

BIOGRAPHICAL
DICTIONARY OF
REPUBLICAN
CHINA

VOLUME 1: Ai-Ch'ü

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BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF REPUBLICAN CHINA

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Howard L. Boorman, *Editor*

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The first volume of the most important reference work on modern China published since the Second World War, this book contains 150 biographical articles on Chinese with surnames from Ai through Ch'ü who were prominent during the republican period (1911-49) in China. Over ten years in preparation, the *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* will provide a massive reference work, at once systematic and comprehensive, for all organizations, libraries, and individuals concerned with twentieth-century China. In addition to political and military leaders, the work includes detailed biographies-in-brief of individuals prominent in diplomacy, business and banking, literature, the arts, scholarship, social reform, education, the press and publishing, science, religion, aviation, medicine, and other fields. The principal criterion for inclusion is the importance of the individual's role in the life of China during the twentieth century.

The *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* differs from other major biographical dictionaries in that it records the careers not only of those who have died but also of many persons still living. Its first volume, for example, includes major articles on Chiang Kai-shek and his son Chiang-Ching-kuo, as well as Chang Ch'ün and other senior figures who serve the Government of the Republic of China in Taiwan. Leading figures of the Central People's Government at Peking include not only political figures such as Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Ch'en Yi, and Ch'en Po-ta but also scientists like the French-trained nu-

(Continued on back flap)



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VOLUME I: AI-CH'Ü

HOWARD L. ROSENSTEIN

RICHARD C. HOLLOWAY

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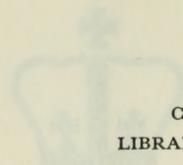
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VOLUME I: AI-CHU



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BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF REPUBLICAN CHINA

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PREFACE

In all ages of history it is desirable to get away from generalizations and study individuals and families.

RONALD SYME*

IN THE PREFACE to his doctoral dissertation, Arthur W. Hummel, writing some thirty years ago, alluded indirectly to the need for a biographical dictionary of twentieth-century China. Hummel's thesis, an annotated translation of the autobiographical preface by Ku Chieh-kang to the *Ku-shih pien* [symposium on ancient Chinese history], also raised a paradoxical point. "In order, therefore, to give the text its maximum intelligibility," he wrote, "I was compelled at every point to insert exact dates (when such are available), despite the fact that this often involved, even for a single date, many hours of tedious searching among the extremely inadequate helps that are as yet available, even in the most complete Chinese libraries. This is particularly true of modern and contemporary writers; for, however strange it may seem, it is easier to find the exact dates (when such are recorded) of a Chinese who lived in the twelfth century, than of one who died fifteen years ago!"

Dr. Hummel devoted a substantial portion of his later working life to planning and editing what is still the single indispensable Western reference work on modern Chinese history, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*. Despite the appearance of a small number of biographies and biographical reference works of varying degrees of completeness and reliability, there has been little basic change in the situation Dr. Hummel described in 1931. The section on biography since 1900 in *China in Western Literature*, the comprehensive bibliography edited by the late T. L. Yuan and published in 1958, is only seven pages long, with most of that space allotted to works on four people: Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, Soong Mei-ling, and Mao Tse-tung. And the *Introduction aux études d'histoire contemporaine de Chine*,

1898-1949, edited by Jean Chesneaux of Paris and John Lust of London and published in 1964, devotes a scant four pages to biographical studies and confirms that Western scholars have hardly begun the biographical study of twentieth-century Chinese history.

That there is need for a framework within which to pursue serious study of China's republican period has been underscored by the reemergence in the mid-1960's of that nation as a major power. In this work, the republican period is defined as the thirty-eight years between the Wuchang revolt in October 1911 and the inauguration of the Central People's Government at Peking in October 1949. This period demands systematic study not only as an intrinsically significant segment of modern Chinese history but also as essential background to the understanding of contemporary Chinese politics and policies. Almost without exception, major institutional and intellectual developments since 1950, both on the mainland and in Taiwan, are rooted in the first half of the century.

A biographical approach to history is, to be sure, only one of several methods that may be used to reconstruct the paths that have led from past to present. Some observers would hold that principal emphasis should be placed upon description and analysis of institutions: political organizations, economic systems, social structure. It is true that even in the most chaotic years of the warlord interlude in China power could not be gained, consolidated, or exercised without reliance on some sort of political-military machinery and that the changing socio-economic structure exerted a pivotal influence on history. No one with a critical interest in Chinese affairs can deny the importance of institutions or of the interrelationships which are their by-product. At the same time, no one with experience in pre-1949 China can

* *Colonial Elites: Rome, Spain, and the Americas* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 52.

deny that the essential fabric of Chinese political life often was woven from interacting influences and relationships of individuals. In this view, the basic patterns of Chinese life depended, to a large extent, on those persons who, with varying success, formed them through the multi-stranded intricacies of personal relationships (*kuan-hsi*). The Chinese themselves refer to the *san-t'ung*, the "three sames": an allusion to patterns of personal relations based upon a common home district; a common school or university; or a common trade, business, or professional activity. Because of the absence during the republican period of a stable political and legal system effective on a national basis and because of the degree of social disorientation in China during this period, personal relations assumed unusual importance.

The subject matter of history is always human beings; the implications of political, economic, and social change are significant, finally, in the manner in which they affect human life. The hope of the editor of this work has been that the events, the institutions, and the processes of change in the republican period in China may, therefore, best be revealed through the lives of the prominent Chinese of the period.

Random biographical research on prominent figures of the republican period might, however, easily lead to a galaxy of discrete views of recent Chinese history. Given the nature of the subject and the limitations of resources, a research framework for the *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* was an initial necessity. In part, the book was designed to supplement *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*. Because of the slight overlap in the periods covered, there are frequent references in this work to the Hummel volumes (abbreviated as ECCP), which contain scattered data about people who lived after the fall of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1911-12. Almost all of the subjects of articles in the *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* were born during the final decades of the Ch'ing period, and some achieved prominence before 1911. We also have recorded the post-1949 careers, when known, of men who died after that date or who are still alive. However, no serious attempt has been made to provide articles on Chinese who have become prominent on the mainland, in Taiwan, or elsewhere since mid-century.

The *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*

differs from other major biographical dictionaries in that it records the careers of people who are still living and of those who have died. The men and events are of the immediate past; the book is contemporary documentation. To enrich the shadowy and incomplete printed sources, the words of the men themselves and of men who knew them have often been used. This work attempts to capture and preserve knowledge about twentieth-century China before many of its sources, particularly the oral sources, disappear.

Because this work deals with the most populous nation of the modern world during one of the most turbulent periods of its recent history, the editor had to establish and develop control mechanisms to guide the selection of names for inclusion. At the outset, three crude categories were established: domestic politics, external relations, and socio-economic developments. Under the first heading, several broad subject-areas were distinguished: the Peiyang period (1912-28); the Kuomintang (and its antecedent organizational forms); the Chinese Communist party; the post-1928 National Government; local militarists with provincial or regional bases of power; Japanese-sponsored governments of the 1931-45 period; minor political parties; and the borderlands (Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet). The external relations heading embraced, essentially, professional diplomats and overseas Chinese. The socio-economic category was considered elastic and eventually included such subdivisions as business and banking, literature, the arts, the press and publishing, education, scholarship, religion, aviation, and medicine. A separate category, intended for purposes of dossier control rather than of discrimination, was established for women. Calligraphers, Taoist abbots, philatelists, lineal descendants of Confucius, librarians, topologists, and other exotic species were dealt with on an individual basis.

The use of these general categories aided initial classification and identification of figures prominent in public life in China during the republican period. In certain categories, where a structured hierarchy existed, senior-ranking members of that hierarchy were obvious candidates for inclusion. Examples are leaders of the Kuomintang or the Chinese Communist party, cabinet ministers in the National Government, provincial governors, presidents of major

universities, publishers of leading newspapers, and ambassadors who served at major European capitals. In other fields, notably literature, the arts, and scholarship, judgments were, inevitably, more subjective. Preparation of a basic list of entries was done by fields, though many men and women had such varied careers that they could not be compartmentalized. In the initial selection of names, informal discussion with outside consultants provided useful counsel and sometimes sparked considerable controversy.

Early, optimistic plans of the mid-1950's called for a total of roughly 800 entries, a figure derived by extension from the Hummel work. Toward 1960, that target figure was halved, but it was enlarged again during the early 1960's to a present total of some 600 articles. From the outset, the editor believed that the work should not concern itself solely with political and military figures but should attempt to provide balanced coverage of most significant areas of activity and change in republican China. However, certain fields could not be dealt with adequately, and others have not been dealt with at all. The field of medicine, for instance, has been slighted. A few Western-trained doctors, including specialists in public health, have been included, but there is no representative of traditional Chinese medicine. Nor is there a nurse, though nursing was an increasingly important professional activity during the period. Cooks, professional courtesans, and fortune tellers also have been omitted. Athletes were excluded, principally because—with the notable exception of badminton, in which Chinese players from Malaya long dominated international competition—Chinese athletes did not achieve world reputation during the republican period.

The mansion of biography has many entrances, but no master key. The editor finds, in retrospect, that his principal door-openers were the Hummel volumes and the late Bernard De Voto's essay "The Skeptical Biographer," originally published in *Harper's* in 1933. Ideally, a biographical article is a compact story of a human life, with the facts of the individual's career ascertained and validated by traditional scholarly methods: research into original sources, scrupulous examination and evaluation of evidence, and constant exercise of critical objectivity. The article aims to inform through

narrative rather than through static exposition of fact after fact, date after date. In practice, of course, performance often falls short of aspiration. In the case of this work, documentary sources are chaotic and often replete with contradictions, if not inaccuracies; research aids are scanty; and the very proximity of the period causes a mistaken sense of familiarity with its complexities.

A minimum goal for the *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* was the compilation of an accurate chronology of the life of each person whose biography was to be included. Chronology is the skeleton of biography, and every effort has been made to see that purported facts fit together in reasonable order and sequence. The basic form of each article is a brief identifying paragraph followed by an account of the person's background, early life, career, writings, and family. In the end, the arrangement and presentation of data involve critical judgment; and the practical standard of success is whether the article communicates to the reader something of the essence of its subject.

The preparation of any single biographical article is not dissimilar to the assembling of a jigsaw puzzle. The editorial creation of a balanced reference work from several hundred jigsaw puzzles is a more difficult task. Beyond the control system formed by categories of public activity, the composition of the larger mosaic was determined to some extent by aesthetics and by accidents. Aesthetic considerations related principally to balancing the coverage given to a specific field of activity: if one person in a field was included, proper balance often demanded the inclusion of another. Accident also played a minor role in determining coverage. In a few cases, the unanticipated availability of source material or the chance discovery of a qualified biographer led to the creation of new articles. In other cases, biographies had to be omitted, either because data proved insufficient or because assignments had to be curtailed to meet production priorities.

As the work progressed, two persisting intellectual problems emerged. The first was that of relating a single biography to the historical and social context in which the subject lived. The judicious balancing of life and times is always a problem in biographical writing, but the sparseness of consistently reliable data and the extent of Western ignorance

of the history of the era create additional patches of quicksand in the approaches to the republican period in China. A second problem, shared by editors of other biographical dictionaries, was the extent to which first-hand knowledge of the subject is relevant. In seeking an author for a biographical article to be included in this book, the editor had two options: selecting an author who knew the subject personally, and thereby running the risk of receiving either a eulogy or an otherwise biased account, or choosing a man who did not know the subject intimately, or perhaps did not know him at all, but who could view his subject with critical detachment. Whether first-hand knowledge or objective judgment is more important proved to be a constant problem. A strong case may be made for the argument that it is better to choose an author with personal knowledge than one who relies solely on Chinese documentary materials, which often were designed to delude, if not deceive, the user.

Because of the complexities of Chinese personal relationships throughout this period, it was decided that individual articles in the work should be unsigned. The reasons were three: discretion; the necessity of translating and severely editing many articles for publication; and the requirement that a reference book be as objective as is humanly possible. Many Chinese contributors would not have been willing to sign their articles, some of which incorporated personal information and experience. Producing a reasonably consistent whole from the work of contributors, many of whom wrote in Chinese, has required considerable effort. No article in the completed work corresponds exactly to the original manuscript submitted to the editor. Most have been revised, reorganized, and rewritten at least once. Some additional rewriting has been necessary to achieve reasonable objectivity. The editor, therefore, must assume final responsibility for the general quality of the work.

The *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* has been prepared and edited in the United States for educated English-speaking readers. Although efforts have been made to preserve the flavor of the original Chinese environment, it has been reflected through the prism of Western understanding. In the absence of standard reference books on the period, political,

military, and institutional terminology have posed substantial problems. Western military terms, for example, have been employed to describe Chinese military units, though such terms may be misleading if taken to be precise equivalents. Some discussion of these points is included in the Explanatory Notes. In a few of the longer articles—specifically those on Chiang Kai-shek, Mao Tse-tung, Sun Yat-sen, and Yuan Shih-k'ai—subheadings have been inserted to assist the reader. We have also departed from conventional practices by devoting a separate article to the Soong family, regarded by many observers as republican China's most influential family.

A brief general bibliography appears at the end of each volume. A full bibliography, giving the sources used in preparing each article and the publications, if any, of the subject of the article, will comprise the final volume of the work.

The process of creating this book has been a lengthy one. In retrospect, three major cycles of activity may be distinguished. From 1955 to 1963 basic research was carried on by staff members in New York, supplemented by contributions from scholars in the United States and abroad. In 1963-64 a small group of experienced staff members worked to complete research and to fill gaps in coverage. The period since 1964 has been devoted to checking, rewriting, and editorial standardizing to prepare the manuscript for publication.

Because of the complexities of the republican period in China, it would have been desirable not to publish any of the biographies until the final editing of the entire work had been completed. However, it proved necessary to prepare the biographies for the first volume for publication before moving on to the final checking and editing of those scheduled for inclusion in other volumes. Further, the obvious importance of making these materials available for general use has outweighed arguments for delaying publication.

Any work of this length and complexity contains errors. The editor would be grateful for suggestions, corrections, criticisms, and additional data, which may be sent to: *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, Editorial Department, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, New York 10027.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

MY EXPOSURE to Chinese affairs began slightly more than twenty years ago, when I went from Guam to north China after the Second World War as an officer of the military forces. In that role and subsequently as a graduate student at Yale University and as a Chinese language officer of the Foreign Service stationed at Peiping (1947-50) and Hong Kong (1950-54), I encountered some of the practical and research difficulties in contemporary Chinese biography and became aware of the urgency of attempting to preserve detailed biographical data of significance to historians that were, even then, in danger of disappearing. Here particular mention should be made of my friend Mr. William C. C. Wu, who provided much initial guidance and should, in a sense, be counted the evocator of the present reference work.

In 1954-55, when on leave from the Foreign Service as the holder of a Rockefeller Public Service Award, I made a specific proposal for the preparation of a biographical dictionary of twentieth-century China, which was approved by the Ford Foundation. Mr. David C. Manford, then an officer of the Foundation, and Mr. Paul F. Langer, then a temporary consultant on research and training problems, provided essential counsel during this period. Since 1955, financial support for the biographical dictionary work has been provided by the Ford Foundation through grants to the School of International Affairs of Columbia University, and I should like to express my appreciation for the Foundation's sustained confidence in the enterprise and the editor during this extended period.

Although planned independently, since 1955 the biographical dictionary has been sponsored by the School of International Affairs of Columbia University. I must express my

appreciation to the two Deans of the Faculty of International Affairs at Columbia under whom I have served as director of the project: Dr. Schuyler C. Wallace and Dr. Andrew W. Cordier. Professor Philip E. Mosely, the Associate Dean of the Faculty of International Affairs, deserves a special note of thanks. Professor Mosely has assumed primary responsibility for administrative and budget programming, and his knowledge and vision have supported the editor's efforts in completing the book. I should also like to express my gratitude to Mrs. Margaret Chalmers, the Administrative Assistant to the Dean of the School of International Affairs at Columbia, for her assistance in the complexities of budget management. The East Asian Library at Columbia University provided an essential library base without which this work could not have been completed. The Columbia University Press has helped greatly in transmuting a massive and unruly body of manuscript into a form suitable for a standard work of reference. Dr. William Bridgwater and Mr. Henry H. Wiggins of the Press provided essential guidance throughout the period of the work, and Mrs. Katharine Kyes Leab of the Editorial Department of the Press helped me to learn about reference books. Not least, a word of thanks should be given to Mr. and Mrs. Willi Lubach, custodians of the Columbia University building at 635 West 115th Street, for their protracted struggle against the grime of New York City and for their tolerance of the mass of papers, books, and file folders among which a biographical dictionary project is doomed to exist and work.

Except for the editor, no one person has been continuously engaged in preparing the dictionary from the time the project was established.

Some members of the staff, including Dr. John M. H. Lindbeck, who was deputy director of the project in 1958–59, were able to serve only briefly because of other professional opportunities. The Staff page lists all who have made substantive contributions to the project at any stage, regardless of length of service.

So many people in so many places have aided this work that it would be invidious to single out some for special mention and to omit others. I therefore limit explicit commendation to the three men who rendered the most extensive and helpful services. Mr. Richard C. Howard, the Associate Editor, joined the staff in the autumn of 1959 and served as my deputy until his resignation in June 1963 to accept the position of Curator of the Wason Collection at Cornell University. His unusual combination of historical sense, linguistic skills, punctilious research, and writing abilities were of the greatest importance in developing and sustaining the standards of the work; he prepared many of the longer biographical articles, particularly on individuals prominent in the obscure pre-1928 era in China. Staff Editor O. Edmund Clubb began work on a part-time basis in September 1960 and continued to assist the biographical work until June 1966. A retired officer of the American Foreign Service (under whom I served at Peiping in 1948–49) with nearly twenty years of experience in China, he is also the author of *Twentieth Century China* and of numerous articles on contemporary Asia. Mr. Clubb made a massive contribution toward the completion of the work; he prepared many

biographies of political and military figures. Finally, I record with regret the untimely death of Mr. Yong Sang Ng, who died in Hong Kong in July 1966 as these paragraphs were being written. Mr. Ng, with whom I had worked intermittently since 1950, both in the Far East and in the United States, was also a member of the staff of the American Consulate General in Hong Kong. Mr. Ng's energy, industry, and wit will be remembered by all who worked with him, and his contribution to the work is reflected in the biographies of certain figures with roots in Canton and south China, whom he portrayed with understanding and perspective.

In addition to the staff, scholars in the United States and in other countries contributed single articles or groups of articles. A few have contributed articles both to *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* and to the *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*. Specific mention should be made of three men who prepared articles on important groups of individuals within their special fields of competence: Mr. Chang Kia-ngau, former general manager of the Bank of China, now resident in the United States; Professor Wang Yi-t'ung of the University of Pittsburgh, formerly of the University of British Columbia; and Professor Wu Hsiang-hsiang of Taiwan and Singapore.

To the many experts throughout the world who have given both time and knowledge to read draft articles and to suggest emendations and improvements, I extend my warm thanks.

HOWARD L. BOORMAN

EXPLANATORY NOTES

NAMES

The romanization systems used are the Wade-Giles (with the omission of some dia-critical marks) for Chinese and the Hepburn (with the omission of some macrons) for Japanese. The major exception to this rule is Chinese place names for large cities, which are given according to the Chinese Post Office system. In the case of Kwangtung province, Cantonese spellings often have been indicated: Nanhai (Namhoi). For place names in Manchuria and in the case of Peking, we generally have followed contemporary usage. In such outlying areas as Sinkiang, Mongolia, and Tibet, any given place might have several names. For convenience, we have standardized the place names in all outlying areas according to the dictates of common sense.

Chinese personal names are given in the Chinese order, that is, with the surname first. In general, the articles are arranged alphabetically by the Wade-Giles romanization of the subject's surname and given personal name (*ming*). However, the biographies of Chiang Kai-shek, Eugene Ch'en, H. H. K'ung, T. V. Soong, Sun Yat-sen, and a few others appear under the name most familiar to Western readers. The courtesy, literary, Western, alternate, and common pen names of subjects of biographies are listed at the beginning of each article (*see ABBREVIATIONS*). The reader should note that the *ming* and the *tzu* (courtesy name) frequently are confused in modern Chinese sources.

THE CALENDAR

Dates are given according to the Western calendar, converted in many cases from the Chinese calendar. The word *sui* often is used

in referring to age. In China, a person is regarded as being one year old at birth and two years old at the beginning of the next Chinese calendar year. Thus, a person's age by Western calculation will be less than his *sui*. We have retained the *sui* form in many articles because of the difficulties of conversion and, frequently, the lack of precise information about month and day of birth.

MEASURES OF MONEY AND LAND

From 1911 to 1949 the values of Chinese monetary units varied so greatly that it is impossible to assign them standard values in Western terms. Until 1933 the official unit of value was the Customs tael (Hai-kuan liang). Other monies, such as silver dollars (yuan), also were current. In 1933 the silver dollar (yuan) became the standard legal tender of China. In 1935, by law, a managed paper currency (fapi) replaced the silver. A gold dollar unit (yuan) was briefly introduced in 1948, but the Chinese monetary system remained unstable until after the establishment of the Central People's Government at Peking in October 1949.

Standard units of land measurement used in this work are *li* and *mu*.

1 *li* = 1/3 mile
1 *mu* (or *mou*) = 733 sq. yards
6.6 *mu* = 1 acre

MILITARY ORGANIZATION

We have used Western military terms to describe the organization of Chinese armies. Thus:

<i>chün</i> = army	<i>ying</i> = battalion
<i>shih</i> = division	<i>lien</i> = company
<i>lü</i> = brigade	<i>p'ai</i> = platoon
<i>t'uan</i> = regiment	

The reader should note that the organization of Chinese armies was not so standardized as that of Western armies, and the size of units varied considerably. During the second phase of the Northern Expedition (1928) armies were combined for field operations to form larger units, although they retained their individual designations (e.g., First Army). The combined forces were known variously as army groups (*chün-t'uan*) direction armies (*fang-mien chün*) and route armies (*lu-chün*). Above this level was that of group army (*chi-t'uan-chün*). Although these were temporary designations, they achieved the permanence of organizational categories.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The administrative divisions, in ascending order, of each province at the end of the Ch'ing period were:

- hsien = districts or counties
- chou = departments
- fu = prefectures
- tao = circuits composed of
2 or more fu

We have used the terms military governor and civil governor in referring to provincial rulers of the 1912-28 period. At the beginning of the republican period the Chinese title for the military governor of a province was *tutuh*. The official designation was changed to *chiang-chün* in 1914 and to *tuchün* in 1916. Beginning about 1925, the title was changed in some areas to *tupan*, a designation which implied that the governor's primary responsibilities were demilitarization and social rehabilitation.

We have used the term governor in referring to the top-ranking officer of a provincial government after 1928, rather than the more literal rendering of the Chinese (*sheng cheng-fu chu-hsi*) as chairman.

The term *tao-t'ai* refers to the official in charge of a circuit. A number of the men who held this office during the Ch'ing period were important in foreign relations because often the *tao-t'ai* was the highest Chinese official available for negotiations with foreigners.

Mention should be made of the *likin*, an inland tax on the transit of goods which was introduced by the imperial government at the time of the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64). *Likin* stations soon proliferated throughout China.

The tax revenues were beyond Peking's control and often were used to finance regional armies. The *likin* tax on local trade was not suppressed officially until 1933.

THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM

In the Ch'ing period, the official class was defined by statute, and its composition was determined by the results of examinations in literary and classical subjects. Although the examination system was abolished in 1905, a brief discussion of it is necessary because many prominent people in the republican period were members of this class by achievement or purchase and because the examinations and degrees have no Western equivalents.

Preliminary examinations were conducted on three successive levels: the *hsien*; the *fu*; and the *sheng*, which was conducted at the prefectoral capital. Successful candidates received the *sheng-yuan* degree, which entitled them to assume the dress of the scholar and exempted them from forced labor. However, they had no legal right to or opportunity for official appointment. They were subject to *sui-k'ao*, examinations given regularly in the prefectoral capitals under provincial supervision. Success in the *sui-k'ao* meant that they received a small stipend annually to further their studies. Roughly equivalent to the *sheng-yuan* degree was the *chien-sheng* degree, which, however, could be purchased. Accordingly, holders of the *chien-sheng* degree were not subject to periodic examination. Holders of the *chien-sheng* and the *sheng-yuan* degrees, who were neither commoners nor officials, comprised a large and changing group.

Those who wished to qualify for official status took the provincial examinations, composed of a preliminary examination, or *k'o-k'ao*, and a *hsiang-shih*, or provincial examination. Successful candidates received the degree of *chü-jen*, which made the holder eligible for office. The *kung-sheng* degree was roughly equivalent to the *chü-jen*, but was acquired by appointment, by examination, or by purchase.

The examinations for the highest degree, the *chin-shih*, which brought appointment to the middle levels of the imperial bureaucracy, were held at Peking. They were composed of the *hui-shih*, or metropolitan examination; the *tien-shih*, or palace examination; and the *ch'ao-k'ao*, an examination in the presence of

the emperor which led to specific appointment. Chin-shih who ranked near the top of their group usually were appointed to the Hanlin Academy, where their duties included drawing up government documents and compiling materials for official histories. Service at the Hanlin Academy frequently afforded access to the highest positions in the imperial government.

Candidates who passed the examinations in the same year were linked in the t'ung-nien (same year) relationship, a bond somewhat similar to that linking, for example, members of the Class of 1928 at Harvard College.

FINAL DATE FOR VOLUME I

The final date for inclusion of information about the subjects of biographies in Volume I was July 1966.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The final volume of this work will contain a comprehensive bibliography. It will list the published writings, if any, of the subject of each article and the sources, both personal and written, used in preparing the article. A brief bibliography of basic sources for twentieth-century Chinese biography is to be found at the end of each volume.

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF REPUBLICAN CHINA

VOLUME I: AI-CH'Ü

Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300

U.

S.

KAZAKHSTAN



Issyk-Kul

Kashgar

Khotan

AFGHANISTAN

SINKIANG

KASHMIR

CHINESE TURKESTAN

Gartok

TIBET

N

E

P

A

L

Lhasa

Brahmaputra R.

Ganges R.

SIKKIM

I N D I A

Calcutta

BAY OF BENGAL

B U R M A

Lashio

Mekong R.

Jalween R.

SIAM
(THAILAND)

FRENCH
INDO-CHINA

Hanoi

Kunming

Ts

Kweian

Yangtze R.

Chengtu

CHUNGKING

SZECHW

S

Wei R.

C

Kanchow

Z

Sining

Lanchow

Yangtze R.

Koko Nor

INNE

NINGHSIA

G

O

TSINGHAI

INNER

OUTER

MON

TANNU-TUVA

Ulan B

(Urg)

Irkutsk



REPUBLICAN CHINA
IN 1928

ABBREVIATIONS

Alt. = alternate name
Chinese. = Chinese name
H. = hao, a literary name
Orig. = original name

Pen. = pen name
Studio. = pieh-hao (alternate hao)
T. = tzu, courtesy name
West. = Western name

ECCP = *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, ed. by
Arthur W. Hummel. Washington, 1943-44.

Ai Ch'ing: see CHIANG HAI-CH'ENG.

Ai Ssu-ch'i

艾思奇

Ai Ssu-ch'i (1905-22 March 1966), ideologue, became prominent in the Chinese Communist movement as a popularizer of Marxist-Leninist theories in such works as his *Ta-chung che-hsueh* [philosophy for the masses] and in his articles in the Communist party magazine *Hsueh-hsi* [study].

Virtually nothing is known of Ai Ssu-ch'i's family background or his childhood other than that he was born in T'engch'ung on the Burma border of Yunnan and that his ancestral home reportedly was in Chekiang province. It may be surmised that the family must have been in reasonably comfortable circumstances and that as a boy Ai received a formal education, for it is known that he went to Japan and studied philosophy there.

On his return to China, probably in the early 1930's, Ai Ssu-ch'i made his debut in the world of letters as one of the editors of *Tu-shu sheng-huo* [intellectual life], a leftist publication which was founded at Shanghai in 1933 and which became very popular among young students throughout China. Ai Ssu-ch'i's associates at that time included Chang Han-fu, later to be a vice minister of foreign affairs at Peking; Liu Shih, who figured prominently in the National Salvation Association organized at Shanghai early in 1935; and Li Kung-p'u, a leader of the same association who was among the so-called seven gentlemen of the group imprisoned by the National Government.

In 1934 Ai Ssu-ch'i attracted attention with a series of articles in *Tu-shu sheng-huo* in which he defended orthodox Marxism against the polemics of Yeh Ch'ing (Jen Cho-hsuan, q.v.), whom the leaders of the Chinese Communist party labeled a Trotskyist. The controversy revolved around the claim that dialectical materialism is an absolute and fixed truth beyond scientific proof, a belief to which Yeh

Ch'ing did not subscribe. Ai held that Marxism is superior to science and that it alone is the theory of society and the law of social change. Unlike other philosophies, it cannot perish, Ai asserted.

Ai became a member of the Chinese Communist party in 1935. He then began writing on Marxism-Leninism in the vernacular for the benefit of the less intellectual, and during the next few years he produced some of the works which brought him popularity. In 1936 he published *Ssu-hsiang fang-fa lun* [on methods of thinking], which elucidated the theory that dialectical materialism is the only scientific method of thought, and *Che-hsueh chiang-hua* [philosophical talks], which formed the conceptual basis of much of his later work. He was also co-translator with Cheng I-li of a popular manual on Marxism called *Hsin che-hsueh ta-kang* [outline of the new philosophy], published in June 1936.

In the same year Ai Ssu-ch'i wrote what is perhaps his most widely read treatise, *Ta-chung che-hsueh* [philosophy for the masses]. Over the years this book went through more than 30 printings, became one of the most popular volumes on Marxism in China, and was endorsed by the Chinese Communist party as a suitable introduction to the study of Marxism-Leninism. In this book Ai Ssu-ch'i demonstrated his ability to make abstract concepts palatable by utilizing vocabulary drawn from proverbs and traditional Chinese literature. This technique proved very useful in introducing impressionable young students to Marxism-Leninism.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, Ai Ssu-ch'i was among the first group of literary-intellectual figures to migrate to Yenan, where the Chinese Communists had consolidated their forces. Arriving with Ai or at about the same time were other intellectuals who afterwards established themselves in the Chinese Communist movement, notably Ch'en Po-ta, Chou Yang, and Hu Ch'iao-mu. Mao Tse-tung was then striving to consolidate control over the Chinese Communist party. Yet, Mao's efforts to establish his position as a Marxist

theorist met covert criticism, if not open challenge, from members of the Chinese party who had studied in Moscow. Such men as Chang Wen-t'ien, Ch'en Shao-yü, Ch'in Pang-hsien (qq.v.), and others reportedly viewed Mao as a t'u-kung [country Communist] who had no sophisticated knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. Mao therefore enlisted Ai Ssu-ch'i, Ch'en Po-ta, Hu Ch'iao-mu, and a few others to assist in the exposition of his own brand of Marxism-Leninism. The resulting body of doctrine came to be referred to as the thought of Mao Tse-tung (q.v.), which purportedly combines the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution.

