China 1911-1912

Government Changes and National Movements

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CHINA 1911—1912

GOVERNMENT CHANGES
AND
NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

With translations of the State Documents relating thereto.

BY

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This forms the second chapter and third appendix in the China Mission Year Book for 1912. Permission to issue separately being granted by Author in response to the request of the Editor and Publishers of the Year Book.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY BOOK DEPOT,
SHANGHAI
CHAPTER II.

GOVERNMENT CHANGES AND NATIONAL MOVEMENTS.

By W. Sheldon Ridge, Editor of "The National Review."

I.

CHAPTER headings are not always reliable guides to the contents of the chapters over which they stand, but that defect can hardly be charged with reference to this chapter in this issue of "The China Mission Year Book." During the past year China has passed from the heights of despotism, across the valley of revolution, to the sunlit slopes of democracy, and in reviewing the events of the year it becomes increasingly evident that many an apparently isolated and insignificant fact had a close and highly organic connexion with tendencies, movements and forces the combined and cumulative effect of which was only seen in the final declaration of the articulate element of the population that it would no longer have this dynasty to reign over it. In the following paragraphs there may be a tendency to over-interpret, but the remarkably complete network of the revolutionary organization, the facility and rapidity with which, in an ever widening circle, cities and towns passed under the administration of the revolutionary leaders, and the preparedness of the leaders for the duties thus suddenly, though scarcely unexpectedly, thrust upon them, all tend to shew that in many of the earlier incidents of the year the truly revolutionary spirit—as distinct from the merely rebellious—was at work. "Of all nations that have attained to a certain degree of civilization," said that erratic genius, Thomas Taylor Meadows, the historian of
and commentator on "The Chinese and Their Rebellions," "the Chinese are the least revolutionary and the most rebellious." If recent events mean anything at all, they mean the complete contradiction of that dictum.

The third and last year of Hsuan-tung opened with the presence of what appeared to be serious menace upon China's frontiers. The British Government had sent a force to do police duty at P'ienma, on the borders of Yunnan, whether within or without the Chinese boundary still remaining to be settled; the Russian Government was announcing an advance into Mongolia, covered by a statement that on account of the increase of Russian commerce it had become necessary to establish consulates at numerous towns in north-western Mongolia; Portugal was squabbling as to the exact limits of her territory at Macao; and there was the ever-present pressure of Japan in Manchuria. The fact that these elements of pressure appeared to be directed simultaneously against China gave rise to a very general impression amongst the Chinese that the Powers had decided upon the partition of the country, and this impression was strengthened by the indiscreet statements of one of the Ministers in Peking, made to a chance visitor, and by him repeated without restraint. It is highly probable that the leading men in China knew quite well that the fear was entirely groundless, but they felt that it would do no harm for the people to believe the menace real, as it would increase the popular feeling against the ruling house and help to pave the way for the leading in of a new era.

However these things may be, these frontier incidents gave rise to two organizations that have since played a noteworthy part in the shaping of the events of the second half of the year. These two organizations are the Citizen Army and the "Dare-to-Dies." Late in March and early in April there were formed all over the country bodies of young men who devoted their leisure to military drill, athletic exercises, and the study of military matters. The professed object of this Citizen Army was the organization of a national
volunteer force that should be available as an auxiliary to the regular forces in the event of a rupture with any one or more of the foreign Powers. The likelihood of such a rupture was most remote, but that did not affect the ardour of those who found the funds, of those who officered the corps, or of the rank and file. Foreigners generally regarded this motley and heterogeneous force with some apprehension, as it was feared that its creation arose from an anti-foreign sentiment, and that the force might at any critical juncture, at any rate in the interior, prove a serious embarrassment, if nothing worse. But whilst the foreigner was merely apprehensive the Peking Government was alarmed, and orders for the suppression of the movement were sent throughout the country. The Peking Government clearly questioned the bona fides of the movement. The answers to the orders of suppression were various. The Viceroy of the Liang Kiang and the Governor of Soochow jointly telegraphed to the Peking Government that they had made the strictest enquiries, and they found that the Citizen Army had no illegal aims or purposes and that it was working quite smoothly, every precaution being taken to prevent trouble. Other officials from other parts announced that they had suppressed the new movement. The attitude taken by each official may in all probability be assumed to indicate the extent to which he had been admitted to the inner councils of the future revolutionaries. In the case we have quoted, it is significant that the Governor of Soochow was not long, when the crisis came, in making up his mind to join the revolutionaries, and that he lent considerable assistance in the siege of Nanking, in which city the viceroy who had telegraphically reported jointly with him on the subject of the Citizen Army, and had probably done so trusting entirely to the Governor’s report, was making his stand. No less significant is the fact that those who had from the first most enthusiastically and generously supported the Shanghai contingent of the Citizen Army became, immediately on the passing of Shanghai into revolutionary
loans.

hands, the nucleus, the chief officeholders and the financial guarantors and agents, of the Provisional Republican administration. In the early days of both the Citizen Army and the "Dare-to-Dies" Peking was frankly suspicious of them, and meetings of the Board of Education, alarmed at the spread of the movement in the Colleges, the Board of the Interior, and the Army Board were held specially to consider the question. When the first flush of enthusiasm was over these two societies worked less ostentatiously but more thoroughly and Peking, with its head in the sand, hearing and seeing nothing further, dropped again into easy security. Or perhaps other questions drove this from the Peking Government's mind; there were quite enough of them to distract the most perfect government.

The frontier menace to which we have referred did not stand alone as an incentive to popular indignation. In our last issue (p. 41) we referred to the arrangements then being made for a loan of £10,000,000 to China for the purpose of currency reform "on reasonable terms, provided China will allow a foreign expert to supervise her financial and currency reforms. This China is scarcely prepared to do, but the necessities of the case are such that China must acquiesce in a few weeks, if not days." Before those words were in print the agreement for the loan was signed (15th April), and it was arranged that an independent financial advisor should be appointed. The signature of this loan was but the beginning of a loan policy that earned the unqualified displeasure and emphatic disapproval of the people, as represented by the provincial assemblies, and was made the rallying point for a constitutional demand of the highest importance. This was the demand for the convening of a special session of the National Assembly. This body, which first met in October of 1910, had closed its session just before the Chinese New Year, after giving the Palace some very bad quarters of an hour. The provincial assemblies formed a joint association which sent representatives
to Peking to demand the reassembling of the National Assembly for a special session to consider the loan question, and these delegates, with many of the members of the National Assembly who resided or had gathered in Peking presented an united demand that the loan should not be concluded without the Assembly’s sanction. This demand was unheeded, the loan was arranged; and other loans were projected. This conduct on the part of the Government strengthened another demand upon which these same delegates were insisting, the demand for a responsible cabinet. We have thus several different issues raised by practically the same people: the National Assembly issue, the question of the Cabinet, and the proposed new loans the object of which was the building of great lines of trunk railways. It will be necessary to follow each of these issues separately, though it should be clearly understood that they were closely connected with each other, that in the popular mind they were inextricably confused, and that they were largely being carried to a conclusion by the same men; they were different points of attack by the same force, each being an object in itself, indeed, but at the same time part of a general onslaught on the despotism and incompetence of Peking.

The National Assembly issue stands first, for it involved the full application of a principle that had already been conceded. In 1910 the provincial assemblies had successfully questioned and criticized the provincial budgets and had in most cases reduced them by not inconsiderable amounts, thereby establishing the principle of popular control over public expenditure. When the central Government had asked for a return from each province shewing what the budget for 1911 would be, the provinces had unanimously shewn estimated deficits, clearly indicating that Peking could expect nothing more from the provinces. The National Assembly’s session had closed before China New Year, and the question of the national budget for the third year of Hsuan-tung was due to come up for settlement
by the high authorities of Peking early in the year. The Assembly had had no opportunity of discussing the proposed budget. There was every prospect of another loan agreement's being signed with the Quadruple Syndicate for railway purposes. Those who demanded the immediate call of a special session of the National Assembly argued that, if the control of provincial expenditure was within the competence of the provincial assemblies, the control of national expenditure was within the competence of the National Assembly; and if the promise of constitutional government, which had been so many times made by Imperial Edict, meant anything at all this was undoubtedly the case. Hence arose a strong agitation. The assemblymen in Peking were told by Shih Hsu, a Grand Councillor in closest touch and sympathy with the court, that diplomatic affairs (by which were meant the Russian trouble and the proposed foreign loan) were none of their business, but as the assemblymen had shown their earnest desire for the welfare of the country he would convey their request to the Regent, though he could not encourage them to hope for the calling of a special session. On the 6th April the deputies of the provincial assemblies drew up a petition, which they presented to the Prince Regent through Shih Hsu a few days later, in which they requested the Throne to convene the National Assembly at once. This request was ignored, and the agitation was renewed and maintained until the 10th May, when an Imperial Edict was issued definitely and finally refusing the application of the assemblymen and provincial delegates for the opening of a special session of the National Assembly, and ordering the provincial delegates to leave the capital. This some of them did under unpleasant circumstances, and from that time on there was no further attempt to press this question, the members of the Assembly not gathering for a meeting until October, when they arrived in the capital to take part in what was expected to be an ordinary, but turned out to be a most extra-ordinary, session.
A few days before the issue of this Edict there had been issued another Edict which was partly a concession to popular demands, partly a natural outcome of the constitutional movement, but mainly intended to throw dust in the eyes of the people. The agitation for a responsible Cabinet was really a legacy from the first session of the National Assembly. A year ago* we pointed out that there were current two views of what was expected of a Cabinet, and the incompatibility of these two views had led to a deadlock. That the Assembly's intention to have a Cabinet responsible to the people (as represented by the Assembly) was in no sense half-hearted had been demonstrated by the fact that the Assembly had compelled the Grand Council, in the preceding November, to send a representative into its presence to explain the details of the loan for the Hu Kwang Railways. The Throne had been pressed, during the actual session of the Assembly, to inaugurate a Cabinet, but had persistently postponed the evil day, fearing that the Assembly would take advantage of the change to get a better hold on the officials nearest the Throne. It was considered advisable to establish the Cabinet during the long interval between two sessions of the Assembly, as such an interval would give the Throne time to establish procedure by means of precedents and make the Cabinet primarily a pro-Court institution. In the last week of March a Cabinet had been all but formed and the Edict for its establishment all but drafted when the assemblymen and, provincial delegates tried to bring pressure to bear, and, rather than give the appearance of acting under compulsion, the Prince Regent postponed the matter. On the 15th April a fairly accurate draft of what ultimately turned out to be the actual constitution of the Cabinet was published in a Peking newspaper. The demand for the calling of a special session of the Assembly was getting to be rather annoying, so in order to turn the flank of this movement it was considered

* "The China Mission Year Book 1911, p.39."
advisable to announce the establishment of the Cabinet. Accordingly, on the 8th May an Imperial Edict was issued establishing the Cabinet. The constitution of this Cabinet is worth noticing. The President was Prince Ch‘ing, the most skilful political prestidigitator in Peking, a Manchu of the Manchus; the vice-Presidents were Na Tung, a Manchu who since 1900 had obtained some glimmering of the light, and Hsu Shih-chang, who had been viceroy of Manchuria, had held office as Grand Councillor, and was to some extent under the influence of Prince Ch‘ing; Tsai Tseh, a Manchu Prince, was President of the Board of Finance; Tsai Hsun, a Manchu Prince, President of the Navy Board; Pu Lun, a Manchu Prince, President of the Board of Agriculture; Yin Chang, a Manchu, President of the Army Board; Shao Chang, a Manchu, President of the Board of Justice; Shou Ch‘i, a Manchu, President of the Board of Dependencies; Shan Ch‘i, a Manchu, President of the Board of the Interior; Liang Tun-yen, a Chinese, President of the Board of Foreign Affairs; T‘ang Ching-chung, a Chinese, President of the Board of Education; Sheng Hsus-huai, a Chinese, President of the Board of Communications; and outside the Cabinet, but very closely connected with it, the high offices of chiefs of the Army Advisory Council were filled by the two Manchu Princes, Tsai Tao and Yu Lang. Thus, out of fifteen highest offices in Peking, no less than eleven fell to Manchus, six of whom were Princes of the Blood Imperial. This was the Throne’s answer to the many demands for the convocation of the National Assembly and for the inauguration of a responsible cabinet. No wonder that a telegram published by ‘‘Der Ostasiatische Lloyd’’ at the time stated that the Edict had ‘‘been received in Peking most quietly.’’ Not so elsewhere, however. The Chinese press in Shanghai and farther south was exceedingly sarcastic about the matter, but was profuse in the expression of obviously insincere gratitude for the benevolent condescension of the Throne.
We now turn to the loan question. We have seen that the currency loan question was settled, scarcely in accordance with the general wish, on the 15th April, having been put through by Sheng Hsuan-huai. We pointed out a year ago that though Sheng had been made President of the Board of Communications and had gone up to Peking to take up his post he had spent most of his time dabbling with currency reform and had paid no attention to the Board of Communications. Having "shroffed" the currency loan he turned his financial genius elsewhere and set on foot proposals for a big loan, again to be supplied by the Quadruple Syndicate, for the building of the Central Railways, i.e. those from Hankow to Szechwan and Kwangtung. He had already "shroffed" a loan of Yen 10,000,000 from the Yokohama Specie Bank on behalf of the Board of Communications, and had arranged a loan of £500,000 with Danish and British telegraph companies for the improvement and development of the Imperial Chinese Telegraphs. Sheng next proposed a small loan for the building of the Kaifeng-Haichow Railway, independent of the Central Railways loan, but this never came to anything. This penchant for "shroffing" loans was quite typical of the old régime, but it was particularly strongly developed in Sheng and his adherents, and led him into courses of action quite at variance with the wishes of the people. In Hupeh, Hunan and Szechwan local funds had been collected for the building of railways, and the gentry of these provinces urged upon Peking that it was quite unnecessary to borrow foreign money for these purposes. As a matter of fact, in Szechwan large sums had been subscribed and a beginning of the work had been made, the greater part of the money had been squandered and there was very little to show for what had been spent. The efforts of Sheng, preparatory to the signature of a loan agreement, were directed towards establishing the authority of the central Government over trunk railways, and thus on the 9th May we find an Imperial Edict issued according to which all trunk lines are to be
national property. This Edict states that "all permits hitherto issued for the construction of main lines are
cancelled, and the Boards of Communications and Finance
are hereby instructed to make arrangements for the recovery
of the Government's rights in accordance with the principles
of justice,"* this last phrase having reference to some
ambiguous and uncertain method of re-imburseing to the
merchants and gentry the sums they had already contributed
to the local railway funds, a matter about which Sheng
would not be very likely to trouble himself very much. This
Edict soon brought forth strong remonstrances. On the
15th May the representatives of various classes of the people
held a meeting at Changsha at which resolutions were
passed protesting against the re-assumption by the central
Government of the provincial lines, threatening a general
strike if the Government persisted in its policy, and record-
ing a determination to refuse payment of all kinds of taxes
until the Edict should be withdrawn. On the 18th May
the viceroys and governors of Hunan, Hupeh and Kwang-
tung presented telegraphic memorials to the Throne stating
that the proposed transfer of the lines from the mercantile
community to the central Government would entail great
losses on the local merchants and gentry, and urging that
undesirable consequences might follow this action unless
the Government took very careful measures for guarding the
people against any loss. On the same day there was issued
in Peking an Imperial Edict appointing Tuan Fang Director-
General of the Canton-Hankow and Szechwan-Hankow
Railways and granting him the rank of Expectant Vice-
President of a Board. He was ordered to proceed im-
mediately to discuss all questions then at issue with the
Viceroys of the Hu Kwang, Liang Kwang and Szechwan
provinces and with the Governor of Hunan. Two days later
the Imperial Edict sanctioning the Railway Loan was issued.

