bodhi Society (Chüeh Shê), the object of which was "to propagate the essence of Mahāyāna Buddhism, so that the wicked might be led into loving kindness, the selfish into righteousness, the wise to rejoice in truth, the strong to love of virtue; and to transform this war-torn, suffering world into a place of peace and happiness."

In the course of time membership grew, and to meet the need for a literary organ both to propagate their ideals and to consolidate their movement, Tai Hsü was asked to organize and edit the journal *Hai Chao Yin* ("Voice of the Sea-waves"). In the first number of this monthly, in 1918, he published his now famous essay on "The Reformation of the Sangha," which pointed out the necessity of internal reform and the abuses in the monastic order, such as its commercialism and illiteracy, and outlined a plan of reform. It was the first voice lifted publicly in the Buddhist ranks. As was to be expected, there was opposition from vested interests; that is, the powerful monasteries with great establishments and vast estates which had lived on the fat of the land and did not want any change. But liberal forces gathered around Tai Hsü; they were generally lay people who saw with him that an illiterate priesthood sunk deep in monastic indolence might continue to cater to the credulity of equally ignorant women-folk, but would surely discredit the religion in the eyes of a generation imbued with modern ideas. Besides rais-

ing the educational standard of the monks and requiring them to be engaged in physical labor. Tai Hsü advocated simplifying temple worship, making the temples what they should be, houses of prayer, or meditation and study. He would erect in the capital city a National Center of Buddhist Learning and throughout the country a net-work of Buddhist institutes. At the National Center, there would be a museum for the preservation of Buddhist objects of art and a library of Buddhist literary treasures. This grandiose project exists for the present on paper only, and its realization seems far off.

The new apologetic which Buddhists are attempting to develop has two sides—intellectual and ethical. Intellectually, it is to reconcile Buddhism with science. The argument is advanced that not only is Buddhism essentially scientific, but that it has gone ahead of science. In a volume of essays entitled *Lu shan hsüeh*, Tai Hsü writes on "Buddhism and Science" thus:

Those who criticize science say that science is responsible for the weapons of warfare and therefore is harmful. Those who praise science point to the great material achievements of modern civilization which benefit mankind. We need not join the controversy, although those who have gone through the World War cannot be blind to some truth underlying this criticism. We should note, however, that the criticism refers to the fruits of science. Science itself is a method which is beyond criticism. Science is always open-minded, ready to discard what is disproved and to adopt what is verified, in order to reach the truth of reality. However, there is one obstinate superstition among scientists, and that is, they believe this scientific method is the only road for arriving at truth, and fail to realize that the ultimate reality of this universe cannot be penetrated by it.

In general, what is a gain to science is a loss to religion. Those religions with doctrines of gods and souls fundamentally lack the stability of truth and are easily shaken. But Buddhism benefits by the discoveries of science. The more science progresses, the clearer Buddhism becomes, for Buddhism explains the truth concerning the universe. Take an illustration from the development of astronomy. In ancient times, men thought of heaven as above and earth below; then came Copernicus who taught that the sun was the center of our system. Now we have arrived at the idea that there is no one center anywhere in the astral universe. This supports the Buddhist conception of the great unlimited void, embracing numberless worlds, all interwoven like a spider web. Science helps us to understand Buddhism by offering suitable

analogies. But the core of Buddhism science cannot reach, for it has to do with inward illumination, the direct insight into the reality of the universe, an intuitive experience only acquired by oneself, where all logic, analogy, or scientific hypothesis are of no avail. When scientists insist that theirs is the only method of arriving at truth, they remind one of blind men trying to understand an elephant by the sense of touch. They will get partial impressions of the different parts of the animal and what strange impressions as compared with a living elephant as seen by a man with normal eyesight.

The ethical argument in favor of Buddhism is more convincing. Buddhists claim that their religion alone is adequate to satisfy the spiritual and moral needs of the people. According to them, "at the bottom of the stress and storm, the discontent and unhappiness of this restless modern world as of all ages is a mistaken view of the nature of life." Buddhists call it the delusion of self and the delusion of things. Out of this double delusion have sprung all greed and quarrelsomeness of man. The cruelty of the competitive economic system on the one hand and the brutality of international warfare and interracial conflict on the other are but the inevitable consequences of a mistaken philosophy of living. Buddhism alone consistently teaches and practises the doctrine of human brotherhood and universal peace by pointing to the truth that all share the Buddha-nature, which is in all of us waiting to be realized and which therefore makes us one. It preaches the doctrine of collective karma; that is to say, we live interdependently, what is the accumulated result of the interaction of countless lives and generations, and only by cooperative effort may we realize a better world order.

Research in Buddhism is going on both within and without Buddhist circles in China. The Nanking Buddhist Institute (*Nei Hsiieh Yüan*) is engaged in the editing and publishing of Buddhist texts in polyglot. A Shanghai publishing house recently brought out a "Library of Studies in Buddhism," which included such volumes as *A Guide to the Study of Buddhism* by Lü Chen (1926) and *A History of Buddhism in China* by Tsiang Wei-chiao (1929).