Having been admitted to the entourage of Mao Tse-tung, Ai played a significant role in the transmission of current Soviet writings on Marxist philosophy, many of which were just then being translated from the Russian. Ai and others supervised the translation of the article on dialectical materialism from the *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia* [great soviet encyclopedia], for example. After 1937 Ai Ssu-ch'i became increasingly active as a teacher in Communist education and indoctrination institutes. He lectured at the North Shensi Institute and also at the Yenan headquarters of the K'ang-ta [anti-Japanese military and political university], which was responsible for indoctrination of cadres. He also taught Marxist philosophy at the more intellectual Yenan University. During this period Ai also produced several books: *Che-hsueh yü sheng-huo* [philosophy and life], an attempt to reply to criticism of Marxism for its alleged lack of moral principles; *Li-lun yü shih-chien* [theory and practice]; and *Che-hsueh hsuan-chi* [philosophical extracts]. In 1939, in collaboration with Wu Li-p'ing, he wrote *K'o-hsueh li-shih-kuan chiao-ch'eng* [introduction to the scientific concept of history].

During these years Ai Ssu-ch'i was a member of the Communist party research institute. He first edited a supplement in the Chinese Communist party organ, the Yenan *Chieh-fang jih-pao* [liberation daily news], and later became an editor of that newspaper. In 1940 he edited a new magazine, *Chung-kuo wen-hua* [Chinese culture], the inaugural issue of which featured Mao Tse-tung's essay, "New Democracy." By 1943, Ai Ssu-ch'i was also a member of the government council of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Area Government.

After the Sino-Japanese war ended in 1945, the Nationalists and the Chinese Communists resumed their civil warfare. Little is known of Ai Ssu-ch'i's activities during the early part of this period. By 1948, when the tide was turning against the Nationalists, the Communists had established their headquarters at Shih-chia-chuang in Hopei province. North China University was organized in that area, and Ai Ssu-ch'i was appointed professor of philosophy. Also in 1948 his *She-hui fa-chan chien-shih* [short history of social development] was published.

As complete national victory approached, the Chinese Communists in September 1949 convened the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference to create a new national government. Ai Ssu-ch'i attended that meeting as a delegate from the group of social science workers in the country. After the establishment of the Central People's Government, Ai Ssu-ch'i was made a member of the cultural and educational affairs committee of the Government Administration Council, the predecessor of the State Council.

In September 1949 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party launched the magazine *Hsueh-hsi* [study], as the principal theoretical journal of the party. It also served as a basic textbook to be used by the party in connection with its initial intensive "study" program designed to indoctrinate the populace in the essential principles of Marxism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Ai Ssu-ch'i frequently contributed to this journal. His other publications of the period, often based upon articles originally written for *Hsueh-hsi*, dealt with historical materialism, the history of social development, and the objectives and basic methods of study. For a period in 1952, however, Ai Ssu-ch'i apparently "strayed toward error," and he was forced to recant some statements which were construed as being too favorable toward the bourgeoisie. He wrote of his mistakes in an article which appeared in the 16 March 1952 issue of *Hsueh-hsi*; then, publication of the magazine was suspended for six months.

Later, Ai Ssu-ch'i began writing again in *Hsueh-hsi* and continued to be a leader in the sinification of traditional Marxism-Leninism. In addition to many short pamphlets, Ai published essays. Two of note were his attack

on Hu Shih (q.v.), *Hu Shih shih-yung-chu-i p'i-p'an* [critique of Hu Shih's pragmatism], and his *She-hui li-shih shou-hsien shih kung-ch'an-che ti li-shih* [social history is primarily the history of the Communist]. His *Pien-cheng wei-wu-chu-i chiang-k'o t'i-kang* [lectures on the principles of dialectical materialism] was published in Peking in 1957.

Ai Ssu-ch'i was an influential figure in the field of philosophy in the People's Republic of China. In 1949 he was appointed a vice chairman of the preparatory committee for the China Philosophical Society. When that organization was inaugurated, he was made first vice president. In 1955 he was appointed a member of the department of philosophy and social sciences at the Academy of Sciences at Peking, and he was a professor at the Marx-Lenin Institute of the Chinese Communist party. He was elected a deputy, representing Kweichow province, to the First National People's Congress in 1954, and to the Second Congress in 1959. He was not reelected in 1964, however. He died on 22 March 1966.

Ai Ssu-ch'i never rose high in the ranks of the Chinese Communist party itself. His only important party post was that of director of the philosophy pedagogic research office in the Higher Party School.

Aw Boon Haw: see HU WEN-HU.

Burhan

Alt. Burhan Shahidi

鮑爾漢

Burhan (1894-), political leader, gained notice through his activities in Sinkiang politics for more than 30 years. He was governor of the province from 1949 through 1955. After 1955 he was a leading official representative of Communist China's Muslim minority.

There are numerous pockets of obscurity in Burhan's career. His birthplace appears to have been the Aksu district of Sinkiang, although the site has also been given as Chuguchak and Kazan. Apparently, he was taken by his parents at an early age to Kazan in Russian Central Asia, where he received his middle school education. His family were Tatar traders; Burhan claimed to be a Uighur. His parents had sufficient means to send Burhan to Germany

for his advanced education. He chose the University of Berlin and studied political economy there from 1912 until 1916. Sometime before 1918 he and his parents went to Sinkiang. That move may have taken place in 1916 at the time of the Tsar's attempted conscription of Turki manpower into the armies or during the upheaval that took place in Russian Turkestan in 1917 at the time of the Bolshevik revolution.

In Sinkiang, Burhan entered the service of a trading company. His known career as a Sinkiang trader began at Urumchi in 1918, and, apparently, he continued and expanded his commercial interests after his entry into politics. As a man who spoke not only the indigenous Turki languages but also Russian, German, and Chinese, Burhan had obvious value for the provincial government of Yang Tseng-hsin (q.v.), which was then harried by the overflowing of the Russian revolution into Sinkiang. Burhan entered the service of the Sinkiang provincial government as a secretary in commercial or political negotiations. He advanced steadily in the bureaucracy, serving successively in the department of finance, the customs bureau, and the mint. About 1925 he became director of public roads.

The political upheaval that followed the assassination of Yang Tseng-hsin in July 1928 brought Burhan into the position of foreign affairs commissioner under Chin Shu-jen (q.v.). Shortly afterwards, Burhan went to Germany with the reputed mission of "studying political and economic conditions," a common euphemism for other activities. He may have gone as a purchasing agent for Chin Shu-jen's government or he may have been on a personal mission for China. In any event, Burhan is reported to have continued his studies at the University of Berlin during that second visit to Western Europe.

Burhan's absence from Sinkiang coincided with the Chin Shu-jen interregnum from 1928 to 1933. Burhan is not mentioned as actively having supported Sheng Shih-ts'ai (q.v.) against Chin Shu-jen in April 1933, and he probably returned to Sinkiang after Sheng's coup.

His return almost coincided with the arrival of Garegin A. Apresoff as Soviet consul general. In January 1934, in accordance with a local agreement concluded between Apresoff and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Soviet troops, identified simply as men from the Altai, came to the rescue

of Sheng and turned back the Chinese Muslim forces led by Ma Chung-ying (q.v.). Burhan evidently remained at Urumchi for a time, since the Swedish explorer, Sven Hedin, in his book, *The Silk Road*, records that "Burkhan" attended a dinner party given there by Sheng in June 1934. Soon afterwards, however, Burhan was sent to the Altai region as pacification commissioner. He then was designated by the Sinkiang provincial government as Chinese consul at Andizhan in the Uzbek S.S.R., and later at Zaisan in Kazakhstan.

In 1937, at a time when Sheng Shih-ts'ai was denouncing alleged international plots in all quarters, Burhan returned from Zaisan and became general manager of the official trade monopoly. He was responsible for the collection of Sinkiang products and their delivery to the Soviet purchasing agency, Sovintorg. But Sheng imprisoned Burhan as a "Trotskyist"; since Sheng then professed himself to be an orthodox Stalinist, this was a serious charge. Burhan was imprisoned until Sheng Shih-ts'ai's fall from power and departure from Sinkiang in 1944.

We Chung-hsin (q.v.), Sheng's successor in October 1944, released Burhan. While imprisoned, Burhan had translated the *San-min chu-i* [Three People's Principles] of Sun Yat-sen into Uighur. Wu Chung-hsin was favorably impressed by Burhan; Wu soon appointed him deputy commissioner for civil affairs in the provincial government and, later, political commissioner for the Urumchi district. The governor had need of talent, for an anti-Chinese revolt of the Kazakh and Turki peoples broke out in November 1944. There was evidence of Soviet involvement, and a so-called East Turkestan Republic came into being.

When Chang Chih-chung (q.v.), head of the Generalissimo's headquarters for the Northwest, replaced Wu Chung-hsin as provincial governor in July 1946, Burhan became one of his two deputies; the Uighur Akhmedjan Kasimov was the other. Chang Chih-chung's regime had the defect, in the eyes of the local population of Sinkiang, of being Chinese. And the civil war in China resumed the same month. There was a new upsurge of Turki nationalism, and the political issue was again raised when Akhmedjan in February 1947 demanded full autonomy, except in regard to national defense, for the so-called East Turkestan Republic.

Masud Sabri (q.v.), a Uighur with long-standing Kuomintang connections in China, was named to head the Sinkiang provincial government in May 1947, in a move outwardly designed to conciliate the rebels. Chang Chih-chung remained in Sinkiang for a time to aid his Uighur successor. Burhan remained vice chairman of the provincial government; he did not agree with Akhmedjan. In fact, Burhan accepted new positions which indicated a pro-Kuomintang stand. He had been made a state councillor of the National Government in April, when he had accompanied Chang Chih-chung on his critical tour of southern Sinkiang. Burhan also became director of the Sino-Soviet cultural association at Urumchi, chancellor of the Sinkiang Academy, and a member of the Sinkiang headquarters of the Kuomintang.

Since the appointment of Masud Sabri offered little of substance to the non-Chinese majority of Sinkiang, some Turki elements in the population soon pressed for his removal. In October 1947 Chang Chih-chung went to Nanking for negotiations involving the Soviet embassy. Burhan either accompanied Chang or proceeded shortly after him to Nanking, where he was made an adviser to the National Government. The deadlock in Sinkiang continued. During 1948 Burhan reportedly acted as liaison between the Soviet embassy at Nanking and Chang Chih-chung, who had returned to his post at Lanchow. Burhan suggested to Chang that the removal of Sung Hsi-lien (q.v.), commander of the Nationalist military forces in Sinkiang, would assist in restoring political order in the province. In the summer of 1948 Sung was replaced by T'ao Chih-yueh. However, Nationalist power was deteriorating rapidly throughout China by that time. In December, Masud Sabri was recalled, and on 31 December 1948 Burhan was appointed to head the Sinkiang provincial government. He formally assumed his post on 10 January 1949, only a few days before the retirement of Chiang Kai-shek as President of China.

Burhan was said to have reached an initial understanding with the Soviet embassy respecting Sinkiang in December 1948, before he left Nanking. In January 1949, Chang Chih-chung returned to Urumchi with the stated purpose of negotiating a new treaty with the Soviet Union to replace the ten-year agreement

which Sheng Shih-ts'ai had signed in 1939 to govern Sino-Soviet economic relations in Sinkiang. Chang, after inconclusive discussions with the Soviet negotiators, went to Lanchow. Burhan and T'ao Chih-yueh conferred with him there in early February 1949, and then they returned to Urumchi.

From the time of the execution in 1943 of Ch'en T'an-ch'iu, Mao Tse-min (qq.v.), and others until the autumn of 1949, the Chinese Communists had had virtually no access to Sinkiang. When they moved into that area, they had no reliable personnel who were acquainted with the problems of the area. Therefore, Burhan, who held the post of provincial governor at Urumchi through the critical year of 1949, played an important role. In the early autumn, as the Chinese Communist armies under P'eng Te-huai (q.v.) were approaching Sinkiang with overwhelming force, the provincial regime at Urumchi bowed to the inevitable with an action which the Communists labeled "peaceful surrender." Late in September, Burhan, as chairman of the provincial government, severed relations with the National Government, then at Canton, pledged allegiance to the new regime then being established at Peking, and stated that his government would accept the Communist peace terms and "await reorganization." The Chinese Communist leaders replied at once, acclaiming the stand taken by the Sinkiang authorities. The Communist armies entered Sinkiang, and a new provincial government was established at the end of 1949 with Burhan, durable and amenable, as its chairman. He was also named to membership on the Northwest Military and Administrative Committee, the principal regional government organization established by the Communists.

During the early 1950's Burhan continued to play a key role in carrying out Chinese Communist policies in Sinkiang. His chief task during that period was to curb and eradicate Turki nationalist sentiments and to prepare the peoples of Sinkiang for autonomy on the design adopted by Peking: participation in the local government by the inhabitants with control radiating from Peking. In his major policy speeches of those years, Burhan stressed that the political, economic, and cultural development of Sinkiang was possible "only in the great family of the People's Republic of China" and argued that it was the policy of the

new government to safeguard freedom of worship for all peoples if they obeyed the nation's laws and did not succumb to "counter-revolutionary activities carried on under the cloak of religion."

The political climax of the Chinese Communist effort to deal with the difficult minorities problems in Sinkiang was reached in the autumn of 1955, after three years of studies and preliminary organizational steps. On 1 October 1955 the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region was formally established, with the Uighurs, who then made up about three-fourths of the population of Sinkiang, recognized as its principal ethnic group. Saifudin became chairman of the new regime at Urumchi. Burhan's direct role in the affairs of Sinkiang notably diminished after 1955.

Burhan had begun to play a more prominent role in the national and international programs of the Peking government. When the China Islamic Association was launched in May 1953, Burhan became its first president. He was the senior Muslim member of the Chinese delegation which attended the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in Indonesia in April 1955 and in subsequent years. He headed a large Chinese cultural delegation to Egypt in February 1956, and in April he signed a Sino-Egyptian agreement for cultural cooperation. In June, as China's chief representative, he signed a similar agreement with Syria. Burhan became one of the more widely traveled men in the Chinese Communist hierarchy, playing a somewhat stereotyped role as a tame Muslim Communist at meetings of the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian Solidarity conferences, and other approved gatherings. He was a prominent figure in the standing committee of the board of directors of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and served as president of the China-United Arab Republic Friendship Association and as vice chairman of the China-Africa Friendship Association.

Burhan's rise to prominence as an international conference-goer was enhanced by his linguistic versatility. In 1953 China's first Uighur-Chinese-Russian dictionary, compiled by him, was published by the Nationality Publishing House. That volume reportedly was based on an earlier version which he completed in 1942, but was unable to publish at the time,

purportedly "because the culture of the minority nationalities was then suppressed" by the Kuomintang. In 1956 he was named director of the institute of languages of the national minorities of the Academy of Sciences at Peking.

After 1949 Burhan's actions were more sharply defined than his inner motivations. Although he had no known earlier connections with the Communists, he nevertheless was admitted to the Chinese Communist party after the so-called liberation of Sinkiang and was selected to present the official report on minorities work, united-front work, and religion at its Eighth National Congress in September 1956.

With his Caucasian features and fair skin, Burhan has been described as looking like Czechs of the Benes family in marked physical contrast to his colleagues from the People's Republic of China.

Buyantai

Chinese. Pai Yun-t'i 白雲梯
Chinese T. Chü-ch'uan 巨川

Buyantai (17 February 1894—), Mongol leader, an official of the Kuomintang, known in Chinese as Pai Yun-t'i. He gained note for his attempts to promote the Kuomintang nationalities program in Inner Mongolia.

A Mongol of the Center Kharchin Banner of the Josuto League, Buyantai was born in 1894, the second son of Husutei (Pai Yü-k'un), a descendant of a princely Chahar clan. Living close to Peking, the Mongols of Chahar had assimilated much of Chinese culture by the end of the Ch'ing dynasty. The Chahar grazing lands were increasingly invaded by Chinese immigrants. When Buyantai was born, the Josuto League was in the third year of a bitter conflict with the Han Chinese over the issue of Chinese colonization of lands which the Mongols had traditionally regarded as theirs. Shortly afterwards, the Boxer Uprising of 1900 took place, and Buyantai's childhood was affected by the turbulent developments of those years.

Gungsang Norbu, the prince of the Right Wing of the Kharchin Banner sponsored various reforms that influenced the thinking of Mongol

youth. In 1911, the year of the Chinese revolution, Buyantai went to Peking to study. After a year in a private school, he enrolled in 1912 in the first class of the Mongolian-Tibetan Academy at Peking, newly established by Gungsang Norbu. Other Mongols entering the school at the same time included Merse (Kuo Tao-fu) and Fumingtai, both of whom were later associated with Buyantai.

In the spring of 1918, in order to participate directly in the nationalist revolution being led by Sun Yat-sen, Buyantai left Peking, went to Shanghai, and there joined Sun's movement. He was a delegate to the extraordinary national assembly convened by Sun at Canton in August of that year. His two friends Merse and Fumingtai went to Urga (Ulan Bator), where they joined the Mongolian People's Revolutionary party, fostered by Soviet Russia, early in 1921.

In May 1920, Sun Yat-sen appointed Buyantai special delegate for party affairs to the Mongolian areas of Jehol, Chahar, and Suiyuan. In September of that year, Sun designated Buyantai to accompany Li Lieh-chün on a mission to Yunnan to discuss co-operation with T'ang Chi-yao. In the early 1920's, however, Buyantai's chief function was to serve Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang in Mongolian affairs. At the First National Congress of the Kuomintang, held at Canton in January 1924, Sun Yat-sen proposed Buyantai as an alternate member of the reorganized party's Central Executive Committee, and Buyantai was elected. In October of that year, he became a full member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, and he continued to serve through the Sixth Congress in 1945, the last held on the mainland.

In January 1924, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary party sent B. Dantzen south to meet with Sun Yat-sen, and Sun assigned Buyantai and C. C. Wu to meet with the Outer Mongolian delegate. Sun Yat-sen was committed to recognition of the cause of Mongolian autonomy and, with a view to increasing the influence of his organization, he authorized Buyantai to establish a Mongolian Kuomintang. Dantzen gave his support to this plan. There also was mention of the future unification of Outer and Inner Mongolia and of the subsequent consolidation of the Mongolian Kuomintang and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary party. Buyantai went north and consulted with

Gungsang Norbu, who by then had retired from his position as head of the Mongolian-Tibetan Bureau at Peking. Buyantai's former mentor, while committed to the protection of Mongol rights, did not offer direct support to the projected organization of a Mongolian political party, but he stated his belief that future developments would depend upon the Mongol youth of Buyantai's generation. In November 1924, Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.) had ousted Sun Yat-sen's enemies Ts'ao K'un and Wu P'ei-fu from power, and Feng offered Buyantai support and facilities for his venture. Using Peking as a base, Buyantai went forward with the organization of a Mongolian Kuomintang.

On 1 March 1925, after months of preparatory work on the part of Buyantai, the First Inner Mongolian Congress was convened at Kalgan, with 125 delegates in attendance. Sun Yat-sen, then seriously ill in Peking, sent Hsu Ch'ien and Li Lieh-chün to the meeting as Kuomintang representatives. Feng Yü-hsiang was an honored guest at the gathering. In the meantime, in July 1924, Outer Mongolia to the north had become the Mongolian People's Republic. That new state sent five representatives to attend the congress at Kalgan. The Inner Mongolian Congress determined the political platform of the Mongolian Kuomintang. The party would strive to obtain the freedom, independence, and preservation and development of the Mongolian people. The feudal system was to be discarded and replaced by a democratic representative government devoted to the peaceful life and unhampered enterprise of the people. Further, there should be collaboration with the Chinese Kuomintang in a joint endeavor to establish a federated Chinese republic based upon the Three People's Principles and standing for the equality of the world's peoples, the overthrow of imperialism, and peace. The third plank of the platform clearly showed the alignment with the Chinese Kuomintang.

The new party was called the Inner Mongolian Kuomintang—in Mongolian, Totugadu Mongol-in Arad-in Hubisgaltu Nam. Its central executive committee of 21 men included Buyantai, Merse, Fumingtai, and Sayin-bayir. Buyantai was elected chairman; Merse became secretary general. Many of the committee members later occupied positions in the Kuomintang or in the National Government.

Buyantai also established a Mongolian newspaper, the *Mongol-in Arad-in Nam* [Mongolian people's daily]. He organized an Inner Mongolian Revolutionary Army, with himself as commander in chief. The Mongolian Military Cadets School, which emphasized cavalry, trained more than 900 men—the first class at Heshigten, the second at Paotow, and the third at Ninghsia. The peregrinations of the school reflected the shifting political fortunes of the Inner Mongolian Kuomintang. Under Buyantai's leadership, the party sent over 200 young Mongols to study at Urga (Ulan Bator) and at Moscow. Among these students was Ulanfu (q.v.), who was destined to play a political role radically different from Buyantai. The government of the Mongolian People's Republic at Ulan Bator (Urga), despite the Soviet presence there, was moved in part by that same force of Mongol nationalism, Buyantai had visited Ulan Bator in November 1924 with the purpose of making use of that area as a base for the activities of the Inner Mongolian Kuomintang.

However, a rival Mongol political force was taking form: the Young Mongols led by Te Wang (Demchukdonggrub, q.v.). In October 1925, also at Kalgan, another organization also emerged: the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary party, clearly patterned after the governing party of the Mongolian People's Republic. Two streams of Mongolian nationalism were developing. In the spring of 1926, after the expulsion of Feng Yü-hsiang's power from Kalgan, the Inner Mongolian Kuomintang abandoned activities in the eastern sector of western Inner Mongolia and began to use as a base the Ikechao League region in the Ordos south of the great bend of the Yellow River.

When the Second Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang held its third plenum at Wuhan in March 1927, the session passed a resolution supporting the Inner Mongolian Kuomintang. Soon thereafter, however, the break between the right and left wings of the Kuomintang affected both the internal structure of that party and its relations with the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union. In October 1927 the Mongolian Kuomintang convened a special conference at Ulan Bator to consider future policy. By that time, a number of the young Mongols whom Buyantai had sent to Moscow for study had returned to

Ulan Bator, and they attended the conference. Fortunately for him, Buyantai was informed secretly by the chairman of the central executive committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary party that these students, with the support of Comintern representatives, planned to use the conference to expel Buyantai and other pro-Chinese members. Buyantai fled south by car at night. He arrived at Nanking in November 1927, met with Chiang Kai-shek, and made his report. It was decided to merge the Inner Mongolian Kuomintang with the Kuomintang. A special section was created in the Kuomintang for handling Mongolian affairs, but no other trace remained of the Inner Mongolian Kuomintang.

Buyantai thereafter resided at Nanking. In the spring of 1928, Feng Yü-hsiang trapped and disarmed Buyantai's entire Mongolian force in Ninghsia. Buyantai protested several times to Feng, but without result. Buyantai's Inner Mongolian movement had disintegrated. His sometime collaborators, Merse and Fumingtai, still inclined toward the Mongolian People's Republic, hoping to obtain support there for a renewed political effort in Inner Mongolia.

Buyantai occupied the nominally important position of state councillor in the National Government after its formal inauguration at Nanking in 1928. He was also named director of the preparatory office of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission, which was to succeed the Mongolian-Tibetan Bureau at Peking. After the successful completion of the Northern Expedition in June 1928, he was given responsibility for reorganization of the Peking office.

In spite of Buyantai's efforts, it was not long before Mongolian-Chinese relations were strained. On 29 August 1928 the Kuomintang Central Political Council, of which Buyantai was a member, discussed a proposal for converting the Mongolian special districts of Jehol, Chahar, and Suiyuan into provinces. Buyantai did not attend the meeting because he was ill, and the proposal passed without opposition. The Mongols of Inner Mongolia were distressed; they viewed the action as a measure to bring them under firmer Chinese control. They resented Buyantai's absence from the critical meeting, some doubting his illness, others suspecting that he did attend, but did not oppose the measure. All the Mongol

leagues and banners of Inner Mongolia were dissatisfied, and the Mongolian demand for autonomy was strengthened. Mongols at Peking also resented the takeover of the Mongolian-Tibetan office there. A Mongolian delegation led by Wu Ho-ling visited Nanking in November 1928 to press for the self-determination and self-rule which had been promised China's minority peoples in Sun Yat-Sen's *Principles of National Reconstruction*. Although Buyantai did not openly oppose that move, he clearly did not lend it his support. As a result, the opposition between the conservative pro-Chinese Mongols and the more radical nationalist elements of Inner Mongolia was intensified, and these factions could not be reunited. Buyantai's position as the leading Mongol in the Chinese Nationalist regime consequently was shaken. When the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission was established at the end of 1928, he did not receive the position of chairman, although he was made a member. On 1 January 1929, Yen Hsi-shan, the veteran ruler of Shansi province, assumed the post of chairman of the new Mongolian-Tibetan organ. Buyantai was made a member of the provincial government of Ninghsia, which was the home of many Mongols in northwest China.

Buyantai was still at Nanking, however, when Wang Ching-wei (q.v.) issued a statement from Shanghai in March 1929 opposing Chiang Kai-shek's leadership at Nanking. Buyantai was included among the 12 co-signers of the telegram. He did not deny his position and soon left Nanking for Canton, where he became associated with Wang Ching-wei's so-called reorganizationist group. In the summer of 1930, with the establishment at Peiping of an opposition regime headed by Wang Ching-wei, Feng Yü-hsiang, and Yen Hsi-shan, Buyantai also went north to participate in that effort against Chiang Kai-shek. When the northern coalition collapsed in September 1930, Buyantai returned to Canton. The temporary retirement of Chiang Kai-shek in December 1931 and the return of Wang Ching-wei to a position of authority in the National Government enabled Buyantai to return to Nanking and to be re-elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang at its Fourth National Congress. In January 1932 he became a member of the standing committee of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission.

In 1933, Te Wang launched an Inner Mongolian autonomy movement at Pailingmiao in Suiyuan province. Since the move was, at least in part, an attempt to check the Japanese advance into Inner Mongolia, it attracted more than usual interest from the National Government. It also promised to have greater strength than previous Mongolian movements. On 28 February 1934, the Central Political Committee passed the Mongolian Autonomy Act, which the Mongols of Inner Mongolia accepted. Te Wang became chairman of the newly instituted Mongolian local autonomy commission, and Buyantai was appointed to membership. Later developments cast doubts upon Nanking's *bona fides* with respect to any grant of self-rule to the Mongols, however, and Te Wang's movement experienced many vicissitudes. In addition, the Japanese pressure on both north China and Inner Mongolia continued to mount. In late 1935, when Te Wang's anti-Japanese position seemed to weaken, Buyantai visited him at Pailingmiao, saw that the Mongol resistance was too weak to stop the Japanese advance, and returned to Nanking to make his report.

After the outbreak of war with Japan in mid-1937, Buyantai accompanied the National Government to Hankow and to Chungking. During the war years, he attended meetings of the Supreme National Defense Council and of the standing committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. After the Japanese surrender, he was made head of a comfort corps to visit the Mongols who had lived under Japanese rule. On arrival at Peking, however, he found it impossible to proceed to Inner Mongolia because of the presence there of Soviet and Chinese Communist forces. A new struggle for power was taking shape in China.

In February 1946, at the second plenum of the Sixth Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, Mongol members—Buyantai, Pai Hai-feng, and Li Yung-hsin—proposed the restoration of the Mongolian local autonomous political committee at Pailingmiao in Suiyuan and the clear demarcation of the territorial division between Mongol league and banner governments on the one hand, and the Chinese provincial/hsien administration on the other. That proposal was passed and, if carried out, would have favorably influenced Mongol loyal-

ties in Inner Mongolia. In fact, however, Hsiung Shih-hui and Fu Tso-yi, who then wielded top authority in Manchuria and Suiyuan respectively, did not implement the decision.

At the National Assembly that met at Nanking in November 1946, the Mongol delegation of which Buyantai was a member proposed that the new constitution of China make explicit provision for Mongolian autonomy. The Mongols did receive nominal recognition of their right to self-rule in the new constitution, which stated that the local self-government system of the Mongolian leagues and banners should be "prescribed by law." In the spring of 1947, when Hsu Shih-ying became chairman of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission, Buyantai was made its vice chairman. Hsu resigned his post in December of that year, and Buyantai succeeded to the chairmanship. By that time, however, the tide of the civil war with the Communists was running against the Nationalists. In 1948 they suffered the calamitous loss of Manchuria; by mid-1949 they had lost their capital, Nanking. In the final confusion on the mainland, Buyantai resigned his position as chairman of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission in August 1949. He followed Chiang Kai-shek across the Taiwan Strait to the island of Taiwan. There he presided at official functions held by the Mongol community, notably the celebration in 1962 of the 800th anniversary of the birth of Genghis Khan. He continued to hold nominally senior sinecure positions in the National Government and the Kuomintang.

Butterfly Wu: see HU TIEH.

Chan Hing-wan: see CH'EN CH'ING-YUN.

Chan Ta-pei
T. Chih-ts'un

詹大悲
質存

Chan Ta-pei (1888-1927) was a prominent anti-Manchu revolutionary in Hupeh, a constant supporter of Sun Yat-sen, an equally constant foe of Yuan Shih-k'ai, and a Kuomintang official. In 1927 he was associated with the left wing of the Kuomintang at Wuhan. He was executed as a Communist partisan.

A native of Ch'ich'un, Hupeh, Chan Ta-pei was born into a family of scholarly background. Even as a boy his unusual memory and literary flair were apparent. Growing up at a time when the imperial examination system was being abolished, Chan, after his basic education in the Chinese classics, sought enrollment at the Huang-chou Middle School. This was a well-known school, and at the time he sought admission there were nearly 20,000 applicants from all parts of eastern Hupeh. Although he was the youngest of the candidates, Chan Ta-pei took first place in the examinations. His performance made a great impression on the school principal. Later, however, apparently because of a streak of youthful arrogance, Chan got into trouble with the school superintendent and was expelled.

In the years immediately preceding the revolution of 1911, Hupeh province became one of the major centers of anti-Manchu activity in China. Chan Ta-pei was drawn into revolutionary activity through a schoolmate, Yuan Ssu-yuan, who recommended him for membership in the T'ung-meng-hui. Units of the new army in the Wuhan area were then the primary target of revolutionary propaganda, and Chan Ta-pei became chief editor of an anti-Manchu journal, the *Shang-wu pao* [commercial journal], established at Hankow by Yuan Ssu-yuan. Chan soon established contact with a secret organization of military officers in the 41st Regiment of the Hupeh Army and attempted to convert junior officers to the cause of revolution. These activities were discovered by the Manchu authorities, however, and the *Shang-wu pao* was closed down.