* All translations from the Chinese in this chapter are from the
columns of "The Shanghai Mercury."
It was regarded as a matter of importance that this Edict was signed, not by the Prince Regent, but by the President and Vice-Presidents of the Cabinet, the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Communications. Whether by this the Prince Regent designed to demonstrate to the people that they were now enjoying the blessings of Cabinet rule, for which they had so fervently prayed, or to remove the responsibility from his own shoulders so that no blame would rest upon him, nobody of course except the Prince Regent can know, but in either case the plan proved to be a supreme failure. Two days later the agreement was signed, the amount of the loan being £6,000,000 sterling, bearing interest at 5 per cent., and issued at 95, with a special clause providing for the issue of a further sum of £4,000,000 for the construction of eventual branch lines.

The provinces concerned did not sit down quietly under these arrangements. Before the end of May the metropolitan officials of Kwangtung received telegrams from the gentry in Canton protesting against the new arrangement for nationalization; the Governor of Kirin sent in a telegraphic protest; the Szechwan gentry protested through the Acting-Viceroy, Wang Jen-wen, who was supposed to be in very hearty sympathy with the protestants; and from other quarters similar expressions of disapproval came. In reply to all these complaints instructions were issued to the local authorities concerned that they were to impress upon the people the exceeding benevolence of the Throne in thus relieving them of the cost of building the lines, and of all the responsibilities connected therewith. This was all very well, but in most cases the people had been persuaded into taking up shares in the projected lines, and when they learned that the Government intended to take over the lines they naturally asked to have their money back. The Szechwan folk were emphatic about this. By every possible channel they let the Throne know that they wanted both principal and interest refunded if the Government took over the lines, on which, as a matter of fact, vast sums had been
absolutely wasted. Tuan Fang himself fully realized the strength of the movement, and we find him in the first week of June discussing with the Cabinet three important points: (1) that he should not be held responsible for any disturbance arising out of his carrying out of the Government's policy; (2) that he should not be under the control of the Board of Communications, but should have a free hand; (3) that special officials should be appointed to take up the diplomatic aspects of the matter, negotiating any difficulties that might arise with the foreign loaning syndicate, and that as far as the provincials were concerned the viceroy and governors should be instructed to deal amicably with them and use no violence. These proposals were accepted and Tuan Fang thus became practically independent of Peking, could disclaim all responsibility for the Government's action, and had so defined his duties and his responsibilities that he was in fact, if not in name, nothing more than an executive officer only concerned with getting the lines built. It would seem clear from this that he foresaw a long and bitter struggle.

Tuan Fang's negotiations with the Government were practically contemporary with a memorial from Wang Jen-wen, Acting Viceroy of Szechwan, asking on behalf of the Szechwanese that the Government would postpone the transfer of the railway. There is good reason to think that Wang Jen-wen himself, who had for some time occupied the post of Provincial Treasurer, was largely responsible for the opposition of Szechwan—possibly not without good reasons of his own, in view of what has at one time or another been revealed concerning the accounts of the Szechwan Railway; and certainly he made no attempt to support the Government in its policy. In response to his transmitted memorial an Imperial Edict was issued stating that "in transferring this railway to the Government the object is to relieve the people from bearing the burden of raising funds, so that they may have some hope of completing the construction of the
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railway. The actual conditions on the Szechwan Railway are much worse than on the Hunan Railway. Moreover, the extravagant expenditures authorized by the officials have been constantly reported. Everybody knows that such officials have ruined the railway administration of the Empire. Under these circumstances the Government has ordered the management of these railways to be transferred to the hands of the officials, and unpaid calls or shares are hereby cancelled. This order is issued to be definitely enforced and will not be varied or withdrawn. It is quite certain that the Assembly of the province does not fully understand the real meaning of our idea, or it would not have made this request. The Assembly must have been influenced by the vulgar gentry in taking this step. The Acting Viceroy is hereby reprimanded for having presented this memorial to the Throne on their behalf. All the Imperial Edicts in the world could not alter the facts that the shareholders knew their money had been squandered and that there did not appear to be the remotest likelihood that they would ever see it back again; and so the agitation went on.

At this juncture it took a new form, however. The various Government banks, as it was well known, had issued large quantities of paper money against which they held only a microscopic reserve of cash. In Canton the fight against the Government took the form of an organized run on the Government banks, and the Peking authorities, in order to maintain what was left of their damaged credit, gave the Canton Viceroy permission to raise a loan of Tls. 5,000,000 from foreign bankers to meet the demands for cash, whilst the Imperial Mint was ordered to coin silver day and night so as to maintain the money market. It was greatly feared that the people of Szechwan would resort to similar methods of expressing their appreciation of the Government's benevolent intentions. A further Imperial Decree was therefore issued, on the 17th June, promulgating a scheme of repurchase of already issued
shares. According to this scheme, shares already issued were to be presented by the holders, examined by the railway authorities, and if found in good order were to be exchanged for state-issued railway bonds for an equivalent amount, bearing interest at six per centum, and eligible for dividend when the railways were completed and making a profit. If the holder desired to obtain his principal in cash he could do so after the expiry of five years from date of issue of bonds, or if he did not care to wait five years he could deposit his bond at once, receiving cash in return, at the Bank of Communications. "If there are any who do not wish to have these bonds we will deal with them according to circumstances, so as to shew our desire to deal equitably in this affair." Had the security behind the proposed bonds been at all good the proposals thus outlined would not have been, perhaps, unacceptable in ordinary circumstances, but it is to be kept in mind that the real issue was not the railway issue, but whether Peking or the provinces should obtain the mastery; moreover, the general principles of conversion were modified, professedly to suit local circumstances, with regard to each railway, and the modifications were scarcely to the advantage of the shareholders. The responsibility for carrying out these arrangements was placed, by the same Edict, on the shoulders of Tuan Fang, whereupon he delayed his departure from Peking, as he had already several times done. He eventually left Peking on the 30th June, made a call on Yuan Shih-k'ai on the 2nd July, and arrived in Hankow on the 4th July.

On the very day that Tuan Fang arrived in Hankow there occurred looting and rioting at Chengtu, probably not unconnected with the railway agitation. A week later Tuan reported to the Throne that the railway agitation in Hupeh and Hunan had subsided, but this was really far from being the case. Before the end of the month "a certain Minister of State" severely impeached Sheng Hsuan-huai, concluding his memorial with the words,
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"the man who will ruin China is Sheng." We are told that on perusing this strong impeachment the Prince Regent was "much moved." Early in August the Acting-Viceroy of Szechwan, Wang Jen-wen, undeterred by the reprimand he had already incurred, sent in another memorial stating that the people of Szechwan were very indignant about Sheng's railway policy and alleging that Sheng had misled the Throne and deceived the Government; whereupon an Imperial Edict commanded Chao Erh-feng, the Warden of the Marches, and brother of the late Viceroy, to proceed at once to the capital of Szechwan and re-establish order, the Acting-Viceroy Wang not being competent to rule the province even temporarily. Szechwan's answer to this was a telegram to the Szechwanese officials in Peking accusing Sheng of adopting despotic measures and Tuan Fang of following his example. On the 30th August the Szechwan Viceroy, who had by this time taken up his post, telegraphed to Peking that affairs were getting serious, and on the 31st a general business strike, to last eight days, was inaugurated in Chengtu. During the first decade of September the Cabinet daily discussed the Szechwan situation, Sheng declining to budge in any way, and declaring that on the arrival of Tuan Fang in the provincial capital matters would be amicably adjusted. Urgent telegrams were sent from Peking instructing the Viceroys of Szechwan and Hunan to check any disturbance. In Szechwan anti-foreign literature began to get into circulation, and anti-foreign cartoons were freely distributed. The situation became so critical by the middle of the month that the British Consul at Chungking informed his Minister in Peking that foreigners were in serious danger, and a strong hint was conveyed to the Waiwu Pu that measures should be taken to suppress the disorder. Tuan Fang at last left Hankow with 10,000 troops as a bodyguard, and Peking made all sorts of proposals to Szechwan including changes in the route to be followed by the railway, but none of these proposals had the slightest effect upon the
agitators, who cut several of the telegraphic connexions, thereby virtually isolating the province for some time. Before the outside world could quite understand what had happened Chengtu was being besieged by the mobs raised by the agitators, foreigners had left Chengtu for Chungking, and the whole province was in a state of rebellion. The details of this we cannot here follow. Peking as usual tried the feather-duster method, and appointed Tsen Chun-hsuan, a former Acting-Viceroy of Szechwan who had been very popular whilst holding that office, as Associate Viceroy with Chao Erh-feng. Tsen was ordered to proceed at once, but did not do so. He made the usual excuses, but eventually accepted office, and he too tried the feather-duster method. He issued a proclamation to the people of Szechwan, telling them how he loved them and desired their welfare. This proclamation, telegraphed from Shanghai before Tsen had started for his post, was perfectly futile. The temper of Szechwan was up, and it was not until the end of the month that signs of a restoration of order began to shew themselves. Gradually the Viceroy was regaining the upper hand, and by the 29th September Tsen had arrived at Hankow. On the 1st October the situation was again critical, the yamen of the prefect at Suifu being destroyed, whilst throughout the province bands of desperate characters, who cared nothing either for the railway question or any other question, were wandering and pillaging freely. All this time there had been steady opposition in Hupeh and Hunan to the Government's railway policy, but the presence of a strong Viceroy and of Tuan Fang had kept things within bounds. On the 3rd October Tsen, realizing what a big problem he was called upon to face, asked leave to retire. On the same day Tuan Fang sent to Peking a telegraphic impeachment of Chao Erh-feng, saying that in order to establish his own merit he had grossly exaggerated the extent of the agitation, and especially of the rioting. On the 7th October it became evident that the views of Tsen, Tuan
and Chao were somewhat diverse, and an Imperial Edict was issued giving seniority and responsibility to Tsen. On the 8th Tuan Fang had reached Wanhsien. On the 9th Kwanhsien and Kiatingfu fell into the hands of the rioters. On the 9th October some bombs exploded in the Russian Concession at Hankow, and thenceforth Szechwan and all other problems were forgotten in the one absorbing fact of the Revolution.

II.

There are a number of minor matters that came up for consideration during the first six months of the period now under review, and they deserve at least passing consideration if only from the fact that in many cases they indicate a general trend of public sentiment which the blazing light of the Revolution has enabled us to read in a sense quite different from that in which they were read at the time. Many incidents, indeed, that then appeared quite without any significance whatever are now invested with a dignity that would not otherwise have been permitted to them.