Some people feel that there is but little prospect of success for a revival of Buddhism in China, for not only have times changed, but also Buddhism is essentially uncongenial to the mentality and social philosophy of the Chinese people. The Chinese are a practical-minded people and have never really assimilated the Indian metaphysics and mysticism of Buddhism. Further they are firm believers

in the type of social organization which has the family as its center, while the Buddhist practice of celibacy and the renunciation of the life of a householder have never been popular. When the Taoists were imitating the Buddhists in a wholesale manner, they were wise enough not to require celibacy of their priests, though they adopted the Buddhist monastic institution. In Japan where the Confucian doctrine of the family as the foundation of society has exerted a strong influence, the law of celibacy was not rigidly adhered to, and some Buddhist sects permit their priests to marry. In China no such compromise was ever made. In the past, Buddhism contributed largely to the intellectual and cultural life of the nation and was a powerful factor in the inculcation of the spirit of philanthropy. Is its day of social benefaction ended? In every Buddhist temple, the light in front of the central image may burn low, but never goes out. Is this symbolic? And will the religion of the Enlightened One that now flickers behind the walls of lonely cloisters and monkish cells flame forth again as the Light of Asia? Not only Buddhists are anxiously asking this question, but also those who are keenly alive to the spiritual needs of our time.

THE NEW DRAMA AND THE OLD THEATER

BY PENG-CHUN CHIANG

Professor at Nankai Middle School, Tientsin

CHINESE drama and theater, together with other forms of cultural expression, have been affected by the impact of the modern West. New influences have been brought in from abroad, and old traditions are being re-examined from a new point of view. Out of the complex situation, two movements are clearly discernible: the experimentation with new forms of dramatic composition and the re-evaluation of the technique of the traditional theater.

The Chinese became acquainted with Western drama in the beginning of the twentieth century. Amateur groups began to take interest in the production of Western plays. One of the better known groups, calling itself "The Spring Willow Society," about 1908, gathered enough courage to stage a Chinese translation of *La Dame aux Camélias*. The manner of presentation, judged by records in photographs and written descriptions, must have been very crude indeed.

After 1917, when the new literary movement began, knowledge of Western drama gradually increased. As one of the declared objectives of the movement was the introduction of new literary forms from the outside world: drama, especially modern prose drama with a social-problem content, attracted special interest. Plays of Ibsen were quickly translated, widely read, and much discussed. The craving for knowledge of Western dramas, thus engendered, gave an impetus to a wide searching of playwrights to be translated. At this time I find in my collection of translated plays, which is by no means complete, more than forty authors represented. They range from Shakespeare, Molière, Goethe, Schiller, Sheridan, Hugo, to the more recent writers such as Ibsen, Strindberg, Hauptmann, Wilde, Shaw, Galsworthy, Rostand, Brieux, Tolstoi, Chekov, Andreyev, Lunacharsky, and Pirandello. While there is much unevenness in the merit of the translations attempted, there can be no doubt that Western drama has definitely made its entry into the intellectual horizon of the younger generation.

The tendency is also clear that some writers have taken upon themselves to experiment in writing in the new prose drama form.



MEI LANFANG IN THE ROLE OF "THE FAIRY SCATTERING FLOWERS"

They feel that, with all the social changes around, new experiences demand of plays a new content and a new philosophy of life. Plays of the old type are the embodiments of ideas of traditional morality and of traditional values which are undergoing unavoidable transformation. New prose plays are being written, reflecting on life in the present-day complex social situation. For instance, pieces have been composed taking as themes the experiences of the new industrial proletariat, the revolt of youth against family and social restrictions, the exultations and disappointments of romantic love, and the indignation and resolute courage in facing the invading foes. New life experiences demand new forms of expression.

As the interest in the new drama has come as a phase of the new literary movement, it is but natural that students in the schools and universities should form the main force that appreciates and supports the new plays, translated and original. This explains why the production of new plays is still mostly done by students as amateur adventures, though sometimes with consummate skill and scrupulous attention to technique. It is just a matter of a few years, I believe, before professional groups giving performances of the new plays will emerge and attain both artistic and financial success, because students who have left the schools and universities in the past fifteen years are gradually assuming positions of influence in society, and their number is increasing with the graduates of each year.

I relate here, in passing, an experience I had in producing Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*, some five years ago, to serve as an illustration of the suspicion toward the new drama on the part of the old conservative elements, which I am happy to say is no longer existent at present. This play of Ibsen, though much colored by his individualistic bias, I thought, might give instructive warning against certain democratic practices. During the dress-rehearsal, after the second act, I was informed that a telephone message from the military governor's office ordered that the performances as announced should be canceled. We could do nothing but obey. Evidently, the title *An Enemy of the People* gave the military authorities much uneasiness and cause for suspicion that the play might be directed against them. The following spring I wanted to try again the presentation of the play. This time I was cautious. I changed the title to *The Stubborn Doctor*—a change, necessarily, without the consent of the author, but not altogether too outrageously inappropriate. Under this new name, with the same military authorities in the city.

we got by safely. I learned from that experience that there was a great deal in a name.