Chan Ta-pei then participated in the organization of the Wen-hsueh-she, headed by the Hunanese radical Chiang I-wu (d. 1913 at 29 sui), and began publishing a new newspaper, the *Ta-chiang pao* [Yangtze daily]. Reorganized from the Chen-wu hsueh-she early in 1911, the Wen-hsueh-she soon developed into one of the major anti-Manchu subversive organizations in Hupeh. That summer the Ch'ing government announced the nationalization of railroads. In the adjacent province of Szechwan there was great popular opposition to the decision. Chan Ta-pei vigorously opposed the measure and carried his opposition to T'ang Hua-lung (q.v.), then speaker of the Hupeh provincial advisory council. Chan's stand—that it was appropriate

for the railways to come under state ownership but not under the ownership of the Manchu court—reportedly impressed T'ang Hua-lung and led the Hupeh advisory council to give strong support to the Szechwanese position. Chan himself wrote a strong article, "Rebellion Is the Cure for China," which he published in the *Ta-chiang pao*. Ho Hai-ming, another anti-Manchu revolutionary, joined in with an article entitled "Peace Is What Will Destroy China." Jui-cheng (ECCP, I, 128), governor general of Hu-kuang, was enraged over the articles. He threw Chan Ta-pei into prison and sought to arrest Ho Hai-ming. Chan declared that he would assume full responsibility for the *Ta-chiang pao* and that he alone should be punished. The authorities would not permit this, however, and Ho Hai-ming surrendered himself. Newspaper circles in Wuhan launched a campaign to have them freed. Jui-cheng, angered, sentenced them to 18 months in prison, a step which had the effect of giving Chan Ta-pei a nation-wide reputation overnight.

On 10 October 1911, the Wuchang revolt took place. The revolutionaries also captured Hanyang and Hankow; and Jui-cheng, the governor general, fled from the city. Chan Ta-pei was freed from prison and was elected head of the Hankow branch of the revolutionary military headquarters. The chief headquarters at Wuchang was then headed by Li Yuan-hung (q.v.), who was not a revolutionary comrade. At that time the commander at Hankow, Chang Ching-liang, acted in collusion with the Manchu army. Chan Ta-pei ordered Chang's execution without reference to Li Yuan-hung, a resolute action which won great applause among the republican revolutionaries. Hankow, however, remained in danger of counterattack by the Ch'ing forces, and Chan Ta-pei went to Kiukiang to seek the support of the revolutionary army in Kiangsi. Help failed to arrive in time, however, and Hankow was lost. Chan then went to Shantung to join Hu Ying, Shantung tutuh [military governor] of the revolutionary side, who was planning a northern expedition from Chefoo. But peace was achieved, and soon the republic was officially established.

In the spring of 1913 the Kuomintang planned to have Chan Ta-pei elected to the post of speaker of the Hupeh provincial assembly.

Chan thus was first elected a member of the assembly. But the assassination of Sung Chiaojen (q.v.) in March 1913 led to a new political crisis, and Chan began to assemble comrades to organize an expedition against Yuan Shih-k'ai. The plot was discovered, however, and one of his comrades was executed. In July 1913 the so-called second revolution was launched by the Kuomintang leaders, and Chan went to Kiukiang to join the Kiangsi tutuh Li Lieh-chün (q.v.). Li Lieh-chün was soon defeated, however, and the revolutionaries had to flee, most of them going to Japan.

When Sun Yat-sen reorganized the Kuomintang into the Chung-hua ko-ming-tang in Tokyo in 1914, Chan immediately joined the new party. He was sent to Shanghai with other comrades to bring about the defection of troops in that area. News of the plot leaked out, and Feng Kuo-chang (q.v.) laid a trap for the leaders. Chan escaped unharmed and returned to Japan. When the campaign against Yuan Shih-k'ai began late in 1915, Chan Ta-pei left Japan to return to his native Hupeh and to raise a force against Yuan. On arrival at Shanghai, however, he was arrested and imprisoned in the International Settlement. When Yuan Shih-k'ai died in June 1916, Chan was released and was given a public ovation.

The Parliament was restored in Peking at this time, and the various provincial assemblies were also resumed. Chan Ta-pei was elected speaker of the Hupeh provincial assembly as the revolutionaries had planned. Now, however, Wang Chan-yuan, the Peiyang military governor of Hupeh, prevented Chan from taking office. Shortly thereafter Chang Hsun (q.v.) and other northern militarists forced President Li Yuan-hung to leave office. Parliament was suspended. Sun Yat-sen, with the support of the navy, formed a revolutionary government at Canton in 1917 to uphold the constitution. Chan Ta-pei was sent by Sun to Szechwan to attempt to win the support of the military leaders in that province for the southern government.

In 1920 Chan Ta-pei went to Canton and served as a propaganda official at Sun Yat-sen's headquarters. In 1921 Sun assumed the presidency in May, and he again sent Chan Ta-pei on a mission to Szechwan to enlist the support of the military leaders there. When Chan

returned from west China to Canton in 1922, the revolt of Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.) occurred. Chan followed Sun Yat-sen to the gunboat Yung-feng, which served as Sun's temporary headquarters during the trouble.

In January 1924 Chan Ta-pei was a delegate to the First National Congress of the reorganized Kuomintang. When the National Government was formed at Canton in 1925, he served as a councillor. In January 1926, at the Second National Congress of the Kuomintang, dominated by Wang Ching-wei (q.v.) and his supporters, Chan was elected an alternate member of the Central Executive Committee. When the Northern Expedition captured Wuhan in the autumn of 1926 Chan returned to his native Hupeh and became a member of the Wuhan branch of the Central Political Council. He also served as a member of the Hupeh provincial government council and in that capacity promoted the organization of the water conservation bureau and allotted funds for the repair of the dikes in Hupeh. These measures attracted popular support.

Early in 1927 Chan Ta-pei also served as commissioner of finance in the Hupeh provincial government. Wuhan was then under the control of the left-Kuomintang faction and the Communists, who were still allied with the Kuomintang. Chan Ta-pei was never overly prudent in his personal relationships. Because of his association with Communist elements at Wuhan, he was evidently considered to be a Communist. With the purge of the Communists at Shanghai in the spring of 1927 and the establishment of the National Government at Nanking soon afterward, the arrest of prominent Communists was ordered. The name of Chan Ta-pei appeared on the list.

Toward the end of 1927, when the government launched its expedition against T'ang Sheng-chih (q.v.), who was attempting to hold Wuhan against Nanking, the commander of a unit in the army of Hu Tsung-to, who led the expedition, apprehended Chan. Since prudence was not the order of the day, Chan was summarily executed as a partisan of the Communists. His former comrades learned of his tragic situation too late to save him.

Chan Ta-pei was survived by his widow, by a son named Chan Shih-hua, and by a daughter, Chan Chih-fang.

Chan T'ien-yu 詹天佑
 T. Chüan-ch'eng 眷誠
 West. Tien Yow Jeme

Chan T'ien-yu (26 April 1861-24 April 1919), pioneer railroad builder, educated in America, was known as Tien Yow Jeme. He was early noted as chief engineer and administrator of the Peking-Kalgan rail line. He later became director general of the Canton-Hankow-Szechuan railway system.

A native of Nanhai, Kwangtung, Tien Yow Jeme was born in Canton at a time when the Taiping Rebellion was sweeping through the Yangtze valley in central China. His grandparents, originally from Anhwei province, had migrated to Kwangtung when engaged in the tea export business. Jeme, the eldest son in a family of four children, received his early education in an old-style private school at Canton.

The pattern of Jeme's education was changed in 1871 when the Ch'ing government approved the plan proposed by Yung Wing (Jung Hung, ECCP, I, 402-5), the first Chinese to graduate from an American university, to send a group of Chinese boys to study in the United States. Yung Wing, while studying at Yale, had given much thought to the problems of China and to the contribution which he hoped to make to reform and modernization of his country. He became convinced that China's hope lay in a radical reform of her traditional culture through rapid adoption of the scientific and progressive civilization of the West. He believed that this could best be accomplished, not by the employment of foreign specialists or the purchase of foreign machinery, but by sending abroad a steady stream of carefully selected Chinese youths to be educated in the United States. The plan, as presented to the throne and approved in 1871, was to send thirty boys annually for four consecutive years. The boys, between the ages of 10 and 15, were to enter the American educational system at an early age and to receive thorough Western training over a period of 10 to 15 years.

Tien Yow Jeme, then only 11, was in the initial group of 30 Chinese boys who sailed from Shanghai for the United States in the

summer of 1872. Jeme, among others, was sent to New Haven, Connecticut. There he was placed in the care of an American family and given preparatory training in the Seaside Institute for Boys before entering Hillhouse High School in New Haven. He was among the first of his countrymen to pass a college entrance examination, and in 1878 he was admitted to the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University. Because of his aptitude for science and mathematics he studied civil engineering. He was graduated from Yale in the class of 1881 at the age of 20, receiving a Ph.B. degree in civil engineering.

Because of unfavorable reports received in Peking to the effect that the students were neglecting their Chinese studies and were becoming excessively Americanized, the China Educational Mission in the United States was ordered to be abolished in the summer of 1881 and the Chinese students ordered home. Tien Yow Jeme and one other boy were the only ones fortunate enough to have completed college, while 60 others were still in college and the rest even in high school.

Jeme's return to Shanghai coincided with the successful attempt to build the first stretch of standard gauge railroad in China. The railway was to be constructed by the Kaiping Mining Company from Tangshan to Suikochuang, a distance of only a few miles, for the purpose of transporting coal. C. W. Kinder, the British engineer of the mining company, was in charge of construction. The line was so short that it did not offer much opportunity to young Chinese engineers like Jeme to demonstrate their ability. Thus Jeme, together with a few of the American-educated students, was sent to the Foochow Arsenal and Navy Yard where he took a course in navigation. He was later placed on board a cruiser in the Chinese navy for further training as a naval cadet.

Soon afterwards, in 1884, China and France were involved in a dispute over Indo-China, and a French naval squadron, coming close to the Fukien coast, opened fire on the Arsenal as well as the naval school at Foochow. Jeme, then on duty on one of the Chinese naval craft, bravely fought back and returned fire. When his ship was hit and later abandoned, he jumped into the sea and rescued a number of his comrades. A few months later, Chang Chih-tung (ECCP, I, 27-32) at Canton

requested Jeme to go to the south to make a complete survey of the Kwangtung coastline, the first such survey ever made.

After the coastal survey work was completed in 1886, Jeme was employed by the Canton Military and Naval Academy as an instructor. There he remained until he was asked by Wu T'ing-fang (q.v.), former Chinese minister to the United States, to join the railway service at Tientsin. By this time the Kaiping railway company had reorganized as the Tientsin Railway Company, independent of the mining firm, and had extended the railroad considerably toward Tangku and Tientsin. This was the opportunity for which Jeme had been waiting: the chance to utilize what he had learned at Yale and to dedicate his life to railroad engineering. Wu T'ing-fang was then director of the Tientsin Railway Company.

Jeme first joined the railway service at Tientsin in 1888. Thereafter, for 31 years, he continuously served the Chinese railways in various cities with conspicuous dedication. His first appointment was as cadet engineer, an assistant to the resident engineer of the Tientsin Railway Company. As the railroad was financed by a British loan, the chief engineer and all the principal engineers were British. The ultimate objective of the railroad was to extend from Tientsin to Mukden in one direction, and from Tientsin to Peking in the other, forming what was later known as the Peking-Mukden Railway. In the course of construction of this important rail line, Jeme took an active part on both sides of the Great Wall. He performed his duties so well that he was promoted to be resident engineer and then district engineer. Among the important work under his charge was the construction of the Luan River bridge consisting of 5 steel-through trusses each 200 feet long, 10 plate girders each 100 feet long, and 2 plate girders each 30 feet long. The use of pneumatic caissons in the construction of bridge piers under water was first introduced by him in China in connection with this project.

During his 12-year service with this railway, he was intermittently called upon to help build the Pinghsiang-Liling Railway in Hunan in 1900 and in 1902 to take charge of the building of the Hsiling Railway, which made it easier for the empress dowager, the Kuang-hsu emperor, and members of the imperial household to worship their Manchu ancestors in Hopei

province. This Hsiling Railway, a 42-kilometer branch of the Peking-Hankow Railway, was completed in four months under difficult conditions. Thus Jeme became known to the imperial government and became a great favorite of Yuan Shih-k'ai, then the powerful viceroy at Tientsin in charge of railway enterprises.

When conditions in north China had returned to normal following the Boxer Uprising of 1900, the Peking-Mukden Railway did so much business that it registered a substantial surplus after meeting all loan obligations. Yuan Shih-k'ai wished to use this surplus for the construction of the Peking-Kalgan Railway, with the ultimate objective of reaching Suiyuan and farther points to open up China's northwest. The original plan was to have C. W. Kinder, then chief engineer of the Peking-Mukden Railway, serve as chief engineer of the proposed line. This choice seemed logical, as the money for the proposed line had come from the surplus fund of the railway built with British loans. Also, Mr. Kinder was recognized as an engineer of proven ability. However, in 1905 the Russian minister at Peking delivered to the Chinese government a protest against the appointment, stating that Great Britain had an understanding with Russia that any railroad built beyond the Great Wall toward Mongolia, which was then considered within the so-called Russian sphere of influence, must be financed by Russian capital and built by Russian engineers. He added, however, that if the Chinese themselves could furnish their own money and personnel, Russia would have no objection. Yuan Shih-k'ai immediately took up the Russian challenge and appointed Jeme as chief engineer, the first Chinese ever to undertake full responsibility for construction of a difficult rail line. The appointment surprised many Western engineers, who doubted whether any Chinese engineer was qualified to take up such an important task.

It was in the construction of the Peking-Kalgan Railway that Jeme demonstrated his outstanding abilities both as engineer and as administrator. He inspired the men under him by making an example of himself and by reminding them that the eyes of the world were focussed upon them. He impressed upon them the fact that their success or failure would directly affect the welfare of China. As a result, there was full cooperation throughout the

ranks, for the men fully realized the significance of their undertaking.

The most difficult terrain on the Peking-Kalgan rail line was the stretch beginning at the Nankow Pass. There, within a distance of 20 kilometers, the line had to climb an altitude of 570 meters, necessitating the use of heavy grades and long tunnels. Altogether, four tunnels had to be driven in the most mountainous region, the longest one near the Great Wall being 1,091 meters in length. When it became evident that the driving of this long tunnel by working only from the two ends would be a very time-consuming process, Jeme decided to drive down vertical shafts from the ground directly above to the center line of the tunnel at two convenient points. Excavation work was carried out in the tunnel at six points rather than only two, thus facilitating greatly the progress of the work. Due to the great care exercised, there was no error in either the center line location or the elevation when this long tunnel was driven through. This feat was all the more remarkable since there were few experienced engineers on the job and almost no modern equipment. Jeme had to resort to primitive devices and methods of his own invention. In addition, he had to train the junior staff almost single-handedly. In order to insure safety, guard rails were extensively used on sharp curves. Because of the heavy grade, a special type of articulated locomotive had to be used for the first time on Chinese railways. And within the steep grade section, from Nankow to Kangchuang, a pusher engine was employed at the rear of the train to provide additional power.

Jeme estimated the cost of this 200-kilometer railway at 7.29 million taels and that the work would be completed in four years. In fact, the construction was begun in August 1905, and the line was opened to traffic in July 1909, the total cost coming to 6.93 million taels. Completion of the task was greatly assisted because all of the Chinese engineers dealt directly with the contractors. Thus there was no commission deducted for every purchase, as was the case with all railways constructed with foreign loans, when a commission was paid to the foreign purchasing agents. At the opening ceremony of the railway in August 1909, Tien Yow Jeme received a great ovation and became a national hero. In recognition of his work, he was given

an honorary chin-shih degree by the Ch'ing government. He was also made a consulting engineer to the ministry of communications. In 1910 he was appointed chairman of the Board of Civil Service Examiners, set up to evaluate the qualifications of some 700 Chinese who had studied outside China.

After the Peking-Kalgan Railway was opened to traffic, the civil governor of Szechwan province sent a petition to Peking requesting the release of Jeme so that he might take up the construction of the Szechuan section of the Hankow-Szechuan line. As things were running smoothly on the Peking-Kalgan Railway, Yuan Shih-k'ai permitted him to accept the offer on a temporary basis. Accordingly, Jeme went to Ichang in 1909 to take up his post as chief engineer of the Szechuan Railway Company, then a privately owned company.

In 1910, while he was in Ichang getting construction work started, Jeme was informed that he had also been selected to direct construction of the southern section of the Canton-Hankow Railway, a privately owned line. After construction at Ichang was under way, he left for Canton to take up this additional duty. During this period, Jeme had to shuttle between Peking, Ichang, and Canton.

When the anti-Manchu revolt broke out in China in 1911, Jeme was devoting his efforts to the extension of the railway at Canton. Following the abdication of the Manchus, the Canton-Hankow-Szechuan railroad system was organized and financed through a consortium of British, French, German, and American loans. The Chinese government was to appoint a director general to supervise the work and to deal with the loan representatives and their recommended chief engineers in the various sections of the system. Jeme was given this top railway post, with headquarters at Hankow. He remained in this position from 1912 until his death.

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 greatly delayed the construction of this important trunk line owing to shortage of funds. Jeme could achieve no more than opening the British section of the line from Wuchang, opposite Hankow, to Changsha, a distance of about 365 kilometers, to traffic in 1918. On the German section a roadbed of 164 kilometers was completed, but the tracks were laid for but a short distance before the work had to

be suspended. On the American and the French sections construction was not even begun.

While the construction work of the Canton-Hankow Railway was at a standstill, Jeme was appointed Chinese representative on the Allied Technical Board under the chairmanship of John F. Stevens, an American engineer, in connection with the movement of the Allied occupation forces over the Trans-Siberian Railway and the Chinese Eastern Railway. Jeme had never known sickness until about this time, when he suffered a bout of dysentery. Long hours and the strain of the work had their telling effect, and he had to return to Hankow on sick leave. Upon his arrival at Hankow, he was immediately rushed to the Jenchi Hospital, where he died on 24 April 1919 at the age of 59 sui.

Tien Yow Jeme always considered himself a professional engineer and never became involved with politics. He was one of the founders of the Chinese Institute of Engineers and was elected its first president in 1912. His aim was to give the institute sufficient professional standing so that its members would be qualified for any technical position in the Chinese government. He worked actively to raise funds for construction of the institute building in Peking, and when in the capital he always stayed at the institute headquarters in preference to the more luxurious hotels of the city. Jeme was elected a member of the Institute of Civil Engineers of Great Britain in 1894, the first Chinese to gain that honor. He was elected to membership in the American Society of Civil Engineers in 1909. In 1916 he received an honorary LL.D. degree from the British colonial University of Hong Kong.

Jeme was a clear thinker and man of few words. In the field of railway engineering, he displayed consistently sound judgment. He also had the capacity to inspire deep and lasting affection in his associates and subordinates, especially those who worked with him through his early struggles. Chinese engineers of his generation viewed him as their leader, one to whom they could always go for advice and assistance. On every Chinese railway of which he had charge, he set an adequate standard of remuneration for Chinese engineers, believing that they should receive the same wages for their work as European engineers of the same rank. He was always an inspiration and

an unfailing source of guidance for young engineers. During the late 1880's, when Jeme was working at Canton, he was in close contact with the growing number of Cantonese mechanics and acquired great respect for their capabilities and resourcefulness. Later, during his 30 years of service in the railways of China, Jeme consistently relied on skilled mechanics from Canton when starting new projects.

Personally, Jeme was a man of simple tastes, modest in the extreme, and never jealous of those who ranked above him. His early education in the United States was reflected in his love of baseball. When traveling through California on the way back to China in 1881, he and other returning Chinese students played an exhibition game against an Oakland, California team, and the Chinese team surprised the Americans with their proficiency at the game. He was also a keen tennis player.

Tien Yow Jeme was survived by his wife, five sons, and two daughters. Two of his sons were educated in the United States. His second son, like his father a graduate of Yale, served as assistant chief engineer on the Canton-Hankow Railway during the Sino-Japanese war; he died in 1941 of overwork and exhaustion. Jeme's elder son-in-law, Jick Wong, was also a noted railway engineer who served for some years as chief engineer of the Peking-Hankow Railway.

In recognition of Tien Yow Jeme's pioneering contribution to China's railway development, the Chinese government erected a full-sized bronze statue of him at Ch'ing-lung-ch'iao station near the most difficult section of the Peking-Kalgan Railway. Located just below the Great Wall, Jeme's statue oversees the greatest engineering work of his ancestors. The Peking-Kalgan Railway was the greatest engineering achievement of Jeme's lifetime.

Chang, Carsun: see CHANG CHIA-SEN.

Chang Chi
T. P'u-ch'üan

張繼
溥泉

Chang Chi (31 August 1882–15 December 1947), political figure, an anti-Manchu revolutionary and editor of the *Min-pao* who became an elder statesman of the Kuomintang and one of the

few northern Chinese to achieve prominence in that party. He was a leading member of the right-wing Western Hills group.

A native of Ts'anghsien, Chihli, Chang Chi came from a scholar-gentry family and, as a boy, studied the Confucian classics at home. In 1897 his father, Chang I-nan (T. Hua-ch'en), having been appointed head teacher at Lien-ch'ih Academy at Paoting, took Chang Chi to study there. Wu Ju-lun (T. Chih-fu) was then director of the academy and was developing it into an important educational center in north China. At Paoting, Chang Chi met a visiting Japanese student who suggested that he go to Japan for further education.

For the next few years Chang spent most of his time in Japan studying political economy at Waseda University, reading widely, and entering eagerly into anti-Manchu political activities. Tall, robust, and intelligent, he soon became a leader in the Chinese student community in Tokyo. He changed his personal name to Chi. The ideograph means "continuity" or "succession," and it was intended as a symbol of his dedication to carry on the cause taken up by innumerable Chinese nationalists who had worked throughout the years of the Ch'ing dynasty for its overthrow.

In 1900, the year of the Boxer Uprising, Chang Chi joined other Chinese students in Japan to form the Ch'ing-nien-hui [young men's society], a group committed to the overthrow of Manchu rule in China. Gradually he made other political contacts. In 1902, at the age of 20, Chang Chi was introduced to Sun Yat-sen, and later to Chang Ping-lin (q.v.). In the same year he became closely associated with Tsou Jung (ECCP, II, 769) and was a member of the group led by Tsou in an invasion of the home of Yao Wen-fu, the official sent by Peking to supervise Chinese military students in Japan; Tsou cut off Yao's queue. Following this escapade, Tsou Jung and Chang Chi both had to leave Japan, and they fled to Shanghai.

In Shanghai Chang Chi resumed his association with Chang Ping-lin and also came to know Chang Shih-chao (q.v.), then editor of the noted newspaper *Su Pao*. The three of them and Tsou Jung became blood brothers. Both Chang Ping-lin and Chang Chi contributed to the *Su Pao*, which was then considered to be the most radical of the anti-Manchu

publications. The *Su Pao* was suppressed in the early summer of 1903, and both Chang Ping-lin and Tsou Jung were imprisoned. Later that year Chang Chi joined Chang Shih-chao and others in the organization of a new paper, the Shanghai *Kuo-min jih-jih-pao* [national daily news], intended as the successor to the *Su Pao*, but registered with the British consular authorities in Shanghai.

In the latter part of 1904 Chang Chi went to Changsha where he became a teacher at the Ming-te School, which had been used by Huang Hsing (q.v.) as a base for revolutionary activities. Although Chang Chi was not a member of the Hua-hsing-hui (organized in December 1903), he nevertheless was constantly with Huang Hsing. An anti-Manchu move planned in November 1904 proved abortive, and Huang Hsing had to take refuge in the home of the pastor of the Anglican church at Changsha. On his way from the school to the pastor's house in a sedan chair, Huang Hsing was accompanied by Chang Chi, who, pistol in hand, walked alongside disguised as a servant. Chang then fled to Shanghai, where he joined the newly organized revolutionary organization, Kuang-fu-hui, of which Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei (q.v.) was elected president.

Chang Chi returned to Japan in 1905, the year of the founding of the T'ung-meng-hui. He was a charter member of the society, was made a judge in its judicial department, and was named head of the Chihli provincial department created by the society. But the main distinction bestowed on him was that he was made the first publisher-editor of the organ of the T'ung-meng-hui, the *Min Pao* [people's journal], a monthly magazine which began publication in Tokyo in November 1905. Although it has been stated that Hu Han-min (q.v.) actually carried most of the editorial duties during the early period of the magazine, Chang Chi was in charge of its production for the first five issues, the last of which was published in June 1907. From then on, the publisher-editor's job was taken over by Chang Ping-lin. During the latter part of 1906, Chang Chi paid a visit to Java and taught school for a few months. He soon returned to Tokyo.

Early in 1907 the Peking government applied pressure on the Japanese authorities to force the deportation of Sun Yat-sen. The Japanese government sought to placate all parties by

"persuading" Sun to take a trip outside Japan and by presenting him with a gift of five thousand yen. Sun accepted the gift, took three thousand yen with him, and left the other two thousand at the headquarters of the T'ung-meng-hui to support the production of the *Min Pao*. This incident led to the first instance of insubordination on the part of Sun's followers: Chang Chi, Chang Ping-lin, and many others opposed Sun's action. Indeed, Chang Ping-lin was so indignant that he removed the portrait of Sun from the wall of the *Min Pao* offices, and he and Chang Chi even proposed repudiation of Sun as leader of the party and election of Huang Hsing to replace him. That proposal did not gain support, however, and Sun Yat-sen passed over the matter without comment.

Chang Ping-lin served as publisher-editor of the *Min Pao* until December 1907. Chang Chi then took responsibility for editing one issue of the journal, which appeared on 25 February 1908. Chang Chi had left Japan before the publication date, turning over the editorship to T'ao Cheng-chang. Chang went to Europe and spent the years from 1908 to 1911 there. He lived in Paris, Geneva, and London—studying, attending free lectures, and also meeting artists, one of whom was Pablo Picasso. In Paris he associated with Li Shih-tseng and Wu Chih-hui (qq.v.), who were attracted by socialism and anarchism. In an effort to put theory into practice, Chang spent the summer of 1908 with comrades of several different nationalities in a communal village in the north of France, where he peddled the vegetables grown by the villagers.

Toward the end of 1911, on receiving news of the Wuchang revolt, Chang Chi hastened back to China. At this time Chang was reported to have joined the China Socialist party organized by Chiang K'ang-hu in 1912 and to have been elected a leader of that party. Nevertheless, when the T'ung-meng-hui was merged with four other groups to form the Kuomintang in August 1912, Chang Chi was elected one of its councillors. Although Sun Yat-sen was elected director general, he almost immediately entrusted the post to Sung Chiao-jen (q.v.) who became acting director general.

In 1913 Chang Chi was elected to the Senate at Peking and was made speaker. But Yuan Shih-k'ai had already started to work toward

the suppression of the Kuomintang members. In turn, the revolutionaries in the middle of the year staged the so-called second revolution against Yuan. After the collapse of the short-lived campaign of 1913, Chang Chi, like many other revolutionary leaders, including Sun Yat-sen himself, had to flee to Japan. Sun then reorganized the Kuomintang into the Chung-hua ko-ming-tang, which in July 1914 was formally inaugurated in Tokyo. Many of Sun's supporters, including Huang Hsing, Li Lieh-chün, and Ch'en Chiung-ming opposed the reorganization, objecting strongly to Sun's requirements that members pledge personal loyalty to him and that they be fingerprinted. Chang Chi was again one of the staunchest opponents of Sun's plan and refused to give the pledge. Fortunately the rift did not last long, and unity had been restored by 1915 when the campaign against Yuan Shih-k'ai's monarchical movement developed.

Meanwhile, Chang Chi left Japan late in 1914 and visited Europe. In 1915 he went from England to the United States, where he visited the major cities which had Chinese communities to help gain support for the anti-Yuan movement. Late in 1915 Chang Chi left the United States for Japan, and in 1916 he returned to China. When the 1912 provisional constitution was restored and the two houses of Parliament were reassembled, Chang Chi returned to his place in the Senate.

When the Parliament was dissolved by President Li Yuan-hung in 1917, Chang Chi moved south to Canton with other members and convened a rump parliament there. A military government was formed in Canton, headed by Sun Yat-sen as generalissimo. Actual control of the area, however, was in the hands of the Kwangsi clique, whose support of the military regime was but a means to extend their own authority. In 1918 when the Canton government was reorganized, Sun Yat-sen was elected one of its seven directors general. However, he did not assume the post and left Canton for Shanghai in June 1918. Chang Chi and many other parliamentarians who supported Sun also left Canton. Chang remained in Shanghai until 1920, when he took another trip to Europe. He returned to China in the summer of 1920 and entered into the party affairs of the Kuomintang. Sun appointed him director of party affairs in north China.

When Ch'en Chiung-ming had succeeded in ousting the Kwangsi clique from Canton and Sun Yat-sen had returned to Canton in November 1920, Chang Chi and many other members of Parliament were recalled. In June 1922, however, Ch'en Chiung-ming revolted, and Sun again had to flee to Shanghai. Chang Chi also left Canton for Shanghai. By that time Sun Yat-sen had resolved to carry out a major reorganization of his party. In September Chang Chi led a group of representative members of the Kuomintang from various provinces at a meeting with Sun for consultation on the promotion of party affairs. Sun Yat-sen then agreed to the proposal that members of the Chinese Communist party be admitted to the Kuomintang as individuals. It was Chang Chi who introduced the Chinese Communist leader Li Ta-chao (q.v.) to Sun Yat-sen in Shanghai, and Li became the first Communist to become a member of the Kuomintang.

In November 1922, Chang Chi again joined Kuomintang representatives from various provinces to attend a meeting convened by Sun Yat-sen to examine the draft plan for the reorganization of the party. At that meeting Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei (q.v.) were commissioned to draft the manifesto of reorganization. Chang Chi was then head of the propaganda department of the Kuomintang headquarters, and he and the directors of other departments tendered their resignations jointly on 18 December 1922. The manifesto was subsequently issued on 1 January 1923. On 21 January 1923 Sun Yat-sen appointed new officers to the headquarters of the Kuomintang, and Yeh Ch'u-ts'ang was made director of the propaganda department. Chang Chi was made a councillor, as were many other leaders, including Chang Jen-chieh, Chü Cheng, Hsieh Ch'ih, Liao Chung-k'ai, Tai Chi-t'ao, and Yü Yu-jen.

In October 1923 the reorganization of the Kuomintang entered a new stage with the appointment by Sun of a provisional central committee to make preparations for the first congress of the party in January 1924. Chang Chi was not a delegate to the First National Congress of the Kuomintang, which opened at Canton on 20 January 1924. He was, however, elected to full membership on the Central Supervisory Committee, which consisted of five full members and five alternates. At the time,

in addition to the central headquarters of the party then located at Canton, the Kuomintang maintained executive headquarters at Shanghai, Peking, Hankow, Chungking, and Harbin. While the majority of the members of the two central committees were attached to the central headquarters, various members were assigned to take charge of the executive headquarters. For reasons that are unclear, Chang Chi was not assigned to the Peking headquarters, which controlled the north China and northwestern provinces, but to the Shanghai headquarters.

The composition of the first central organs of the Kuomintang reflected the growing influence of the Chinese Communist party. As early as 16 June 1924, Chang Chi, Teng Tse-ju, and Hsieh Ch'ih, three of the five full members of the Central Supervisory Committee, addressed a communication to the Central Executive Committee of the party impeaching the Communists and condemning their infiltration of the Kuomintang. On 25 June 1924, Chang Chi and Hsieh Ch'ih also called on the Soviet adviser Borodin. With Sun Fo (q.v.) as interpreter, they took the Russian envoy to task for the activities of the Chinese Communists. The impeachment, however, was rejected by the Central Executive Committee at a meeting held on 3 July 1924. Four days later that body issued a statement calling on members of the party to dispel misunderstandings and reiterating the Three People's Principles as the sole means to the success of the revolution, hoping thus to allay the fears of the conservatives.