First of all we must follow the career of the Cabinet, which we have seen established by Imperial Edict on the 8th May, and dominated by a strong Court party. On the 10th May was issued a set of regulations governing Cabinet procedure, and the wealth of verbiage in which these were clad did not conceal the fact that the new Cabinet was but the old Grand Council in a new suit—New Presbyter but Old Priest writ large. By the middle of June Prince Ch'ing was wanting to resign the presidency of the Cabinet, and the Joint Association of Provincial Assemblymen had forwarded petitions to the Censorate praying the Board to memorialize the Throne on their behalf that an Imperial clansman should not be appointed President of the Cabinet. Twice this memorial was sent to the Censorate, and being without success on each occasion it was re-drafted and sent telegraphically to all viceroyals and governors, and to all
Chinese Ministers abroad, with a request for their support. This campaign only produced an Edict on the 5th July telling the Joint Association of Provincial Assemblymen to mind its own business and make less noise. Some days before, Prince Ch'ing, to whom the memorial had been shewn, had advised the Censorate to pass it on to the Throne, and when he learned of the proposed Imperial Edict he opposed the idea of issuing it, as he said it would only cause all the more excitement. He was over-ruled and his forecast proved to be correct, for the appearance of the Edict only led the newspapers to compare its terms with those of various Edicts of the previous reign, and at the beginning of the Regency, promising constitutional government. Prince Ch'ing ever knew which way to jump. He had already grasped the full significance of the movement against his holding the office of Prime Minister, and since he was not allowed to resign the office he decided to do the best he could under the circumstances. Accordingly, on the 10th July he delivered a great speech in the presence of the Cabinet ministers, the heads of departments, the Privy Council, and other high dignitaries. In this speech he advocated a distinctly progressive policy, and there appears to be good reason to believe that had he not been over-ruled he would have effected drastic reforms, not from any love of reform or from any progressive aspirations, but because he enjoyed political activity of any kind, and must be in the swim.

The forces of reaction were not idle. Whilst the National Assembly was out of session extensive revision of the regulations governing its procedure was undertaken, the two principal points being that the discussion of Cabinet policy should not be within the competence of the Assembly, and that the Speaker should be empowered to stop any member speaking at any time. These provisions made the Government practically independent of the National Assembly, for the Cabinet was immune from criticism and the Speaker of the Assembly was a Manchu appointed by the
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The Throne. The Court did not fail to grasp the significance of the recent very candid expressions of opinion, for the Prince Regent verbally informed the Cabinet in the first week of September that since he had been Regent he had taken care not to make any distinction between Man and Han, and in future the Cabinet should take care to let no question of race enter into the selection of officials, but the ablest men were to be selected for vacancies irrespective of whether they were Chinese or Manchus. No changes in the Cabinet were made, however, and by the time at which the National Assembly was due to meet in Peking, in the middle of October, the preponderance of the Manchu element in high office had become if anything still more pronounced. It has long been understood in China that he who controls the army can dictate such terms as he likes. The progressive party had therefore been something more than puzzled by the issue at the beginning of April of an Imperial Edict appointing the Prince Regent to the supreme command of the military and naval forces; and now a further element of suspicion of the good faith of the Throne was caused by the fact that the heads of the army and navy, Princes Tsai Tao, Tsai Hsun and General Yin Chang, insisted that these two arms of the public service should not be subject to the jurisdiction of the Cabinet, and the fact that Prince Ch'ing, in the speech mentioned above, made no reference to the army or the navy led many to believe that the Court was retaining undisputed and undivided control over these forces for some purpose not altogether commendable.

We may now turn to various more or less progressive movements which the Government supported, either in sincerity or in order to still the voices of reformers of one kind or another. We may well begin with the most successful and obviously least disinterested of these reforms, that of opium prohibition. On the 8th May an agreement was signed between Great Britain and China by which the reduction both of the import and of the native growth of
opium was to be carried out much more rapidly than had originally been agreed upon, and an Imperial Edict was issued containing the terms of the new agreement and pointing out that the exclusion of the import from abroad depended entirely on the suppression of poppy-growing in China. The Board of the Interior, the Board of Finance, and the viceroy and governors of provinces were instructed to reorganize the system for the suppression of planting, smoking and transport, forthwith. The conclusion of this agreement with Great Britain was largely consequent on the report specially made by Sir Alexander Hosie after a visit to the opium-growing provinces. Sir Alexander’s report shewed conclusively that in every province in which it had been customary to grow opium on a large scale immense reductions had been effected. When reprinting and commenting on this report some months later “The Peking Daily News” closed its article with these words: “Nor must we forget, when we congratulate the Government and the people on the success in opium suppression, two revered names, namely, Their Excellencies Yuan Shih-k’ai and T’ang Shao-yi, [at that time both in retirement] who were first instrumental in initiating these important reforms for the salvation of our people.” The reasonableness of the stipulations made with Great Britain was recognized, and when a couple of months later some of the provinces attempted to reverse the terms, and instead of reducing the import pari passu with the reduction in growth tried to reduce the import irrespective of any restriction of growth, it became necessary to issue a further Edict insisting on the fulfilment of the real spirit of the Agreement. By the middle of August China was able to report the complete suppression of opium production in Manchuria, Shansi and Szechwan and the British Government at once acted according to the terms of the Agreement and prohibited the import of Indian opium to those three provinces. No further progress is to be recorded for China, but we may note the meeting of an International Opium Conference at
The Hague at which the opium question in its widest aspects was discussed and resolutions adopted binding the participating Powers to a policy that will greatly reduce the evils arising from the improper use of opium in its many derivative forms.

Since the abolition of the old examination system, the gate of entrance into the civil service, the educational affairs of the country have been in a most chaotic condition, in spite of Edicts commanding the establishment of multitudinous pieces of educational machinery. Many of the great scholars of the country had felt for some time that an effort ought to be made to remedy this state of affairs, and accordingly the Board of Education issued, early in the year, invitations to distinguished scholars and educators to meet in Peking to discuss what could be done in the matter. When these scholars and educators arrived in Peking they formed an organization known as the Central Education Society, of which Chang Chien, the famous Kiangsu Optimus, was elected President. This Society discussed almost every phase of the educational problems of the country and made recommendations to the Board of Education, with whose policy the Society was not by any means wholly in agreement. The Board of Education reported to the Throne on the Society’s proceedings from time to time, not always without malicious little digs. Thus on one occasion the report was to the effect that the Society was composed of experts come together to discuss educational affairs and to promote education, and should therefore send in its resolutions properly weighed and considered, and should not simply use a lot of foreign phrases to shew that it knew something new. At one stage in the proceedings the Society placed considerable emphasis upon the need for a national system of military education, whereat the Government, according to common newspaper report at the time, became suspicious, and there arose distinct prospects of an early close to the proceedings. At one point of the discussions Prince Ch’ing sent for T’ang Ching-chung, President
of the Board of Education, and Yin Chang, President of the Army Board, and after a long consultation with them urged them to prevent the further consideration of a system of national military education. It was clearly considered undesirable that every youth able to pay for a schooling, and therefore not of the lowest class, should learn the science of war. Prince Ch'ing's hint was taken, and as a countermove General Yin Chang revived a former proposal of his that conscription should be adopted. This would provide the Government with ample rank and file, with "food for powder," and yet leave the supply of trained military intelligence in the hands of the Government. The new spirit in education was manifest throughout the proceedings and in many of the resolutions, which had the force of expert advice to the Board of Education. Thus it was decided that mere graduation in a college or university should not be regarded as sufficient qualification for appointment to office in any of the branches of the civil or other services.

As we have pointed out before,* "the humiliation of extraterritoriality weighs heavily upon the proud Chinese mind and hence the authorities have spared no pains to bring about a change in the administration of justice that will justify them in asking for the removal of this impediment to the exercise of full sovereignty throughout China's borders." These efforts were continued throughout the year, steady progress being made in the compilation of codes of law and attempts made to improve the actual administration of justice. Early in the year the Governor of Soochow (Kiangsu) memorialized the Throne that a High Court of Justice should be established in Shanghai in order to settle legal cases in a proper manner, and very shortly afterwards it was decided to create a High Court of Justice in each province. This decision was carried out in the more progressive provinces, and where this was done

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the Army Board instituted special courts to deal with military officers, guilty of infractions of the law. Before the end of May, the Commission of Constitutional Reform submitted proposals for the better administration of the civil courts, and these proposals were taken under consideration by the Board of Laws, but great events prevented their being carried into effect. The earnestness with which this question of legal and judicial reform was taken up may be judged from the fact that almost before the Revolution was complete the Provisional Government at Shanghai established a Court on modern lines. The first case heard by this Court was one which arose from events connected with the Revolution, and the Court was noteworthy in many ways. We may notice here that three duly qualified judges sat in it. Two of them, Mr. A. Ting, M.A., LL.B., Litt.D., Barrister-at-Law of Lincoln’s Inn (the Judge-President of the Court) and Mr. Ivan Chen, Barrister-at-Law, were British-trained lawyers, whilst the third, Mr. Tsai, had special qualifications as a military lawyer. In this Court there sat, for the first time in China, a jury, selected by lot from two lists of citizens of good standing, the one prepared by the civil authorities and the other by the military authorities.*

In adverting to this matter we have somewhat anticipated things. To complete the picture of China as it was on the ever memorable Ninth of October we may note here a number of isolated changes and events, the omission of which would leave the record very incomplete. The Chinese have long felt that the fact that their Maritime Customs are very largely under foreign control was derogatory to them, and some five years ago a special department, the Shuiwu Chu, was established to take nominal charge of this great

*The military influence on the bench and the jury was due chiefly to the fact that the province was at the time still under military government, but partly also to the fact that the case itself was in some measure of a military character.
service. As a matter of actual fact the establishment of the Shuiwu Chu made absolutely no difference to the service; there was no more interference with the Inspector-GeneraI than there had been thitherto. But the new arrangement restored something of prestige to the Chinese Government, and on that account was welcomed. The late Sir Robert Hart, who, as all the world knows, practically made the Customs Service, had of his own initiative instituted the Chinese Postal Service, the revenues or resources of which were in no way hypothecated to the foreigner. The Service was largely staffed by men drawn from the Customs Service, and for the early years of its existence it was provided with quarters under Customs House roofs. When Sir Robert Hart had nursed the Post Office through its infant years he intended to make it a separate and distinct institution. He lived to see this accomplished, after he had actually left China for the last time though still hoping to return, by his deputy, Mr. Aglen, who on the 30th May officially handed over the whole Post Office administration with all its effects, staff and organization to the Board of Communications.

The fierce outbreak of pneumonic plague in Manchuria at the beginning of 1911 led to the calling by China of an International Plague Conference at Mukden. This action greatly enhanced China’s prestige in the eyes of the world, for it shewed her not only determined to march with the times in the matter of medical science, but also realizing, as she had never before realized, the national obligation of protecting her people from the ravages of epidemic disease. The first meeting of the Conference was held on the 5th April, and the sessions extended over four weeks, after which the delegates from the dozen nations represented were received in audience by the Prince Regent in Peking. The Conference was under the presidency of Dr. Wu Lien-teh, a brilliant Cambridge man, and the record of its deliberations, which has been published in full, forms a valuable addition to the literature of plague prevention.
The Government's attitude with regard to this question presents a remarkable contrast against the superstitious action of the Imperial House in selecting a day on which the young Emperor Hsuan-tung should begin his formal education. It was only after many consultations by the Imperial Board of Astronomers, the "magicians, astrologers, Chaldeans and soothsayers" whose futility was demonstrated once for all at Belshazzar's feast, that the first day of the seventh moon (20th September) was decided upon as an auspicious day for the commencement of the Emperor's education. To celebrate the event all the schools in the country had a special full day's holiday. The Board of Astronomy was doubtless ultimately responsible for the vetoing of a suggestion, often made by reformers, but officially put forward in the last week of July by Princes Tsai Tao, Tsai Hsun, Yu Lang and Duke Tsai Tseh, that the Government should adopt the Gregorian Kalendar.

We have now to trace the course of events of a very significant character. Throughout the year there had been trouble in Canton. It was recorded early in April that there was a very large influx of returned "residents, merchants, and labourers" from Java and the Southern Islands, three thousand returning within the first few days of the month. Many of these were doubtless ordinary emigrants returning to their native places; but the number was unusually high. On the 8th of the month, Fu Chi, the Acting Tartar-General, commanding the troops at Canton, was assassinated. The assassin was proved, so far as a trial in such circumstances can be held to prove anything, to be the Vice-President of an Anti-Manchu Society. On the 27th a number of "rioters" took with them kerosene and arms, and proceeded to the Viceroy's Yamen with the intention of setting fire to the place. A serious fight with the guards ensued and many persons on both sides were wounded and shot. It is alleged that this enterprise was really designed for the rescue of some who had
been concerned in the assassination of the Tartar-General, and that it was quite successful, one of the rescued men now holding a high military position in the Republican Government. At the trial which followed, the accused were asked if they were Sun Wen's men. They replied that "they were partisans of Hwang Hsin and they denounced Sun Wen as an unreliable and slippery rascal." This trouble was sufficiently serious to cause the concentration of British gunboats close to Canton and the taking of extra precautions for the protection of foreigners. On the 8th May, alarm was created in Peking by reports of the arrival of many anti-monarchists in the capital; guards at the residences of the princes and high officials were strengthened, and other steps taken to prevent any untoward event, with satisfactory results. In June there was a disturbance in Fatshan, nominally in connexion with the levying of the wine tax, two queueless Chinese being arrested, and official circles much agitated. The Canton city gates were ordered to be closed and troops distributed at effective points. Peking was not without warnings. A high official, Cheng Hsiao-hsu, received in audience on the 21st June, reporting to the Throne on the general situation, stated that if the present condition of affairs were allowed to continue there would be "three big affairs" within a very few years, which would shake the Empire to its foundations. The Prince Regent was "much touched." On the 23rd of June telegrams from the south indicated that large quantities of arms and ammunitions were pouring into the country for the followers of Sun Wen, and the Peking authorities urged the Viceroy at Canton to take the strictest precautions and the sternest measures. A few days later the Board of Communications telegraphed to the Chinese Minister in Tokyo urging him to prevent the return to China of students bent on supporting the anti-nationalization agitation in the provinces with regard to railways. Towards the end of July, whilst some arms and ammunition were being smuggled into the country near Canton, an accidental
explosion took place and further convinced the Canton authorities of the existence of widespread unrest in the province, and indeed in the whole of south China; and on the 13th August an elaborate attempt to murder Admiral Li Chun, in command of the naval forces at Canton, thoroughly alarmed not only Canton but Peking as well.