While the new drama form is being acclimatized and while experiments are being made in the direction of giving the imported formula some distinctively Chinese flavor, what is the attitude toward the old theater? How is the indigenous theater that has had a continuous tradition of more than seven hundred years being re-examined and re-evaluated?

During the first flush of the new literary movement it was not uncommonly asserted that the traditional theater contained nothing of lasting worth and was destined to extinction in the evolutionary struggle. More recently, however, attention has been directed in looking into the art of the old theater to find if there may not be in the perfected acting technique some things that deserve analysis and re-evaluation. While the old plays may contain points of view that are no longer suitable for the present era, in the consummate art of presentation on the stage are found elements both instructive and suggestive, not only for the emerging new theater of China, but also for modern experimentation in other parts of the world. I was most happily surprised two years ago, when I visited the Meyerhold theater in Moscow, in learning something of its method of training actors. In a conversation which I was privileged to have with Meyerhold, he told me that he was influenced by his observations of the technique of plastic body control and coordination of Chinese and Japanese actors of the traditional school. He worked on the suggestion thus derived and evolved his system of actor-training which he called bio-mechanics. Every morning he had his actors go through a series of exercise-patterns that were intended to render the bodily parts plastic and agile and to effect an organic coordination of muscle and mind.

According to the tradition of the Chinese theater, actors must go through long strenuous training, usually beginning at the age of twelve or thirteen and lasting for seven years or more. The training was very severe, and patterns of dancing—in the broad sense of the term, including all bodily movements—and of singing were taught and practised with the minutest attention to detail. The rhythm and grace of Chinese actors of the old school were the result of an intensive training. And it is in this emphasis on bodily plasticity that we find one of the glorious achievements of the old theater.

We may wonder and ask, if all actors receive training in the execution of the same patterns of dancing, singing, walking, and talking, what is the chance for individuality and progress? If all learn the same manners of acting, how can a great actor be distinguished from an unaccomplished one? Roughly speaking, there are three ways by which a great actor may be recognized and acknowledged. First, a great actor executes his patterns with more finish than an average one. He does not do things mechanically, but coordinates his



THE ACTRESS CHIN SHAO-MEI

muscles with his mind. And his attention is strained for the perfect production of significant details. Second, a great actor in his execution of the continuous sequence of patterns, produces what we might call an aroma of unity. He gives you no chance of detecting where one pattern ends and another begins. And third, a great actor, after having achieved distinction in the execution of patterns that belong to the common stock of tradition, earns for himself the right of creating new patterns and of contributing his share to the heritage of the stage. Here is where progress comes in. Not any willful innovator, but only the accomplished virtuoso can claim the prerogative of creating and of leaving his mark on history.

The traditional technique is obviously not motivated by photographic realism. The Chinese theater cannot take pride in the minute and accurate imitation of actuality. In our theater stage walk is frankly different from ordinary walk, stage talk from ordinary talk, stage costume from ordinary clothes, and stage make-up from ordinary facial appearance. Yet, the process of extracting, for the purpose of the stage, "essence" from actuality is by no means arbitrary or fantastic. There is a method in its madness. The distinctions between art and actuality have been formulated and patterned gradually and cooperatively. The process of separating art from actuality is not of the assertive type as evidenced in certain of the modern art movements. When a modern artist tells you that he sees the world only in terms of certain shapes and of certain primary colors which are strange, to say the least, to the common mortal eye, he is following a well-reasoned point of view, to be sure, but that point of view happens to be recent and somewhat sudden in origin. The Chinese, however, have evolved the distinctions between art and actuality in a slow and gradual manner.

For illustration, let us see how a certain part of the Chinese stage costume gradually attained its present seemingly extraordinary appearance. People who have attended Chinese stage performances must have noticed the flowing pieces of white silk, sometimes over two feet in length, attached to the sleeves of certain costumes on actors playing female parts. These pieces of material are there not exactly because of the requirements dictated by historical authenticity. They gradually grew from the short originals attached to ordinary clothes for practical purposes to the flowing and fluttering lengths now seen on stage costumes. And the motivating principle has been the artistic need of making these pieces longer and longer for their function in assisting expression. The movements of hands and arms are emphasized greatly and most meaningfully by these long appendages. They add to gestures a certain extended expressiveness.

Re-evaluated from the viewpoint of artistic technique, the old Chinese theater has much of suggestive and instructive value. Is not the modern theater in the West reacting against the photographic realism that predominated a generation ago? And are not modern experiments being directed toward simplification, synthetization, and suggestiveness?