Sun Yat-sen died in Peking in March 1925, and on 1 July 1925 the National Government was organized at Canton. Chang Chi was elected a member of the 16-man State Council, headed by Wang Ching-wei. By this time more of the Kuomintang veterans had become opposed to the Communists. In November 1925 these veterans held a meeting in the Western Hills near Peking. This meeting later became known as the Western Hills conference, and its participants and supporters were referred to as the Western Hills clique. Of the 24 members of the Central Executive Committee (which included three Communists), ten were present at this meeting. Chang Chi, who was a member of the Central Supervisory Committee, was reported as being present at the meeting as an observer. Actually, he was not present because

of a head injury, though he doubtless gave the gathering his full support. Hsieh Ch'ih, also a member of the Central Supervisory Committee, was present as an observer. Teng Tse-ju, the third member of the trio who had submitted the 1924 impeachment, was in Canton when the Western Hills meeting was held, but he reportedly gave financial aid to the gathering.

His participation in the Western Hills group cost Chang Chi temporary loss of his position in the central apparatus of the Kuomintang. The Second National Congress of the Kuomintang, which met in January 1926, adopted a resolution calling for disciplinary action against the members of the Western Hills group and threatening their dismissal from the party unless they repented. Chang was not re-elected to the Central Supervisory Committee. In September 1927, however, party unity was restored among the three factions then based at Wuhan, Nanking, and Shanghai (the Western Hills group). Chang Chi was a member of the special committee established to carry out that reunification.

In June 1928 Chang Chi was made a member of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission and also a member of the provisional branch of the Central Political Council at Peiping. He became chairman of the council in August 1928, succeeding Li Shih-tseng. In October of that year, Chang Chi was made a member of the State Council and vice president of the Judicial Yuan. In November, Chang and Li Shih-tseng were assigned the task of inspecting party affairs in Peiping, Hopei, Shantung, and Shansi.

In 1931 the arrest of Hu Han-min at Nanking led to a separation movement in Canton, where a rival national government was set up with the support of many prominent men, including Wang Ching-wei, T'ang Shao-yi, Sun Fo, and C. C. Wu. However, the threat of civil war was averted by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in September 1931. Late in October 1931 Chang Chi, together with Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei and Ch'en Ming-shu (q.v.), went from Nanking to Canton as a peace emissary. On 21 November the Nanking envoys returned to Shanghai accompanied by the southern leaders Wang Ching-wei, Tsou Lu, C. C. Wu, and Eugene Ch'en. Early in December 1933, after the outbreak of the Fukien revolt, led by Ch'en Ming-shu with the Nineteenth Route Army

as military support, Chang Chi headed a Nanking delegation which visited the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to study the attitude of the southern leaders and to prevent them from supporting the Fukien regime. Chang Chi called on Hu Han-min in Hong Kong both on his way to Canton and on his return journey. Although he had extensive discussions with Hu, he failed to persuade him to return to the government at Nanking. Earlier in 1933, the Kuomintang had established a north China office of the party, located in Hsin-hsiang, Honan, and, after the southern mission, Chang Chi was appointed its director. In this capacity he traveled frequently in the north, visiting such places as Peiping, Loyang, and Sian.

In November 1935, at the sixth plenum of the fourth Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang at Nanking, as a group photograph was being taken, an attempt on the life of Wang Ching-wei, then president of the Executive Yuan, was thwarted as Chang Chi and Chang Hsueh-liang both grappled with the would-be assassin and overpowered him.

During the Sino-Japanese war Chang Chi was principally concerned with the preservation and organization of documentary materials relevant to the history of the Kuomintang. In 1937 he became chairman of the central party history committee and traveled to Szechwan by way of Nanchang and Changsha, supervising the transfer of important archives to safety. During the war years in Chungking, Chang frequently lectured on party history. He also served as head of the central comforting corps, devoting much time to visiting military units in the field.

In the last two years of his life (1945-47), Chang continued to travel on Kuomintang business. After the enactment of the new constitution in 1947, he became vice chairman of the committee to promote the implementation of constitutional government. At the beginning of 1947 he was named the first director of the Kuo-shih-kuan [national history institute], after having headed its preparatory committee since 1940. Chang Chi died in Nanking on 15 December 1947, at the age of 66, after a political career spanning nearly 50 years. His writings and speeches, *Chang Pu-ch'üan hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi* [complete works of Chang Pu-ch'üan] and *Chang Pu-ch'üan hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi pu-pien* [supplement to the complete works of Chang

Pu-ch'üan], were published in 1951 and 1952 in Taiwan.

Chang Chi was survived by his wife, Ts'ui Chan-hua (1886-), whom he married in Tientsin in 1912. She was a delegate to the National Assembly in 1947 which enacted the constitution. After his death she went to live in Taiwan, serving as a member of the Control Yuan of the National Government. Chang's two sons both predeceased him: Chang Hsiung (1916-1921) and Chang K'un (1917-1945). The latter had gone to France for education in 1932 and had returned to China in 1937. He was murdered in Chengtu in 1945; his corpse was found in a graveyard. Chang Chi also had two daughters: Chang Ying (1913-) and Chang Lin (1922-).

Chang Chi-luan 張季鸞
Orig. Chang Ch'ih-chang 張熾章

Chang Chi-luan (20 March 1888-6 September 1941), editor of the leading newspaper *Ta Kung Pao*, was a pioneer advocate of freedom in reporting and in expressing editorial opinion in the Chinese press.

Although Chang Chi-luan was born in Tsouping hsien, Shantung province, his family's ancestral home was in Yulin, Shensi. Chang's father, Chang Ch'iao-hsuan, was serving as a government official in Shantung when the boy was born. In 1900 the father died at Tsinan. Chang's mother took her husband's remains to the ancestral home for burial, and the family then remained in Shensi.

As a boy Chang Chi-luan was physically weak and suffered from stammering. His promise as a scholar, however, attracted the attention of government officials in Shensi, who ensured that he had a good education. He studied the Chinese classics and history and, even as a youth, was noted for his concise and well-structured prose composition.

In February 1904 he entered the Hung-tao Higher School at Sanyuan, Shensi. His mother died two months later. In 1905 he passed the Shensi provincial examinations and became eligible for a government scholarship to study in Japan. Since he knew no Japanese, he devoted time to learning it and did not go to Japan until 1909. There he entered the Tokyo

First Higher School, where he studied political economy. He also became interested in practical political affairs, joined the T'ung-meng-hui, and helped to edit an anti-Manchu magazine run by Shensi men living in Japan. This minor post marked the beginning of Chang Chi-luan's lifelong dedication to journalism.

When the Wuchang revolt broke out in October 1911, Chang left his studies in Japan and returned to China, where he joined the staff of the *Min-li pao* [people's strength journal] at Shanghai. The office of that newspaper, which had been established by Yu Yu-jen (q.v.), was then an important meeting place for such men as Chang Shih-chao, Shao Li-tzu, Sung Chiao-jen, and Yeh Ch'u-ts'ang (qq.v.), all of whom supported the provisional government at Nanking. After Sun Yat-sen's resignation in April 1912, Chang Chi-luan left Nanking for north China, where he helped to establish a Peking edition of the *Min-li pao*. Because of the strong views expressed in that paper on the occasion of the assassination of Sung Chiao-jen in March 1913, Chang was arrested and imprisoned for three months.

After his release he fled to Shanghai. There, at the invitation of Hu Lin (q.v.), who had been his schoolmate in Japan, Chang joined the staff of the *Ta-kung-ho jih-pao* [great republican daily], becoming editor in charge of international affairs. The duties of this post included the translation of articles from the Japanese press. Concurrently, he taught Western history for a period at Chung-kuo kung-hsueh [Ghina college] in Woosung, where Sheng Shih-ts'ai (q.v.) was one of his students. In 1915 he founded and became chief editor of the *Min-hsin jih-pao* [people's faith journal] in Shanghai, writing almost daily attacks against Yuan Shih-k'ai. After Yuan's death in June 1916, Chang returned to Peking to take over the *Chung-hua hsin-pao* [new China journal], at the same time serving as correspondent for the Shanghai *Hsin-wen pao* [the news]. During this period he also contributed many articles to magazines, using a pen name to protect himself. After publishing a report disclosing the secret agreements negotiated between the Anfu clique and Japan, the *Chung-hua hsin-pao* was closed, along with several other Peking newspapers, and Chang was imprisoned on the order of Hsu Shu-cheng (q.v.). The freedom of the press was hardly established in north

China at this time, and the lot of the Chinese newsmen was unenviable at best. After his release Chang returned to Shanghai.

After a decade as a leading editor of newspapers which were consistently dependent on political privilege or personal subsidies, Chang Chi-luan hoped to work for an enterprise which would be established on an independent and commercial basis. In the winter of 1924 he moved back to Peking, where he participated in plans to expand the faltering Kuo-wen News Service. Before decisions were made on that project, the *Ta Kung Pao* in Tientsin came on the market. With capital provided by Wu Ting-ch'ang (q.v.), a new company was formed, and it took over the *Ta Kung Pao* in September 1926. Chang Chi-luan became chief editor of the paper, and Hu Lin became general manager in charge of business operations. The three men determined to keep the paper free from political influence or control.

Chang devoted the years from 1926 until 1941 to establishing the *Ta Kung Pao* as a reliable organ of liberal opinion in China. His original editorial manifesto called for no partisanship, no dependence on outside commercial or political subsidies, no advancement of private interests through the paper, and no conformity at the expense of truth. Under Chang Chi-luan's editorial guidance, the *Ta Kung Pao* faithfully held to its stated purpose of presenting facts and reflecting public opinion. Although the paper generally sympathized with the Nationalist cause and supported Chiang Kai-shek as the national leader, on many occasions it was critical of government policies and personalities. In October 1930, at Chang's instigation, the *Ta Kung Pao* sent reporters to investigate living conditions in the countryside of Hopei in north China. The paper's daily dispatches candidly exposed the maladministration there, marking a new era in Chinese journalism.

Moreover, as national attention focused increasingly on Sino-Japanese relations in the post-1931 period, the *Ta Kung Pao* responded by sending correspondents to Japan and to the Soviet Union. Their reports were supplemented by Chang's editorials, which showed a farsighted appraisal of Japanese intentions in China and an awareness of the benefits which China might gain through increased attention to the Soviet pattern of industrial and techno-

logical development. The caliber of the paper's reporting was bettered by the fact that both Chang Chi-luan and Wang Yun-sheng, one of his protégés, were familiar with Japan and Japanese affairs. During the 1930's the *Ta Kung Pao* gained steadily in national reputation and popularity, as well as in financial success. On 1 September 1936 the paper celebrated the tenth anniversary of its resumption of publication, and Chang Chi-luan wrote a commemorative article to mark the occasion, reviewing achievements and renewing pledges.

Because of the growing crisis in north China, the *Ta Kung Pao* established a Shanghai edition on 1 April 1936. The Tientsin and Shanghai editions simultaneously published a statement by Chang explaining that the move was dictated by the desire to provide a truly national forum for independent opinion and did not mark an expansion in business or a retreat from north China. At that time, opinion was deeply divided as to the most appropriate course for national policy, and many patriotic groups were supporting the Communist call for military resistance against Japan. Chang Chi-luan steered the *Ta Kung Pao* on an independent course through this difficult period, insisting that he was prepared to have the paper close down rather than to pander to the emotionalism generated by sectional or political interests. On 1 June 1936 Chang published a strong editorial, "China's Youth and Japan," in which he warned the Japanese that the youth of China was greatly superior in fortitude to what it had been thirty years earlier, and that young women as well as young men were now prepared for dedicated sacrifice in the cause of national independence and social welfare. At the time of the Sian Incident in December 1936, Chang published an open letter to Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.) and his associates, arguing that their action in detaining Chiang Kai-shek could only harm the unity that China had achieved with difficulty during the years since 1928. The phrasing and the sentiments expressed in his letter had considerable impact in China and reportedly contributed to settlement of the incident.

Motivated by his own experience as a working journalist, Chang took a consistently strong stand regarding censorship and freedom of speech. In February 1937 he argued that the government's right to ban news reports should

be limited to material which definitely attempted to undermine the state system, disclose national defense plans, or sabotage public order. The policy, he insisted, should be to release everything that could be released, not to withhold everything on principle.

As a result of the outbreak of war in mid-1937, both the Tientsin and the Shanghai editions of the *Ta Kung Pao* were forced to suspend publication. While Hu Lin went to Hong Kong to launch a new edition there with the presses which had been evacuated from Tientsin, the Shanghai equipment was moved to Hankow. The paper resumed publication there on 18 September 1937, only to be forced to close on 17 October. On 1 December 1937 a new Chungking edition replaced the short-lived Hankow paper. During the early days of the war, Chang Chi-luan, who was chief editor in Chungking, traveled regularly between west China and Hong Kong to keep in touch with Hu Lin. Chang's editorials were published simultaneously in both editions. During a period of uncertainty in China, his articles did much to clarify issues and provide perspective. He called for long-term planning to prosecute the war against Japan and strongly opposed Wang Ching-wei (q.v.) and his group, whose policy he termed one of "national extinction."

Over the years the *Ta Kung Pao* had grown into a large enterprise with an extensive staff. In addition to his editorial duties, Chang Chi-luan, as a veteran of the organization, also had heavy managerial responsibilities. His always precarious health worsened with the move to Chungking, though he continued to handle the many tasks connected with establishing the new edition in the wartime capital. After the spring of 1939, Chang Chi-luan delegated more and more of his editorial duties to his assistant, Wang Yun-sheng. Eventually Chang's tuberculosis forced him to retire, and Wang succeeded him.

On 15 May 1941 the University of Missouri School of Journalism bestowed an award on the *Ta Kung Pao*, in recognition of the principles to which Chang had dedicated himself over the years. A few months after the Missouri award, on 6 September, he died in Chungking. His passing was mourned by his associates in Chungking, and his fellow newsmen voted to give him a public burial. In addition, a Chang

Chi-luan scholarship fund was raised to commemorate his notable contributions to modern Chinese journalism. A collection of his writings, *Chi-luan wen-ts'un* [preserved writings of Chi-luan], was published at Chungking in 1944, and a new edition was issued at Tientsin in 1946.

Chang led a simple life unlike the undisciplined existence conventionally associated with the press. In his later years Chang was a tall and slightly stooped figure with a balding head and a prominent nose. Throughout the year he wore the traditional Chinese long gown. He was a frugal man, and his gowns were made of coarse native material.

As a responsible native of Shensi, Chang was naturally concerned with the relatively backward state of education in that province. On a visit after his return from Japan at the beginning of the republican period, he suggested that the Shensi authorities set aside government funds to assist students. His efforts and encouragement greatly increased the number of Shensi students who later studied in universities elsewhere in China and abroad.

In a period when the Chinese press was subject to many pressures, both private and political, Chang Chi-luan helped to create a sound policy of unbiased reporting and free expression of editorial opinion. This was his greatest achievement.

Chang Ch'i-huang

T. Tzu-wu

H. Wu-ching chü-shih

張其鍾

子武

無(无)竟居士

Chang Ch'i-huang (7 May 1877–30 June 1927), began his career as an official in Hunan and became an adviser and secretary general to Wu P'ei-fu during the 1920's.

For five generations before his birth, Chang Ch'i-huang's family had produced scholar-officials in imperial China. He was a native of Kweilin, Kwangsi. His grandfather had held official positions in south China and attained some military prominence during the Taiping rebellion. His father was a chü-jen of 1862 and later served as magistrate of several hsien, including Nanhai (Namhoi) and Shunte (Shuntak) in Kwangtung. A precocious child, Chang Ch'i-huang began formal schooling at

the age of six sui and at eighteen enrolled in the Kuang-ya Academy, a distinguished educational center established at Canton in 1887 by Chang Chih-tung (ECCP, I, 27-32). When his father died about 1896, Chang Ch'i-huang remained at Canton with his mother and a younger brother. Three years later Chang married a daughter of P'an P'ei-k'ai, an official in charge of frontier defense on the Kwangtung-Annam border, and gradually gained a knowledge of military affairs by assisting his father-in-law. In 1902 Chang returned to his native Kweilin to participate in the Kwangsi provincial examinations. He passed them in 1903 and the metropolitan examinations in 1904, the year before the abolition of the system.

On entering official life, Chang Ch'i-huang was appointed to serve in Hunan province: first, for a brief period, as acting magistrate of Lingling and later as magistrate of Chihchiang in western Hunan. He remained in Chihchiang until 1910 and established himself as an able administrator. Following the death of his first wife, Chang married Nieh Ch'i-te, a granddaughter of Tseng Kuo-fan (ECCP, II, 751-56). When his mother died in 1910, Chang returned to Kwangsi to observe the appropriate mourning period.

In 1911 the governor of Hunan recalled Chang and placed him in charge of military units stationed at Yungchow. When the revolution broke out in October of that year, T'an Yen-k'ai (q.v.) became military governor of Hunan. When a new provincial government was established in Hunan in 1912, T'an called on Chang to become commissioner of military affairs. Chang and T'an Yen-k'ai were old acquaintances—they had both passed the metropolitan examinations in the same year and were thus linked in the t'ung-nien relation, a close bond in imperial China. After Yuan Shih-k'ai dissolved the Parliament in Peking early in 1914, he called a conference to draft a revised constitution. Chang Ch'i-huang was selected to participate. However, when suggestions were made at the conference in 1915 to revive hereditary ranks, Chang, sensing a reactionary trend, left Peking and returned south. Soon thereafter Yuan Shih-k'ai launched his ill-fated monarchical movement.

A significant point in Chang Ch'i-huang's career was his first meeting with Wu P'ei-fu

(q.v.) in 1918. In 1917 Chang Hsün (q.v.) attempted to restore the Manchu house to the throne in Peking. The coup, however, was a fiasco. Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.) emerged as the chief rescuer of the republic and, with increased power, again became premier and pressed forward with plans for the unification of China by military means. Early in 1918 Tuan sent an expeditionary force under Ts'ao K'un (q.v.) and Wu P'ei-fu to occupy Hunan. Wu P'ei-fu's army advanced into the province with little difficulty, but bogged down unexpectedly at Yungchow. There Chang Ch'i-huang, who was again in Hunan as assistant to T'an Yen-k'ai, supervised the defense line. At that point Chang communicated with Wu P'ei-fu, stressing the advantages of reestablishing local peace for the good of the Chinese nation as a whole. Impressed with Chang's sensible opinions and dissatisfied with Tuan Ch'i-jui, Wu P'ei-fu decided to stop fighting in Hunan. Shortly thereafter Wu took the lead by sending a telegram advocating general peace (21 August 1918) from Hengyang to the Peking government. Some sources suggest that Chang Ch'i-huang actually drafted this message. Whatever its authorship, the telegram contributed to the resignation of Tuan Ch'i-jui as premier in Peking.

Internecine fighting in north China persisted, however, and Chang Ch'i-huang continued to be active, now as adviser to Wu P'ei-fu, in both the Chihli-Anhwei war of 1920 and the first Chihli-Fengtien war of 1922. Chang and Wu became good friends; one key to the affinity between them may have been their mutual interest in and practice of divination and fortune-telling.

When the first Chihli-Fengtien war ended, Chang was appointed civil governor of his native province, Kwangsi. During the early years of the republic, the southern provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Yunnan, and Szechwan were largely controlled by local military leaders. Officials appointed by the Peking government had very limited authority in these areas. The extent of Chang Ch'i-huang's jurisdiction was a few hsien near Yungning, then the provincial capital of Kwangsi. While Chang had no hold on provincial revenue, he managed to remain in his position for about two years—until the arrival of Li Tsung-jen (q.v.) in 1924.

Meanwhile the second Chihli-Fengtien conflict was brewing in the north, and war was declared by Chang Tso-lin (q.v.) in September 1924. Wu P'ei-fu, then at Loyang in Honan, sent for Chang Ch'i-huang to serve again as his assistant. In this military conflict, however, Wu P'ei-fu emerged the vanquished, and from then on he steadily lost strength. In the south, the revitalized Kuomintang was beginning to consolidate a military base in Kwangtung. In the north, Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.) turned against Wu P'ei-fu in 1924 and against Chang Tso-lin in 1925. Wu P'ei-fu and Chang Tso-lin then attempted to form an anti-Feng alliance, and Chang Ch'i-huang, as Wu's personal representative in Peking, played an important role in these negotiations between the warlords. After his defeat in 1924, Wu P'ei-fu moved from one area to another, unable to consolidate a secure territorial base. Chang Ch'i-huang remained in his service during this period. In 1927 Wu decided to retreat to Szechwan and moved his forces to the Honan-Hupeh border by summer. On 30 June, during the westward march, Chang Ch'i-huang was killed at Fan-ch'eng, shot by snipers who were variously described as bandits and as troops of an enemy faction. His remains were brought south and buried near Soochow in the winter of 1927.

Chang Ch'i-huang was a versatile man. He dabbled in painting and played the ch'in, amused himself with the Chinese game of wei-ch'i, and had some knowledge of such diverse subjects as Chinese medicine and the English language. He was thought to be a good calligrapher and was regarded highly as a cultivated man of letters.

As a scholar, Chang Ch'i-huang was especially interested in ancient Chinese philosophy. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (q.v.) praised Chang's work the *Mo-ching t'ung-chieh* [general interpretation of the philosophy of Mo-tzu], and in his preface to this study expressed amazement that Chang had been able to produce a work of this nature in the 1923-27 period when he had been occupied with military activities as Wu P'ei-fu's assistant. Both the *Mo-ching t'ung-chieh* and a collection of Chang's literary works, the *Tu-chih-t'ang ts'ung-kao* [miscellaneous writings of Tu chih-t'ang], were edited after Chang's death by Ch'ü Hsuan-ying, a relative by marriage. The former work was published in 1931; the latter, in 1932.

Chang Ch'i-yün

T. Hsiao-feng

張其昀
曉峯

Chang Ch'i-yün (1901-), scholar and official, taught history and geography for many years at National Central and Chekiang universities. He also wrote on the modernization of China. He served in Taiwan in such positions as secretary general of Chiang Kai-shek's office and minister of education.

A native of Yinhsien, Chekiang, Chang Ch'i-yün came from a family of scholars; both his great-grandfather and grandfather earned the chü-jen degree. His father, Chang Chao-lin, was a student of local history in Chekiang and devoted much energy to the promotion of village education and water conservation schemes. After several years of old-style schooling, Chang Ch'i-yün entered the Fourth Higher Primary School located at the county seat in 1913. Two years later he enrolled at the Provincial Fourth Middle School where he came under the influence of several remarkable teachers. Ch'en K'ang-fu, who taught language and who had been a student of Chang's grandfather and a teacher of Chang's father, directed the youth's attention to education as a career. Hung Yun-hsiang, his history teacher, and Ts'ai Ho-k'eng, his geography teacher, emphasized the inter-relationship between history and geography, the two subjects which became Chang's life-long interest.

In the summer of 1919, at the height of the May Fourth Movement, Chang was sent to Shanghai by the Ningpo Student Association to attend the organizational meeting of the All-China Federation of Student Associations. It was probably the first time Chang took part in politics. But it was also the year of his graduation, and he soon left Chekiang to matriculate at the Nanking Higher Normal School, a government supported institution of college level which was tuition-free. There a history professor, Liu I-cheng (q.v.), took a special interest in Chang and prevented him from failing the entrance requirements because of physical frailty. Chang studied philosophy under another well-known scholar, Liu Po-ming (1887-1923), founder of the scholarly *Hsueh-heng* journal. Chang proved to be an excellent

student, and when Liang Ch'i-ch'ao lectured at the Normal School in 1922, he bestowed generous praise upon one of the young man's essays. Chang was graduated in June 1923, the same year that the Normal School was reorganized as Southeast University.

After graduation, Chang Ch'i-yün contracted with the Commercial Press in Shanghai to write a series of geography texts for middle school students. The assignment, which took four years to complete, gave him excellent opportunity to read widely in the firm's well-stocked Oriental library. When Southeast University became National Central University in 1927, following the establishment of the National Government at Nanking, Chang was appointed instructor in geography at his alma mater on the recommendation of Liu I-cheng. He remained at the university for the next ten years and became a full professor. In addition to producing a number of books and translations in the field of geography, he also found time during this period to travel extensively in Chekiang (autumn of 1929), Manchuria (summer of 1931), and the northwestern provinces (autumn of 1935 to summer of 1936). The accounts of his travels published in the *Ti-li hsueh-pao* [journal of geography] received favorable comment from V. K. Ting, the noted geologist and secretary general of the Academia Sinica. When the Council of the Academia Sinica was inaugurated in 1935, Chang was elected by the participating national universities as one of the councillors. At the age of 35, he was then the youngest councillor and the only one who had never studied abroad.

In the summer of 1936, Chang left Nanking for Hangchow, where he took up a new appointment as chairman of the newly established department of history and geography of National Chekiang University. A year later, Japan invaded China. To avoid enemy destruction, the faculty and student body of the university migrated inland, where they found refuge successively at Chien-te, Chekiang; I-shan, Kwangsi; and Tsunyi, Kweichow. In August 1939 the university, then in Kwangsi, appointed him director of its newly founded research institute of history and geography. In August 1940, when the university was finally located at Tsunyi, Chang, together with several members of the faculty of the college of arts, founded the journal *Ssu-hsiang yü shih-tai* [thought and the

age] which served as a forum for discussion of the problems of China's reconstruction and the interchange of Chinese and Western cultures. In February 1943, the Office of Cultural Relations of the United States Department of State invited six Chinese professors, who had been nominated by the presidents of various Chinese universities, to visit the United States. Chang was among the group who made the trip. They left Chungking on 6 June 1943 and arrived at Miami, Florida, on 21 June, traveling by way of India, Africa, and Brazil. While in the United States, Chang spent most of his time doing research on geopolitics at Harvard's Widener Library. He also visited various cities on the West Coast and the Eastern Seaboard. An interview with President Isaiah Bowman of The Johns Hopkins University in November 1944 was remembered with pleasure by Chang; they discussed China's role as a sea as well as a land power in centuries past.

Chang returned to China in September 1945. After Japan had been defeated, Chekiang University returned to its Hangchow campus. Chang soon was promoted to be dean of the college of arts, succeeding Mei Kuang-ti (q.v.), who died in December 1945. Chang organized the materials that the research institute of history and geography had gathered at Tsunyi and published them in May 1948 as *Tsun-ji hsin chih* [a new gazetteer of Tsunyi]. This book embodied a new concept for compiling local history. He also succeeded in purchasing the rare Sung editions preserved in the Chia-ye-t'ang library of the Liu family of Nan-hsin and the Yü-hai-lou library of the Sun family of Jui-an for the research institute, which greatly augmented its collection of historical and geographical studies.

Meanwhile, the Chinese civil war was approaching its climax. In June 1949 Chang left the mainland as the Communist forces advanced toward Hangchow. This time there was no migration of universities. In Taiwan Chang left the academic world to become secretary general of the office of the tsung-ts'ai [party leader]. In July 1949 he accompanied Chiang Kai-shek to Baguio to confer with President Elpidio Quirino of the Philippines, a meeting which led to a joint public declaration against Communism. In August of that year he accompanied Chiang Kai-shek to Korea to call on President Syngman Rhee; there the

two political leaders reiterated their firm anti-Communist stand. When Chiang Kai-shek formally resumed the presidency of the Republic of China on 1 March 1950, the office of the tsung-ts'ai was abolished, and Chang Ch'i-yün was reassigned to the directorship of the propaganda department of the Kuomintang. In July 1950 he became the secretary general of the central reorganization commission of the Kuomintang. In October 1952 he was elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang at the Seventh National Congress and served concurrently as its secretary general. Thus, in only a few years, Chang attained the top posts in the party hierarchy.

In the spring of 1954 Chang was appointed minister of education in the cabinet of O. K. Yui (Yü Hung-chun, q.v.). During his term of office, which extended from May 1954 to July 1958, Chang reestablished National Cheng-chih University, Tsinghua University, and Chiaotung University in Taiwan; elevated Taiwan Provincial Normal College to university status; restored the National Central Library; and founded the National Historical Museum and the National Taiwan Science Hall. Seeking to move toward free and compulsory middle school education for the youth of Taiwan, Chang in September 1956 eliminated entrance examinations for primary school graduates of the public school system who wished to enter public middle schools in Hsin-chu hsien. It was a cautious experiment, since the fees were retained and middle school education was voluntary. Unfortunately, because of the inadequacy of funds, buildings, equipment, and teachers for the increased enrollment, the experiment aroused more adverse than favorable response. In July 1958, Chang resigned from the ministry and the experiment was quietly discontinued. In the fall of that year he took over the directorship of the Research Institute of National Defense, whose function is similar to that of the National War College in the United States. In the early 1960's he established the Institute for Advanced Chinese Studies at Yangmingshan.

Chang Ch'i-yün's major publications include the following titles: *Chung-kuo min-tsu chih* [records of the Chinese people], *Chung-kuo ching-chi ti-li* [economic geography of China], *Che-chiang sheng shih-ti chi-yao* [outline of the history and geography of Chekiang province], *Chung-hua min-kuo shih-kang* [outline history of the

Chinese republic], *Hsin chiao-yü lun-chi* [essays on the new education], *Chung-hua wu-ch'ien-nien shih* [five thousand years of Chinese history], *Chung-kuo ti-li-hsueh yen-chiu* [studies in Chinese geography], and others. He was also the general editor of the *Kuo-fu ch'üan-shu* [works of the national father], a collection of Sun Yat-sen's principal theoretical and political writings published in 1960 in Taiwan.

Chang Chia-ao

T. Kung-ch'u'an
Alt. Chang Kia-ngau

張嘉璈
公權

Chang Chia-ao (1888-), banker, economist, and government official, was known as Chang Kia-ngau. In his long association with the Bank of China he contributed greatly to the development of modern practices in private banking. After 1935 he served the National Government in such capacities as minister of railways and minister of communications.

A native of Paoshan hsien in Kiangsu province, Chang Kia-ngau was the younger brother of Carsun Chang (Chang Chia-sen, q.v.). He received his early education in the traditional Chinese classics from private tutors, including several distinguished scholars of the district. In 1901, he and his brother were admitted to the Institute of Modern Languages at Shanghai, where he studied French. In 1905 Chang Kia-ngau went to Peking, where he studied for several months at the Higher Industrial School. He then went to Japan, where he enrolled at Keio University in Tokyo to study finance and economics. His brother studied at Waseda University. Devoted to his studies, he did not become involved in the anti-Manchu political activities which absorbed the attention of most of the Chinese students then in Japan.

After his graduation from Keio in 1909, Chang Kia-ngau returned to China. He served the Ch'ing government, in the newly established Board of Posts and Communications, the equivalent of the modern ministry of communications. As one of his duties, he edited the board's official gazette. Like his superior, Sheng Hsuan-huai (q.v.), the president of the board, Chang was concerned with the controversial issue of the nationalization of the railroads in 1911.