These events not only alarmed Peking, but they all contributed to fix more deeply the general impression that what was needed in China was a strong man who would shoulder responsibility. This was felt alike by the people and the rulers. The Peking Government was headless, nerveless, succumbing to a species of slow paralysis. The one man capable of dealing with the situation had been thrust into retirement, but scarcely a week passed without a hint from one quarter or another that he should be recalled. In May Prince Ch'ing strongly recommended his recall. In June the Cabinet jointly recommended the same thing, and the Prince Regent was reported to have given an involuntary half-assent to the proposal. Many telegrams were sent from Peking by high officials urging the strong man to return to the capital, and it was stated that if Liang Tun-yun should refuse the portfolio of Foreign Affairs there was only one possible alternative; and the frequent requests for leave to resign, made by leading metropolitan officials, almost made the only possible alternative the one absolute necessity. But still the Prince Regent held out. In July, Tuan Fang, on his way to Hankow, paid a significant visit to Weihui, in Honan, and a fortnight later, when Prince Ch'ing declined for his son, Prince Tsai Chen (then abroad as China's representative at the coronation of King George) the presidency of the National Assembly, he made an alternative recommendation to which a reluctant half-consent was given. Liang Tun-yen about the same time telegraphed from the United States that there was a much more able man than himself for the post of President of the Waiwu Pu. The Throne still hesitated and, perhaps hoping that there might be a good
second best, hinted at the possibility of a pardon for K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'ih-chao. This hint brought forth from a body of metropolitan officials, natives of Peking and Chihli, a petition in favour of their full pardon and re-employment. In September strong recommendations were sent to the Throne that the strong man should be immediately recalled, and on the 24th of the month a telegram was sent from the Cabinet to Weihui asking the only possible saviour of the situation to proceed at once to Peking. The answer was immediate and emphatic: the Throne had dismissed publicly and ignominiously; let the Throne frankly and publicly recall. The Throne considered, and whilst it considered the Ninth of October came.

III

The Ninth of October will stand for ever memorable in Chinese annals. On that day, in the Russian Concession at Hankow, an accidental bomb explosion revealed to the authorities that an anti-dynastic movement was on foot. That the fuel was ready for the flame we have surely learned from the preceding paragraphs. We do not pretend, in those paragraphs, to have shewn the causes of the Revolution: we have but touched on those events of the year that either prepared the minds of the people for revolution at the precise moment when revolution came, or indicated, as does the fitful surging of the lake of lava in a volcanic crater, the turmoil and turbulence below. Before proceeding to an ordered, though brief, narrative of events, we may note other conditions contributing to the favourableness of the time at which the outbreak took place. In the Yangtze Valley there had for several years been a condition of almost uninterrupted famine, caused by successive floods. Millions of people had died from starvation and millions more must die this year unless help came to them. A year earlier there had been trouble at Changsha, chiefly arising from official cornering of rice, and the rice problem
had been more or less acute ever since; at the time of the actual outbreak the rice problem in Shanghai was a very serious one. That periodic unrest which marks the history of the Muhammadan community in western China had made its re-appearance in Shensi and Kansu. As the result of heavy gambling in rubber in 1910 there was in Shanghai, and to some extent throughout the country, considerable financial stringency, with resulting increase in the cost of living. These things were not the causes of the Revolution, they were but circumstances which favoured it when it came.

To turn to the record. The course of the Revolution falls into certain well marked phases. First of all came the military stage, when army faced army; next followed the negotiation stage, when emissary met emissary at the conference table; then came abdication; a period of divided counsels and divided government followed; and this closed in the acceptance of a Coalition Government.

What the temper of the people was when the bomb exploded in the Russian concession at Hankow we have already seen. The temper of the authorities may be judged by the fact that the Hu Kwang Viceroy, Jui Cheng, immediately realized that this was no mere riot, no mere isolated and independent fact, but a clear indication of big issues to be fought out at once, there and then. His enquiries shewed that though the explosion was accidental it was to be followed up by a midnight mutiny of the troops, and he immediately arrested several of the leaders and had them executed.

The Revolution had been long planned, and all the arrangements were maturing, but the accidental explosion of the bomb and the arrest of suspects precipitated matters. It appeared as if the whole revolutionary organization was in danger of being revealed, and the work of years would be
made naught. It was necessary to act at once. The Revolutionaries held a meeting on the 10th October at which they compelled the presence of Colonel Li Yuan-hung and offered him the leadership of the Revolution. Colonel Li, heart and soul with the spirit of reform, held back. He had never been first in command, had never had sole and supreme responsibility on his shoulders. With sincerest modesty he protested his want of ability, his incapacity. His comrades knew him better than he knew himself however, and at the point of the sword they thrust upon him a leadership that has fully justified them before the world in their estimate of Li Yuan-hung's capacity and character.

Almost before the authorities had time to move, two battalions of artillery, four battalions of infantry, engineers and transport corps joined the Revolutionaries and placed guns on the She Shan. They bombarded the Viceroy's yamen, and other official buildings; they occupied the Government Mint, as well as the military store, and fully occupied Wuchang by the afternoon of the 11th; and the same day they seized the Hanyang Arsenal and the adjoining Hanyang Iron and Steel Works (these latter being chiefly owned by Sheng Hsuan-huai, the designation of whom as "the ruin of China" seemed so early to have some elements of sound prophecy in it.)

Almost at the first shock Viceroy Jui Cheng had taken refuge on a Chinese gunboat, and had been joined there by General Chang Piao, commander-in-chief of the Hu Kwang military forces. Before the end of the week (11th October) the full significance of the affair was realized in Peking, and Imperial Edicts were issued commanding General Yin Chang to proceed at once with all available forces by way of the Peking-Hankow Railway to quell the disturbances, and Admiral Sir Sah Chen-ping, commanding the Yangtze Squadron, was ordered to proceed with his fleet to
Wuchang and support General Yin Chang in his attempt to quell the insurrection.

The effects of the uprising were immediately felt throughout the Empire. There was a general exodus from Hankow, thousands of refugees crowding every available steamer leaving the port, every stratum of the Chinese populace being represented in the passenger list, from Jui Cheng, Tsen Chun-hsuan and Chang Piao downwards. In Shanghai and other commercial centres there was a long run on the banks, especially the Government Banks, paper money being at a discount and silver appreciating considerably, with the result that nearly a score of banks in Shanghai suspended payment, at any rate temporarily. Business was immediately brought to a standstill, and at the time of writing, six months after these events and two months after the formal end of the Revolution, it has barely begun to move again. It is of interest to note the way in which the Revolution was regarded by the onlooker. The great majority of thinking Chinese, perhaps with more actual information to go upon than they cared to admit, regarded the affair as of prime importance, no mere flash in the pan. Foreigners had the choice between the terms revolution and rebellion in their description of the affair, and most of them chose the former. Of the two leading British papers in Shanghai the senior headed all news from the Wuhan cities with the caption "The Rebellion in Hupeh," long after many other cities had gone over to the Revolutionaries, and in January, when fourteen of the eighteen provinces had hoisted the Republican Flag, the headline "The Revolt in Hupeh" was still to be found; and an attitude of violent antagonism to everything the Republicans said, or did, or thought was maintained, an attitude keenly resented by the vast majority of Britons in China. The junior British paper from the first described the outbreak as a revolution, and warmly supported the Republican cause, not, however, without frequent candid criticism. The single representative of United States
RECALL OF YUAN SHIH-KAI.

journalism in China frankly welcomed the Revolution and gained for itself no small amount of kudos by its excellent reports from Wuchang. Thus, whilst foreign opinion was admittedly divided, the great bulk of it was firm in the belief that China was in the throes of a real Revolution, and the greatly preponderating weight of sympathy was with the Republicans.

From this digression we may revert to the course of events military. On the 13th October the Republicans, supreme in the neighbourhood of the Wuhan cities, holding the railway terminus, and commanding the river for some miles, proclaimed the establishment of the "Reformed Government." The new epoch was to be known as the Ta Han, or the Hsin Han; all foreigners were to be protected and Treaties with foreign Powers respected, provided foreigners refrained from lending assistance to the Manchus. That day, the 13th, the Throne bowed to the inevitable, put on as bold a face as it could, and recalled the hated Yuan Shih-k'ai, after cashiering Jui Cheng and Chang Piao. Tsen Chun-hsuan, at that actual moment in hiding on the Hankow side, awaiting the departure of a steamer for Shanghai, was appointed Viceroy of Szechwan but, to quote the usual formula and apply it to unusual circumstances, "did not proceed." The Edict appointing Yuan Shih-k'ai and Tsen Chun-hsuan concluded with the words "Ah Lien is appointed a Sub-Expositor of the Hanlin Academy." A Sub-Expositor of the Hanlin Academy, forsooth, when the nation was one vast volcano! Yuan’s appointment was to extensive powers: he had supreme command of the naval and military forces in the Hu Kwang provinces; Admiral Sah and General Yin Chang were both made subordinate to him. Yuan Shih-k'ai, as we have already seen, was not going to be at the beck and call of Peking, and he hesitated before accepting the appointment. On the 16th it was stated that he had accepted, but it was not until the 22nd that the official announcement of his
remained loyal however for a long time. The Revolutionary plan of campaign, it was later explained, was to take the cities along the Yangtze in turn downwards from Hankow finishing at Shanghai, thus gradually bringing the gunboats to the mouth of the river when, with a detail detached for Yangtze control, the main fleet would be available for proceeding to the north to co-operate with a land campaign towards Peking, for it was known that the navy was Republican at heart, a fact which was amply demonstrated by its indifferent gunfire when under the Dragon flag, compared with what was effected under the Republican colours. The check at Nanking spoiled these plans, and as time was now pressing other measures were decided upon. It was decided to begin at the mouth of the river and work upwards, thereby isolating Nanking. This proved quite simple, for Shanghai went over after a tussle at the Kiangnan Arsenal, Dock and Powder Magazine on the 3rd and 4th November. Soochow and Chinkiang soon followed, and from Shanghai the wave of Republican declarations spread south and north, so that by the 16th November there had also gone over Hangchow, Shaoshing, Ningpo, Swatow, Changchow, Foochow, Amoy, Tatung, Taichow, Tsinan, Cheefoo, Yunnanfu and Mukden. On the 9th Canton declared itself independent. It would have done so earlier, had it not been that the Republicans there were trying to persuade Viceroy Chang Ming-chi, one of the most popular of Canton Viceroyys, to remain with them as their chief executive officer under the proposed new régime.

In Shantung the Governor was elected President of the Shantung Republic, but at a later stage Shantung recanted and became loyalist again. Nanking managed to hold out until the 2nd December, when it was taken by the Revolutionaries, the Viceroy and Tartar General escaping to Shanghai and thence by Japanese steamer to Dairen, and the cruel and fearless defender of the city, Chang Hsun, escaping with a body of troops across the river, to follow the line of the Tientsin-Pukow Railway. With the fall of
acceptance was published in "The Cabinet Gazette." When accepting the appointment he informed the Throne that it was "out of gratitude for the many marks of favour bestowed on him by the late Grand Dowager Tse Hsi," a little bit of delicate sarcasm that the Prince Regent and the Empress Dowager, of all the millions of people in China, were best able to appreciate. Yuan's first task was to get together some of his old lieutenants, to get into touch with the Army, and to ascertain how his forces stood in respect of supplies, funds and efficiency. The survey was not particularly satisfactory, for the foreign financiers who under ordinary circumstances were ever ready to lend money to the Chinese Government fully realized that this was a life and death struggle, and if they should lend to the losing side, whichever side that might be, they would stand little chance of recovering, from the victors, loans made under such circumstances, and the chances of victory for the Government were none too bright. Hence both cool judgment and general sympathy with the Republican cause dictated a policy of financial neutrality. Yuan therefore could only depend on ready cash in the Imperial Treasury and the private hordes of the Imperial Family. These latter were supposed to amount to fabulous sums, and actual figures published shortly after the death of the late Empress Grand Dowager, which were not likely to err on the side of understatement, shewed that if this horde were intact the Court had ample funds to carry on the war for some time. It was known, however, that considerable sums had been transferred to London for safe keeping, and later events seem to indicate that the horde had been depleted.