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

BY JULEAN ARNOLD

Commercial Attaché, American Legation, Peiping

DURING the past two decades the word "China" has almost become synonymous with civil wars and international complications. Such an overwhelming flood of material has gone forth from China to the press of the world, descriptive of China's internal squabbles and, more recently, its controversy with Japan, that very little is known outside of China about the progress of trade and industry in the country during this period. "Red Armies March onto Nanchang"—"Szechuan War Lord Collects Revenue from Opium"—"Pirates Hold Steamer Passengers for Ransom"—"Japanese Airplanes Bomb North China City"—"Nineteenth Route Army to Fight Japan"—"Concubines in Rebellion Against Ex-war Lord"—such headlines apparently make far more interesting scare heads for the American newspapers than the following: "National Economic Council Completes Plans for 15,000 Miles of Roads"—"Wusi Cotton Spinning Mills Working Full Capacity"—"1932 Registers Banner Year Cotton Imports from America"—"American Airplanes Lead in China's Aviation Progress"—"America Tops List in China's Foreign Trade for 1932."

In January of this year, the office of the American Commercial Attaché in Shanghai compiled a review of the trade and industry of China for 1932. Copies of this report were furnished to several hundred individuals and concerns in the United States particularly interested in Sino-American commerce. Some of the recipients of this annual trade summary have written back, expressing their surprise over the fact that so much constructive work is in progress in China, as evidenced by the material embraced in this report, and yet information of this character does not seem to be available elsewhere. Several suggested that something should be done to give more publicity in the United States to constructive developments in China.

It is very difficult to present to the intelligent reader in the United States a balanced picture of present-day China because the more unfavorable aspects of the situation have been relatively over-em-

phasized. Entirely too little is known in the United States about those forces which are operating toward creating a new China. It is probably not amiss to state that the majority of the intelligent public in Shanghai, the first trading and industrial center of all China, knows very little about the constructive developments in progress in other parts of the country. Probably in no other land are there poorer domestic news communication services than in China.

It is only by traveling through the interior that one is able to secure the information essential to a proper appreciation of China in reconstruction. Naturally, considerable scraps of information regarding constructive developments of varied sorts from different parts of the country do filter into Shanghai, but as yet there has not been developed any coordinating agency to assemble these data. When the Szechuan war lords are staging a battle, the chances are that Shanghai and the foreign news correspondents stationed there will secure this information in time. On the other hand, when a motor road was recently completed between Chungking, the commercial metropolis, and Chengtu, capital city of Szechuan, a province of upwards of fifty million inhabitants, this bit of information reached Shanghai by some roundabout method and then belated. The opening of this strategic motor road of about three hundred miles means volumes in connection with future transportation developments in this West China empire which still can claim the distinction of being the only section on the face of the globe without a mile of railway despite a population of four or five tens of millions. No press dispatches have, to my knowledge, even mentioned this bit of truly interesting news.

It is unfortunate for China that it must undergo its economic, political, social, and intellectual transitions concurrently. The fact that our American educated public has so little knowledge of the basic background of Chinese civilization adds materially to the difficulty in trying to understand China in transition. Kenneth S. Latourette of Yale University, in a recently published article, made the following statement: "In at least one respect our American universities are strangely provincial and antiquated in their outlook. We act as though the only civilizations in existence or at least the only ones worth studying were those which contributed to our own, from the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian to that of modern Europe. Often we completely ignore everything east of Persia. With occasional ex-

ceptions, our curriculum makers are not even as far advanced as was Columbus. He knew of, and sought, Cathay and the Indies. They have not yet discovered nearly a half of the human race." Mr. Latourette further states that in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries the Chinese empire was much more populous than, and was fully as civilized as any of the vast empires which European states were then building and that the most powerful monarch of the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century was not Louis XIV but K'ang-hi, and the latter was probably much abler and better educated than was the former.

Dr. Lewis Hodous of the Hartford Seminary Foundation makes the interesting comment that it has been stated on good authority that before the year A.D. 1750 more books were published in the Chinese language than in all other languages combined and that even so late as 1850 more books were being published in China than in any other country. Since history credits China with this wonderfully rich cultural civilization, many Americans will probably be inspired to inquire: Why is it then that present-day China is so backward commercially and industrially?

Its failure to have tuned in earlier in its national life with the scientific discoveries, inventions, and developments which have so patently characterized the nineteenth-century history of the West is due to its geographic isolation and to a self-sufficiency precluding a receptivity to influences from without. A thousand-year old stereotyped system of education, based upon the teachings of the ancient sages and perpetuated with no material changes down to the beginning of the twentieth century, stifled the nation's outlook. Until a few decades ago there was no real necessity of China's parting from its course of centuries. In fact, contact with the West or, better yet, Western contact with China forced the battering down of its walls of isolation and necessitated new political, social, and economic concepts.

The two most striking developments in the China of the past few decades are, first, a receptivity to the teachings of the Occident and, second, a growing nationalism. But China's contact with modern science and invention has been so belated that its suddenly enforced transition from a medieval to a modern economic society is fraught with stupendous difficulties deeply accentuated by the pressure of foreign aggression. On the other hand, its people are so richly endowed with the heritage of a splendid culture and are by nature so

industrious that with the store of latent resources at their command they should be able to make a very creditable transformation. In spending a day cruising about in the heavily congested canals and waterways of the very populous lower Yangtse region, one could not but be deeply impressed by the sterling qualities of these hard-working, industrious people. One could only conclude from observation that under proper leadership China might easily become one of the more advanced and more powerful nations.