When the Wuchang revolt broke out in October 1911, Chang Kia-ngau left the Peking government and returned to the south. Early in 1912 he worked in Chekiang as secretary to Chu Jui, the provincial governor. In April 1913, when the Parliament was opened at Peking, Chang was appointed chief secretary to the Senate. He soon relinquished that post, however, and began in 1913 his long and distinguished service with the Bank of China. His first post was as assistant manager of the Shanghai branch. He worked under the branch manager, Sung Han-chang (q.v.).

Chang first gained national prominence in May 1916 through his resistance to the order issued by Yuan Shih-k'ai to the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications, both semi-governmental banks with power of issue, to suspend the redenomination of their notes. At that time the collapse of Yuan's regime was imminent. In the disturbed situation, there was a run on the two banks, which caused the suspension order. The Shanghai branch of the bank, however, was in a somewhat unusual position because it was located in the International Settlement. Its management had been based on sound banking principles, and it had built up a good public reputation. Chang thought that at such a juncture, the suspension of note redemption by the bank would destroy the reputation that he and his colleagues had worked assiduously to build. He decided to disregard the order from Peking and, instead, provided increased facilities for people presenting notes for redemption. This action brought immediate reprisal from Peking. An order for Chang's arrest was issued; an application was made to the foreign authorities controlling the settlement in Shanghai for his extradition. There was a great furor against Peking's action, as enlightened public opinion supported Chang's courageous action.

After the death of Yuan, Chang Kia-ngau's act of insubordination further enhanced his prestige and influence in the bank. In 1917 Chang was promoted to assistant general manager of the Bank of China and, accordingly, was transferred to the head office in Peking. In 1929 he was promoted to general manager and remained in that position until 1935. Before leaving Shanghai late in 1917, he had founded the *Bankers Weekly*, a magazine which began publication on 29 May 1917. Later, that

publication was issued under the sponsorship of the Shanghai Bankers Association and was a most useful reference volume on Chinese banking and economic problems. It continued publication until 3 March 1950, nearly a year after the Chinese Communists had occupied Shanghai.

Chang Kia-ngau made substantial contributions to the organization of Chinese banking as a whole and to the general elevation of China's public finances. After the end of the First World War and in the early 1920's, his ability as a financier came to be recognized by the Chinese government and by international banking circles. In 1922 he was appointed to the national financial consultative commission, and in the following year he was named to the commission for the reorganization of national finances. The banking consortium which floated loans to China had ceased to operate during the war, and Japan had become the sole purveyor of loans to China. After the war, attempts to organize a new consortium by the major foreign powers failed because of China's growing distrust of Japan and mutual distrust among the powers themselves. In 1920 Thomas W. Lamont, partner of J. P. Morgan and Company of New York visited China and participated in the discussions with Chinese bankers, including Chang Kia-ngau, regarding foreign loans. It soon became evident that, because of the political disorganization of China, no foreign capital would be made available. It was then that a consensus was reached regarding the need to form a Chinese banking group to undertake the financing of government and industrial needs.

In his book, *China's Struggle for Railroad Development* (1943), Chang Kia-ngau recalled that "the Chinese banking group made a first experiment in railroad financing in 1922 by underwriting an issue of CN\$6 million equipment bonds. In 1924 the group helped to finance the Lunhai Railway with the issue of a CN\$10 million silver loan. These efforts to participate in railroad financing required no small degree of courage, and the results were accomplished in the absence of foreign cooperation at a time when China's own resources were limited. But we had at last come to realize that we had to depend more on ourselves."

For the first time in the history of China's public finance, Chinese banks participated in

national reconstruction by pooling their resources. The public thought that the Chinese banks had attained maturity and were as sound as foreign banks, which hitherto had dominated China's financial market. This new prestige helped to clear the path for the country's economic modernization during the decade from 1927 through 1937, in which financing by native banking institutions played a significant role.

Following Chang Kia-ngau's promotion to the post of general manager, great advances were made by the Bank of China in the period from 1928 through 1935. From his study of banking methods, Chang knew that the lack of a sound accounting system greatly hampered the operation of Chinese banks. Accordingly, Western banking experts were invited from England to serve as advisers, and S. Y. Liu (Liu Kung-yun), a London-trained economic expert, was assigned to set up a completely modernized accounting system. Under Chang's management, steps were taken to improve the personnel of the bank by employing foreign-trained Chinese students of economics and banking and assigning them to responsible positions.

Also, the Bank of China was developing its facilities for the handling of foreign exchange and international banking. Foreign agents and correspondents were appointed, and branches were opened in overseas Chinese communities. Later, during the Sino-Japanese war, the Bank was able to discharge its duties as the bank of foreign exchange under wartime conditions. The Bank of China was also the first bank in China to maintain a full-fledged economic research department. Its research publications were accepted as being authoritative by economists and bankers.

Chang Kia-ngau's active association with the Bank of China was interrupted in 1935, when the National Government, with the prominent financier H. H. K'ung as the new finance minister, decided on the reorganization of both the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications, particularly in their relationship to the Central Bank of China. The capital of the Bank of China was increased from CN\$20 million to CN\$40 million, with an increase in the ratio of government-owned shares. The bank, whose official character then became more pronounced, was to play an auxiliary role to the Central

Bank of China. T. V. Soong (q.v.) became the head, displacing Chang Kia-ngau. The Bank of China then ceased to function as an independent institution, a position which Chang had diligently worked to create and strengthen over a period of two decades.

Chang proceeded, however, to build himself a new career. Chiang Kai-shek appointed him minister of railways in his new "cabinet of talents." Chang was also a member of the unofficial but influential Political Science Group of scholars and administrators. Chang Kia-ngau's appointment as minister of railways was designed not only to provide him with a new post after his devoted service to the Bank of China but also to take advantage of his interest in railway development, an interest shown in his younger days when he had served the Board of Posts and Communications under the Ch'ing government. While with the Bank of China, he had shown a keen interest in railroad financing—especially for construction on the Chekiang-Kiangsi Railway (1929) and on the Canton-Hankow Railway (1933). With the growing tension in Sino-Japanese relations and the threat of war, the need for new railroad construction became increasingly urgent, and Chang Kia-ngau was thought to be a suitable man to take charge.

Following a government review of national defense requirements, it was decided that a new railway should be developed to run from east to west crossing the Canton-Hankow railway. In January 1936 the ministry of railways issued bonds to the value of CN\$27 million in order to finance the construction of the Chekiang-Kiangsi railway from Nanchang to Pinghsiang, there connecting with the Pinghsiang-Chuchow section. One month later, new railway bonds of CN\$120 million were issued by the ministry to finance the construction of a line from Chuchow farther west to Kweiyang, to form the Hunan-Kweichow railway. Chang Kia-ngau conducted negotiations with German interests for supplies to be used in the Chekiang-Kiangsi and Hunan-Kweichow railways and with French interests for the construction of the Chungking-Chengtu railway in Szechwan. In the 18 months between his assumption of office in December 1935 and the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in the summer of 1937, Chang Kia-ngau succeeded in establishing foreign confidence in the Chinese railways, with the

result that Chinese railway bonds rose in value. He was also successful in inducing Chinese banks to subscribe to railway construction bonds in the amount of CN\$74.5 million.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, the ministry of railways became part of the ministry of communications, and Chang Kia-ngau was named to head that ministry. During the next four years, he administered China's wartime communications and transport with outstanding efficiency in spite of difficulties imposed by enemy blockade and the loss of China's seaboard provinces. A remarkable achievement was the completion of the Hunan-Kweichow Railway, undertaken while a major war was raging. The 224 miles of this strategic railway were built in one year. Plans were made for extending the railroad to French Indo-China, but the Japanese threat to the province of Kwangsi in November 1939 rendered that impossible.

In 1942 Chang Kia-ngau resigned for reasons of health; he was succeeded by Tseng Yang-fu. Chang went to the United States on a government mission to study economic construction. His book, *China's Struggle for Railroad Development*, was published in English in the United States in 1943. In his foreword, dated at Chungking in January 1943, Chang stated that he was still subject to official constraints when he wrote the manuscript and sent it off to America. The book reviews in detail the history of railroads and railroad financing in China, as well as appraising the prospects for postwar railroad development. It analyzes the significant possibilities of railroad development and may also have been designed to bring these potentialities to the attention of the financial world abroad.

When the war ended in 1945, Chang Kia-ngau returned to China. Even before his arrival there, the National Government had named him chairman of the Northeast (Manchuria) Economic Commission. In that position, he was charged with the massive task of restoring economic stability to that region after 14 years of enemy occupation. This situation had been complicated by the entry of the Chinese Communists into the area and by the obstacles created by the Soviet military forces which had moved into the area a few days before the Japanese surrender. Chang Kia-ngau, who was also chairman of the board of the Chinese Changchun Railway, recognized the immense

difficulties of his mission. He and Chiang Ching-kuo (q.v.), the Nationalist foreign-affairs commissioner for the Northeast, had many frustrating sessions attempting to negotiate with the Soviet authorities. The Russians, however, did little to facilitate the efforts of the National Government's representatives in extending their control over the whole of Manchuria.

Meanwhile, the Chinese Communists had assigned Lin Piao (q.v.) and an experienced group of military and political men to Manchuria to mobilize armed resistance against the Nationalists. By the time that international pressure finally led to the withdrawal of the Russian military forces, the Chinese Communists had under the Soviet aegis established themselves at strategic points. Chang Kia-ngau, who was determined to make the best of an overwhelmingly difficult job, began some reconstruction work in the area south of Changchun. During the early stage after the Japanese surrender, he made some progress. Railway mileage in operation increased, as did telecommunications lines, and coal and electric power output. And a significant number of factories resumed production.

The military and political situation in the Northeast deteriorated rapidly, however, and affected economic conditions. The heavy burden of military expenses forced the Nationalist authorities to resort to a new note issue. A special Manchurian currency was placed in circulation, and the issue soon reached astronomical figures as the territory under effective Nationalist control shrank. By late 1946, the United States had abandoned its attempt to mediate in the conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists in China, and the civil war had flared into the open. As emphasis shifted from economic salvage to military action in Manchuria, Chang Kia-ngau could do no more. In March 1947 the National Government recalled him and appointed him governor of the Central Bank of China. He held that post for about a year until May 1948, when a new government was formed at Nanking with Wong Wen-hao (q.v.) as premier.

When the Communist military forces overran the mainland, Chang Kia-ngau went abroad. He spent three years as a professor in Australia, lecturing on the economic problems of the Far East. In 1953 Chang moved to the United States, where he taught for a time at Loyola

University in Los Angeles. In 1958 his book entitled *The Inflationary Spiral: The Experience in China, 1939-1950* was published. After his retirement he continued to live in California. In addition to his published writings, Chang Kia-ngau has also left an important human legacy in the group of Chinese economists, most of them now living in the United States, who began their careers in the economic research department of the Bank of China when Chang served as its general manager.

Chang Chia-sen

T. Chün-mai
West. Carsun Chang

張嘉森
君勸

Chang Chia-sen (1886-), known as Carsun Chang, a leading supporter of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's ideas and movements, worked for the establishment of constitutional government in the early 1900's. Prominent in the attempt to focus attention in China on cultural and educational activities, he studied philosophy in Germany and was a leading figure in the science-philosophy debates of 1923. Opposing the one-party system of the Kuomintang, in the 1930's he established the National Socialist party. After 1952 he lived in the United States.

Born in the Paoshan district of Kiangsu into a family of some affluence, Carsun Chang, the elder brother of Chang Kia-ngau (Chang Chia-ao, q.v.), received his early education in the Confucian classics from tutors, including several prominent scholars of the area. In 1901, he and his brother enrolled at the Institute of Modern Languages at Shanghai. There he received his middle school education and began to study German.

During these formative years, Carsun Chang became interested in the political theories of the reformers K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (qq.v.). From 1905 until 1909, Carsun Chang was in Tokyo, where he studied law and political economy at Waseda University. In 1907 he joined an organization known as the Cheng-wen-she, established at Tokyo by associates of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao to make plans for the creation of constitutional government in China. Early in 1908, when the headquarters of that organization moved to Shanghai, Carsun Chang was one of the members who continued to carry on its

affairs in Japan. He was then in correspondence with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, and he supported Liang's ideas of constitutional government for China.

After graduation from Waseda in 1909, Carsun Chang returned to China. There he took and passed the government examinations which the Ch'ing court had established for Chinese students returning from abroad after the abolition of the examination system in 1905. Chang was awarded the degree of chin-shih and appointed a compiler of the Hanlin Academy (these latter-day distinctions were viewed with condescension by the older Chinese scholar-officials, who had taken their degrees in the traditional and more difficult manner). In 1911 Chang became an editor of the *Tientsin-Peking Shih-pao*. During that period he was in close touch with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and his associates, who were attempting to promote support for the new national parliament to be created by the Ch'ing court. After the Wuhan revolt and the establishment of the republic in 1912, Carsun Chang met at Shanghai with Lin Ch'ang-min, T'ang Hua-lung (qq.v.), Sun Hung-i, and other associates of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao to make plans for the establishment of a constitutional parliament and to launch a political party to accomplish that task. In December 1912, with the appearance of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's new magazine, *Yung-yen* [justice], he became its assistant editor and a frequent contributor.

Carsun Chang's personal involvement with Chinese politics was interrupted in 1913, when he went to Europe to study Western philosophy. From 1913 until 1915 he was at the University of Berlin. He then left Germany to go to England, where he studied for some months. By 1916, when he left London to return to China, he was convinced that Germany would lose the war and was a strong advocate of China's entry into the conflict on the other side. After his arrival in China, he became head of the bureau of foreign affairs of the Chekiang provincial government at Hangchow. He also conferred with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao regarding the question of China's entry into the war and the general political situation in China. In late 1916 and early 1917 Carsun Chang, on behalf of Liang, attempted to sound out the views of Chang Hsün and Feng Kuo-chang (qq.v.). Actually, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's efforts to play an influential role at Peking were frustrated by

the leadership of Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.), with the result that most of these intellectuals became increasingly dubious about seeking national regeneration through this government, and many retired from politics. One of them, Chang Tung-sun (q.v.), moved to Shanghai to become chief editor of the independent daily newspaper, the *Shih-shih hsin-pao* [China times]. Carsun Chang joined the staff of that newspaper as its manager. Sharing Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's desire to focus attention on cultural and educational activities, he also lectured at Peking University in 1918. At the end of that year, when Liang Ch'i-ch'ao left for Europe as an unofficial delegate to the Paris Peace Conference, a small group of personal friends accompanied him. The entourage included Carsun Chang, Chiang Fang-chen (q.v.), and V. K. Ting (Ting Wen-chiang, q.v.). Carsun Chang then spent the postwar years from 1919 to 1922 in Germany, where he read philosophy at Jena under Rudolf Eucken. Eucken's emphasis on the human sense of moral obligation appealed to Carsun Chang, and he collaborated with the elderly philosopher in writing *Das Lebensproblem in China und Europa*, which was published in Leipzig in 1922. Chang was also interested in the French philosopher Henri Bergson, in whose writings he found support for his own variety of humanistic Confucianism. Yet his studies at Jena were not entirely confined to philosophy. He also attended the lectures of the jurist Karl Korsch, from whom he gained increased knowledge of European political concepts and systems of government, including German state socialism, Russian Communism, and English parliamentary government. And he was a close observer of contemporary developments in Europe, including the establishment of the Bela Kun dictatorship in Hungary and the early activities of the Communist International.

Carsun Chang was instrumental in inviting the German philosopher and biologist Hans Driesch to go to China for the Chiang-hsueh-she [lecture association]. This association was a project of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao; its purpose was to invite distinguished Western scholars to China. Driesch, known for his concern with vitalistic biology and for his impatience with the mechanistic assumptions behind much contemporary scientific thinking, had an unanticipated impact on Chinese intellectuals. Carsun Chang, after

returning to China, served as his interpreter at Peking, and soon afterwards was requested by the students at Tsinghua University to deliver a lecture himself. The result was the famous statement entitled "Jen-sheng kuan" [philosophy of life], which, published in the *Tsing-hua Weekly* in February 1923, sparked a lively intellectual debate that engaged many of China's nimblest minds. Chang's subject was suggested by the title of a book by Rudolf Eucken, *Die Lebensanschauungen der grossen Denker* (Leipzig, 1890; English translation, *The Problem of Human Life*, New York, 1909). Its message was that science, with its orientation toward the external world of matter, was powerless to solve the spiritual problems of human life and was leading Western civilization into materialism and moral degeneracy. Chang declared that a sound philosophy of life must not rely upon the determinism of scientific laws, but on man's intuition and his free will. Aroused by the attack upon scientific method, V. K. Ting issued a refutation of Carsun Chang's arguments in which he sought to defend the value of science both for human intellectual life and for Chinese university education. Chang Tung-sun, Hu Shih (q.v.), Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, and many other leading minds of the day participated in the debate. By the end of 1923 a collection of the most important articles written during the course of the argument was published in two volumes as *K'o-hsueh yü jen-sheng-kuan* [science and the philosophy of life].

In 1923 the civil governor of Kiangsu province, Han Kuo-chün, invited Carsun Chang to serve as head of the National Institute of Self-Government at Shanghai. Chang reorganized that institution into National Political University [kuo-li cheng-chih ta-hsueh], stiffened its entrance requirements and academic discipline, and invited several well-known scholars to lecture there. The group included Chang Tung-sun, and Chang Tung-sun's elder brother, Chang Erh-t'ien (q.v.), as well as P'an Kuang-tan (q.v.), and K. C. Wu (Wu Kuo-chen, q.v.). Carsun Chang lectured on a wide variety of topics, including current political affairs. Six of his lectures, surveying aspects of the current civil war situation in China, were published by the school in 1924 under the title *Kuo-nei chan-cheng liu-chiang*. The rapidly changing military situation posed new problems for Carsun Chang. In November 1926 he spent

ten days at Hankow observing the Kuomintang-led National Government and estimating the prospects of the Northern Expedition. On his return to Shanghai he published his observations, *Wuhan chien-wen*, and openly stated his views at Political University. He predicted a collapse of the Peiyang warlords and a split between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist party. He also stated his opposition to the one-party system of the Kuomintang and urged his students to hold fast to the principles of democracy, which to him meant Western parliamentary democracy.

When the Northern Expedition reached Shanghai in March 1927, Carsun Chang was *persona non grata* both because of his political views and because of his associations with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and with unorthodox groups. The Kuomintang closed National Political University. After the establishment of the National Government at Nanking, Chang and his associates at Shanghai secretly published a magazine, *Hsin-lu* [new way], which opposed the one-party system of political tutelage of the Kuomintang and urged the government to institute a multi-party system which would permit democracy to develop. Because of these activities, Chang was seized by the Kuomintang authorities and was placed under house arrest by the Shanghai garrison commander. He was released after about a month of confinement and, according to his account given in *Third Force in China* (1952), was "compelled to leave the country."

Chang's activities between 1927 and 1931 are obscure. He remained in retirement, reportedly occupying himself with reading and with the translation of Harold Laski's *Grammar of Politics*. He also maintained contact with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, who was lecturing on Chinese history at Peking. In a letter of September 1928 to Liang, Carsun Chang stated that he had heard from V. K. Ting, who had been living in semi-retirement at Dairen after the Nationalist occupation of Shanghai. From about 1929 to 1931 Carsun Chang was again in Germany, where he continued his philosophical studies and lectured on Chinese philosophy at the University of Jena and perhaps also at Berlin.

Chang returned to China in 1931, arriving at Peiping on 17 September, the day before the Mukden Incident. He resumed his political activities, which were designed to bring demo-

cratic government to China. Through his old friend Chang Tung-sun, who had become professor of philosophy at Yenching University, and doubtless because of that personal connection, he lectured at Yenching that winter. In April 1932 a group desirous of organizing a new political party met at Peiping. The group then included some 100 members, most of them college professors and former associates of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Carsun Chang was elected general secretary of the new party, and a new magazine called *Tsai-sheng* [renaissance], was established to propagate the group's political program. Since dissenting political organizations were forbidden by the National Government at Nanking, the group was illegal, and it remained a secret, underground organization until 1938. Carsun Chang himself traveled between Peiping and Hong Kong, attempting to recruit new members and to avoid agents of the Kuomintang.

In the autumn of 1934, Carsun Chang and his supporters held a national meeting at Tientsin and formally announced the establishment of the National Socialist party [kuo-chia she-hui tang]. The confusing and unfortunate similarity of the name of the new party to that of the party led by Adolf Hitler in Germany was accidental. In his political report, Chang stressed the threat to China posed by Japanese aggression and called for a build-up of Chinese defenses. After the meeting he went to Shansi to discuss national defense problems with Yen Hsi-shan (q.v.), the veteran ruler of that province. In an attempt to expand the influence of the new party, Chang and his colleagues also approached a number of retired military and political figures.

In 1934 Carsun Chang went to Canton, where he was well received by Ch'en Chi-t'ang, who was then the dominant military figure in south China. Ch'en invited him to lecture at National Sun Yat-sen University. Under the protection of Ch'en Chi-t'ang, Carsun Chang also established a new educational institution, the Hsueh-hai shu-t'ang, at Canton, staffed by professors from Sun Yat-sen and Lingnan universities and designed to teach both regular students and soldiers. The situation at Canton changed abruptly, however, in the summer of 1936, when Nanking moved to end the insubordination of the Southwest Political Council. With the downfall of Ch'en Chi-t'ang, the Hsueh-hai

shu-t'ang was disbanded, and Carsun Chang fled from Canton to take refuge at Shanghai. At the second national congress of the National Socialist party, held in 1936, he was again elected general secretary of the organization. The year also saw the appearance of one of Carsun Chang's better-known books, *Ming-jih chih Chung-kuo wen-hua* [China's culture tomorrow], a comparative survey of the cultures of Europe, India, and China. He argued that Europe was distinguished by its science and its freedom; India, by its metaphysical pre-occupations; and China, by its concern with human relationships. Drawing upon ideas propounded earlier by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and his group in the 1918-19 period, Chang argued that reform in China should start with human attitudes and should construct a new culture to serve as the basis for new political and economic systems. In the construction of that new culture, China should look to the post-Reformation culture of Europe and should adopt the spirit, but not the forms, of that vigorous period to China's traditional cultural heritage.

After the outbreak of the Japanese war in 1937, Carsun Chang, like other minor party leaders in China, dropped his opposition to Chiang Kai-shek and rallied to the cause of national unity. In August of that year he accepted the invitation of the National Government to become a member of the national defense advisory council at Nanking. In 1938 he followed the government to Hankow, where he was one of the seven members of the National Socialist party in the People's Political Council. After an exchange of notes with Chiang Kai-shek concerning the united front, the National Socialist party was recognized officially. Between May and July of 1938 Chang gave a series of lectures at Hankow regarding his principles of national socialism. The lectures, later published in book form as *Li-kuo chih tao* [toward the founding of the state], set forth the aims of the National Socialist party. Basically, Chang advocated a modified Western parliamentary system of democratic government and a modified form of state socialism for China. Within the framework of democracy, political parties were to have freedom of action, competing with mutual good will, but not attempting to destroy each other or the system of government. Every citizen was to have the right to express his views freely and to participate

in the government. Under a national constitution, an elected representative assembly would choose members of a central executive yuan and would draw up the administrative program to be carried out by the executive yuan. With the exception of heads of ministries, all government employees were to have non-political status. In his socialist program, Chang envisaged state control of heavy industries such as steel, mines, hydroelectric plants, and communications. The state would also supervise, if not own, large industries such as the textile industry. Private ownership and management in all economic activities not "harmful" to the state was to be permitted.

In 1939 Carsun Chang followed the National Government to Chungking, attempting to promote nationalism through education. With the backing of the government and with funds provided by its Military Council, a new Min-ts'u wen-hua shu-yuan [institute of national culture] was organized. Chang was named its principal, though the board of directors was composed of such reliable Kuomintang figures as Ch'en Pu-lei (q.v.). Formally opened in July 1939 at Chungking, the new institute, with Carsun Chang himself giving the lectures on philosophy, laid emphasis on min-ts'u ssu-hsiang [national thought]. In 1940 he moved with the new institute to Ta-li in Yunnan province, where the governor, Lung Yun, had provided grounds for it. During 1941, however, growing student discontent in Yunnan introduced new complications. Lo Lung-chi, a member of the standing committee of the National Socialist party who was then at Southwest Associated University at Kunming, was accused of stirring up anti-government sentiment among the students. Carsun Chang, as leader of that party, came under suspicion. In December 1941, he went to Chungking to attend a meeting of the People's Political Council. Chang was ordered to remain there, and in the spring of 1942 the institute at Ta-li was closed down by the government.

The most notable development in Chinese national politics at that time was the breakdown of the united front of the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist party. Carsun Chang joined with Tso Shun-sheng of the China Youth party, and with other minority political figures and intellectuals such as Chang Lan, Huang Yen-p'ei, Liang Shu-ming (qq.v.), and

others to form a political third force in an effort to maintain the united front during the war. These various opposition elements joined forces in 1941 to form the League of Chinese Democratic Political Groups. In October 1944 that federation held a congress at Chungking and was reorganized as the China Democratic League, with Chang Lan as its chairman. In the spring of 1945, as a representative of the league, Carsun Chang was appointed by the National Government as a member of the Chinese delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco, California. In October 1945, when the China Democratic League held another congress at Chungking, he was elected to its central committee and made head of its committee on foreign relations. In January 1946, when the abortive Political Consultative Conference was convened at Chungking, Carsun Chang, who was then on the way to England from the United States, was called to attend as one of the four representatives of the China Democratic League; the others were Chang Lan, Chang Tung-sun, and Lo Lung-chi. He hastened back to China and arrived in time to attend the second session of the conference.

While in San Francisco in 1945, Carsun Chang had met Li Ta-ming, a leader of the Democratic Constitutional party then headed by Wu Hsien-tzu. That group was the direct successor of the Monarchist party [pao-huang tang] of K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, but had removed the royalist element implied in the original party because of the establishment of the republic in China. Carsun Chang and Li Ta-ming had then discussed possible amalgamation of their parties. In August 1946, at a meeting held at Shanghai, the National Socialist party of Carsun Chang and the Democratic Constitutional party of Li Ta-ming and Wu Hsien-tzu combined to form the new Democratic Socialist party. That party's platform opposed civil war and one-party or one-class dictatorship and advocated national unity under a central government and state socialism in major industries. As the national landscape in China was increasingly dominated by civil war after 1947, the leaders of the China Democratic League, which had been outlawed by the National Government, moved increasingly toward acceptance of the general political program outlined by the Chinese Communist

party. Carsun Chang remained at Nanking, however, and continued to argue for constitutionalism as the situation eroded. He finally left Shanghai on 25 April 1949 and moved to the Portuguese colony of Macao off the south China coast.

In October 1949, when the Central People's Government was established at Peking, Chang went to India to lecture on philosophy at the invitation of the Indian ministry of education. On 24 May 1950 he announced his resignation as chairman of the Democratic Socialist party. In March 1952 he arrived in Hong Kong, where his name was for a time linked with those of Chang Fa-k'uei and Ku Meng-yu (qq.v.) in the possible formation of a third force movement. In April 1952 Carsun Chang flew from Hong Kong to Japan, whence he moved to the United States. His political autobiography was published in New York in 1952. Entitled *Third Force in China*, the book offers an interpretive account of events in China from Sun Yat-sen to Mao Tse-tung and provides a not unbiased account of the personal role of Carsun Chang in recent Chinese political history. The book has been described as being critical of Chiang Kai-shek, of United States wartime and postwar policy toward China, and of the Chinese Communists as betraying China's tradition.

After 1952 Carsun Chang devoted himself largely to writing on Chinese philosophy. His best-known study is an historical survey, *The Development of Neo-Confucian Thought*, published in two volumes (1957, 1962), a work which is of interest partly because its author views himself as a twentieth-century Neo-Confucianist. The work is a detailed, interpretive history of this stream in Chinese philosophy from T'ang and Sung times, incorporating many brief translations and stressing comparisons and contrasts with Western thought. An article entitled "The Significance of Mencius," which appeared in 1958 in the journal *Philosophy East and West*, suggested that Mencius had a greater influence on Chinese thought than did Confucius and noted some analogies between the thought of Mencius and that of such thinkers as Plato and Kant. The great Ming dynasty Neo-Confucian thinker Wang Yang-ming also has been the subject of Chang's attention in recent years. An article on Wang in *Philosophy East and West* offered a brief, non-technical interpretation of his philosophy; Chang's book on the subject

was published in 1962 under the title *Wang Yang-ming: Idealist Philosopher of Sixteenth-Century China*. Carsun Chang's interesting essay regarding the *Ming-li t'an*, a 1631 text on logic by the seventeenth-century Chinese Christian scholar, Li Chih-tsao (ECCP, I, 452-54), appeared in the Hong Kong magazine *Tsai-sheng* in March 1954. He also wrote *China and Gandhian India*, which was published in Calcutta in 1956.

Chang Chien

T. Chi-chih
H. Se-an
Se-weng

張 簡
季 直
嗇 廏
嗇 翁

Chang Chien (1 July 1853-24 August 1926), industrialist, educator, and conservationist, was a leading social reformer and a scholar-entrepreneur. Beginning in 1899 with the Dah Sun Cotton Mill, he established an industrial complex in Nant'ung. His T'ung Hai Land Reclamation Company became a model for others. Chang devoted the last decade of his life to creating a model community in Nant'ung.

The fourth of five sons, Chang Chien was born in Haimen, a district adjacent to his native district of Nant'ung. Although for generations the Chang family had been illiterate farmers, his father, Chang P'eng-nien, had acquired a modicum of schooling and was able to provide his sons with a sound education. Chang Chien showed early evidences of unusual ability and soon outstripped his brothers in scholarship. After studying under a succession of tutors, he passed the examinations for the sheng-yuan degree in 1868, at the age of 15. He spent the following years studying at academies in Nant'ung and in Nanking, and from 1870 to 1876 he made four unsuccessful attempts to pass the examinations for the chü-jen degree.

In 1876, through the recommendation of a mentor, Chang Chien entered the service of Wu Ch'ang-ch'ing (1834-1884; T. Hsiao-hsien) then commandant of the garrison at Pukow, across the Yangtze river from Nanking. Later in the same year Wu took Chang with him when he was transferred from Pukow to Tengchow in Shantung. During Chang's association with Wu Ch'ang-ch'ing, which was to last until the latter's death eight years later, Chang came

into contact with other men of promise who were on Wu's staff, notably Yuan Shih-k'ai and Hsueh Fu-ch'eng (1838-1894; ECCP, I, 331-32).

While a member of Wu's staff, Chang's duties were not demanding, and he found ample leisure to continue his studies in preparation for the civil service examinations until the summer of 1882. In July of that year, the ultranationalist faction of the Korean court, led by the king's father, the Tai Wön Kun, surrounded the Japanese legation in Seoul and killed many Japanese. On the advice of Li Shu-ch'ang (1837-1897; ECCP, I, 483-84), the Chinese minister in Tokyo, the imperial government in Peking decided to send a Chinese force to Korea. Wu Ch'ang-ch'ing was ordered to mobilize his troops in Tengchow and to dispatch them to Korea immediately. Wu entrusted to Chang Chien the responsibility of coordinating the movement of his troops from Shantung to Korea; and with the able assistance of Yuan Shih-k'ai and others, Chang succeeded in sending a Chinese force from Chefoo to Seoul in time to neutralize the armed opposition to the Korean king. Owing to the quick dispatch of Chinese troops in 1882, the revolt of the Tai Wön Kun faction was put down, and the possibility of full-scale Japanese intervention in Korea was avoided for a time. For his important contribution to the success of this expedition, Chang was publicly rewarded both by the Korean king and by Wu Ch'ang-ch'ing.