Whilst Yuan was surveying his position fighting went on at Hankow. On the 18th there was an indecisive engagement between Imperialists and Revolutionaries; on the 20th the latter captured Ten Kilometre Station on the Peking-Hankow Railway, on the 22nd Ichang and Changsha went over to the Revolutionaries and fighting occurred at
Nanchang; on the 24th there was a skirmish at Seven Mile Creek below Hankow; on the 28th the Revolutionaries lost their position at Ten Kilometre Station. These things happened whilst Yuan Shih-k‘ai was getting into the saddle. Yin Chang, with a big force of northern troops, was proceeding down the Peking-Hankow Railway and reached Siaokan. On the other hand, Admiral Sah’s gunboats fell back on Kiukiang, from Wuchang, for re-coaling and revictualling, and by the 24th they were compelled to retire still further down the river, for on that date Kiukiang went over to the Revolutionaries. Up to the 25th the Revolution had been confined to a region closely contiguous to the three Wuhan cities, but on that date it appeared as if it were to become much more widespread, for Sian-fu went over to the Revolutionaries and thus gave them a continuous frontage from Kiukiang to the Shensi capital, and as the Muhammadans of Shensi and Kansu were already very restless it was fairly safe to assume that the overtures made to them by the Revolutionaries would be accepted, and thus West China would be solidly Republican. Another incident on the same day appeared to answer many questions. From the moment that the Revolution broke out everybody had been wondering why Canton had not thrown in its lot with the Revolutionaries. So far it had not given a sign. On the 25th, however, it shewed something of its temper, for when the new Tartar-General, Feng Shan, landed there to take up the post of his assassinated predecessor, he himself was killed by a bomb explosion. All expectations that Canton was now in full revolutionary current were disappointed however, for the Viceroy, Chang Ming-chi, was a strong man and had things well in hand, and it was not until much later that Canton went over.

It will facilitate matters if we follow the fall of cities right through and then return to other questions. By the 20th Kiukiang, Hukow, and Anking had become Republican, and the loyalty of Nanking was doubted. Nanking
Nanking the back of Imperialist military power was considered to be broken, though the fortunes of war varied at the Wuhan cities. The Imperialists had set fire to Hankow on the 30th October, and it continued to burn for days. The Imperialist advance was begun again on the 18th November, and by the 27th Heishan, Meitzushan, Tortoise Hill and the whole of Hanyang were recaptured. This practically completes the military operations, which gave fourteen out of eighteen provinces to the Republican forces.

We now turn to what may be called the rational side of the struggle, the inducements and cajoleries used by either side to persuade the other to accept the one’s point of view. On the 22nd October, the day on which Yuan Shih-k'ai’s acceptance of the Viceroyalty of the Hu Kwang was gazetted, the National Assembly was opened by commission, the Prince of Li representing the Prince Regent. On the 26th the Assembly impeached Sheng Kung-pao, who was forthwith cashiered and replaced by T'ang Shao-yi. Sheng left Peking under escort for Tientsin and thence made his way to Tsingtao and eventually to Japan, where he is likely to remain for some time to come. On the 27th the National Assembly passed resolutions, to be forwarded in a memorial to the Throne, demanding that relatives of the Imperial House should be excluded from membership of the Cabinet, that Chinese should be treated equally with Manchus, that a responsible Cabinet be formed, and that political parties should be allowed to exist and carry out their propaganda. The memorial embodying these demands reached the Throne about the same time as a memorial from the generals commanding the troops at Luanchow. These troops had mutinied and order had only been restored amongst them by their general’s promise to formulate their demands into a memorial and forward this to the Throne with the general’s endorsement. These demands included the establishment of a constitution on the British model. The answer to these two sets of demands (the demands of the Luanchow army had not
National Movements.

actually been presented at the time, but they were almost certainly known to the Court) was the issue of an Imperial Edict,* on the 30th October, of a most penitential character. It traversed the history of the three years of the Regency and made abundant promises to do better, specifically promising a Parliament and a Constitution, appointing Prince Pu Lun to compile a Constitution for submission to the National Assembly, and definitely renouncing Manchu claims to supremacy. On the 1st November a further Edict accepted the resignation of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, and appointed Yuan Shih-k'ai Prime Minister in succession to Prince Ch‘ing. This office Yuan Shih-k'ai promptly refused, and he maintained his refusal for a fortnight, just as his henchman T‘ang Shao-yi refused the office of President of the Board of Communications.

We now come to the period of negotiation. Yuan declared himself on 1st November in favour of peace, and he announced the opening of negotiations with the Revolutionaries at Wuchang. He sent his emissaries to discuss terms with Li Yuan-hung, a former pupil of his own and, it is said, though there is difficulty in verifying this, his own nephew. During these negotiations hostilities were suspended at Hankow, but the negotiations failed. The points of view of the negotiators were so completely alien that negotiations were bound to fail so long as either side had funds with which to continue fighting. Li demanded a republic out and out; Yuan was for a constitutional monarchy. There was no point of contact between them. On the 7th November the National Assembly formally appointed Yuan Shih-k‘ai Prime Minister, but even then he did not display any anxiety for the office, and still declined to go to Peking in spite of a special Edict commanding him to do so. It was not until the 13th that Yuan entered Peking, where he received a respectful ovation from

*This Edict and other important documents will be found collected in an Appendix.
immense crowds. On the same day Dr. Wu Ting-fang, who had been appointed Foreign Minister to the Provisional Government established at Shanghai immediately Shanghai had gone over to the Republican side, addressed to the Prince Regent a demand for the abdication of the Throne by the Emperor. Still hoping to stave off final disaster, the Regent gave supreme command of Peking, civil and military, to Yuan Shih-k'ai, and issued an Edict instructing viceroyts and governors to send representatives of the provinces to Peking to discuss state affairs. On the 12th an Imperial Edict created a new Cabinet, preponderatingly Chinese, the only Manchus being the President and Vice-President of the Board of Dependencies, and the Vice-President of the Board of Agriculture; and the reformer Liang Ch'ih-chao was nominated as Vice-President of the Board of Laws. It was quite clear that such measures as these were not sufficient to satisfy the Republicans, and on the 26th November the Prince Regent, on behalf of the Emperor, swore by a solemn oath to abide by the Nineteen Articles of the Constitution drafted by the National Assembly. This ceremony took place in the Ancestral Temple of the Ta Ching Dynasty, there being present Prince Ch'ing, Yuan Shih-k'ai and all the members of the Cabinet. The city of Peking was richly decorated for the occasion, and the actual ceremony of oath-taking was preceded by a solemn notification to all the preceding Emperors of the Dynasty, in which notification the new Constitution was alleged to be justified by the entirely transformed circumstances of the times and by the serious consequences that had arisen from the bad direction that the Emperor had received from his responsible advisors. The Constitution Act, said the notification, would be equally beneficial to Dynasty and People.

On the 26th representatives of Yuan and Li met at the Russian Consulate at Hankow to discuss terms of compromise, but the most that Li would concede was the presidency of the new Republic to Yuan Shih-k'ai. During
the next few days there was fierce fighting both at Hankow and at Nanking and on the 29th General Li asked for an armistice in order to consult with other centres with a view to compromise. A truce of three days was declared and further negociations took place, from the 3rd to the 5th. It is unsafe to predicate a causal nexus on the mere fact of sequence, but it is at least significant that the day after the conclusion of these negociations the Prince Regent resigned, and disappeared from history. Terms of peace were thereupon further discussed through the mediation of the British Consul at Hankow.

From this time on there was practically no more fighting, for on the 8th delegates for the negociation of peace, the chief delegate being T‘ang Shao-yi, left Peking for Wuchang, where they interviewed General Li Yuan-hung, and after a few days left for Shanghai. From the time the delegates arrived in Shanghai there was a series of armistices which was practically continuous until the end of the Revolution. T‘ang Shao-yi and his associates arrived in Shanghai on the morning of the 17th December, and the first meeting with the representatives of the Republican party was held at the Shanghai Town Hall on the 18th. At this meeting Wu Ting-fang, representing the Republican party, and T‘ang Shao-yi exchanged credentials, an effective suspension of hostilities was arranged, and further negociations were postponed until Yuan Shih-k’ai had declared his willingness to accept this and some minor conditions.

On the 20th six leading foreign consuls in Shanghai made informal calls on Wu Ting-fang and T‘ang Shao-yi, and represented to them that foreign opinion was unanimous that a continuation of the struggle was dangerous. Though this representation was unofficial its concerted character doubtless weighed heavily in the minds of the Peace Delegates of both sides, and at any rate a prolongation of the armistice was secured. Throughout the negociations Dr. Wu insisted that the only solution must be a republic. To this T‘ang could not agree, but it was decided to leave
the settlement to a national representative Convention. This proposal was telegraphed to Peking and a reply was received on the 28th that the Throne would abide by the decision of a national Convention, an Imperial Edict being issued to that effect the same day. The people were thus left free to choose between a monarchy and a republic. Further meetings of the Peace Conference were held at which the chief point discussed was the place of meeting of the National Convention, the choice being from Peking, Tientsin, Chefoo, Wuchang, Nanking and Shanghai, and some consideration was given to the method of calling, and the principles of representation to be adopted for, the Convention.

Things seemed to be going smoothly when all at once they reached a deadlock, for Yuan Shih-k'ai declined to recognize certain concessions made by T'ang Shao-yi. Practically this amounted to repudiation of a fully accredited plenipotentiary, and it caused grave consternation at the time. The only course open for T'ang was to resign, and this he did. The rupture between himself and Yuan Shih-k'ai cannot have been serious, however, for since his re-appointment a few days later he has been Yuan's right hand man.

Following the acceptance of T'ang Shao-yi's resignation, negotiations were continued by telegraph between Yuan Shih-k'ai and Wu Ting-fang. It was clear from these negotiations that the Republicans felt themselves strong enough to insist that the choice of place of meeting for the Convention should be theirs, and for ten days or so the duel went on. On the 9th January, exactly three months after the bomb explosion at Hankow, the Republicans offered most generous terms to the Imperial House. These terms were as follows:

1. —The Emperor shall be treated with all the dignity attaching to the Sovereign of a foreign nation on Chinese soil.
2. —The Court shall reside at the Summer Palace.
3.—His Majesty shall receive a liberal annual allowance, the amount to be settled by the National Assembly.

4.—All its ancestral mausolea and temples shall be secured to the Imperial House.

5.—The persons of the Imperial Family shall be fully protected, and the Manchus shall retain all their property and wealth.

6.—Manchus, Muhammedans, Turkestanese and Tibetans shall be treated as Chinese citizens and their private property protected.

7.—The Eight Banners shall continue to draw the same pensions as heretofore until further means can be devised of enabling them to find a comfortable living. The former restrictions put upon the Bannermen’s right to trade and to reside outside fixed localities shall be removed.

8.—The Imperial Princes shall retain their titles and property under the protection of the Chinese Government.

These terms it seemed worth while to discuss, the Imperial House evidently believing that the stipulation of abdication would in actual settlement be modified. On the 12th January T'ang Shao-yi was reappointed peace delegate. The Court then found that any hope of an abatement of the demand for abdication was illusory. The one point upon which the Republicans were adamant was the question of abdication. Everything Manchu had gone except the Throne; that must go too. On the 18th January Yuan Shih-k'ai had a long audience of the Empress Dowager which was believed to portend early abdication. This was not so, however. Peking was making its last stand. Some of the younger Princes would not give way, and it almost looked as if another deadlock had been reached when on the 25th January the Nanking National Assembly issued a declaration of policy that seemed to suggest that unless the Court made up its mind pretty quickly it would very soon be faced with further military operations. There was a long pause, chiefly because both sides were without funds.

At this point we may well turn back and note how the Nanking National Assembly had come into being.
Immediately upon the fall of Nanking the Provisional Republican Government that had been organized at Shanghai took control of Nanking, and a Government was organized there controlling the whole of the Republican area in co-operation with General Li at Hankow. On the 26th December Dr. Sun Wen arrived in Shanghai, and was received with the utmost enthusiasm. Anticipating his arrival the Republican leaders had by one means or another obtained from the provinces delegates to meet in Nanking. Many of these delegates were elected by the provincial assemblies, in some cases they were chosen by the military governors, and in other cases they were appointed by the provincial guilds in Shanghai. At any rate, it was claimed that at Nanking there were now present representatives of every one of the eighteen provinces. These representatives on the 29th December elected Dr. Sun, in his absence, President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of China. The next day Dr. Sun left for Nanking, and on the 1st January took the oath of office as President of the Provisional Government. In the peace negotiations Dr. Sun took no actual part, but it was realized from the moment of his arrival that the famous agitator would be a moderating influence.

As soon as Dr. Sun arrived in Nanking a Cabinet was formed, and this Cabinet, with the National Assembly, thenceforth acted as a properly established Government, its control over the South being indeed quite complete. On the 19th January Dr. Sun telegraphed new and more stringent terms to Yuan Shih-k'ai. This telegram was generally condemned, but in view of the inconclusive nature of the interview between Yuan Shih-k'ai and the Empress Dowager on the preceding day, and of abortive Palace conferences held the very day of the telegram, it was probably intended to have the effect, not of embarrassing Yuan, but of affording him means of bringing pressure to bear on the obdurate princes, some of whom were hot-headed enough to urge the resumption of hostilities.
When this item of news reached Nanking, the Assembly there issued the declaration of policy to which we have referred above.

This declaration arose from a suggestion put forward by Yuan Shih-k'ai that if there were to be abdication it must be followed within forty-eight hours by the dissolution of the Nanking Government. This suggestion was scarcely a practicable one, for although any other arrangement must necessitate the existence of divided control it would have been very dangerous, in the then excited state of the south, to remove the leaders whom they trusted. The matter caused some heat at the time, but its real significance lay in the fact that, though Yuan Shih-k'ai had thither conceded every point demanded by Republicans and was now known to be actively working for abdication, the rank and file of the Republican party did not trust Yuan. Things dragged on until the 30th of the month, when the Throne summoned a meeting of the Cabinet, and the Wai-wu Pu the next day announced that the Throne had finally decided to make peace. The apparent certainty of abdication relieved the great pressure that had been felt in Peking, Tientsin, Wuchang, Nanking and Shanghai. Until the actual abdication took place negotiations proceeded between Nanking and Yuan Shih-k'ai with a view to settling the seat of the future Government, the Republicans desiring Nanking to be the capital and Yuan urging that it would be unwise to abandon Peking.