What evidence have we that this great conglomerate mass, constituting the most populous of all nations, with this remarkably rich historical background, is now launched upon a course destined to progressive modernization? R. H. Tawney, in a recent article on the future of China in *The Manchester Guardian*, states, "No sane view can be formed of the future of China which ignores a positive achievement, not only of the present government but of different groups of reformers during the past twenty years." In the scope of this article I shall, however, in the main, confine my observations to economic progress.

Several years ago I had the pleasure of meeting in San Francisco Mr. Eli T. Sheppard, who had served in the early nineties as American consul at Tientsin. He had had no direct contact with that country since his return to the United States in 1896. In describing to him some of the evidences of material progress which characterized the new China, he exclaimed that they were positively incredible in the light of the knowledge he had of the Chinese people of his day. He recalled that the great Viceroy, Li Hung-chang, who was the dominant figure of his time, professed an interest in the implements of a modern economic society, but he, as well as other foreign observers, were very definitely of the opinion that these expressions were distinct evidences of Oriental politeness not to be taken seriously. Probably without exception, foreigners in China of his day considered that the Chinese were so definitely set in their ways and so rigidly regulated by the customs and traditions of the past, it would be impossible for them to make any substantial alterations in their modes of thinking or changes in their society.

As for the construction of railways or roads, the one factor irrevocably militating against any progress in this direction was, in the opinion of foreigners of that time, the deeply embedded sacred regard for the graves of the dead, scattered over the length and

breadth of the entire country. It was contended that these would effectually stand in the way of the development of economic modern means of communications in a continental country such as China.

However, in spite of this formidable obstacle the Chinese people have within the few succeeding decades so far departed from these superstitious ideas as reinforced by centuries and millenniums of rigid adherence to ancestor worship, as to serve no longer as an obstacle to progress. In fact, one of the most striking manifestations of a change of mental attitude is the almost ruthless manner in which roads are now being carved through what for centuries may have been considered sacred burial grounds. It is no longer necessary to carry on campaigns of education to convince the thinking masses of the value of good roads. The problem now is rather one of methods of financing these important accessories to a system of internal economic communication.

A few years ago it may have been said that provincial predilections stood in the way of the construction of national trunk railways or trunk highways. These are rapidly fading into the past, as evidenced by the fact that the provincial or district political units are no longer satisfied with improving transportation facilities within their own areas, but now recognize the value of extending railways and highways to adjoining regions. For instance, last year, at an interprovincial conference at Hankow in the mid-central Yangtse region, plans were drafted and adopted for trunk highways embracing a number of the central provinces. Later, this plan was adopted by the National Economic Council of Nanking with the proviso that the National Government defray a portion of the construction expenses for fifteen thousand miles of interprovincial arteries.

Kwangsi, in southern China, was, until six years ago, considered one of the poorer and more backward of provinces. Since that time, the provincial authorities have constructed upwards of a thousand miles of roads for motor transportation, and are now busy perfecting plans for connecting this area with the adjoining provinces, which in turn are working on similar highway projects.

Hunan, in mid-central China, long described as the hermit province, at present may boast of having completed more than seven hundred miles of better constructed highways than probably exist in any other province. Its present highway program calls for an additional five hundred miles, involving connections with roads in all adjoining

ing provinces. The grading, draining, and construction of these roads as well as building bridges, have been done under the supervision of Chinese engineers the majority of whom were educated in the United States. It is true that the American Red Cross some years ago in one of its famine relief programs gave a considerable impetus to road construction in China as a famine relief measure and laid out a stretch in Hunan Province, as also in certain sections in northern China, which has undoubtedly done much to encourage the whole good roads movement.

In the adjoining province of Kiangsi, which has for some years past been the center of communist activity, remarkable headway has been made in road work. The Kiangsi authorities, who must combat destructive labors of the red armies, have, in spite of these great difficulties, been able to proceed with a splendid program of provincial highways.

Progressive Chekiang built upwards of a thousand miles of highways last year and completed the construction of a two-hundred-mile light railway which promises eventually to be part of a trunk line joining Shanghai with Canton. This railway was constructed without the assistance of National Government funds or foreign loans. Thus, it is a distinctly provincial project. Its completion, at a very economical cost, is encouraging the idea of building light railways of standard gauge in other sections of the country.

Szechuan is what is commonly known as the Far West of China, and may be described as the Texas of China. Because of lack of communications, Szechuan has been almost completely cut off, all these centuries, from economic contact with the rest of China, hence with the outside world. In spite of civil wars and political disruption generally, this isolated empire province has, within the past few years, embarked upon a very ambitious road program which will probably be a preliminary to the introduction of railways. Estimates of the population of Szechuan range from forty to seventy millions. It will probably not be many years before power-propelled vehicles will replace the sedan chair, the wheelbarrow, and the carrying coolie. For those who have lived in an environment where the railway and the motor car have become commonplace, it is difficult to imagine the transformation which modern methods of transportation mean to these provinces in the great Yangtse basin and in southern China.

