

from the Wuchang Uprising. In November the National Assembly, a body formed by the imperial court in accordance with the Constitutional timetable but not yet given full parliamentary rights, promoted the creation of a political structure similar to the constitutional monarchies of Japan and Great Britain (7.1). The revolutionaries, who had focused on abolishing the Qing dynasty and forestalling any monarchy, had no common vision of the future or of how to force the abdication of the Qing emperor (7.3). Within six months of the Wuchang Uprising, China's first attempts to form a solid democracy would falter and quickly disintegrate into disunity and infighting among the revolutionaries, provincial leaders, and the former imperialists.

7.1 DEMANDS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, SUBMITTED IN A MEMORIAL TO THE THRONE (NOVEMBER 3, 1911)

In the weeks after the Wuchang Uprising, the National Assembly sought to persuade the imperial court to make parliamentary concessions by agreeing to maintain the monarchy and to establish the emperor as the ceremonial head of government. For most revolutionaries, however, the time for such half-measures had already passed. As the memorial below suggests, the National Assembly sought to attain legitimacy through an imperial mandate, and not through popular or “revolutionary” activity. This approach would produce a China with two competing political bodies: the National Assembly, maintaining a connection with the Qing, and the Provisional Government, rooted in revolution and headed by Sun Zhongshan in Nanjing. The two political groups claimed authority through radically different processes, and neither was based on an open and comprehensive selection process.

Questions

1. What aspects of the following demands would have been threatening to the throne? Why?
2. Why does the National Assembly seek to retain the emperor?

1. The Qing 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.

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.
13. Standing orders of an administrative character shall be settled by Acts of Parliament.
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.

7.2 FIRST PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION (JANUARY 2, 1912)

Sun was sworn into office the day before issuing his first proclamation. His speech clearly sought to remold his *Three Principles of the People* (5.11) to fit the immediate exigencies facing the nascent Chinese Republic. While it may seem a smooth summary of the events, it offered little in the way of concrete measures to resolve the challenges facing a nation that did not have a consensus for shaping its political future. Having no public mandate and a non-existent military force to leverage his position, Sun had no viable means for leading China to accept the political framework he outlined.

Questions

1. What did Sun see as the major challenges facing China?
2. What actions did he intend to make to resolve these problems?

In the beginning of the formation of the Chinese Republic [I], though unworthy, have 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 today. 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, Muslims, 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 Qing 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.

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 tranquility 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.

the citizens. People are called citizens but they know nothing about their country. Now the people are poor and financial resources exhausted, the foundations of the country begin to shake. All this is the result of the bad form of government. . . . Look at the matter at its root, we find that Republicanism is the source of all the evil. . . . Compare this with the continuous reign of a monarchy, wherefrom the people may enjoy peace for tens or hundreds of years, the difference is at once seen to be as great as the distance between heaven and earth. . . . Carefully weighing present conditions and the tendency of the people it is preferable to expel party politics and establish a firm monarchy than to invite ruin by adopting the empty name of a Republic. . . . Our Emperor, who is in his boyhood, has devoted himself

to study and learning to be calm in obedience to the demand of the day. The country has passed many great upheavals but in the palace there has always reigned peace and calm. Recently His Majesty has made marked progress in his sacred studies and his virtuous reputation has spread far and wide. It can thus be seen that Heaven has smiled on the Qing dynasty by conferring His Majesty with unusual wisdom so that he might be able to rise at the proper moment to stop disorder and revert to right. . . . [Zhang] Xun and others have been accumulating their energy with their weapons near at hand for the last six years. . . . On this day we have jointly memorialized His Imperial Majesty to again ascend the throne in order to establish the foundation of the country and to consolidate the minds of the people.

7.7 GENERAL WU PEIFU AND OTHER WARLORDS (1924)

By 1924, China's internal hostilities had been ongoing for more than ten years. Articles would periodically appear in the Western press discussing the latest peace proposals. At the time this article was written, Wu Peifu seemed the most likely warlord (or "dujun" as the article refers to them) able to cobble together an alliance between the northern and southern cliques within a government of national unity. Known as the "Scholar General" because of his literary background (he had passed the provincial level *xiucai* degree under the Qing), Wu Peifu appeared by 1924 to have finally brokered an agreement between the major military and political factions. His success prompted *Time* magazine to publish a feature article on China's warlords with Wu Peifu gracing the magazine's cover—the first Chinese ever to appear there. Just weeks after the article was published, one of Wu's allies, Feng Yuxiang, suddenly reversed his military offensive into northeast China and attacked Wu Peifu's army in Beijing. The breakdown of Wu Peifu's alliance with Feng was typical of the period, in that warlords relied on military allegiances forged through weak personal ties rather than alliances based on the construction of coherent political programs. The following document shows both the "score card" mentality needed to keep track of the shifting warlord scene and the growing American interest in Chinese politics.

Questions

1. What area of China seems most affected by the inter-warlord violence?
2. What role does Sun Zhongshan play in the warlord conflict? Did any area escape warlord rule or excesses?