Abdication took place on the 12th February. It was announced to the world by means of three Edicts, the first accepting a Republic, the second accepting the conditions agreed upon between Yuan Shih-k'ai and the Republicans, and the third stating that the abdication was in deference to the will of the people and instructing the provincial officials to keep the people quiet. The three documents form practically one most carefully drafted state paper of capital importance, the remarkable feature about which is that everything is done in a manner that would highly
ABDICATION.

gratify the town clerk of Ephesus. A full consideration of all that is implied in these Edicts would occupy many pages and for our purpose is unnecessary.* The Edicts themselves are worth careful study, and the more carefully they are studied the more ably conceived one finds them to be. For our purpose only two or three points need to be noticed. In the first place, the supreme power in the state is handed over, by the hands in which it has immemorially rested, those of the Emperor, to Yuan Shih-k'ai, who is solely empowered to organize a new Government in consultation with the representatives of the People's Army. The reasons why Yuan Shih-k'ai should be the chosen repository of the supreme power are indicated, namely, that he is the Prime Minister, and that his Imperial appointment as Prime Minister has been approved or confirmed by the National Assembly in proper session in Peking. The Court is resolved to go into retirement, trusting to the generosity of the people to provide the support that had, in the negotiations between Yuan Shih-k'ai and the representatives of the People's Army, been proposed to be extended to it, and this retirement is to be absolute, that is to say, the Court shall henceforth have no part or lot in the government of the nation. The Imperial Title and all hereditary titles held by the Imperial race are to be retained, and the ex-Emperor is to enjoy all the respect, protection and honour that would be accorded to a foreign sovereign. Detailed provision is to be made for the maintenance of the Imperial Guards and of the Imperial Household, and there appears to be little doubt that that provision will be generous. The new Government is to complete the work of building and embellishing the Imperial Mausolea, and the Imperial tombs are to be

* Sir Robert Bredon, K.C.M.G., has discussed the significance of the Edicts at some length in an article ("Abdication and what it means") published in "The National Review" on the 30th March, 1912.
maintained in a state of decent dignity, at the expense of the nation. So much for the passing Dynasty. It is generally conceded that the terms accorded to it were liberal, but it is also to be recognized that in return the deposed rulers make every provision for an easy transference of power. Yuan Shih-k'ai's appointment is made in the full and complete form invariably adopted in Imperial appointments. He is legally invested with the dignities, powers and authorities of his office, and becomes, as Sir Robert Bredon puts it, the hérétiler of the Throne. The importance of this fact is to be acknowledged. Had the Court merely taken refuge in flight, had it retired sulking in a corner, then only might would have constituted right, and at least the possibility of a struggle for the supreme position would have arisen. As it is, there is no interruption in the exercise of the supreme functions of government, the new régime is legal and legitimate from its very outset, and none can question the validity of its laws, ordinances or commandments. This is all to the good, and of prime importance in a country like China.

On the 12th February the Dynasty and the People parted company. The Republicans had carried every point on which they had insisted. Yuan Shih-k'ai had given way to practically every demand. The situation was now to be reversed. Invested with full authority, Yuan Shih-k'ai issued, on the 13th, a manifesto announcing his acceptance of the task of organizing the Republic, and asked for the co-operation of the Nanking Government. For a short time there was a difference of views. On the 14th President Sun telegraphed to Yuan Shih-k'ai expressing the Nanking Government's pleasure at the receipt of Yuan's communication; he addressed a message to the National Assembly tendering his resignation; and to this formal message he added a personal recommendation that Yuan Shih-k'ai should be elected as President of the Republic. The resignation was accepted with regret by the Assembly, as was that of Dr. Sun's Cabinet, but both Dr. Sun and his
Cabinet were requested to retain office until a new Government could be organized, and this they consented to do.

On the 15th Yuan was elected President and was requested to proceed to Nanking to take up his office. This Yuan said it would be unwise of him to do, as the situation in the North was exceedingly critical. For several days there was negotiation about this and a deputation from Nanking was sent to Peking to convey the announcement of Yuan’s election and to escort him to Nanking. The question of the future capital was also being warmly canvassed at the time. Yuan firmly held that for the present it would be impossible for him to leave Peking except on a flying visit to Nanking to take the oath of office, and that Peking must, for some time to come at any rate, remain the capital. Arrangements were made for Yuan’s flying visit to Nanking, but a mutiny of the soldiers in Peking convinced everybody that it would be unwise for him to leave the capital even for a moment, and finally it was arranged that T’ang Shao-yi, Yuan’s chosen Prime Minister, should go back with the delegates to Nanking and there co-operate with Dr. Sun in the formation of a coalition Cabinet. On the 10th March Yuan Shih-k’ai was formally inducted into the office of President; on the 11th he issued a proclamation of pardon to all prisoners except robbers and murderers, and announced the remittance of certain overdue taxes. By the 24th March T’ang Shao-yi had reached Nanking and before the end of the month a Coalition Cabinet had been constructed by the joint efforts of Dr. Sun and T’ang Shao-yi. On the 18th February, China New Year’s Day according to the old style, Dr. Sun had offered, at the Ming Tomb at Nanking, solemn thanksgiving to the spirits of the last Chinese dynasty for the restoration to the Chinese people of their liberties and for their freedom from the yoke of foreign, Manchu, domination. On the 1st April he laid down his office, and in a memorable speech committed the destinies of the nation to the nation’s own keeping, urging
the people to shoulder responsibility and to work harmoniously; and he placed before the nation the ideal of universal peace. He made it clear that he sought not merely or first of all a free and peaceful China, but he put in the forefront of his aspirations, and as the central figure of the national ideal, world-wide peace. It is as one seeking world-wide peace and diligently pursuing it that he has been the leader of the greatest revolution in history. It is as a step towards world-wide peace that the Revolution in China has been brought about, and none who takes the trouble to consider how often under the old régime the nations have been brought to the verge of war by the folly of China's rulers can question that under her new leaders China should be less of a menace to the world's peace than she has been in the past.
APPENDIX C.

DOCUMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION.*

I. An Imperial Apology.

Imperial Edict of the 30th October, 1911.

It is three years since We succeeded to the Throne, and We have sincerely endeavoured to meet the wishes of the People, but there have been mistakes in the employment of officials, there has been faulty administration, and many members of the Imperial Clan have been admitted to places in the Government, contrary to the constitution. Mismanagement in regard to railway affairs has caused public criticism, and in effecting reforms officials and gentry have sought their own private profit. In abolishing old systems those in office have tried to advantage themselves by seizing the property of the People, giving no benefit in return. In the dispensing of justice there has been no respect for the laws, and many grievances have been suffered. We had not imagined that things were so serious. Now have come the troubles in Szechwan, and the disturbances in Hupeh, whilst We also hear bad news from Shensi and Hunan, and trouble has arisen in Kwangtung and Kiangsi. We see much excitement amongst the People and Our ancestral temples are perturbed, so that Our good People suffer.

All these things are due to Our own fault. Therefore We promulgate this Edict to the public and We swear to the People that We will recommence reforms and effect

*The translations are revisions of those published by "The Shanghai Mercury."
a proper constitutional government system, and with respect to legal procedure and other state affairs shortcomings will be removed and improvements effected in accordance with the popular wish. Any system or law contravening the constitution We will abolish. We will carry out the abolition of distinctions between Manchu and Chinese in accordance with the frequent Edicts of the late Emperor. As to the troubles in Hupeh and Hunan, they are due to military mismanagement, Jui Cheng and others having abused their powers and enraged the army, which had legitimate cause of complaint. In this matter We accuse Ourselves of having made the blunder of employing Jui Cheng in an important post, and if any of the military return to their allegiance there shall be no accusation brought against them, and no enquiry into the past.

We now stand before Our People (confessing that) We have accomplished no good, but have caused disaster and have humbled the greatness of Our Ancestors by Our maladministration; and it is now of no use to regret. We have no alternative but to rely upon Our People and Our soldiery that they may help Us to secure the welfare and happiness of Our People, to strengthen Our Imperial Dynasty in an unbroken perpetual line, and to establish constitutional government. Even in this crisis We seek to regain Our strength by turning the crisis to the benefit of China, for which We appeal to the loyal and sincere feeling of Our People, upon which everlastingly We depend. At this time there are many important questions regarding foreign affairs and finance to be considered, and Our People should be united in one mind concerning them, whilst We do Our best; but Our People, not knowing the whole situation, are frequently incited by evil-disposed persons to cause serious troubles. Therefore are We deeply anxious about the future of China.
and day and night We ponder the welfare of Our People. We hereby issue this Edict that Our People may know Our position.

II. A Constitution.

Imperial Edict of the 30th October, 1911.

The National Assembly has sent in a memorial asking for an Imperial Edict to be issued granting the said Assembly the right to discuss the constitution. For three hundred years Our Imperial Dynasty has ruled the Empire; but the late Empress Grand Dowager and the late Emperor, seeing the critical condition of the Empire, decided to effect reforms in the methods of government, and several times issued Imperial Edicts announcing the decision to effect a Constitutional Monarchy in China, and issued also a programme of preparatory measures for the establishment of constitutional government. This programme has been carried out year by year. Whilst We were still young We ascended the Throne and have sincerely desired to abide by the programme laid down by the late Emperor. When, in the tenth moon of last year, the National Assembly sent in a memorial asking for the opening of Parliament at an earlier date than that already determined, We consented to open a National Parliament in the fifth year of Our reign, and also appointed Prince Pu Lun and others to draft a Constitution. The National Assembly now sends in a memorial to the effect that as the Constitution is an agreement between Sovereign and People it is better to consult the People first about the provisions of the Constitution, which should afterwards receive Imperial sanction. This plan does not violate the idea of the late Emperor, so We hereby order Prince Pu Lun and his
colleagues to draft a Constitution in accordance with the outlines decided upon by the late Emperor, and then to hand it to the National Assembly for detailed discussion; and when the final draft has been made it shall be promulgated with Our sanction, thereby demonstrating that We are quite sincere and frank in Our dealings with the People in all state affairs.

III. A Responsible Cabinet.

Imperial Edict issued the 30th October, 1911.

The National Assembly has sent in a memorial to the effect that the Cabinet should be responsible for the administration and that high state offices should not be given to Imperial princes. It is not in accordance with the general principles of constitutional government adopted by various nations that Imperial princes should hold administrative office; and in Our own system they are not permitted to meddle in political affairs, as may be seen from the explicit statements of Our Ancestors, the principle being really that of constitutional government. However, from the time of Tung-chi, in order to cope with difficult problems of state, certain princes have been appointed to help the high officers of state. In appointing a Cabinet with princes and dukes as ministers of state We were only adopting a temporary measure. The memorial of the Assembly states that a Cabinet of Imperial princes is not in conformity with the idea of constitutional government and the temporary regulations should be suspended, and a really responsible Cabinet should be established, containing no Imperial princes or dukes. The memorial shews respect for the Imperial House and a desire to lay the foundations of the state firmly in a strong position, and these things We much appreciate. It is important to have the right persons to organize a proper Cabinet, and as soon
MEMORIAL FROM NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

12. No treaty with a foreign Power shall be concluded without the authority of Parliament, but the conclusion of a peace or the declaration of a war may be made during the session of Parliament without the consent of Parliament being obtained until afterwards.


14. If the budget should fail to be accepted by Parliament the Government shall act upon the preceding year's budget, but no further expenditure shall be added thereto and no special financial measures shall be adopted.

15. The determination of the revenues and expenditures of the Imperial Household shall be within the power of Parliament.

16. The Imperial Household Laws shall not violate the Constitution.

17. The two Houses of Parliament shall jointly establish Administrative Courts.

18. The Emperor shall promulgate all the laws enacted by Parliament.

19. The National Assembly shall exercise all the authority vested in Parliament by Articles 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14 and 18, until Parliament is duly elected and opened.

VI. Republic or Monarchy?

Edict of the Empress Dowager, 28th December, 1911,

The Cabinet has presented Us a memorial from T'ang Shao-yi communicated by telegraph. According to that memorial the representative of the People's Army (i.e. the Revolutionaries) Wu Ting-fang, steadfastly maintains that the mind of the People is in favour of the establishment
of a republican form of government as its ideal. Since the trouble at Wuchang We have fulfilled the desires of the People, having accepted the Nineteen Articles of the Constitution and sworn before the spirits of Our Ancestors to rule in accordance with these Articles. There is still dispute on political matters, however, and the question now is, which of the two, a constitutional monarchy or a republic, would be the more suitable for Our country, having in mind both its domestic and its international situation. This is a matter that should not be decided by one part of the nation alone; it is not a question to be settled by Us independently. Therefore it is advisable to call a provisional National Convention and leave the issue to the Convention to decide. The Ministers of State sent in a memorial asking Us to call a conference of Princes and Dukes to consider the matter, and at this conference there was no objection to the reference to a National Convention. We therefore hereby order the Cabinet to telegraph to T'ang Shao-yi to inform the representatives of the People's Army of Our acceptance, and the Cabinet is hereby instructed forthwith to compile the regulations for the election and assembling of such National Convention on a fixed date, arranging with Wu Ting-fang that all fighting shall cease, thereby saving the People from damage and loss. Heaven created the People and placed the Sovereign to protect the People, so that one person should preserve the People and not the People merely uphold one person. The Emperor is still a child; how can We see so many suffer from the fighting and the whole country distressed (for the sake of one young person)? We desire to promote the good of the state and the welfare of the People. By means of this Convention to decide the matter We shall know the will of Heaven, for Heaven sees as the People see, and hears as the People hear. We desire that Our countrymen should adopt good measures for the national weal and should act in a public-spirited manner for the sake of the state. This is Our desire.
VII. First Provisional President's Oath.