Although northern China has been habituated to roads for wheeled and pack animals, yet it is slower in providing highways for motor transportation than are the rice-producing regions of central and southern China. Progressive ideas took their inception in the south, gradually working northward. This is probably due to the fact that the southern Chinese, especially the Cantonese, have had contact with the outside world several centuries earlier than did those in the north. However, considerable evidence of progress in highway construction in northern China may be recorded. The camel, the mule, and the donkey, which figure so prominently on the roads there, are destined within the comparatively near future to be replaced by motor cars.

In line with improved internal communications, the most surprising developments during the past five years have been the inauguration of air passenger and mail lines. For the most part their installation and operation are under Sino-American auspices. In fact, aviation is being developed chiefly with American equipment and American personnel. By steamer it requires about two weeks to make the sixteen hundred mile trip from Shanghai to Chungking. By an air line which runs on regular schedule this trip can now be made in two days. By June first, 1933, this line will be extended from Chungking to Chengtu, capital of Szechuan—doing in two days what formerly required from three to four weeks.

Air lines on regular schedule are also operating between Shanghai and Peiping, via Tsingtao and Tientsin. A Euro-Asian line, under Sino-German auspices, is operating from Nanking to Sianfu with plans for a continuation westward across Central Asia to Berlin. It is anticipated that the Sino-American lines will be extended after July first from Shanghai to Hongkong and Canton, making possible connections with British and French lines extending into Europe. Thus, by July first of this year, it is anticipated that there will be three thousand miles of air lines on regular operating schedules in China, as compared with eighteen thousand miles in the United States. There is now being operated at Hangchow a Chinese aviation school with fifteen Americans on its staff. A second school is being developed at Canton on a somewhat less ambitious basis. Plans are also under way for the installation of several plants for the manufacturing and assembling of airplanes. Considering the fact that China has but twelve thousand miles of railways and about

forty thousand miles of roads for motor transportation and has in operation only about forty thousand motor vehicles, it is patent that in a country larger in area and population than the United States a fertile field is offered for the development of aviation.

Although there is a larger floating population in China than in any other country and no other nation depends upon its waterways for transportation to such an extent, yet Chinese are very slow in building a modern merchant marine. Aside from the ships under the Chinese flag sailing between Chinese ports and the South Seas, where there are considerable Chinese populations, we see no evidence of a Chinese merchant marine in world commerce. Moreover, considerable inland water navigation and coasting trade in China are under foreign flags. Before any progress can be made in this important field of communication, the Chinese Government will be obliged to install schools for training of officers and devise ways and means of encouraging private capital to embark in a large way upon the development of a modern mercantile marine. China's backwardness in overseas navigation is in a large measure due to the fact that the Government has not been in a position to extend financial assistance as have the other large trading nations interested in overseas transportation.

Railway construction progress has been delayed by a number of causes. First, conditions in the interior have discouraged investments of foreign capital in railroad construction enterprises. Second, foreign nations have not now the capital available for overseas investments and, third, the Chinese Government itself is obliged to expend such funds as are available, to rehabilitate existing lines. In spite of these conditions certain funds from the British Boxer indemnity reimbursements have been set aside to serve as credits for the completion of the Canton-Hankow line and for the purchase of certain rolling stock. As stated above, a growing interest is being manifested in light railways of standard gauge construction.

For bulk cargo and long distance hauls China requires a considerable expansion of its present twelve thousand miles of railways. It is estimated that she will need about one hundred thousand miles of the "iron road" to take care of its trunk line requirements. During the past few years some new construction work was carried on. Prior to September, 1931, several new railways were completed under Chinese auspices in Manchuria, and a rather extensive program

for further lines was planned. The taking over of the railways in Manchuria by the Japanese has altered that situation materially.

Overland transportation in the interior, as dependent upon animal or man power, is very uneconomical, costing three to six fold more than rates which should obtain on well-managed railways and even more costly than well-operated motor trucks. Thus, industry and commerce suffer badly because of a deplorable lack of adequate means of economic overland transportation.

Following the construction of roads, it has become necessary to widen the main thoroughfares of many cities and towns, especially those in central and southern China. This response is astonishingly extensive. We may truly say that there are more cities under reconstruction at present than ever before in any other country in all of the world's history. The widening of city streets is encouraging other civic improvements, including the installation of water-works, modern lighting systems, telephones, parks, playgrounds, and public health facilities. There is also involved the construction of higher buildings. Thus, in many of these cities, three, four, and five story modern structures are replacing the old one and two story, drab, tiled roof buildings.