WU PEIFU (c. 1874–1939)—A major figure and leader of the Zhili clique during the Warlord era, often referred to as the "Scholar General." In 1924, Wu was nearly able to broker a peace agreement among the various factions, but ultimately failed. He resisted overtures from both the Guomindang and Japanese during the 1930s and died in suspicious circumstances in 1939.

China was threatened last week by a civil war of considerable size. Troops were massed upon the border between Zhejiang and Jiangsu, two maritime Provinces in the middle of China's long seacoast. Reports were issued to the effect that fighting had started, but no confirmation was obtainable.

Actors

Gen. Wu Peifu, Dujun of Zhili Province. He is the ablest military mind of China. Under his control is the whole north and centre of China, except Manchuria. He is the Lord Protector of Beijing, which is in his province. Although a democrat, he aims at reunifying China by the sword, which policy has brought him into conflict with the Dujun of Manchuria and Dr. Sun Zhongshan, of the South. One of the anomalies of the situation in Beijing is that President Cao Kun was once an enemy of Gen. Wu. At the time Cao Kun was made President of the Chinese Republic, Gen. Wu made no opposition and it was alleged that he had been "bought off." Apart from being a military genius, he is a man of culture, scientific and literary. He studies hard. Recently he began to learn English, employed a tutor, gave him his only spare hour—4:30 a.m. to 5:30 a.m. He is known as a "man who speaks softly and carries a big stick."

Gen. Qi Xieyuan, Dujun of Jiangsu, friend of Gen. Wu.

Gen. Lu Yongxiang, Dujun of Zhejiang, once military commissioner of Shanghai, an enemy of Gen. Qi. He is about 57 years of age. After he became Dujun of Zhejiang, he had Gen. He Fenglin appointed to the Shanghai post, although Shanghai is not in his Province.

Gen. He Fenglin, Military Commissioner of Shanghai, in the Province of Jiangsu. He is about 47 years of age and is under the influence of Gen. Lu.

Marshal Zhang Zuolin, Dujun of Manchuria, an avowed Imperialist—that is, a Monarchist. He is a young man of great brains and tremendous power, but

no match for Gen. Wu, who once sadly defeated him. Manchuria is about the size of Texas and Colorado, forming enough territory in northern China to make Marshal Zhang's title of War Lord of the North no empty epithet.

The Row

The cause of the present trouble in China centers in Shanghai. So numerous have been the reasons for the rumpus that they have varied with the political complexion of each sinologue interpreter.

The immediate cause is that Gen. Qi wants Shanghai under his thumb. As it is, he thinks the Military Commissioner in Shanghai ought to be a man of his choice. Having tried peacefully to oust Gen. He from the Commissionership, he is now resolved to do it by force, which brings him into conflict with Gen. Lu, who is equally determined to preserve his influence in Shanghai.

The general cause of the dispute is inherent in the political chaos which besets China. The Dujuns, who exercise almost sovereign power in their Provinces, are split up in many factions, due largely to personal jealousies. The immense power which the Dujuns wield is naturally the greatest obstacle to the reunification of China. China as such is internationally little more than a geographical expression. Nothing short of a civil war between the Centre under Gen. Wu, "biggest man in China," the South under Dr. Sun Zhongshan, and the North under Marshal Zhang can ever clear away the political strife which for years has thrown the country into annual turmoil.

Warning

Sir Ronald Macleay, British Minister to China and Acting Dean of the Diplomatic Corps. sent the Chinese Foreign Office a note from the Powers reminding the Government of China that it would be held responsible for loss of life and damage to property of foreign nationals. The note read:

ZHANG ZUOLIN (1875–1928)—Warlord nicknamed the 'Old Marshal' who controlled most of northeast China (Manchuria) from 1916 until 1928 when he was assassinated by a Japanese military forces.

“We, the undersigned representatives of Great Britain, Japan, France, and the United States, learning of the grave danger of hostilities breaking out between the provincial authorities of Jiangsu and Zhejiang, feel it our duty to repeat and reaffirm in the most solemn manner the obligations of the Chinese Government in the present crisis, to prevent loss of life and property to members of the foreign community in and around Shanghai.”

Foreign Forces

The principal Powers that are diplomatically represented in Beijing keep military and naval forces in China for the protection of foreigners, who are not subject to the laws of China but to the laws of their own countries, and who are under the jurisdiction of their consulates.

With trouble brewing around Shanghai, ten warships were sent to the harbor to watch over the inhabitants of the city and its outlying area. Rear Admiral David Murray Anderson, of the British Navy, was designated Commander-in-Chief of all foreign vessels: four American, three British, three Japanese.

Peace

It has been said, perhaps too often, that money has frequently stopped a Chinese War. Perhaps with that in view, the Shanghai merchants essayed to bring about agreement between the threatening troops. The chances of success were said to be small.

Attempts were also made to induce both sides to designate a neutral zone surrounding Shanghai. It was not known if they were successful.