Sworn by Dr. Sun Wen, in the presence of the National Assembly at Nanking, 1st January, 1912.

To overthrow the absolute oligarchic form of the Manchu Government, to consolidate the Republic of China, and to plan and beget blessings for the People, I, Sun Wen, will faithfully obey the popular inclinations of the citizens, be loyal to the nation, and perform my duty in the interest of the public, until the downfall of the absolute oligarchic Government has been accomplished, until the disturbances within the nation have disappeared, and until our Republic has been established as a prominent nation on this earth, duly recognized by all the nations. Then I, Sun Wen, shall relinquish the office of Provisional President. I hereby swear this before the citizens.

The First Day of the First Year of the Republic of China.

VIII. First Provisional President's Proclamation.

Issued by Dr. Sun Wen to the People of China on the 2nd January, 1912.

In the beginning of the formation of the Chinese Republic Wen (Sun Wen or Sun Yat-sen), though unworthy, has been elected the provisional president and I am day and night taking great care, fearing I could not meet the desires of our People. The abuses of the despotic Government of China have been going from bad to worse during the past two hundred years. When, however, once our People determined to overthrow it, it has taken only several dozen days in restoring over a dozen provinces to our cause, which success is unprecedented in any history.

Without any organ to control or any body to meet with foreign Powers it is impossible to carry on our work and
therefore we have to organize a Provisional Government. I am not going to do a thing by professing my own individual merit but I do not hesitate to attend to the organization of the Provisional Government to serve the People by carrying out our duties. By serving the People we can wipe out the bad habits of despotism and establish Republican government to benefit the People, to attain the aim of the Revolution, to satisfy the minds of the People commencing from to-day. Thus I proclaim my own idea frankly. I say the foundation of a state is the People. The different races such as Hans, Manchus, Mongols, Muhammadans, and Tibetans are now to be united as a nation. This is what I call the unity of our Races.

Since the fighting at Wuchang commenced, over a dozen provinces have proclaimed independence, and by independence has been meant to be independent from the yoke of the Manchu Ching dynasty; but to join hands with the provinces which are on the same side, and to amalgamate Mongolia and Tibet for our cause, are part of the same plan and therefore it becomes necessary to form a Government to unite them. This is what I call the unity of our Territories.

Once the righteous army commenced fighting for our cause many men of arms arose in the said provinces, but the armed forces are not under one control and they are not in uniform organization though their arms are the same. They should be combined under common command and for common cause. This is what I call the unity of our Military Administration.

The area of the State is wide and the various provinces have their own ways and the Manchu Government has tried to effect centralization of power under the false name of constitutional government, but now it is to be arranged that each province be self-governed and all shall be federated under a common central Government. This is what I call the unity of our Internal Administration.
PROCLAMATION BY SUN WEN.

Under the Manchu Government, in the name of enforcing constitutional Government, many taxes have been raised from poor people, but hereafter the national expenditure will be fixed in accordance with the principles of finance with a view to maintaining the happiness of the People. This is what I call the Unity of Finance.

These are our principal policies and we are going to carry these principles out properly. The principle of revolution is the same all the world over and revolutionary movements have failed often, yet foreigners all took notice of our real aim.

Since we first rose in October last all the friendly nations have maintained strict neutrality and the newspapers and public opinion of foreign countries are quite sympathetic with our cause, for which I have to express our deep thanks.

With the establishment of Provisional Government we will try our best to carry out the duties of a civilized nation so as to obtain the rights of a civilized state. Under the Manchu Government China has been obliged to be under humiliation and had anti-foreign feeling, but all these should be wiped out and we should aim at the principle of peace and tranquillity and to increase our friendship with friendly nations so as to place China in a respectable place in international society, to follow in the steps of the other Powers of the world. Our foreign policy is based on this point.

In establishing a new Government for a country there are many affairs to deal with, either international or internal, and how could I be able to carry on these important complicated affairs? Yet this is a Provisional Government. This is a government in a time of revolution. In the past decades all those who have been engaged in the revolutionary movements have been doing their work with a spirit honest and pure, and we have fought many difficult obstacles; and the further we proceed the more difficulties
will lie before us, but we shall continue with our revolutionary spirit to carry out our aim to the last and if we could establish the foundation of the Chinese Republic, the duties of the Provisional Government would be at an end; then we may be pronounced to be "not guilty," in the eyes of the nation and the world. On this day when I meet our People I frankly declare what is my view.

IX. The Abdication Edicts.

The following Edicts were dated the 25th day of the 12th moon of the 3rd year of Hsuan Tung (12th February 1912) and bore the Imperial Seal, together with the signatures of Yuan Shih-k'ai, Prime Minister; Hu Wei-ti, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chao Ping-chun, Minister of the Interior, Shao Ying, Acting Minister of Finance (on leave), T'ang Ching-chung Minister of Education (on leave), Wang Shih-chen, Minister of War (on leave), Tan Hsia-heng, Minister of Navy, Shen Chia-pen Minister of Justice (on leave), Hsi Yen, Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, Liang Shih-yi, Acting Minister of Communications, and Ta Shou, Minister of Dependencies.

A. The Change of Government.

We have to-day received from the Empress Dowager Lung Yu an Edict stating that on account of the uprising by the Army of the People, with the co-operation of the people of the provinces, the one answering to the other as the echo does to the sound, the whole Empire has been as a boiling cauldron and the People have endured much tribulation. We therefore specially appointed Yuan Shih-k'ai to instruct Commissioners to confer with the representatives of the Army of the People for the summoning of a National Convention at which the future form of Government should be decided. There was wide divergence of opinion between the North and the South, and each strongly
maintained its own views, and the general consequence has been an entire stoppage of trade and suspension of ordinary civil life. So long as the form of government remains undecided so long will the disturbed condition of the country continue. It is clear that the minds of the majority of the people are favourable to the establishment of a republican form of government, the Southern and Central provinces first holding this view, and the officers in the North lately adopting the same sentiments. The universal desire clearly expresses the will of Heaven, and it is not for us to oppose the desires and incur the disapproval of the millions of the People merely for the sake of the privileges and powers of a single House. It is right that this general situation should be considered and due deference given to the opinion of the People. I, the Empress Dowager, therefore, together with the Emperor, hereby hand over the sovereignty (Tungchichuan 統 治 權) to be the possession of the whole People, and declare that the constitution shall henceforth be Republican, in order to satisfy the demands of those within the confines of the nation, hating disorder and desiring peace, and anxious to follow the teaching of the sages, according to which the country is the possession of the People, (天下 爲 公).

Yuan Shih-k'ai, having been elected some time ago president of the National Assembly at Peking, is therefore able at this time of change to unite the North and the South; let him then, with full powers so to do, organize a provisional Republican Government, conferring thereon with the representatives of the Army of the People, that peace may be assured to the People whilst the complete integrity of the territories of the five races, Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Muhammadans and Tibetans, is at the same time maintained, making together a great state under the title the REPUBLIC OF CHINA (Chung Hua Ming Kuo 中 華 民 國). We, the Empress Dowager and the Emperor, will retire into a life of leisure, free from public duties, spending Our years pleasantly and enjoying the courteous treatment
accorded to Us by the People, and watching with satisfaction the glorious establishment and consummation of a perfect Government.

B. The Future of the Imperial House.

The situation being critical and fraught with danger, and the People enduring suffering, We authorized the Cabinet to make terms with the Army of the People concerning due provision for the future of the Imperial Family. From the Cabinet We have now received the terms proposed, according to which the Imperial Ancestral Temples and Mausolea will be permanently respected and ritual services conducted thereat, and the Mausoleum of the late Emperor will be duly completed. These terms have been agreed upon. It is further provided that the Emperor, after his withdrawal from political affairs, shall retain his title, and the details of treatment of the Imperial House, set forth in eight Articles, of the Imperial Clansmen in four Articles, of Manchus, Mongols, Muhammadans and Tibetans in seven Articles, have been duly presented for Our consideration. We have examined these and find them satisfactory, and We hereby conjure the Imperial Clansmen, Manchus, Mongols, Muhammadans and Tibetans, to doff all distinctions and to unite for the maintainence of order and peace, accepting the measures that have been devised for the welfare of all and the contentment of the Republic, matters for which We have the sincerest solicitude.

The terms and articles above mentioned are as follows:—

(a)—Concerning the Emperor:

The Ta Ching Emperor having proclaimed a republican form of government, the Republic of China will accord the following treatment to the Emperor after his resignation and retirement.
TERMS TO IMPERIAL HOUSE.

Article 1.—After abdication (辭位) the Emperor may retain his title and shall receive from the Republic of China the respect due to a foreign sovereign.

Article 2.—After abdication the Throne shall receive from the Republic of China an annuity of Tls. 4,000,000 until the establishment of a new currency, when the sum shall be $4,000,000.

Article 3.—After abdication the Emperor shall for the present be allowed to reside in the Imperial Palace, but shall later remove to the Eho Park, retaining his bodyguard at the same strength as hitherto.

Article 4.—After abdication, the Emperor shall continue to perform the religious ritual at the Imperial Ancestral Temples and Mausolea, which shall be protected by guards provided by the Republic of China.

Article 5.—The Mausoleum of the late Emperor not being completed, the work shall be carried out according to the original plans, and the services in connexion with the removal of the remains of the late Emperor to the new Mausoleum shall be carried out as originally arranged, the expense being borne by the Republic of China.

Article 6.—All the retinue of the Imperial Household shall be employed as hitherto, but no more eunuchs shall be appointed.

Article 7.—After abdication, all the private property of the Emperor shall be respected and protected by the Republic of China.

Article 8.—The Imperial Guards shall be retained without change in members or emolument, but they shall be placed under the control of the Department of War of the Republic of China.

(b)—Concerning the Imperial Clansman.

Article 1.—Princes, Dukes and other hereditary nobility of the Ching shall retain their titles as hitherto.
Art. 2.—Imperial Clansmen of the Ching shall enjoy public and private rights in the Republic of China on an equality with all other citizens.

Art. 3.—The private property of the Imperial Clansmen of the Ching shall be duly protected.

Art. 4.—The Imperial Clansmen of the Ching shall be exempt from military service.

(c)—Concerning Manchus, Mongols, Muhammadans and Tibetans.

The Manchus, Mongols, Muhammadans and Tibetans having accepted the Republic the following terms are accorded to them:

Art. 1.—They shall enjoy full equality with the Chinese.

Art. 2.—They shall enjoy the full protection of their private property.

Art. 3.—Princes, Dukes and other hereditary nobility shall retain their titles as hitherto.

Art. 4.—Impoverished Princes and Dukes shall be provided with means of livelihood.

Art. 5.—Provision for the livelihood of the Eight Banners shall with all despatch be made, but until such provision has been made the pay of the Eight Banners shall be as hitherto.

Art. 6.—Restrictions regarding trade and residence that have hitherto been binding on them are abolished, and they shall now be allowed to reside and settle in any department or district.

Art. 7.—Manchus, Mongols, Muhammadans and Tibetans shall enjoy religious freedom.

The above terms are to be officially communicated, in despatches from both sides, to the foreign Ministers in Peking, to be forwarded to their respective Governments.
C. Continuance of Administrative Functions.

The Sovereigns who anciently ruled the state mainly sought the protection of the People’s lives, not being able to look upon injury to the lives of the People. In order to give effect to Our desire that there should be no further disturbance but a restoration of peace We have acquiesced in a new form of Government, realizing that if We oppose the desires of the vast majority of the People hostilities must long continue, in which case the general stability would be undermined and fierce struggles ensue amongst the various races, causing distress to Our Ancestors and untold suffering to the People. This We cannot endure, and therefore We have chosen rather to suffer a light affliction than to impose grievous suffering on the People. We have come to this conclusion after serious consideration. Therefore the officials and People generally, both within Peking and without, should fully realize Our benevolent intent and, bearing in mind the present conditions, should not cause any disturbance by empty vapourings or proud talk. The Board of Civil Administration, the General Officers Commanding the Gendarmerie, Chiang Hwei-ti and Feng Kwo-chang, should take measures to preserve strict order and inform the People of the sincere designs of the Throne to comply with the will of Heaven and the wishes of the People, quite regardless of any personal feelings.

The Government has appointed officials and assigned them duties in the administration of all affairs, the Cabinet, the various Boards, and other offices in Peking; and in the Provinces, viceroy, governors, prefects and magistrates, whose duty it is to maintain public order. These officials, high and low, are to go on with their duties as usual, the chief of each office seeing to it that his subordinates do not neglect their duties. In this way We demonstrate Our love for the People.
X. Announcement of Abdication.

Telegram from Yuan Shih-k'ai, dated Peking, 12th February, 1912.

To President Sun, the National Assembly, the Ministers of the Cabinet at Nanking, and Vice-President Li, Wu-chang.