In 1884 Chang returned from Korea and, after the death of Wu later in the year, again devoted himself to his studies, passing the examinations for the chü-jen degree in 1885. Between 1886 and 1892, he sat four times for the metropolitan examinations in Peking. Although he failed in these attempts, he succeeded in attracting the favorable attention of such influential officials as Weng T'ung-ho (1830-1904; ECCP, II, 860-61), the imperial tutor, who did his utmost to help him. In 1894, after he had all but resigned himself to permanent failure, he not only passed the series of examinations giving him the chin-shih degree, but also gained the ultimate distinction of chuang-yüan, or first in rank in the palace examinations.

At this time Chang found reason to change the course of his career. The year 1894 witnessed the outbreak of the disastrous war

against Japan over Korea. The humiliating terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, accepted by the Chinese government in the following year, were a shock to Chang. Although he had been appointed a member of the Hanlin Academy in 1894, Chang resolved to turn his back on the career of an official. Aware that reforms were necessary to strengthen China against foreign powers, he returned to Nant'ung to devote his efforts to the development of his native district so that it might serve as a concrete example of the benefits of modernization to the rest of China.

In the course of the Sino-Japanese war, Chang Chien had met Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909; ECCP, I, 27-31) who was in Nanking temporarily serving as governor general of Liang-Kiang. At that time Chang Chih-tung was seeking to develop industry by persuading members of the local gentry to establish cotton mills as he had done in the Hu-Kuang region. With the encouragement and the backing of Chang Chih-tung, Chang Chien began the task of establishing a cotton spinning mill in Nant'ung. The next three years were spent in raising the necessary funds for this venture, a difficult task because people of wealth were at that time reluctant to invest in fledgling industrial enterprises, especially one under the direction of an untried scholar.

Through his own unceasing efforts, the loyal support of a small group of local gentry, and the continuing official encouragement of Liu K'un-i (1830-1902; ECCP, I, 523-24), who had succeeded Chang Chih-tung as governor general in Nanking, Chang Chien was able to make a success of his first industrial venture. The Dah Sun Cotton Mill in Nant'ung began operating in the fall of 1899 and thereafter made increasing profits for its investors, the only privately financed cotton mill to do so until the time of the First World War. From the success of the Dah Sun Cotton Mill Chang Chien derived immense prestige as a promoter, and from its profits he financed almost all of his numerous projects in and around Nant'ung. The Dah Sun Cotton Mill was also the first enterprise in an industrial complex which grew in Nant'ung and which included a flour mill (1901), shipping lines (1902, 1903), an oil mill (1903), a distillery (1903), a silk filature (1905), and a machine shop (1905).

While engaged in setting up the Dah Sun

Cotton Mill, Chang Chien made a brief trip in May 1898 to Peking, where he came in close touch with the events immediately preceding the Hundred Days Reform. In Peking, Chang had frequent discussions with his old benefactor, Weng T'ung-ho, and when Weng was ordered to retire in mid-June, Chang urged him to leave the capital without delay. He also had occasion to meet K'ang Yu-wei (q.v.), then at the height of his influence as leader of the reform movement; and although Chang sought to dissuade him from open advocacy of far-reaching reforms in China's government, K'ang was not inclined to accept his advice. Chang left Peking for Nant'ung in July, well before the empress dowager's *coup d'état* of September 1898, and thus was not implicated with K'ang and the other reformers, although he was known to be a progressive.

In 1899, soon after the establishment of the Dah Sun Cotton Mill, the Boxer Uprising broke out, and from north China spread southward toward the Yangtze valley. Chang Chien, who by this time had become a trusted adviser of Liu K'un-i, the governor general of Liang-Kiang, vigorously advised Liu to remain aloof from what Chang regarded as the disastrous policy of the imperial court in Peking. Liu was persuaded to adopt this point of view and, together with Chang Chih-tung, then governor general of Hu-Kuang, and Sheng Hsüan-huai (q.v.), was instrumental in keeping the Yangtze valley calm throughout the disturbance.

In 1901, Chang Chien began the second of his major projects, the reclamation of wasteland along the seacoast of Nant'ung. For centuries this coastal strip had been considered unfit for cultivation and given over to salt production. Because changing natural conditions had gradually made many salt fields unworkable, Chang undertook to put the land into productive use. With the aid of several others of the district he founded the T'ung Hai Land Reclamation Company, which in succeeding years served as a model for some 40 land reclamation companies that developed along the Kiangsu coast. While not entirely successful, these land reclamation projects did provide a livelihood for tens of thousands of cultivators.

In 1902 Chang embarked upon still another project, the founding of normal schools in his native district. As a first step in his plans to provide education to all children of school age

in Nant'ung, Chang established the Nant'ung Normal School, the first of its kind in the country. In the beginning the school limited itself to the training of male teachers, but after seven years expanded its facilities to provide training for female teachers. These establishments provided trained teachers for several hundred primary schools in Nant'ung district. The success of the two normal schools prompted Chang to set up an agriculture school (1910), a textile school (1912), and a medical college (1912), these three institutions being combined in the 1920's to form Nant'ung University.

Chang Chien spent four months of 1903 touring Japan, where he was greatly impressed with the progress toward modernization. Attributing Japan's achievements to its constitutional form of government, he returned to China an ardent advocate of constitutionalism. Thus in 1908 when the Manchu government issued a scheme for the gradual introduction of constitutional government, including the establishment of provincial assemblies, Chang took the initiative in drawing up preliminary plans for the Kiangsu provincial assembly and in selecting the site in Nanking where the new assembly building was to be constructed. In recognition of these services he was elected chairman of the first Kiangsu provincial assembly, which met in 1909. In this position, Chang issued a call for the representatives of all provincial assemblies in China to meet in Kiangsu, in order to press for the speedier formation of a national constitutional government. Sixteen provincial assemblies responded in the same year, and sent representatives to meet in Shanghai, where they formed a *Kuo-hui ch'ing-yüan t'ung-chih hui* [association of comrades to petition for a national assembly], an organization which took the lead in agitating for constitutional government.

As chairman of the Kiangsu provincial assembly, Chang Chien inaugurated another project that he had long favored, the Kiang-Huai River Conservancy Company. Its projected function was to apply modern techniques of water control to the traditionally troublesome Huai river and to the Kiangsu section of the Grand Canal. Because of its limited resources, however, the activities of this quasi-official conservation project were confined largely to surveying work.

The year 1911 was to see Chang Chien

traveling over a great part of the country and becoming involved in the rapidly changing political situation. He was in Peking in the early part of the year seeking to promote a commercial transaction between a group of Kiangsu merchants and the American shipping magnate Robert Dollar. While in the capital, Chang was summoned to a private audience with the Regent, Prince Ch'un, in the course of which he strongly urged immediate political and economic reform measures to be taken by the tottering imperial government. Later in the year, just as the fighting in Wuchang broke out, Chang went there as a consultant on cotton mills. His first reaction upon returning to Kiangsu was to urge the incumbent governor general to rush to the aid of the imperial forces in Hupeh. Chang's conservative sympathies rapidly changed, however, when it became apparent that the imperial regime was incapable of taking decisive action. Abandoning his constitutionalist position, Chang became concerned with furthering the peaceful transfer of authority from the imperial government to the republican, and to this end he consented, when approached by the revolutionary leader Hu Han-min (q.v.), to draft an abdication statement, the text of which was subsequently used in drawing up the final Manchu abdication decree of 1912. Together with several others of his native province, Chang also wrote to key Manchu and Mongol officials, imploring them to accede peacefully to the transfer of power.

These activities led to Chang's nomination in 1912 to the post of minister of industries in the cabinet of the provisional government of Sun Yat-sen at Nanking. Chang's chief efforts during this brief period in office were confined to the task of administering the funds derived from salt revenues in such a way as to keep the interim regime solvent. He continued to devote his attention to the problems of salt administration after the inauguration of Yuan Shih-k'ai as the first official president of China. As a result of his many years of interest in salt production on the Kiangsu coast, Chang published a comprehensive report calling for a reform of the entire salt administration, and for a number of years thereafter, he continued to take an active part in measures dealing with salt reform.

During his participation in the short-lived provisional government at Nanking, Chang Chien came in contact with Huang Hsing,

Ch'en Ch'i-mei, Chang Ping-lin (qq.v.), and other members of the republican revolutionary movement. Early in 1912 Chang joined Chang Ping-lin, Hsiung Hsi-ling (q.v.), and others to form the T'ung-i-tang [united party], an independent political group which was in opposition to the T'ung-meng-hui, and gravitated toward Yuan Shih-k'ai in Peking. In May 1912, Chang became a director of the Kung-ho-tang [republican party] led by Li Yuan-hung (q.v.). However, in the successive transformations of political groups during the years 1912 and 1913, although Chang's name figured prominently in the leadership of various parties, he himself was never in favor of inter-party struggles and took but little part in them, remaining for most of this period in his native Kiangsu.

Late in 1911 Chang Chien had resumed frequent communication with his associate of former years, Yuan Shih-k'ai. Having declined a number of Yuan's earlier invitations to serve in Peking, including an offer of the premiership, Chang eventually felt obliged to join the Peking government as minister of agriculture and commerce, a post he held from October 1913 to December 1915, in the cabinets of Hsiung Hsi-ling and Sun Pao-ch'i (q.v.). During this period Chang was the prime mover behind a number of laws designed to provide the country with a legal foundation for continued agricultural and industrial growth. These included the Labor and Profit Law, the Corporations Establishment Law, and the Chamber of Commerce Act. Concurrently, Chang was the national director general of river conservation. He could accomplish little because of China's political instability. The increasingly obvious designs of Yuan Shih-k'ai to become emperor caused a final break in the relations between the two men, and Chang Chien resigned from both his positions in December 1915.

During the last decade of his life, Chang Chien channeled his energies into endeavors to make his native Nant'ung a model for all of China. In addition to his industrial, conservational, and educational efforts, he had long been active in philanthropic projects. As early as 1906, Chang had personally financed the establishment of a new foundling home able to care for 1,200 children. After the fall of the Manchu regime, his attention turned increasingly toward charitable work, and he founded

successively a home for the aged, a workshop for the poor, a medical clinic (all in 1913), a home for the crippled, and a school for the blind and dumb (both in 1916). Most of these were financed entirely from his personal funds. He was instrumental in providing Nant'ung with a museum (1905), a library (1912), and a weather station (1916). A lover of traditional drama, Chang also instituted a local school for opera singers and promoted the building of a new opera house in 1919.

Careful in his personal habits and endowed with a robust constitution, Chang Chien passed the gala celebration of his seventieth sui in 1922 with an undiminished zest for life. He died after a brief illness on 24 August 1926.

Chang Chien was survived by three of his four concubines (his wife having died in 1908), four daughters, two adopted sons, and an only son, Chang Hsiao-jo, born of his fourth concubine, *née* Wu. Chang Hsiao-jo published a completed version of his father's *nien-p'u*, originally compiled by Chang Chien and published in 1925 as *She-weng tzu-ting nien-p'u* [chronology of the venerable Seh], and he compiled a biography of his father, published in 1930, entitled *Nan-t'ung Chang Chi-chih hsien-sheng chuan-chi* [the biography of Chang Chi-chih of Nant'ung]. In addition, Chang Hsiao-jo completed the task of editing his father's voluminous correspondence and other writings.

Although Chang Chien never abandoned the traditional Confucian values, he departed from the pattern of behavior traditional to the official-gentry class by venturing actively into the culturally despised world of business. In so doing, moreover, Chang differed from other official-entrepreneurs, such as Li Hung-chang and Chang Chih-tung, in that he was directly involved in the day-to-day operations of his enterprises; and in this respect, only one of his contemporaries, the entrepreneur Sheng Hsuan-huai, can be compared to him.

As a modernizer, Chang also differed from many of the reformers of his period; they were primarily concerned with changing the political system. Despite his involvement in national affairs, Chang was seldom in direct touch with the major political events of the country. By shunning a purely political career and by confining most of his activities to the local level, he was able to effect many practical advances in the fields of industry, education, and conservation.

Chang Chih-chiang 張之江
 T. Tzu-min 紫岷
 H. Tzu-chiang 子薑
 West. Paul C. C. Chiang

Chang Chih-chiang (1882- ?) was a military officer associated with Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.) for many years prior to 1927.

A native of Chihli (Hopei) province, Chang Chih-chiang was born into a landlord family in the Yenshan district. Since his father was the village elder, the young Chang received a classical education and became a candidate for the degree of sheng-yuan. In 1903 the Ch'ing government, then beginning to build a modern army, introduced a system of conscription. Chang's father was required to produce two recruits from his village. Unable to meet the demand otherwise, he sent his son as one of the recruits. Since it was rare for a Chinese soldier of that period to be able to read and write, Chang Chih-chiang's education impressed his officers, and he gained rapid promotion.

In 1907, when Hsu Shih-ch'ang (q.v.) was appointed to the new post of governor general of the Three Eastern Provinces, he transferred a portion of the Chihli army to that area. The 1st Mixed Brigade was sent for garrison duty at Hsin-min-fu, and Chang Chih-chiang was then a platoon leader in the cavalry battalion of that brigade. He soon joined an organization known as the society for military studies, sponsored by Feng Yü-hsiang and others, and came into contact with officers who were anti-Manchu. In 1910 the 1st Mixed Brigade was merged with two other regiments to form the 20th Division, commanded by Chang Shao-tseng. Since he was sympathetic toward new ideas, he encouraged the spread of republicanism among his forces.

When the Wuhan revolt of October 1911 broke out, the society for military studies, led by Feng Yü-hsiang and Wang Chin-ming, planned to launch an anti-Manchu military uprising at Luan-chou. Chang Chih-chiang made a trip to Shanghai to contact the republican revolutionary leader Ch'en Ch'i-mei (q.v.). When the planned uprising failed, both Feng and Chang were forced to flee.

After the republic was formed in 1912, Chang Shao-tseng became military governor of Shansi province, and Chang Chih-chiang joined him as a staff officer. Disagreements with Yen Hsi-shan (q.v.), however, soon led to Chang Shao-tseng's departure from Shansi. Chang Chih-chiang then joined Feng Yü-hsiang, now commander of the 16th Mixed Brigade. At the end of 1915, the 16th Mixed Brigade, then on duty in Szechwan, was ordered to resist the invasion of Ts'ai O (q.v.) and to assist Yuan Shih-k'ai's trusted military governor, Ch'en Yi. Feng and Chang Chih-chiang sympathized with Ts'ai O in his movement against Yuan and forced Ch'en Yi to declare Szechwan's independence on 22 May 1916. This action hastened the collapse of Yuan Shih-k'ai's regime.

While in Szechwan, Chang Chih-chiang was greatly impressed by the fact that the majority of Chinese Christians in the province supported the anti-monarchical cause with great enthusiasm. That situation led Chang to take up the study of Christianity. Chang's conversion to the Christian faith was a personal act taken earlier than, and independent of, the action taken by Feng Yü-hsiang, whose mass baptism of his troops later brought him the nickname of the "Christian General."

Chang Chih-chiang then returned north with Feng's army, and he and Lu Chung-lin (q.v.) took charge of it during Feng's temporary absence. In July 1917 Chang Hsün (q.v.) attempted to restore the Manchu dynasty. Chang Chih-chiang called on Feng to return to his command, and, in coordination with Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.), the unit suppressed Chang Hsün's forces. In 1918 Feng's army was transferred to Ch'angte in western Hunan, where it was stationed from June 1918 until 1920. Chang Chih-chiang then commanded the 2nd Regiment of the brigade. In the spring of 1921 Feng's brigade was ordered to Shensi, where, after a successful action, it was expanded into the 11th Division, in which Chang commanded the 22nd Brigade. In August 1921 Feng Yü-hsiang was named tuchun [military governor] of Shensi province.

In April 1922 the first war between the Fengtien and Chihli factions broke out. On orders from Feng Yü-hsiang, who was associated with the Chihli clique, Chang Chih-chiang led his 22nd Brigade to Chengchow to support the forces of Ts'ao K'un (q.v.), since the military

governor of Honan at that time was secretly in league with Chang Tso-lin (q.v.), the Fengtien clique leader. As a result of that action Feng Yü-hsiang was appointed tuchun of Honan. He did not remain long in that position, however. At the end of October 1922 he was appointed inspector general of the Chinese army and ordered to Peking. His 11th Division was expanded to five brigades, and Chang Chih-chiang was made commander of the 7th Mixed Brigade.

In the autumn of 1924 a new war developed between the Fengtien and Chihli factions. By that time the relations between Feng Yü-hsiang and Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.), the leading military figure of the Chihli clique, had worsened. When the conflict began, Wu P'ei-fu assigned Feng, as commander of the Third Army of the Chihli forces, to the Jehol front. Chang Chih-chiang was commander of the First Route Army under Feng. Feng had for some time contemplated a coup. In a quick move taken while Wu P'ei-fu was engaged at Shanhaikuan, Feng led his forces back to Peking and occupied the capital on the night of 22 October 1924. Immediately after the coup, Feng reorganized his forces into the Kuominchün, or National Army, with himself as commander in chief. After heavy fighting, he routed the forces of Wu P'ei-fu by 3 November. The Kuominchün then consisted of three armies, with Feng Yü-hsiang concurrently commanding the First Army, which was the descendant of his original 11th Division. Chang Chih-chiang was then assigned to command a cavalry brigade in that army.

Toward the end of 1924, Feng again retired and entrusted the command of the training of his forces to Chang Chih-chiang and Li Ming-chung. Chang was then appointed by the Peking government as the tu-tung [military commander] of Chahar, and Li Ming-chung received a similar appointment in Suiyuan. Chang proceeded to Kalgan to take up his new responsibilities, and he exerted great effort to consolidate the region. Among other things, he sought to stabilize the currency, develop animal husbandry, improve communications, and provide public recreational facilities.

In November 1925 Feng Yü-hsiang entered into a private agreement with the Fengtien general Kuo Sung-ling (q.v.), to overthrow Chang Tso-lin, his erstwhile ally against Ts'ao K'un and Wu P'ei-fu. Feng ordered Chang

Chih-chiang to move with his army from Kalgan to attack Tientsin. After engaging in sharp fighting for over a month and after being reinforced by the army of Sung Che-yuan (q.v.) from Jehol, Chang finally defeated the Fengtien general Li Ching-lin and captured Tientsin. He then returned to Kalgan.

On 1 January 1926 Feng Yü-hsiang announced his resignation as northwest border defense commissioner and stated that he would soon go abroad. Chang Chih-chiang succeeded to that post. As hostilities continued, the Kuominchün, now the common target of both the Fengtien and Chihli forces, found its position in the Tientsin-Peking area untenable. Therefore, Feng's forces retreated along the Peking-Suiyuan rail line to the vicinity of Hankow. On 21 March 1926 Chang Chih-chiang issued a public statement in the name of the Kuominchün declaring that it would avoid civil war and devote all efforts to the development of northwest China, notably Chahar, Suiyuan, and Kansu. In May 1926 the Kuominchün was reorganized into seven armies, and Chang Chih-chiang became commander in chief. Since Chang was the northwest border defense commissioner, the army was first referred to in China as the Northwest Army. Chang Chih-chiang was then subordinate only to Feng Yühsiang in the hierarchy of the Northwest Army.

In August 1926 Feng Yü-hsiang returned from the Soviet Union to northwest China. He found his army battered and disorganized as a result of defeats suffered during his absence. Feng then resumed the over-all command of the Northwest Army. Chang Chih-chiang continued to serve in the post of northwest border defense commissioner.

Feng Yü-hsiang's decision to cooperate with Chiang Kai-shek struck a death blow to the Wuhan faction of the Kuomintang and to the Soviet advisers in China. In December 1927 Chang Chih-chiang represented Feng Yü-hsiang at the fourth plenum of the second Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, which met at Nanking. Chang then took up residence at Nanking, having been elected to membership on the State Council of the National Government. During the second stage of the Northern Expedition, he served as chief of the senior staff corps, acting as chief liaison officer between Feng and Chiang Kai-shek.

After 1928 Chang Chih-chiang retired from active military and political affairs. Long interested in the traditional Chinese forms of physical exercise, he was made a director of the national traditional sports institute at its inauguration in April 1928. In August 1929 he was named chairman of the national opium suppression commission. Appointed director of the central traditional physical culture institute in 1932, he traveled abroad in 1935 to investigate physical culture activities in other countries. During the Sino-Japanese war, Chang moved to Chungking and served as a member of the People's Political Council. In that forum he was noted for his vigorous advocacy of the traditional forms of physical exercise, a stand that he adhered to despite criticism from the press that he was behind the times.

Toward the end of 1945 Hsu Tao-lin, son of Hsu Shu-cheng (q.v.), resigned from his post in the Executive Yuan at Chungking to file a charge in the local court at Pei-p'ei, Szechwan, against Chang Chih-chiang for inciting the assassination of his father in December 1925. Chang published a formal announcement in the principal Chinese papers stating the facts of the incident to demonstrate that he had not been personally involved.

After the Japanese surrender in 1945, Chang Chih-chiang returned to Nanking and later went to Peiping. He remained there after the Central People's Government was established, but was politically inactive. A Hong Kong press report of April 1962 stated that in the course of an interview at Peking, Feng Hungkuo, the eldest son of Feng Yü-hsiang, had mentioned Chang Chih-chiang. Chang was reported to be living quietly in Peking at the age of 81 sui, still in good health.

Chang Chih-chung 張治中
T. Wen-pai 文白

Chang Chih-chung (1891-), military commander and government official, Nationalist general and dean of the Central Military Academy, became governor of Hunan in 1937, but lost the position after the misjudged burning of Changsha. In 1940 he became secretary general of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps. From 1945-49 he was director of the Generalissimo's northwest headquarters at Lanchow. He was governor of Sinkiang in 1946-47. The senior Nationalist representative in postwar negotiations with the Communists, in 1949 he changed allegiance to Peking and helped the Communists to consolidate control of northwest China.

A native of Ch'aohsien, Anhwei, Chang Chih-chung was born into a poor family. Little is known of his early years, but he supposedly was a good student. At the time of the anti-Manchu revolt of 1911, he joined a student military corps to assist in the overthrow of the Ch'ing government. After the republic was established in 1912, he entered the second military preparatory school, where he studied for two years. In 1914, Chang Chih-chung enrolled in the Paoting Military Academy, from which he was graduated in 1917 as a member of that institution's third class.

Despite his Paoting training, Chang was by no means assured of a promising military career because of the chaotic situation in China and because of the need to establish personal relations which would lead to promotion. Since he had no connections with the Peiyang warlords in the north, Chang Chih-chung went to Kwangtung, where Sun Yat-sen was attempting to establish a military and political base. He gained a promotion from company to battalion commander during the campaigns of 1917-18 in Kwangtung and Fukien. After the temporary eclipse of Sun Yat-sen's authority at Canton in 1918, Chang Chih-chung left Kwangtung. Little is known of Chang's activities in the next few years. He apparently made his way to Szechwan, but later moved to Shanghai, where he studied for a period at Shanghai University.

In 1923, after Sun Yat-sen again had established a political base in south China, Chang Chih-chung returned to Canton. That move introduced a new phase of his career; he was assigned to the task of training military cadets for the projected Nationalist army. When the Whampoa Military Academy was established in Kwangtung in 1924, with Chiang Kai-shek as commandant, Chang Chih-chung was invited to join the staff as an instructor. He soon impressed Chiang Kai-shek with his devotion to duty and his personal reliability. In 1926 Chiang Kai-shek was named commander in chief of the National Revolutionary Army.

Later that year, when the Whampoa cadets were organized as the First Army, commanded by Ho Ying-ch'in, Chang Chih-chung was named chief of staff of its 2nd Division. As the Nationalists moved northward to the Yangtze, Chang directed the adjutant's office in the general headquarters of the National Revolutionary Army. After the removal of the National Government from Canton to Wuhan, he became dean of the branch of the Whampoa Military Academy established there and commander of its cadet regiment.

In the autumn of 1927, when the Nationalists split and Chiang Kai-shek retired, Chang Chih-chung resigned his posts at Wuhan and went abroad. He visited Europe, the United States, and Japan. When Chiang Kai-shek returned to active duty in January 1928, Chang Chih-chung returned to China, where he was made director of the military administration department of the general headquarters of the Nationalist military establishment. After the consolidation of Kuomintang authority at Nanking, the Whampoa Military Academy was moved there and was renamed the Central Military Academy. Chang Chih-chung was made director of training. He was appointed dean of the Central Military Academy in 1929 and held that post until the spring of 1937. More than any other officer, Chang was responsible for the notable development of that institution in the years before the outbreak of full-scale war with Japan. He made great efforts to expand the curriculum, to raise the standard of instruction, to expand educational and research facilities, and to add athletic and recreation facilities.

During his years as dean of the Central Military Academy, Chang managed to engage in many other activities. In the 1929-30 period, he was active in the field in Chiang Kai-shek's struggle against the anti-Nanking coalition in north China. About 1931 he traveled to Europe to refresh his knowledge of military science in Germany. After the Japanese attack at Shanghai in January 1932, Chang Chih-chung was directly engaged in the fight undertaken by the Nineteenth Route Army, commanded by Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai (q.v.), against the foreign invaders. The Chinese action at Shanghai gained international attention and marked the first time that the Japanese encountered stubborn resistance in a positional battle in China.

Despite the growing threat posed by Japan, China's domestic political squabbles persisted. Chang Chih-chung was often called upon to assist Chiang Kai-shek in the resolution by military force of challenges to Chiang's authority at Nanking. During the winter of 1933 he led the Fourth Route Army to suppress the Fukien revolt (*see Ch'en Ming-shu*). Chang was then assigned to the fourth so-called bandit-suppression campaign against the Communists. In the autumn of 1934, the Communist forces were dislodged from their base area in Kiangsi and forced into the extended retreat which took them to northwest China. When the Communists arrived in Shensi, they were but a battered remnant of the forces that had set out from Kiangsi a year earlier.

In 1935 Chang was elected a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. As dean of the Central Military Academy, he planned the construction, in the suburbs of Nanking, of a new academy campus to house a military training institution. As Chang was making his plans, however, Japanese pressure on China increased substantially, and the project was postponed indefinitely.

In April 1937, when war with Japan appeared imminent, Chang Chih-chung resigned his post as dean of the Central Military Academy. After the outbreak of hostilities in July of that year, Chang was assigned to command the Ninth Group Army, which participated in the fighting in the Shanghai-Woosung sector. He then was appointed chief of the administrative section of the Military Affairs Commission for a brief period. In late November of 1937 Chang was assigned to be governor of Hunan, replacing Ho Chien (q.v.). During his first year in office, Chang set about to improve the calibre of provincial administration, to renovate the educational system, to extend self-government in accordance with stated Kuomintang policy, and to strengthen the defensive military strength of Hunan. However, in November 1938 Chang made a wrong judgment which led to the unwarranted and catastrophic burning of Changsha, the provincial capital.

When the Japanese forces took Wuhan in October 1938, the Chinese prepared a new defense line in northern Hunan. It was thought, however, that the Japanese would drive south with considerable force to open the Canton-Hankow rail line and that Changsha would be

overrun. In pursuance of the scorched-earth policy of that period, the Hunan authorities under Chang Chih-chung prepared to destroy Changsha in case they were forced to abandon the city.

On 12 November 1938 a local report stated that Japanese cavalry had already reached Hsin-ho, a minor market hamlet some 20 miles to the north of Changsha. If that report were true, the enemy might be arriving at any time. Without confirming or investigating the report, the Changsha authorities panicked and issued orders to carry out the destruction. Changsha, which had with the influx of refugees doubled in population to an estimated 800,000, was put to the torch and in four days was consumed in one of the worst conflagrations in modern Chinese history. No Japanese appeared, for the Japanese cavalry had been at Hsin-chiang-ho, on the established Chinese defense line well north of Hsin-ho. As the provincial governor, Chang Chih-chung accepted the blame for the catastrophe. The National Government held an investigation, and three senior Changsha officials were executed. Chang Chih-chung himself was "demoted but retained in office." He resigned the Hunan governorship in January 1939 and proceeded to Chungking.

There, after a time, he was returned to public life. In September 1940 he was named director of the political department of the Military Affairs Commission and secretary general of the executive board of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps. It was partially as a result of Chang Chih-chung's efforts that some 100,000 youths voluntarily entered the armed forces of China and that the Officers' Moral Endeavor Association was organized.

When the war against Japan ended in 1945, various military organs were merged, forming the ministry of national defense. Through his wartime services, Chang Chih-chung had become one of Chiang Kai-shek's most trusted lieutenants, and he was named director of the Generalissimo's northwest headquarters at Lanchow in Kansu province. There he attempted to enlist the cooperation of prominent men in Kansu, and his administration had substantial success. Again, however, Chiang Kai-shek called on Chang Chih-chung to serve him in solving the problems of Kuomintang-Communist relations and in meeting a rebel challenge to Chinese authority in Sinkiang province.

During the Japanese war, Chang Chih-chung frequently had come into contact with Chou En-lai. When the conflict between the National Government and the Communist party came into the open after 1945, Chang went to Yenan as Chiang Kai-shek's personal representative to initiate discussion with Mao Tse-tung. When Mao was recalcitrant, Chang Chih-chung accompanied the American ambassador, General Patrick J. Hurley, to Yenan, and they escorted Mao to Chungking at the end of August in 1945 for negotiations with the Nationalists.

Chang Chih-chung was soon called away from the abortive Chungking parleys. In Sinkiang, which lay under the jurisdiction of the Nationalist northwest headquarters, Chinese political authority was being challenged by the so-called East Turkestan Republic, which commanded the sympathy of the neighboring Soviet Union. During the summer of 1945, the rebel forces had pressed steadily forward toward the provincial capital, Urumchi. When they inflicted a smashing defeat on the Nationalist Second Army in early September, it became clear that Chinese authority was being threatened. Chang Chih-chung was sent to Urumchi, where, on 13 September 1945, he informed the Soviet consul that unless there were an immediate cease-fire China would make the matter an international issue. Within 48 hours, Moscow sent to Chungking a request on the part of the insurgents for mediation, which the Soviets offered to undertake. On 11 October 1945, once again in Chungking, Chang Chih-chung escorted Mao Tse-tung back to Yenan. He then returned to Urumchi and undertook negotiations with three representatives of the rebel Turki faction, the chief of the three rebel delegates being Akhmedjan Kasimov. An agreement was signed on 2 January 1946, after which Chang flew back to Chungking.

There he had a brief respite from China's frontier problems. The American mission headed by General George C. Marshall was then in China endeavoring to mediate between the contending Chinese factions. When the Nationalists and Communists reached a truce agreement on 10 January 1946, Chang Chih-chung was named the government member of the military sub-committee of the Executive Headquarters established under that agreement. Chou En-lai was named the Communist

representative of the sub-committee; and General Marshall, the adviser. The sub-committee held its first meeting on 14 February 1946. On 25 February it reached agreement on a "Basis for Military Reorganization and for the Integration of the Communist Forces into the National Army." Two days later, agreement was also reached on a directive to the Executive Headquarters calling for implementation of the basic plan for military reorganization.