Probably no other city has witnessed such a marvelous transformation as has Amoy on the South China coast. Ten years ago, Amoy was one of the dirtiest, most congested, and the most sordid of Chinese cities. At present it is completely transformed with wide, well-paved, well-drained, well-lighted streets. The city is supplied with pure water taken from reservoirs in hills some distance away. Neon lights are being used for advertising purposes. The city has been provided with a beautiful public park with the additional attraction of athletic fields, play grounds, and recreation facilities. Roads radiate out from the city to all sections of Amoy Island with regular bus service. Amoy City boasts of three excellent sound motion picture theaters. Amoy University, several miles distant from the city, is a very creditable institution, affording facilities for modern education for about two thousand students.

Canton, the great commercial metropolis of South China, has experienced even more extensive improvements, involving a construction of sixty miles of well-paved, well-drained streets, over which are now operating upwards of a thousand motor vehicles, in pleasing contrast to the sedan chairs, wheelbarrows, push-carts, and carrying

coolies of two decades ago. Scores of other cities in South China have, during the past few years, undergone almost complete transformation. This work will probably continue at an accelerated pace as conditions otherwise improve.

While transportation is probably the most important element in the future expansion of commerce and industry, the opening-up, on the other hand, of resources in the baser metals, especially coal and iron, is essential to any large industrial program. But little progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years on account of the unfavorable political conditions and because of inadequate railway transportation facilities. Thus, it is not lack of appreciation of the necessity of applying modern methods to utilizing the country's mineral resources, but a set of conditions which in course of time may so improve as to lend encouragement to the investment of capital and technical skill in big mining projects.

Factors operating against success in industrial enterprises are first, instability and uncertainty in the political outlook; second, speculative tendencies of operators who are loath to base their profits on market values for raw materials and manufacturing costs; third, a reluctance to build up cash reserves against the pressure to pay dividends (in fact, dividends are often paid from capital before plants are on an operating basis); fourth, abnormally high rates of interest for loan accommodations; fifth, embarrassing and expensive complications in securing raw material fit for manufacture; sixth, nepotism, arising from the traditional ramifications of the family system which often involves the padding of pay rolls with incompetent relatives or friends. Last, there is lack of application of the ordinary principles of scientific management in assembling raw materials, manufacturing operations, and marketing of finished products. Against these unfavorable aspects the following factors lend encouragement to industrial advancement: first, vast potentialities for the production of raw material; second, a plentiful supply of cheap and industrious labor, easily capable of being trained; third, large resources of capital, becoming increasingly more available as conditions otherwise improve; fourth, an almost inexhaustible domestic market for finished products; fifth, through the recent achievement of tariff autonomy, the assurance of protection and encouragement to domestic industry; sixth, no old machinery or ideas of a modern economic society to scrap. Hence China is in the

advantageous position of being able to take from the West the latest in improved equipment and ideas.

A leading Chinese industrialist, who has been very successful in connection with various manufacturing enterprises with which he has been associated, contends that any industrial plant in China can be made profitable, provided it is well managed. Most of the foreigners associated with manufacturing projects in China comment in eloquent terms on the high state of efficiency of Chinese labor, when properly supervised.

In manufacturing, China is gradually emerging from a domestic handicraft to a modern industrialized society. More progress has been made in installing cotton spinning and weaving mills than in any other line of manufacturing industry. At one time cotton yarn headed the list of China's imports. It is now so extensively manufactured that it has been relegated to the position of comparative insignificance in the import trade. On the other hand, raw cotton in the 1931-32 season topped the list in the country's imports. As time goes on, we may expect that China will be an exporter rather than an importer of cotton yarn and manufactured goods. As for raw cotton, while the country produces between three and four million bales, progress in improving the length of staple and the quantity produced is distressingly slow. In fact, it appears that China will continue for many years to come to be a heavy importer of raw cotton.

The electric light and power plant expansion in China is gradually curtailing the consumption of kerosene, although the high import tariff and expensive interior transportation costs are factors of serious concern to the further increase of the consumption of kerosene oil. China is rich in hydro-electric potentialities, but practically no progress has as yet been made in utilizing its water power for this purpose.

In connection with the impetus which is being given to the development of manufacturing, foreign interests find it increasingly necessary to exercise vigilance in the protection of their trade marks and patents. It is only natural that a country like China, when embarking in an initial sense upon modern manufacturing, should tend to move along the line of least resistance and copy the trade marks of commodities which have achieved a recognized position in the Chinese market through judicious advertising and enterprising sales-

manship. This is especially true as long as the quality of manufactured products remains on comparatively low levels. The Chinese Trade Marks' Bureau has been exhibiting very commendable impartiality in its attitude toward the protection of Chinese and foreign trade marks, but considerable pressure is being exerted by certain Chinese organizations on false pleas of patriotism to extend special consideration to Chinese factories which not only make products in imitation of imported commodities, but also copy the trade marks of these articles.

Along certain lines, China offers a promising field for foreign capital in the installation of branch factories. While there are obstacles in the way of the establishment of foreign factories in China, yet there is a very noticeable tendency on the part of enlightened Chinese to encourage foreign capital and technical skill in the program for the industrialization of the country. It is difficult to conceive of a more practical method of encouraging in China education in the manual arts than through facilities accorded by the branch factories of successful foreign manufacturing plants.