A republic is the best form of Government. The whole world admits this. That in one leap we have passed from autocracy to republicanism is really the outcome of the many years of strenuous efforts exerted by you all and is the greatest blessing to the People. The Ta Ching Emperor has proclaimed his abdication by Edict countersigned by myself. The day of the promulgation of this Edict shall be the end of the Imperial rule and the inauguration of the Republic. Henceforth we shall exert our utmost strength to move forward in progress until we reach perfection. Never shall we allow monarchical Government in our China. At present the work of consolidation is most difficult and complicated. I shall be most happy to go to the South and listen to your counsels in our conference as to the methods of procedure. Only, on account of the difficulty of maintaining order in the North, the existence of a large army requiring control, and the popular mind in the North and East not being united, the slightest disturbance would affect the whole country. All of you, who thoroughly understand the situation, will realize my difficult position. You have studied the important question of establishing a republic and have formed definite plans in your mind. I beg you to inform me as to the way of co-operation in the work of consolidation.
DR. SUN’S RESIGNATION.

Reply.

Dr. Sun to Yuan Shih-k‘ai, dated Nanking, 12th February, 1912.

T‘ang Shao-yi has telegraphed me that the Ching Emperor has abdicated and that you will support the Republic. The settlement of this great question is a matter of the utmost joy and congratulation. I will report to the National Assembly that I agree to resign the office of President in your favour. But the Republican Government can not be organized by any authority conferred by the Ching Emperor. The exercise of such pretentious power will surely lead to serious trouble. As you clearly understand the needs of the situation, certainly you will not accept such authority. I cordially invite you to come to Nanking and fulfil the expectations of all. Should you be anxious about the maintenance of order in the North, would you inform the Provisional Government by telegraph whom you could recommend to be appointed with full powers to act in your place as a representative of the Republic? Expecting your reply to this telegram, I hereby again extend to you our cordial welcome to Nanking.

XI. Resignation of First Provisional President.

Dr. Sun to the National Assembly at Nanking, 12th February, 1912.

To-day I present to you my resignation and request you to elect a good and talented man as the new President. The election of President is a right of our citizens, and it is not for me to interfere in any way. But according to the telegram which our delagate Dr. Wu was directed to send to Peking, I was to undertake to resign in favour of Mr. Yuan when the Emperor had abdicated, and
Mr. Yuan has declared his political views in support of the Republic. I have already submitted this to your honourable Assembly and obtained your approval. The abdication of the Ching Emperor and the union of the North and South are largely due to the great exertions of Mr. Yuan. Moreover, he has declared his unconditional adhesion to the national cause. Should he be elected to serve the Republic, he would surely prove himself a most loyal servant of the state. Besides, Mr. Yuan is a man of political experience, to whose constructive ability our united nation looks forward for the consolidation of its interests. Therefore, I venture to express my personal opinion and to invite your honourable Assembly carefully to consider the future welfare of the state, and not to miss the opportunity of electing one who is worthy of your election. The happiness of our country depends upon your choice. Farewell.

XII. The Provisional Republican Constitution.

CHAPTER I. GENERAL.

Article 1.—The Republic of China is established by the People of China.

Article 2.—The sovereignty of the Republic of China is vested in the whole body of the People.

Article 3.—The territory of the Republic of China consists of the twenty-two provinces, Inner and Outer Mongolia, Tibet and Kokonor.

Article 4.—The Republic of China will exercise its governing rights through the National Assembly, Provisional President, Ministers of State and Courts of Justice.

CHAPTER II. PEOPLE.

Article 5.—The People of the Republic of China will be treated equally without any distinction of race, class or religion.
Article 6.—The People will enjoy the following liberties:—

1.—No citizen can be arrested, detained, tried or punished unless in accordance with the law.
2.—The residence of any person can only be entered or searched in accordance with the law.
3.—The People have the liberty of owning property and of trade.
4.—The People have the liberty of discussion, authorship, publication, meeting and forming societies.
5.—The People have the liberty of secrecy of letters.
6.—The People have liberty of movement.
7.—The People have liberty of religion.

Article 7.—The People have the right of petition to the Assembly.

Article 8.—The People have the right of petition to the administrative offices.

Article 9.—The People have the right of trial at legal courts.

Article 10.—The People have the right to appeal to the Court of Administrative Litigation against any act of officials who have illegally infringed their rights.

Article 11.—The People have the right of being examined to become officials.

Article 12.—The People have the right of election and being elected to representative assemblies.

Article 13.—The People have the duty of paying taxes in accordance with law.

Article 14.—The People have the duty of serving in the army in accordance with law.

Article 15.—The rights of the People enumerated in this chapter may, in the public interest, or for the maintenance of order and peace or upon other urgent necessity, be curtailed by due process of law.
CHAPTER III. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

(Tsangyiyuan 參議院).

Article 16.—The legislative functions of the Republic of China are exercised by the National Assembly or Tsangyiyuan (參議院).

Article 17.—The National Assembly is formed of the members of Tsangyiyuan (參議院) elected by various districts as provided in Article 17.

Article 18.—Five members in each province, Inner Mongolia, Outer Mongolia, and Tibet and one member from Kokonor will be elected. The measures for the election will be decided by each district. At the time of the meeting of the National Assembly each member has one vote.

Article 19.—The official rights of the National Assembly are as under:—

1.—To decide all laws.
2.—To decide Budgets and settle accounts of the Provisional Government.
3.—To decide the measures of taxation, monetary system and uniform weights and measures.
4.—To decide the amount of public loan and agreements involving any obligation on the state treasury.
5.—To ratify affairs mentioned in Articles 34, 35, and 40.
6.—To reply to any affairs referred for decision by the Provisional Government.
7.—To accept petitions of the People.
8.—To express views and present them to the Government regarding laws and other matters.
EDICTS.

as We have secured a suitable man of ability to organize such a Cabinet We will no more appoint members of the Imperial House as ministers of state, and will abolish the temporary regulations for the Cabinet so as to conform to the principle of constitutional government and establish the state on a proper basis as soon as the present troubles are settled.

IV. An Amnesty.

Imperial Edict issued the 30th October, 1911.

The National Assembly has sent in a Memorial asking Us to grant an amnesty to political offenders, thus shewing the clemency of the Throne and securing the unity of the people of the Empire. To suppress the expression of political views prevents the development of men of ability and of the national energy; and moreover, views that are not appropriate at the time at which they are expressed may prove fruitful later. Many people have gone abroad after committing political offences, and there they have freedom of speech and writing, and some of them go beyond due limits, owing to their zeal for political principles. Therefore We hereby decree clearly that all political offenders since 1898, whether purely political offenders or revolutionists, who have taken refuge outside the Empire, and all connected with the present troubles who will come forward and be loyal to Us, are hereby granted pardon of their crimes; and in future, subjects of the Ta Ching Empire, if they do not go beyond legal limits, shall enjoy the protection of the state, shall not be arrested except by due process of law, and shall not be detained arbitrarily on mere suspicion. Those who avail themselves of this amnesty are required to be loyal and patriotic in upholding Our constitutional government. This We decree to shew Our intention to effect proper reforms in the Empire.
V. Demands of the National Assembly.

Submitted in a Memorial to the Throne on the 3rd November.

1. The Ta Ching Dynasty shall be maintained in perpetuity.

2. The person of the Emperor shall be inviolable.

3. The prerogative of the Emperor shall be limited by the Constitution.

4. The succession to the Throne shall be prescribed in the Constitution.

5. The Constitution shall be drafted and determined by the National Assembly and promulgated by the Emperor.

6. All amendment of the Constitution lies within the province and power of Parliament.

7. Members of the Upper House of Parliament are to be elected by the people from specially qualified classes.

8. Parliament will elect but the Emperor shall appoint the Prime Minister, on whose recommendation the other members of the Cabinet shall be appointed by the Emperor; but Imperial princes shall be ineligible for any ministerial office or for the governorship of a province.

9. The Prime Minister may be impeached, whereupon either he shall ask for a dissolution of Parliament or shall resign.

10. The Emperor shall be in supreme control of the army and the navy, but when this control is exercised in respect of domestic matters it shall be subject to such limitations as may be imposed by Parliament.

11. Imperial Edicts shall not have the force of law except in emergencies, and even then under special provisions and only for the carrying out of what has already been determined by law.
9.—To question Ministers of State and demand their presence at the Assembly to give reply.

10.—To demand that the Provisional Government enquire into cases of the taking of bribes or other illegal acts of officials of the Government.

11.—The National Assembly may impeach the Provisional President if recognized as having acted as a traitor, by vote of three-fourths of the members present at a quorum of four-fifths of the whole number of members.

12.—The National Assembly may impeach any of the Ministers of State if recognized as having failed to carry out their official duties or having acted illegally, on the decision of two-thirds of the members present at a quorum of three-fourths of the whole number of members.

Article 20.—The National Assembly may hold its meetings of its own motion and may decide the dates of opening and closing.

Article 21.—The meetings of the National Assembly will be open to the public but in case of the demand of any Minister of State or in case of the majority's decision a meeting may be held in camera.

Article 22.—The matters decided by the National Assembly shall be promulgated and carried out by the Provisional President.

Article 23.—When the Provisional President uses his veto against the decision of the National Assembly his reasons should be declared to the National Assembly within ten days, and the matter should be placed before the National Assembly for further discussion. If two-thirds of the members attending re-affirm the former decision that decision shall be carried out as stipulated in Article 22.
Article 24.—The Speaker of the National Assembly will be elected by open ballot of the members and if the ballot be one half of the total votes he is declared elected.

Article 25.—The members of the National Assembly have no responsibility to outsiders for the speeches made and decisions reached in the Assembly.

Article 26.—Except for flagrant offences or during internal disturbance or foreign invasion the members of the Assembly cannot be arrested during the session without the consent of the Assembly.

Article 27.—The standing orders of the National Assembly shall be decided by the National Assembly itself.

Article 28.—The National Assembly shall be dissolved when the National Convention (Kuohui 国会) comes into existence, which will succeed to all the rights of the National Assembly.

CHAPTER IV. PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

Article 29.—The Provisional President and Vice-President will be elected by the National Assembly by vote of two-thirds of the members present at a quorum of three-fourths of the whole number.

Article 30.—The Provisional President represents the Provisional Government and controls political affairs and promulgates laws.

Article 31.—The Provisional President executes laws and issues orders authorized by law and has such orders promulgated.

Article 32.—The Provisional President controls and commands the Navy and Army of the whole country.
Article 33.—The Provisional President decides official organizations and discipline but such should be approved by the National Assembly.

Article 34.—The Provisional President is empowered to make appointments and dismissals of civil and military officials. However, the Ministers of State, ambassadors and ministers accredited to foreign Powers, should be approved by the National Assembly.

Article 35.—The Provisional President declares war, negotiates peace and concludes treaties with the approval of the National Assembly.

Article 36.—The Provisional President declares martial law in accordance with the laws.

Article 37.—The Provisional President represents the whole country to receive ambassadors and ministers of foreign countries.

Article 38.—The Provisional President presents bills for laws to the National Assembly.

Article 39.—The Provisional President confers decorations and other honorary bestowals.

Article 40.—The President declares general amnesty, special amnesty, commutation and rehabilitation; general amnesty needs the approval of the National Assembly.

Article 41.—In case the Provisional President be impeached by the National Assembly the judges of the highest court of justice will elect nine judges to organize a special tribunal to try and decide the case.

Article 42.—The Provisional Vice-President will act for the Provisional President in case the Provisional President dies or is unable to attend to his duties.

CHAPTER V. MINISTERS OF STATE.

Article 43.—The Prime Minister and Ministers of departments are called Ministers of State.
Article 44.—Ministers of State assist the Provisional President and share responsibility.

Article 45.—Ministers of State countersign bills proposed, laws proposed, laws promulgated and orders issued by the Provisional President.

Article 46.—Ministers of State and their deputies attend and speak in the National Assembly.

Article 47.—When any Minister of State is impeached by the National Assembly the Provisional President should dismiss him but the case may be retried by the National Assembly at the request of the Provisional President.

CHAPTER VI. COURTS OF JUSTICE.

Article 48.—Courts of Justice consist of judges to be appointed by the Provisional President and Minister of Justice. The organization of Courts of Justice and qualification of judges will be decided by law.

Article 49.—The Courts of Justice will try and decide cases of civil litigation and criminal litigation in accordance with law. However, administrative litigation and other special litigation will be governed by special laws.

Article 50.—The trial and judgement of the Courts of Justice will be open to the public but cases which are considered to be against peace and order may be held in camera.

Article 51.—Judges will never be interfered with by any higher officials in their offices either during a trial or in delivering judgement, as judges are independent.

Article 52.—Whilst a Judge holds office his salary cannot be reduced and his functions cannot be delegated to another. Unless in accordance with law, he cannot be punished or dismissed or retire. The regulations for the removal of judges will be stipulated by special law.
CHAPTER VII. ANNEX.

Article 53.—Within ten months of the date of this law being in force the Provisional President should convene a National Convention. The organization and the measures for election of such National Convention will be decided by the National Assembly.

Article 54.—The Constitution of the Republic of China will be decided by the said National Convention and before the said Constitution comes into force this law will have the same force as the Constitution.

Article 55.—This law will be either added to or revised by three-fourths of the members of the National Assembly present at a quorum of two-thirds of the whole number; or by three-fourths of the members present at a quorum of four-fifths of the whole number when the amendment is proposed by the Provisional President.

Article 56.—This law shall come into force when it is promulgated and the rules of provisional government now in force will be cancelled when this law comes into force.