On 29 March 1946, Chang Chih-chung was appointed to the post of governor of Sinkiang province, succeeding Wu Chung-hsin. Chang again opened negotiations with the Ili rebel group. In June, he reached a supplementary agreement which provided for specific rights of representation in the provincial government and for a large measure of cultural autonomy for the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang. In July, Chang formally assumed the duties of his post, while remaining director of the northwest headquarters. He then undertook the introduction of a coalition administration. One of his vice chairmen was Akhmedjan; the other was Burhan (q.v.). His secretary general was a Chinese Kuomintang member, but the two deputy secretaries general were, respectively, a Uighur and a Kazakh. Chang released from prison a large number of Chinese Communists and others who had been incarcerated during the long rule of Sheng Shih-ts'ai (q.v.), burned opium stocks, eased the tax burden in the province, and requested an annual subsidy from Nanking to meet the budgetary deficit. He also worked energetically to make compromise settlements with the Sinkiang rebel groups.

The civil war had resumed in China proper in the summer of 1946, and its effects were felt in Sinkiang. The dominant influence in Sinkiang at the time, moreover, was not that of Chang Chih-chung, who demonstrated a liberal approach to problems, but that of more narrow-minded elements of the Kuomintang, which blocked moves toward genuine liberalization of the Chinese administration of the province. As a result, the official policies of the Sinkiang provincial government often seemed designed to delay and block realization of joint Chinese-Turki rule rather than to implement the principles agreed upon in January and June of 1946.

The so-called national minorities of Sinkiang were less interested in the framework of autonomy than in exercising more self-rule than had

been conceded to them. It was inevitable that they should protest the narrow Chinese interpretation of their rights. In February 1947, Uighur, Kazakh, and Chinese Muslim groups launched new attacks against Chinese rule, calling for redress of grievances and for additional changes in the provincial government of Chang Chih-chung. In April, Chang made an inspection trip through the province, and in May, after his return, he replied to the list of grievances. His counter-charge stated that the disorders in the provinces resulted from the efforts of interested parties to seize power. Democracy and self-determination were valid goals in Sinkiang, he observed, but they had to be realized in the pattern stipulated by Sun Yat-sen, not in the Soviet pattern. The Ili rebel group, he suggested, tended toward Soviet ideas.

Chang Chih-chung's response bore the apparent imprint of the conservative elements in the Kuomintang. As if in confirmation of that impression, Chang was replaced in May 1947 as governor of Sinkiang. Masud Sabri (q.v.), a Uighur who had been a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang since 1935 and who allegedly represented the landed interests of Sinkiang, assumed the post. Chang remained in Sinkiang in his capacity of director of the Generalissimo's northwest headquarters. The outraged Ili faction, however, began a new revolt in July, and in August 1947 the coalition that Chang Chih-chung had laboriously constructed over many months collapsed.

Chang continued his exchanges with Akhmedjan, but they were fruitless. In October he returned to Nanking, where he submitted a five-year plan for the economic development of Sinkiang. By that time, however, the National Government had committed all available resources to warfare against the Communists, and Chang's project was postponed. The political deadlock in Sinkiang continued into 1948, with the insurgents demanding that Masud Sabri be replaced by Chang Chih-chung, whom the Turki minorities evidently thought to be the best man that Nanking could offer. In December 1948, however, Burhan was named governor of Sinkiang. Though Moscow had provided support for the Ili revolt, thereby eliminating Chinese authority from an important area of northwest Sinkiang, it continued

to maintain diplomatic relations with the National Government of China. In 1949, the Soviets undertook negotiations with the Chinese government regarding renewal of trade and economic agreements in Sinkiang, apparently with a view to sustaining a special position there. Chang Chih-chung participated in the early discussions with the Soviets, but he soon became involved in more pressing action designed to save the Nationalist regime in China.

In his New Year's message of 1 January 1949, Chiang Kai-shek had made an offer of peace to the Chinese Communists. During the critical period which followed that offer, Chang Chih-chung met on 7 January with the vice president, Li Tsung-jen, and on 8 January with Chiang Kai-shek himself, in the company of Sun Fo and Chang Chün. He was also present at the larger meetings held on 16 and 19 January, presided over by Chiang Kai-shek, which led to a major political decision on the Nationalist side. On 21 January 1949, Chiang Kai-shek retired from office, and Li Tsung-jen became acting President.

Li Tsung-jen considered inviting Chang Chih-chung to organize a cabinet to seek a settlement with the Communists. Chang, however, demanded full powers to negotiate a peace settlement. Li Tsung-jen considered Chang's demand excessive and invited Sun Fo to become premier instead. At the end of January, Chang Chih-chung returned to his Lanchow headquarters. Li Tsung-jen, on 31 January, rejected Mao Tse-tung's Eight Points as a basis for discussion, but tried to keep the door to negotiations open. In February an unofficial citizens' mission headed by W. W. Yen (Yen Hui-ch'ing, q.v.) proceeded from Shanghai to Shihchiachuang, where Mao and the Chinese Communist command were then based, in an effort to discuss peace terms. That mission accomplished nothing.

Li Tsung-jen besieged Chang Chih-chung at Lanchow with letters and telegrams urging him, in view of his previous contacts with Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, to reconsider his decision and to take up the task of negotiation. Chang Chih-chung finally consented and returned to Nanking. Supporters of Chiang Kai-shek who were still active behind the scenes opposed Chang's decision; they recognized that any success in peace negotiations with the Communists would end their political lives,

but that failure would not necessarily have that effect. Nevertheless, a six-man mission was formed, with Chang Chih-chung as its head. Li Tsung-jen announced that the delegation was going to north China to discuss a possible settlement on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's Eight Points; the mission itself had no power to make final decisions, however.

Chang Chih-chung and his group arrived at Peiping on 1 April 1949 to encounter a cool reception. Four years earlier, when Chang Chih-chung had arrived at the primitive airfield at Yenan, he had been greeted personally by Mao Tse-tung and senior figures of the Chinese Communist party. The chilly reception given him in 1949 indicated that Mao viewed his group as representatives of an already vanquished enemy. However, formal discussions did begin on 5 April, the Communists taking the position that there was no alternative to a peace agreement based on Mao's Eight Points. The Communists at the same time conveyed identical terms to Li Tsung-jen at Nanking, where they were rejected as being tantamount to surrender. With Nanking's rejection of Mao's terms, the Communist forces crossed the Yangtze in April and moved forward to occupy both Nanking and Shanghai. Chang Chih-chung, accepting the inevitability of Communist victory, remained in Peiping. His decision constituted another blow to the tottering regime of Li Tsung-jen, for Chang Chih-chung at that time still held the post of director of the Northwest Headquarters, with command over some 50,000 troops deployed along the route between Lanchow and Urumchi.

In September 1949 the provincial government of Sinkiang severed relations with the National Government, then at Canton, and pledged its allegiance to the Communist authorities. After the establishment of the Central People's Government at Peiping in October, Chang Chih-chung was named a member of the Central People's Government Council and was rewarded with other nominally senior positions at Peking. At the same time, the Kuomintang authorities expelled him from the party and ordered his arrest. Chang, however, was well beyond the effective police control of the Kuomintang. He lent personal support to the Communist efforts to consolidate their control of the vast area of northwest China. Communist military forces entered Sinkiang in early October 1949, and

several months later they reached the outlying districts of western and northern Sinkiang. The Communists slowly began the difficult task of political consolidation, and they appointed Chang Chih-chung a vice chairman of the regional regime established by the Communists in the northwest. Because of his personal relationship to the complex political negotiations of the post-1945 period in Sinkiang, Chang possessed more detailed knowledge of the situation than any senior political or military officer of the Chinese Communist party. In late 1949 he made a trip back to Sinkiang in the company of the Communist general P'eng Te-huai and, in an important speech at Urumchi, urged support for the policies of Mao Tse-tung and the new authorities.

Since Chang Chih-chung had for years been one of the most trusted military associates of Chiang Kai-shek, his defection to the Communists in 1949 constituted a major psychological loss to the Nationalist cause at a critical hour. Well aware of that fact, the Communists continued to give preferential treatment to Chang, and after the reorganization of the government in 1954, he was named a vice chairman of the National Defense Council at Peking.

Chang Ching-chiang: see CHANG JEN-CHIEH.

Chang Chün-hsiang 張駿祥
Alt. Yüan Chün 袁俊

Chang Chün-hsiang (1909-), film director and playwright, was a leading director for the Peking government's Central Motion Picture Company and won an award for the film *Red Banner on the Emerald Ridge*.

Little is known of Chang Chün-hsiang's early life except that he was a native of Chenchang, Kiangsu. Chang was graduated from the department of Western languages and literature at National Tsinghua University in Peking. He then taught for two years at Tsinghua before going to the United States to study dramatic art. He received the M.A. degree in fine arts at Yale University in 1937. While in the United States he spent a period in Hollywood studying film technique under the well-known director Henry King.

Chang returned to China in 1937 after the Sino-Japanese war had broken out. He went directly to west China, where he was appointed professor at the National Academy of Dramatic Arts, then headed by Yü Shang-yuan (1897-). He also taught at the Social Education Institute at Pishan, Szechwan, and became a director at the government's Central Motion Picture Company. In west China Chang was particularly successful as the director of several war plays which formed part of the National Government's anti-Japanese propaganda effort of that period. He also began to write plays. After the Japanese surrender in 1945 Chang Chün-hsiang returned to Shanghai with the Central Motion Picture Company and came to be accepted as one of the foremost directors in the Chinese film industry.

Chang remained in China when the Communists assumed power in 1949 and continued to be a leading figure in his profession. His technical skill brought him a national award for the best directing in China. The film for which he won the award was *Red Banner on the Emerald Ridge*.

Chang was assigned to a variety of political as well as professional duties under the new regime. In 1951 he was a member of the first Chinese cultural mission to visit India and Burma, and he was active in the Sino-Burmese Friendship Association. He was also a prominent figure in the All-China Federation of Literary and Arts Circles, the organization responsible for coordinating the activities of the national groups representing major branches of the arts. In April 1957 Chang was elected to the presidium of the Cinematographers Association of China.

Chang Chün-hsiang published his first play, *Tales of a Small Town*, a comedy about the psychological conflicts of a woman in love, in 1941. He followed it with another, written in a more serious vein: *Tales of a Frontier Town*. In this play he used folk songs to provide local color. A third play, *The U.S. President Liner*, was a satirical comedy staged in wartime Chungking. Chang himself played the role of a waiter in it. In this light drama of life aboard an American passenger vessel, he poked fun at the follies and foibles of both sexes. *Model Teacher of Myriad Generations* is usually considered to be the best of Chang Chün-hsiang's plays. Its action spans a period of some 20 years and concerns the lives

of a group of Chinese from the May Fourth Movement of 1919 to the outbreak of the war with Japan in 1937. The play was praised for good characterization, sound construction, and depth of feeling. Chang's real forte, however, was producing and directing, and he was a versatile and skillful master of his craft.

During the Sino-Japanese war Chang married the well-known film actress Pai Yang (q.v.) at Chungking, but the marriage later was dissolved.

Chang Chün-mai: see CHANG CHIA-SEN.

Chang Chün

T. Yueh-chün

張羣

岳軍

Chang Chün (1899-), prominent member of the Kuomintang, was a close friend of Chiang Kai-shek and of Huang Fu (q.v.). As minister of foreign affairs in 1935-37, he played an important role in China's relations with Japan. He served as secretary general of the Supreme National Defense Council (1938-42) and as wartime governor of Szechwan (1940-45). He became secretary general in the President's office in Taipei in 1954.

Little is known of Chang Chün's childhood except that he was born in the Huayang district of Szechwan. After a conventional education in the Chinese classics, he passed an entrance examination in 1906 for admission to a national military academy, the T'ung-kuo lu-chün su-ch'eng hsueh-hsiao, at Paoting in north China. The next year, 40 students from that academy, including Chang, were selected to go to Japan for further study. In Tokyo, the Chinese cadets enrolled in a preparatory military school, the Shimbu Gakkō, which had been established there by the ministry of war. In 1907 Chang Chün and his fellow-student Chiang Kai-shek joined the T'ung-meng-hui. After completing preparatory work at the Shimbu Gakkō, Chang Chün and Chiang Kai-shek received field training with the 13th Field Artillery (Takada) Regiment of the Japanese Army.

After the Wuhan revolt of October 1911, both cadets left their regiment in Japan and hastened to Shanghai, where they served under Ch'en Ch'i-me (q.v.). Chang Chün also served as

staff officer in charge of the arsenal department of the 23rd Division, commanded by Huang Fu (q.v.). He became a regimental commander under Huang Fu in the spring of 1912. Chang Chün, Chiang Kai-shek, and Huang Fu became sworn, or blood, brothers.

Because of their services to the revolutionary cause, Chang Chün and Huang Fu were selected to go to Europe for further study. Late in 1912 they and their wives went north to Peking, planning to join Ch'en Ch'i-me in Japan before embarking for Europe. However, the March 1913 assassination of Sung Chiao-jen (q.v.) by men generally assumed to have been agents of Yuan Shih-k'ai caused an abrupt change of plans. Ch'en Ch'i-me cancelled the projected European trip, and he and his T'ung-meng-hui associates went to Shanghai to join battle with Yuan. During the so-called second revolution of 1913, Chang Chün served under Ch'en Ch'i-me in the Shanghai area. After that effort failed, Chang fled to Japan.

After completing his military training at the Shikan Gakkō [military academy] in 1915, Chang visited the Netherlands East Indies, where he taught in an overseas Chinese school in Java to support himself. When Yuan Shih-k'ai made his final monarchical attempt, Chang Chün returned incognito to Shanghai, where he participated in the anti-Yuan campaign as a staff officer in the Chekiang military headquarters of the Kuomintang.

In 1917-18 Chang was at Canton, where he served as adjutant general under Ts'en Ch'un-hsuan. He went to Japan to argue on behalf of the Canton regime against a Japanese loan to the northern government at Peking, but his mission was unsuccessful. In 1918 he returned to his native Szechwan, where he served for some two years as commissioner of police in the provincial government and, concurrently, as head of the police bureau at Chengtu. In 1921 he left Chengtu for north China, where his friend Huang Fu had come into favor with Hsu Shih-ch'ang. Chang Chün, despite his Kuomintang background and connections, worked closely with Huang in the northern government.

Through his association with Huang Fu at Peking, Chang Chün came into contact with Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.), at whose headquarters Huang often lectured to senior officers. In 1924

Chang Ch'ün joined Feng's Kuominchün, serving in its Second Army when Feng conducted his campaign against Wu P'ei-fu. Chang then was appointed police commissioner in Honan and chief of the police bureau at Kai-feng. When Feng was defeated by Wu P'ei-fu and others in Honan in 1926, he and his Kuominchün turned to support the Kuomintang in anticipation of the Northern Expedition. Thus, through his temporary connection with Feng, Chang Ch'ün was reunited with Chiang Kai-shek, who was commander in chief of the Northern Expedition. When the National Revolutionary Army moved into Kiangsi in November 1926, Chang Ch'ün became the chief councillor of Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters at Nanchang.

After the Nationalist forces under Chiang Kai-shek reached the Nanking-Shanghai area in the spring of 1927 and purged the Communists, Chang Ch'ün was placed in charge of the Shanghai arsenal. He worked closely with Huang Fu, who was named mayor of Shanghai, to ameliorate Chiang Kai-shek's relations with local Chinese business leaders and to enlist support, often through political bargains, from influential groups outside the Kuomintang. When Chiang Kai-shek resigned his posts in September and went to Japan, Chang Ch'ün accompanied him. In Tokyo they called on a number of Japanese leaders, including the premier, General Tanaka Giichi, in an attempt to assess Japanese attitudes toward the projected Nationalist advance into north China. Tanaka stated that the Nationalists would be well advised, for the time being at least, to consolidate their position in the south, though he gave the impression that Japanese military intervention was unlikely.

When Chiang Kai-shek returned to China and his military command at the beginning of 1928, the Nationalist forces resumed their push northward. In February 1928 Chang Ch'ün became a member of the foreign affairs committee of the Central Political Council, the new policy-making body of the Kuomintang. He directed the Shanghai arsenal and served as first political vice minister in the ministry of war. When the Nationalist forces reached Tsinan in Shantung province, the Japanese reacted vigorously, allegedly to protect Japanese interests in that area. Chang Ch'ün went to Tokyo and attempted to persuade Tanaka to

settle the Tsinan incident through regular diplomatic channels. Chang's success was limited: although the Tsinan incident was contained, basic settlement remained impossible because the Japanese commander in Shantung deliberately misinterpreted the restraining orders from Tokyo.

In September 1928, after the conclusion of the Northern Expedition, Chang Ch'ün again was sent to Japan, where he privately informed Tanaka of the forthcoming accession of Chiang Kai-shek to the presidency of the Executive Yuan and appealed for a friendly Japanese attitude with respect to Manchuria—so as not to hinder the unification of China. In March 1929, Chang Ch'ün was elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. Later in 1929, he was named to succeed Huang Fu as mayor of Shanghai. Chang Ch'ün's tenure as mayor of Shanghai from 1929 to 1931 was marked by efforts at modernizing the city.

Chang also continued to assist Chiang Kai-shek in strengthening his position at Nanking in the face of continued threats from dissident Nationalist generals. When Yen Hsi-shan and Feng Yü-hsiang joined forces against Chiang in 1930, Chang Ch'ün and Wu T'ieh-ch'eng were sent to Manchuria to persuade Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.) to support Nanking rather than the northern generals. Although Chang Hsueh-liang was acting on his own behalf when he moved troops into north China in September 1930, the Chang Ch'ün mission nevertheless helped to save Chiang Kai-shek from possible defeat in the civil war and marked an important step toward the unification of China under Chiang.

Chang Ch'ün believed that China, beset with internal weaknesses and conflicts, should not attempt to fight Japan single-handedly. His resulting unpopularity with strongly anti-Japanese groups in Shanghai was one factor leading to his resignation as Shanghai's mayor in 1931. Chang Ch'ün then served Chiang Kai-shek as a trusted staff officer in the development of long-range policy. With respect to domestic affairs, that policy called for strengthening the position of the National Government and extending its practical control over outlying areas which served as territorial bases for regional rulers or for Communist insurgents. Policy with respect to Japanese aggression called

for a flexible combination of limited resistance in cases where there appeared to be no alternative and of local appeasement in situations where adjustment was the only alternative to disastrous defeat. Chang Ch'ün made notable contributions to the implementation of the policy. After serving at Peiping during the winter of 1931, he was placed in charge of the political section of Chiang Kai-shek's field headquarters. The objective was to uproot the Communist Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei base area in 1932-33.

On the recommendation of Huang Fu and Chang Ch'ün, Yang Yung-t'ai (q.v.) became one of Chiang Kai-shek's advisers and exerted great influence on policy. Huang and Yang were key figures in the group of moderate conservatives around Chiang Kai-shek known as the cheng-hsueh-hsi [political study group], sometimes called the Political Science Group (for details, see Huang Fu). After Huang and Yang died in 1936, Chang Ch'ün became its leading representative in the National Government, and his connection with the cheng-hsueh-hsi during the 1930's provides a key to his political behavior in public office.

Chinese foreign policy was tested severely when the Japanese breached the Great Wall line and began to threaten Peiping, the loss of which would have dealt a severe blow to the National Government at Nanking. Huang Fu, sent to take charge of the political situation in north China, arranged with the Japanese the Tangku Truce of May 1933. Chang Ch'ün went to Peiping to assist Huang and to maintain appropriate liaison with Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters. After the external pressure from Japan was eased, Chang Ch'ün was assigned in mid-1933 to be governor of Hupeh. He held that post until 1935, while the National Government attempted to stabilize central China. Among Chang's accomplishments in Hupeh were famine relief, tax reassessment, promotion of local industry, balancing of the budget, consolidation of offices and increase in administrative efficiency, selection of qualified magistrates, and the convening of a provincial administrative council.

Renewed pressure from Japan in 1935 caused Chang Ch'ün to leave the governorship of Hupeh. He soon was succeeded by Yang Yung-t'ai. In December 1935, when Wang Ching-wei was forced to resign all official posts

after he had been wounded by a would-be assassin at Nanking, Chiang Kai-shek took over Wang's post as president of the Executive Yuan, and Chang Ch'ün replaced Wang as foreign minister. In assuming his new position, Chang changed Wang's policy of no direct negotiations to one of dealing with Japan in the hope of resolving outstanding cases of disputes and of readjusting relations between the two countries. As a prelude to this policy shift, Nanking at the beginning of 1935 had published a long article in the *Wai-chiao p'ing-lun* [diplomatic review] entitled "Enemy or Friend?" (see Ch'en Pu-lei). As foreign minister, Chang Ch'ün at once approached Tokyo with the prospect of negotiations based on a regional understanding with respect to north China which would take account of the special Japanese position there while leaving the area under the over-all control of Nanking. The favorable response of the Japanese government curbed the efforts of the Japanese military to create an "autonomous area" and eased the crisis between the two governments.

Chang Ch'ün's foremost purpose was to gain time rather than to explore the possibilities of reaching agreements with Japan. In an important speech on 24 May 1936 he stressed that Chinese policy was one of laissez-faire and argued that economic cooperation was preferable to political encroachment by Japan. So far as China was concerned, Chang stated, outstanding problems could be adjusted, not merely as a means of easing the situation in north China, but "with the objective of ensuring peaceful co-existence of the two peoples for generations to come."

Chang finally consented to hold formal negotiations at Nanking in the autumn of 1936, though he stipulated that the discussions were to be merely exploratory. In seven sessions with Kawagoe Shigeru, the Japanese ambassador, he shrewdly employed delaying tactics which led neither to specific agreement nor to total disagreement. When the Chinese army scored a surprise victory over Japanese-supported insurgents in Inner Mongolia, Chang took advantage of that development. He declined, but did not reject, numerous Japanese demands on the grounds that both anti-Japanese and anti-Communist activities were domestic Chinese problems not subject to intervention, certainly not by a Japanese government that

professed to seek friendship with China. The long negotiations thus ended with no result other than the settlement of two inconsequential local incidents. This diplomatic episode was soon overshadowed by the Sian Incident of December 1936 and the national unification of China. In the ensuing reorganization of the cabinet at Nanking, Chang resigned from his post as foreign minister. However, his policy toward Japan continued to be followed for several months.

When the Japanese military invasion began in July 1937, Chang Ch'ün abandoned his hopes for appeasement or negotiation. His abilities and prestige as a negotiator were soon put to good use in domestic politics. In August 1937 he was named secretary general of the National Military Council, the newly organized policy-making body, with Ch'en Pu-lei as his deputy. In that position, he served as the Chinese government's representative when the German ambassador to China, Oskar Trautmann, attempted to mediate between China and Japan after the Japanese attack on Nanking at the end of 1937. In early 1938 Chang Ch'ün was named vice president of the Executive Yuan in a new reorganization of the National Government, the seat of which had been moved from Nanking to Chungking. Liu Hsiang (q.v.), the governor of Szechwan, died suddenly and mysteriously at Hankow in late January 1938. At that time Chang was director of the Generalissimo's headquarters at Chungking, and the National Government apparently intended to appoint him to succeed Liu, but Szechwan generals indicated rather determined resistance, with the result that Chiang Kai-shek himself had to assume the post of acting governor for a transitional period. In January 1939 Chang Ch'ün was appointed secretary general of the newly created Supreme National Defense Council. He was made governor of Szechwan in November 1940. He held that post until the end of the Japanese war in 1945, during which period his mission was to ensure the stability and security of the National Government's territorial base.

In the 1940's Chang Ch'ün was often in contact with the local military commanders of southwest China, the leaders of minor political parties, and representatives of the Chinese Communist party. Even from political opponents, he earned substantial respect and enjoyed

a measure of confidence. During the war years, he helped to deal with local Szechwan troops, which previously had not been under National Government control. He worked to improve the provincial administration of Szechwan and took steps to establish local representative assemblies in the province. However, his efforts were not notably successful.

After the Japanese surrender in 1945, Chang's role as a negotiator assumed new importance in the context of the developing struggle between the Kuomintang and the Communists for national authority in China. At the end of August 1945, Mao Tse-tung arrived at Chungking for discussions with Chiang Kai-shek. In the working-level conferences, Chang Ch'ün was assigned, together with Wang Shih-chieh and Shao Li-tzu, to talk with the Communist negotiators led by Chou En-lai and Wang Jo-fei. After some 40 days of intermittent talks, the meetings were terminated as being inconclusive. In January 1946 the so-called Committee of Three—Chang Ch'ün, Chou En-lai, and General George C. Marshall—was established to work toward a truce between the Nationalist and Communist forces. A Political Consultative Conference then was called, with eight representatives from the Kuomintang, including Chang Ch'ün; seven from the Chinese Communist party, including Chou En-lai; fourteen from other political parties; and nine non-partisan participants. At the first committee session, on 10 January 1946, a truce agreement was signed by Chang Ch'ün and Chou En-lai, but the agreement proved to be ineffectual.

After the breakdown of the mediation negotiations in mid-1946, Chang Ch'ün made a trip to the United States, presumably to broaden his contacts with officials in the United States government, whose aid had become indispensable to the Nationalist cause. Early in 1947 he visited Japan to establish contact with the American authorities in Tokyo and with potentially influential Japanese political figures. In April 1947 Chang was named president of the Executive Yuan, or premier, in a new coalition government at Nanking. Chang's political platform was composed of necessary declarations of intention designed to secure and sustain American aid. He included some representatives of minor parties, though no Communists, in his cabinet to symbolize the

abandonment of one-party rule by the Kuomintang. His political program called for preparing China for government based on the new constitution adopted by the National Assembly in 1946 and scheduled to take effect by the end of 1947. His economic program heralded price control, currency stabilization, tax readjustments, land reform, and encouragement of production. However, the post of premier had never been powerful under Chiang Kai-shek, and Chang Ch'ün, despite his long-standing personal ties with Chiang, was powerless to implement his platform. With respect to the military situation, Chang continued to hope that, after the hostilities had reached a certain stage, a political compromise might still be possible. However, the military balance grew increasingly unfavorable to the National Government and soon rendered political settlement impossible. Chang resigned the premiership in May 1948.

Chang remained loyal to Chiang Kai-shek and attempted to do what he could to save the National Government from total collapse and defeat. As a councillor in the President's office, he went to Japan in August-September 1948 to confer with General Douglas MacArthur and with key Japanese leaders. In a broadcast to the Japanese people, he emphasized the importance of Sino-Japanese cooperation to promote regional security in Asia. After his return from Tokyo, Chang assumed the post of secretary general of the Central Political Council of the Kuomintang. At the beginning of 1949, he was suggested as a possible negotiator with the Communists, who were then consolidating their control of Tientsin and Peiping in north China. However, he could not serve because he was on the Communist list of war criminals which had appeared in December 1948.

In the spring of 1949, Chang Ch'ün flew to Chungking to see if he could secure Szechwan as a government base. He found the situation in the southwest so unstable that salvage action seemed impossible. After the fall of Chungking to the Communists at the end of November 1949, defeat in Szechwan was inevitable. Chiang Kai-shek flew to Chengtu and left to seek refuge in Taiwan in early December. Chiang sent Chang Ch'ün to Kunming to attempt to stop Lu Han, the governor of Yunnan, from turning over that province to the

Communists. The mission was totally unsuccessful. On 11 December 1949 Lu Han declared allegiance to the Communists. He detained Chang Ch'ün until 23 December, when the last Nationalist resistance in the southwest was drawing to an end and after Nationalist military aircraft had circled Kunming and had dropped warnings regarding Chang's personal safety. After his release, Chang went to Taiwan.

In March 1950, Chang Ch'ün became a senior adviser in the President's office. Because of his many connections with Japan and his experience in negotiating with the Japanese, Chang continued to play a leading role as a trusted adviser to Chiang Kai-shek on Sino-Japanese relations. The Japanese peace treaty, negotiated under United States sponsorship and signed at San Francisco in 1951 without the direct participation of Taipei, terminated Japanese sovereignty over Taiwan. In April 1952 a peace treaty was concluded between Japan and the Republic of China and was signed at Taipei. In his trips to Japan after 1950, Chang Ch'ün stressed Japan's new relations with the Chinese government on Taiwan, the importance of the ties of both governments to the United States, and the common threat to both posed by the Soviet Union. He received a warm welcome when he made an official visit to Japan in 1957 as a special envoy of Chiang Kai-shek, 50 years after he and Chiang had arrived in Japan as military cadets. Chang visited Japan again in 1964 to attempt to smooth over friction that had arisen over the issue of Japanese trade with the mainland of China.

After 1954 Chang Ch'ün was secretary general of the President's office at Taipei. In 1958 he made a notable speech at Taipei, stressing that life begins at 70. This speech reflected political as well as personal belief, for Chang's credo was intended to convey the impression that the elderly men controlling the government in Taiwan did not intend to disqualify themselves as Chinese rulers.

Late in 1965 Chang Ch'ün visited Europe as the special envoy of Chiang Kai-shek to the closing session of the Ecumenical Council in Rome. He was received by Pope Paul VI in a special audience on 8 December 1965, and he addressed a meeting of Chinese priests, including Archbishop Paul Yu-pin, and clergymen from other countries.

Largely through the influence of his wife, Ma Yü-ying, Chang Ch'ün had become a Christian in the 1930's. His early training in the Confucian classics continued to color his outlook, with the result that his personal philosophy was a blend of Confucianism and Christianity. Of his three children, one son, Chang Chi-chung (Teddy Chang) was ordained a minister of the Southern Baptist Church in Taiwan in 1961.

Chang En-p'u

Alt. Chang T'ien-shih
T. Jui-ling

張恩溥
張天師
瑞齡

Chang En-p'u (3 October 1894-), the 63rd T'ien-shih (Celestial Master) of the Taoist church.

The 63rd hereditary T'ien-shih (Celestial Master) was born in the family residence near Lung-hu-shan [dragon and tiger mountain] in Kiangsi. The previous masters of the Chang family, often vulgarly referred to by foreigners as the popes of Taoism, formed a line of succession that allegedly originated in the first century A.D., when Chang Tao-ling discovered the elixir of immortality. Actually, the genealogy of the house is probably not authentic beyond the Sung dynasty, when the emperor Chen-tsung enfeoffed Chang Cheng-sui at Lung-hu-shan. From about the tenth century, the Chang family maintained its seat of ecclesiastical rule there. Lung-hu-shan is not a mountain, but two hills of unusual profile situated in a rolling part of the province. One of the two hills was thought to have the profile of a tiger, and the other to resemble the undulations of a dragon's back. Although the Chang family encountered many vicissitudes, its Kiangsi stronghold remained unscathed through the centuries. It represented the Cheng-i [right unity] sect, which was accepted as the representative branch of the Taoist system and was favored by many Chinese emperors who hoped through their patronage to attain immortality.