The intelligent Chinese public is becoming increasingly appreciative of the benefits which the country will derive from a campaign calculated to conserve and expand domestic industries in the village, which is in reality the basic unit in the social life of China. The fact that China is essentially agricultural and the great mass of the population depends upon the soil for sustenance has led to the organization quite recently of a large and representative commission on rural rehabilitation. Much interest is being displayed throughout the country in plans for improving conditions among the agricultural population. A mass education movement, as inaugurated by James Yen, devoted its first years of experimental work to activities among the city populations, but within recent years it has transferred its labors to the country, and is now working on plans concerned almost entirely with rural improvements.

The food-stuff problem has become serious in that imports have in recent decades mounted very considerably, amounting now on the average of from three to four hundred million dollars Chinese currency annually. At present Hunan Province is carrying a heavy surplus from a bumper rice crop of last year and finds itself unable to market it profitably, in spite of the fact that Canton is a heavy importer of foreign rice and Shanghai of foreign wheat. This is not a

healthy situation. In this connection it is interesting to note that China's flour mills appear to be depending in an increasingly large way upon imports of foreign wheat. They are now consuming between fifteen and twenty million bushels a year. Gradually the Chinese people are becoming heavier consumers of wheat products and eating less rice. As for domestic grain, Shanghai mills can better afford to buy Argentine or Australian wheat at the present ruling market prices and deliver it cheaper in Shanghai mills than could wheat be delivered from many parts of the interior of China, even though the farmers were to make the Shanghai mills a present of this wheat, provided they would transport it to their mills. This fact emphasizes the great need in China for economic transportation, improved conditions in the interior tax situation, and more efficient methods in collecting good-quality raw materials.

A perusal of the long and varied lists of imports and exports at the present time, as compared with the very few items which figured in its foreign trade fifty years ago, is the most eloquent testimonial to the country's economic progress. Not only have imports increased manifold in volume and value during this period, but of still greater significance to the future is the increasingly larger import of such items as mechanical equipment, lubricating oil, scientific instruments, laboratory apparatus, newsprint, raw cotton, and other articles. If a person had had no previous intellectual contact with China and were presented with a set of China's Returns of Foreign Trade, he could, after a careful perusal of the statistical tables, write a very comprehensive and dispassionate dissertation on wonderful progress during the past half century.

Commercially, the modern corporate company is gradually assuming a position of importance in the economic life. Banking and retail merchandizing have made further strides in this direction than have other lines of commercial activity. It is a remarkable tribute to the sane and sound methods of the modern-type Chinese bankers that, during this past decade, in the midst of turbulence, turmoil, and a world economic depression, the numbers of failures among modern type banks have been almost negligible. The Ministry of Finance last year achieved the remarkable record of balancing the budget of the National Government for the year 1932, in so far as having to do with finances under the direction of the Ministry. In other words, this statement indicates that the Government is meet-

ing its expenses from its revenues without having to resort to further borrowing.

Up to the present, comparatively few Chinese concerns feature among the import and export houses of this country. This business is for the most part in the hands of foreign concerns and will probably continue so for some years to come. Reasons for this are obvious. However, any very considerable further expansion in China's foreign commerce is dependent upon improvements in domestic trade and industry. In the process of raising the economic levels of the masses, vast opportunities for world-trade expansion must follow. Concerted action by western nations in an intelligently devised program for the encouragement of China's transition into a modern economic society will go a long way toward relieving the present deplorable world depression. What any one nation may do toward enhancing China's trade will, if predicated upon the principle of the open door of equal opportunity, redound to the advantage of all other trading peoples.

« NOW READY »
Third Series of the Paul Carus Lectures

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PRESENT

BY
GEORGE HERBERT MEAD

EDITED BY
ARTHUR E. MURPHY
Professor of Philosophy in Brown University

WITH PREFATORY REMARKS BY JOHN DEWEY

Price \$3.00

The books listed below are both publications of Paul Carus Lectures. The next publication will be by Professor William Pepperell Montague of Columbia University.

THE REVOLT AGAINST DUALISM.

An Inquiry Concerning the Existency of Ideas.

By ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY,

Professor of Philosophy, The Johns Hopkins University

The last quarter century will have for future historians of philosophy a distinctive interest as the age of the great revolt against dualism, a phase of the wider revolt of the 20th against the 17th century. THE REVOLT AGAINST DUALISM, Dr. Lovejoy's long awaited book, reviews this most characteristic philosophic effort of our generation.

Price \$4.00

EXPERIENCE AND NATURE.

By JOHN DEWEY.

Irwin Edman writes: "The wish has long been expressed that John Dewey would some day produce a book making clear and explicit the metaphysical basis of his singularly humane and liberalizing philosophy of life. . . . With monumental care, detail, and completeness Professor Dewey has in this volume revealed the metaphysical heart that beats its unvarying alert tempo through all his writings. Price \$4.00"

* A. L. A. recommendation.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

Chicago

London