Toward the end of the Ch'ing period, Lung-hu-shan was threatened when the Taiping Rebellion swept through south and central China. The Taipings, who were anti-Taoist, did enter the temple premises, but their looting was not serious, and they did not damage the

ancient bronzes and other treasures. The 62nd Celestial Master, Chang Yuan-hsü, was born in 1862, near the end of the Taiping Rebellion, and succeeded his father in 1903. The next year he went to Peking to celebrate the birthday of the Kuang-hsü emperor, who rewarded him with gifts. The only Western writer who appears to have met the 62nd Master was Carl F. Kupfer, a Methodist missionary who visited Lung-hu-shan in February of 1910. Kupfer described Chang as a "tall, handsome, middle-aged man dressed in the ordinary costume of a high class Chinese scholar and most pleasant and congenial." When the imperial dynasty fell in the revolution of 1911, there was a surge of opposition to allegedly superstitious practices of the Taoist church, and the new military governor of Kiangsi after the establishment of the republic issued orders confiscating the Taoist property and abolishing all titles of the Celestial Master. Chang Yuan-hsü, however, had a staunch supporter in Chang Hsün (q.v.), who intervened on his behalf with Yuan Shih-k'ai in 1914. Yuan ordered the property returned and the traditional titles restored. He also summoned the 62nd Celestial Master for an audience at Peking. Chang Yuan-hsü arrived with a retinue from his court in Kiangsi, stayed at the capital for about two weeks, and held religious services to bless Yuan Shih-k'ai's newly established monarchy. Chang Yuan-hsü had other influential supporters, including Wu P'ei-fu and Sun Ch'uan-fang (qq.v.). At their invitation, he visited Loyang and Nanking to hold religious services. Chang Yuan-hsü traveled extensively in China during the early republican period. In 1920 he was elected head of the Federation of the Five Sects of Taoism. He was reported to have spoken once from a Christian pulpit at the invitation of an American missionary, Gilbert Reid. He died at Shanghai in 1924.

Chang En-p'u was the eldest of the six sons of Chang Yuan-hsü. As was usual, though not mandatory, he was chosen at an early age to succeed his father. He received a traditional education at home from tutors, who taught him the Five Classics and the Four Books in accordance with the view that mastery of the Confucian canon was essential for understanding other ancient Chinese texts. Chang also began specific training for his future office. This work included the study and interpretation of the

sacred texts, the *Tao-te-ching* and the *Chuang-tzu*; and practice in the ritual and liturgy required of the Celestial Master. His study of the *Tao-te-ching* included reading all important commentaries on the text. In 1916, when he was 23 sui, Chang assumed the title of ying-hsi, the Taoist term equivalent to that of heir apparent in the Chinese imperial family. In 1921 he left home to go to Nanchang, the provincial capital of Kiangsi, where he studied law at the Kiangsi Provincial Institute of Law and Administration. He was graduated in 1924.

After his father's death, Chang En-p'u became the 63rd Celestial Master, an office which he, like his predecessors, held for life. With that office, he took control of the properties at Lung-hu-shan—five main temples, supported by surrounding farmland—and a staff of some 80 people employed to maintain the establishment and to discharge the duties of his office. Land rents, together with offerings for incense, were the only sources of income; the lands were not taxed under either the Ch'ing dynasty or the republic. Like his father, Chang En-p'u enjoyed the patronage of several leading military figures of the period. Early in 1926, for example, he visited Hankow at the invitation of Wu P'ei-fu and celebrated a grand Taoist mass there. Sun Ch'u-an-fang was another patron. When Sun Ch'u-an-fang held control over the lower Yangtze, the 63rd Celestial Master, with Sun's support, spent much time in Shanghai, where he commanded a substantial following and conducted many Taoist services. As the Nationalists rose to power, however, the authority of the northern generals was threatened, and Chang returned to his ancestral headquarters in Kiangsi.

There the Celestial Master had his first brush with the Chinese Communists. On 2 April 1927, while on a visit to Nanchang, he was taken prisoner by Fang Chih-min (q.v.), who led a group of Communist insurgents to threaten the city. However, the Communists did not execute him, and he was released several weeks later when the Nationalist commander, Chu P'ei-te (q.v.), then governor of Kiangsi, drove out the insurgents and released him from prison. He returned to Lung-hu-shan. In February 1931, a Chinese Communist army from the Kiangsi soviet area, led by Peng Te-huai, occupied Lung-hu-shan and looted the Taoist establishment. The Celestial Master escaped, but one

of his brothers was captured, charged with being a landlord with a feudal outlook and an advocate of superstition, and executed.

The Master then went to Shanghai, where he lived quietly, though by no means penitulously, in a fashionable quarter of the French concession. He continued to carry out his ecclesiastical duties, issuing diplomas and charms and performing ceremonies at three Taoist temples. In the summer of 1936, when he was advised that the Communists had been cleared from Kiangsi province, he decided to return to his ancestral seat. His lands had been restored to him, and he had managed to hide or remove to Shanghai the most important hereditary treasures. These he took back to Lung-hu-shan. He continued to live there, amidst the remains of ancient pomp, through the years of the Sino-Japanese war and the Chinese civil war that followed it. He finally left Lung-hu-shan on 28 April 1949, only a few days after the Communists had crossed the Yangtze on their drive southward. Traveling through Canton and Macao, he reached Hong Kong. There he spent six months, living in the Cloud Spring Temple on Des Voeux Road. He went to Taiwan in December 1949, where the ministry of interior of the National Government granted him a small pension. He found quarters in the Chueh-hsiu Temple at Taipei, though that temple belonged to another sect of Taoism with which he had no connection.

The 63rd Celestial Master continued to work actively to provide Taoism in Taiwan with a firm organization and to proclaim traditional Taoist ideals. The month after his arrival, he was granted permission to establish the Taiwan Taoist Association. He consistently advocated religious tolerance, holding that whatever is believed to be divine by mankind at large is divine in the view of the Taoist. And he opposed the superstitious activities carried on by uneducated people in heterodox Taoist groups who attempted to make money through healing. The Master also voiced active support of the Government of the Republic of China in Taipei in its campaign against Communism. He made a special broadcast from Taiwan to Taoists on the mainland, urging them not to be misled by the Communists and not to support the Chinese Taoist Association established under Communist auspices in April 1957. The same year, doubtless as a challenge to the Communist

assertion that the Taoist Association on the mainland was the first truly national organization of Taoists in the history of China, he sponsored the establishment of a Taoist Devotees Association in Taiwan.

Apart from his activities in connection with the two Taoist organizations in Taiwan, the 63rd Celestial Master continued to practice his traditional duties: the preparation of talismans, the issuing of diplomas to Taoist priests, and the conducting of Taoist religious services. One of his major concerns was the preparation of a new edition of the Taoist canon. Between 1923 and 1927, the Commercial Press at Shanghai had issued a photographic reproduction of the White Cloud Temple edition that was first printed in the Ming dynasty. Under his sponsorship it was reissued with a supplement which included the chief works on Taoism that had appeared after the White Cloud edition. He wrote three unpublished works: the *Tao hsueh yuan-liu* [the origins of Taoism], the *Cheng-i ching-chi* [collection of scriptures of the Cheng-i sect], and the *Ku-lu hsueh* [studies on the talisman].

Like his predecessors and like the ordinary priests of his sect, the Celestial Master lived a secular life and dressed in normal Chinese garb except when performing religious ceremonies. He did not practice dietary or other abstinences, did not engage in meditation or yogic exercises, and did not commune with gods or spirits in trance. He regarded himself as scholar rather than saint, in particular as the custodian of the venerable Taoist tradition. An account of his life, "The Chang T'ien Shih and Taoism in China," written by Holmes H. Welch, appeared in the *Journal of Oriental Studies* in 1958.

Chang En-p'u married for the first time in 1911 at the age of 18 sui. His wife died in 1917. In 1919 he married again, his second wife being a cousin of the first. When he left Kiangsi in 1949, he took with him his elder son and potential successor, Chang Yung-hsien. His younger son remained on the mainland with his mother. When Chang Yung-hsien died in Taiwan in 1953, the Master continued to cherish the hope that his younger son would be united with him one day so that he could transmit the hereditary title. However, he selected a nephew (the grandson of his father's younger brother), Chang Yuan-hsien, who was in Taiwan, as heir apparent to the office of

Celestial Master. Born in 1937, Chang Yuan-hsien started to prepare for the office of 64th Celestial Master in 1959. However, he reportedly changed his mind and decided to give up all claim to that position.

Chang Erh-t'ien

Orig. Chang Ts'ai-t'ien	張爾田
T. Meng-ch'ü	張采田
H. Tun-k'an	孟劬
Hsü-ts'un chiao-jen	膝堪

Hsü-ts'un chiao-jen 許村樵人

Chang Erh-t'ien (17 March 1874–15 February 1945), traditional scholar and university professor, was noted for his historical studies, including his contributions to the *Ch'ing-shih kao*, the provisional history of the Ch'ing dynasty published in 1928, and his studies of Mongol history.

A native of Ch'ient'ang, Chekiang, Chang Erh-t'ien came from a prominent family which had produced a long line of scholar-officials. As a youth he studied under several well-known scholars and at an early age acquired a reputation for his literary style. After purchasing the rank of student in the Imperial Academy, he took and passed the chü-jen examinations in the metropolitan prefecture of Shun-t'ien. His first post was that of a secretary of the Board of Punishments. In the final years of the Ch'ing dynasty he was made prefect of a district in Kiangsu.

After the overthrow of the Manchus and the establishment of the republic early in 1912, Chang, as a loyalist, withdrew from office and went into retirement, devoting himself to study and writing. A dedicated Confucian traditionalist, he became a member of the Confucian Association, a group founded early in 1913 by K'ang Yu-wei's disciple Ch'en Huan-chang to promote Confucianism as the state religion of China. Chang was a regular contributor to the *K'ung-chiao-hui tsa-chih* [magazine of the Confucian society]. During these years, Chang took strong exception to the writings of such doctrinal "liberals" as Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (q.v.), whose ideas he sought to refute in a small volume, the *Hsin-hsueh shang-tui* [discussions on the new school of thought]. He also wrote several articles upholding the values of traditional scholarship. These were published in the

newspaper *Ta Kung Pao* and in the scholarly magazine *Hsueh-heng* (see Wu Mi).

Although a scholar of the classics and of Buddhism, Chang Erh-t'ien's major interest was in the history of China. In this field his principal models for the writing of history were representatives of the Eastern Chekiang (Che-tung) school of the Ch'ing period, particularly Chang Hsueh-ch'eng (ECCP, I, 38-41). In 1911 he published the *Shih-wei* [historical trifles], in which he attempted to revive and develop Chang Hsueh-ch'eng's broad approach to historiography. This work established Chang's reputation as a scholar in both China and Japan. Another historical work for which Chang was noted was his study of the T'ang dynasty poet Li Shang-yin (c. 813-858). In the Ch'ing dynasty several scholars had studied the life of Li Shang-yin, whose literary name was Yü-ch'i-sheng, but had failed to agree on the chronology of certain events mentioned in his poetry. Having collated the notes of these scholars, Chang published his own work in 1917 as the *Yü-ch'i-sheng nien-p'u hui-chien* [collected notes on the chronology of Yü-ch'i-sheng].

Meanwhile, when the Ch'ing-shih-kuan [office for the compilation of the Ch'ing history] was established by Yuan Shih-k'ai in September 1914, Chao Erh-sun (q.v.), the editor in chief of the project, invited Chang Erh-t'ien to serve as senior compiler, a position he held until 1921. During these seven years Chang completed the compilation of several sections of the Ch'ing history, including the *Yueh-chih* [treatise on music], the *Hsing-fa chih* [treatise on law], the section on Kiangsu province in the *Ti-li chih* [treatise on geography], the joint biography of Tuhai (ECCP, II, 784) and Li Chih-fang, and the *Hou-fei chuan* [biographies of the empresses and imperial concubines]. With the publication of the *Ch'ing-shih kao* [provisional history of the Ch'ing dynasty] in 1928, it was found that many last-minute alterations had been made, some of which seriously impaired the meaning of the original draft. Among the sections so altered was the *Hou-fei chuan*. Since Chang attached great importance to this section, which he regarded as representative of both his literary talent and his historical method, he published his original version in 1929.

A number of Chang's contemporaries shared his political convictions and his scholarly

interests. Among these were Wang Kuo-wei (q.v.) and the Confucianist Sun Te-ch'ien (1869-1935; T. I-an), who together with Chang were known at one time as the Hai-shang santszu [three gentlemen of the literary world]. Chang was also a friend of the former scholar-official Shen Tseng-chih (1850-1922; T. Tzu-p'ei) and was among the scholars whom Shen invited in 1915 to help him compile a revised edition of the history of his native province, the *Che-chiang t'ung-chih* [gazetteer of Chekiang]. Shen was a noted student of Mongol history, and at his death he left behind several unpublished works in this field. In the following decade Chang collated and published a number of these manuscript works, the most important being the *Meng-ku yuan-liu chien-cheng* [notes on the origins of the Mongols], the *Man-shu chiao-pu* [supplement to the history of the Mongol dynasty], and the *Yuan-ch'ao mi-shih chu* [notes on the inner history of the Mongol dynasty].

Probably as a result of his association with Shen Tseng-chih, Chang Erh-t'ien became interested in the histories of the Liao, Chin, and Yuan dynasties. He turned to the work of the great Ch'ing scholar Ch'ien Ta-hsin (ECCP, I, 152-55), who had pioneered in the study of this field, and prepared the *Ch'ien Ta-hsin hsueh-an* [teachings of Ch'ien Ta-hsin], a critical evaluation of Ch'ien's thought. This study was later incorporated into the *Ch'ing-ju hsueh-an* [teachings of the scholars of the Manchu dynasty], compiled under the direction of Hsu Shih-ch'ang (q.v.).

In the years following 1921, Chang Erh-t'ien served successively as professor of Chinese history at several colleges and universities, including National Peking University, Peking Teachers' College, National Political College in Woosung, and Kuang-hua University in Shanghai. His final post was at Yenching University in Peiping, where he first taught in the department of Chinese and later assumed tutorial responsibilities for the Harvard-Yenching Institute. During the Sino-Japanese war of 1937-45, Chang appears to have remained in Peiping; he died there on 15 February 1945.

Chang Erh-t'ien also wrote many short essays. Manuscripts of some of these essays, kept in his home, were destroyed or lost during the war. However, some 100 of them were preserved by his pupils and were edited and published in 1948 as the *Tun-k'an wen-chi* [the writings of

Tun-k'an]. In style, these essays have been compared favorably with those of his contemporaries Liu Shih-p'ei and Wang Kuo-wei.

Although married twice, Chang Erh-t'ien remained childless and adopted as his legal heir the eldest son of his younger brother, the philosopher and political theorist Chang Tung-sun (q.v.).

Chang Fa-k'uei
T. Hsiang-hua

張發奎
向華

Chang Fa-k'uei (1896-), a leading Cantonese military officer, commanded the 12th (Ironside) Division, later and better known as the Fourth Army. Although a sometime supporter of Wang Ching-wei who participated in several anti-Chiang Kai-shek movements, he was given important commands during the Sino-Japanese war.

A native of Shihhsing hsien on the northern borders of Kwangtung province, Chang Fa-k'uei was born into a poor peasant family. His father, Chang Chu-ch'i, finding farming difficult, had obtained a clerical post in the hsien magistracy. This enabled the boy to attend school and, at the age of 12, he enrolled in the higher primary school in the hsien city. A stubborn lad, he was expelled from the school for insubordination in 1910, at the age of 15.

In 1911 Chang Fa-k'uei left his home district for Canton, where he served for a time in the Tseng-pu Weaving Works. It was the year of the anti-Manchu revolt, and the lad soon was attracted to the movement. After the republic was established in 1912, Chang gained admission to the Whampoa Military Primary School near Canton. Teng K'eng (q.v.), then dean of the school, took a liking to the boy and sponsored his membership in the Kuomintang. After being graduated from the Canton school in 1914, Chang Fa-k'uei went to Wuchang, where he joined the Army preparatory academy.

In 1916 when the southern provinces launched the campaign against Yuan Shih-k'ai, who had proclaimed himself monarch, Chang Fa-k'uei left the academy and returned to Canton to join the army. Together with Hsueh Yueh (q.v.), he served under Teng K'eng and Chu Chih-hsin (q.v.) in numerous revolutionary actions.

Before Sun Yat-sen left Canton for Shanghai in the summer of 1918, he organized a Kwangtung Army and placed it under the command of Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.). To avoid an open clash with the Kwangsi warlords, Sun sent Ch'en Chiung-ming with that army to Fukien. Teng K'eng was chief of staff in this army, and Chang Fa-k'uei served under Teng.

In 1920 this Kwangtung Army returned to Kwangtung and ousted the Kwangsi warlords from Canton. Sun Yat-sen then returned to Canton, where in 1921 he was elected president extraordinary. The Kwangtung Army had expanded, and Teng K'eng, the chief of staff, was also commander of its 1st Division. Chang Fa-k'uei was a battalion commander, and soon his battalion was incorporated into the special guards regiment which was charged with the personal protection of Sun Yat-sen.

In 1922 Chang Fa-k'uei lost his friend and mentor Teng K'eng, whose assassination proved to be the prelude to Ch'en Chiung-ming's revolt against Sun. At the time of that revolt, which took place early in the morning on 16 June 1922 when Ch'en Chiung-ming's subordinates surrounded Sun's headquarters in Canton, Chang Fa-k'uei and his battalion were in Shaokwan, where Sun had established the headquarters of his northern expeditionary army. Chang and his men thus escaped the assault by Ch'en's forces. Army units loyal to Sun which had entered Kiangsi found Ch'en Chiung-ming's forces to be overpowering, and they turned toward Fukien. Chang Fa-k'uei was unable to join them, and for a time he took his men to his native district of Shihhsing in northern Kwangtung.

Meanwhile, Liang Hung-k'ai, who was loyal to Sun, had succeeded Teng K'eng as commander of the 1st Division. That division had to take refuge in the Kongmoon area, and, eventually, Liang summoned Chang Fa-k'uei to join him. Then, in 1923, the 1st Division of the Kwangtung Army was reorganized, and Chang Fa-k'uei contributed many troops to it. Because of the aid given by the Kwangsi and Yunnan armies to Sun Yat-sen's cause, Ch'en Chiung-ming had been forced to evacuate Canton and retreat to his home district in the East River area. Sun Yat-sen then named Liang Hung-k'ai commander of the First Anti-bandit Army (the "bandit" referring to Ch'en Chiung-ming), and Li Chi-shen, hitherto chief of staff

to the 1st Division, took over its command. Chang Fa-k'uei was promoted to the command of the independent regiment in the division.

In 1924 there was a further reorganization, and Chang Fa-k'uei was assigned to command one of the regiments which formed the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division. The brigade commander was Ch'en Ming-shu (q.v.), and the commander of the other regiment under the same brigade was Tai Chi. The division saw action in the campaign against Shen Hung-ying, another Kwangsi warlord whom the Peking government had attempted to use against the southern government. It also fought in the final East River campaign against Ch'en Chiung-ming in 1925, and, later, against the Kwangsi and Yunnan armies of Liu Chen-huan and Yang Hsi-min.

In July 1925 the Kuomintang organized the National Government at Canton. In August of that year, the various armies under the Canton government were reorganized and standardized as units of the National Revolutionary Army. A part of the Kwangtung Army, with the former 1st Division as the backbone, was organized as the Fourth Army, with Li Chi-shen (q.v.) as commander. That reorganization marked the first appearance of the name Fourth Army. Chang Fa-k'uei first served as the commander of an independent brigade, but that unit was soon expanded into the 12th Division. The Fourth Army, at the time of its founding, was commanded by Li Chi-shen, and its four divisional commanders were Ch'en Ming-shu, Ch'en Chi-t'ang, Chang Fa-k'uei, and Hsu Ching-t'ang.

When the National Government launched the Northern Expedition in 1926, under the over-all command of Chiang Kai-shek, Li Chi-shen was appointed to secure the rear base at Canton. Of the four divisions of his Fourth Army, however, two were assigned to join in the expedition. These were the 10th Division under Ch'en Ming-shu and the 12th Division under Chang Fa-k'uei. These two divisions of the Fourth Army formed the vanguard unit that spearheaded the drive into Hunan in July 1926. Chang Fa-k'uei was chiefly responsible for the final capture, on 29 August 1926, of Ting-ssu-ch'iao, and he followed that victory by taking another strategic point, Ho-sheng-ch'iao. These two battles broke the morale of the enemy forces of Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.) and won the name "Ironsides" for Chang Fa-k'uei's division.

After the capture of the Wuhan area, both the 10th Division of Ch'en Ming-shu and the 12th Division of Chang Fa-k'uei were enlarged into armies. Ch'en Ming-shu's 10th Division was expanded into the Eleventh Army, made up of three divisions, the unit which later became the famous Nineteenth Route Army. Chang Fa-k'uei's 12th Division, with the addition of the 25th Division, took over the name of the Fourth Army, and carried over the "Ironsides" appellation.

In what was referred to as the second phase of the Northern Expedition, Chang Fa-k'uei led his men farther north from Wuhan and reached Kaifeng. Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.) had thrown his support to the side of the southern forces, and Honan province came into the hands of the National Government. Chang Fa-k'uei and the army units returned to Wuhan. By that time, the growing rift between the Wuhan and the Nanking factions of the Kuomintang was becoming manifest. Ch'en Ming-shu left the army because he did not agree with the Wuhan stand. Chang Fa-k'uei then was given command of the Eleventh Army, as well as the Fourth Army.

Meanwhile, T'ang Sheng-chih (q.v.) had assumed the position of commander in chief in the Wuhan government, and by the summer of 1927 it appeared that the differences between Wuhan and Nanking might have to be settled by military action. Chang Fa-k'uei was appointed commander in chief of the Second Front Army, which, in addition to the Fourth Army and the Eleventh Army, included the Twentieth Army.

At that time, Chang Fa-k'uei was accused of being a Communist, or at least a sympathizer. Although that charge soon was disproved, his forces did include several known Communists and fellow travelers. At the headquarters of his Second Front Army, Kuo Mo-jo served as chief of the political department. In the Fourth Army, Yeh Chien-ying was chief of staff; in the 25th Division of the army, Chang Yun-yi was divisional chief of staff and Chou Shih-ti was a regimental commander. In the Eleventh Army, Yeh T'ing was commander of the 24th Division. And the Twentieth Army was headed by Ho Lung.

Chang Fa-k'uei led his army eastward from Wuhan, and some of his troops had reached Nanchang by late July 1927. At that time, however, the Kuomintang authorities at Wuhan, headed by Wang Ching-wei (q.v.), began a

purge of the Communists. On 1 August 1927, Yeh T'ing, commander of the 24th Division, and Ho Lung, commander of the Twentieth Army, staged the famous Nanchang insurrection, later marked as the birth of the Chinese Communist army, and forced Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, the commander of the 10th Division, to join them.

Acting promptly, Chang Fa-k'uei rallied the remainder of his army, consisting of the 12th Division and the 25th Division of the Fourth Army, and the 26th Division of the Eleventh Army, to suppress the rebels, who had openly identified themselves as Communists. They were unable to resist Chang Fa-k'uei's attack and evacuated Nanchang to retreat southward. Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai took the opportunity to break away, and he led the 10th Division into Fukien.

Chang Fa-k'uei moved his army back to Canton in October 1927. In November, when Li Chi-shen left Canton for Shanghai to attend a meeting dealing with the reunification of the Kuomintang, Chang Fa-k'uei staged a coup and gained control of Canton. He issued a declaration which voiced opposition to the special committee of the Kuomintang that was then being organized at Nanking in an attempt to patch up intra-party differences. The National Government treated the Canton incident as an open revolt and issued orders for the arrest of both Chang Fa-k'uei and Huang Ch'i-hsiang, then the commander of the Fourth Army.

Meanwhile, some Kwangsi units and those Kwangtung units which were loyal to Li Chi-shen were threatening to advance on Canton against Chang Fa-k'uei. These included the forces of Ch'en Chi-t'ang and Ch'en Ming-shu, who had now resumed the command of the Eleventh Army. Chang had to send his men to both eastern and western fronts to meet them. At that juncture, Communist elements headed by Yeh Chien-ying, who was in command of the officers' training regiment left behind in Canton city, staged the Canton Commune of 11 December 1927. Chang Fa-k'uei and Huang Ch'i-hsiang escaped to Honam (Honan) island, and they quickly recalled the 26th Division and the 1st Model Division, commanded by Hsueh Yueh, back to the city. The Communist uprising was suppressed after only three days.

The forces of Li Chi-shen then converged on Canton, and Chang Fa-k'uei was defeated. He withdrew to the Kwangtung-Kwangsi border.

Both Chang and Huang Chi-hsiang issued a public statement accepting responsibility for the Canton tragedy and announced their departure from the army. The Fourth Army was then placed under the command of Miao P'ei-nan, and it joined the final phase of the Northern Expedition in 1928, being assigned to the First Army Group under Liu Chih.

Chang Fa-k'uei left Canton and went to Japan for a rest. Meanwhile, after the successful conclusion of the Northern Expedition, the National Government carried out a plan for the reduction of the armed forces which was based on the principle of reorganizing each army into a division; the Fourth Army was turned into the 4th Division, with Miao P'ei-nan still in command. Early in March 1929, however, Miao resigned. Nanking was then sending an expedition against the Kwangsi leaders, Li Tsung-jen and Pai Ch'ung-hsi, who were in control of the Wuhan area. Chang Fa-k'uei returned to China and resumed the command of the 4th Division, and Chiang Kai-shek also appointed him commander in chief of the right wing of the expeditionary forces against the Kwangsi generals. This meant that in addition to his own 4th Division, Chang had over-all command of the 10th and 11th divisions. In May he defeated the Kwangsi troops at Shasi and occupied Ichang.

Four months later, in September 1929, Chang Fa-k'uei again broke with Chiang Kai-shek and launched another movement, purportedly for the protection of the party. He marched his troops from Ichang to Hunan with the aim of returning to Kwangtung. The Kwangsi leader, Li Tsung-jen, who had fought bitterly against Chang Fa-k'uei only a few months before, now turned to assist him. The 4th Division and the Kwangsi Army then formed a coalition to attack Kwangtung. They marched on Canton in November 1929, but were defeated by Ch'en Chi-t'ang. Chang Fa-k'uei and his allies retreated to Kwangsi and remained there while he sought to reorganize and rebuild his forces.

In the spring of 1930 another coalition against Chiang Kai-shek was organized, with Wang Ching-wei, Yen Hsi-shan, Feng Yü-hsiang, and Li Tsung-jen as the major participants. They undertook the so-called enlarged conference movement of 1930, sometimes called the Yen-Feng coalition. With the help of Li

Tsung-jen, Chang Fa-k'uei enlarged his forces to comprise two armies, the Fourth and the Seventh.

Chang Fa-k'uei and Li Tsung-jen, supporting the Yen-Feng coalition in the north, marched into Hunan in May 1930. They advanced as far as Yueh-chou by June, but were met by superior forces from Nanking. In July they were expelled from Hunan and retreated to Kweilin. Soon the Yen-Feng coalition collapsed completely. Li Tsung-jen and Chang Fa-k'uei, however, maintained their forces in western Kwangsi, and in October 1930 they successfully repelled an attack by troops from Yunnan.

In the spring of 1931, before the Nanking authorities could reach a decision regarding measures to be taken toward Kwangsi, another anti-Chiang Kai-shek coalition was organized. The new movement, based at Canton, was precipitated by Chiang Kai-shek's detention of Hu Han-min (q.v.) in March 1931. In May, four members of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang led a movement to impeach Chiang. Ch'en Chi-t'ang, Li Tsung-jen, and Chang Fa-k'uei were reconciled, and their Kwangtung and Kwangsi forces provided the military backing for the separatist regime formed at Canton in May 1931. Wang Ching-wei, Sun Fo, Eugene Ch'en, and T'ang Shao-yi provided the political leadership.

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in September 1931 caused the reconciliation of Nanking and Canton. At the Fourth National Congress of the Kuomintang, held in both Nanking and Canton, Chang Fa-k'uei was elected to the Central Supervisory Committee of the party. At this time, Chang retired from his military command. In the summer of 1932 the government awarded him a grant for travel abroad. He left China on 12 November 1932 and visited Europe, the United States, and Southeast Asia during his stay abroad.

It was not until 1935 that Chang Fa-k'uei was summoned back to China by the government. He was then appointed commander in chief of operations in the Anhwei-Chekiang-Kiangsi-Fukien border areas. By that time the Communists had abandoned their base in Kiangsi, and the focus of Nationalist operations against them had shifted to the northwest. Early in 1937 Chang Fa-k'uei became pacification commissioner on the Kiangsu-Chekiang border. It was understood that his mission was the

construction of a secure defense line in that area to face the possible full-scale Japanese invasion of China.

When the Sino-Japanese war did break out in July 1937, Chang Fa-k'uei was assigned to command the Eighth Army Group and was given responsibility for the Shanghai-Woosung sector. He established his headquarters on an island situated across the Whangpoo River from the city of Shanghai and engaged the Japanese in battle for about three months. When the Chinese forces abandoned the Shanghai area, Chang moved his troops to Kiangsi. In the campaign to defend the outer perimeter of the Wuhan area in 1938, he commanded the Second Army Group.

After the fall of Wuhan and Canton to the Japanese, Chang Fa-k'uei was named in 1939 to command the Fourth War Area, with headquarters at Chüchiang (Shaokwan), the wartime capital of Kwangtung. He continued to hold that command until 1945. Late in 1939 he engaged the Japanese in a sharp battle in northern Kwangtung and won. In 1940 he moved his headquarters to Liuchow in southern Kwangsi. Toward the end of that year, he recaptured Nanning and Lungchow in Kwangsi and the Fangch'eng and Yinchor districts of southern Kwangtung. The situation in south China remained relatively stable during the war years until 1944, when the Japanese launched another offensive. In October 1944, the Japanese advanced into Kwangsi. In early November, Chang Fa-k'uei's forces gave up both Kweilin and Liuchow with little resistance and withdrew to western Kwangsi. They reached the Poseh district with most of their equipment lost and with their supply and medical services in a state of chaos.

One of the first tasks undertaken by General Albert C. Wedemeyer, who took over command of the United States forces in China from General Joseph W. Stilwell in October 1944, was the relief, re-equipment, and training of Chang Fa-k'uei's battered forces. Under the new Sino-American military cooperation program, Chang Fa-k'uei became commander of the Second Army Group. By May 1945, when the Japanese began their withdrawal from south China, that force comprised four armies, including the New First Army, which had been trained and equipped by the Americans. With the Japanese retreat, a diversionary attack into

Indo-China was planned for July 1945, and Chang Fa-k'uei was assigned the mission of occupying Kwang-chou-wan, or Fort Bayard. On 26 May his forces recovered Nanning from a small Japanese rear guard unit. The Forty-sixth and Sixty-fourth armies followed the withdrawing Japanese. After the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan and the Japanese offer to surrender, the United States War Department on 12 August rescinded the order for the drive on Kwang-chou-wan.

One incongruous aspect of Chang Fa-k'uei's wartime role which was destined to have lasting political significance was his part in stimulating and sponsoring the alliance between the Vietnamese nationalists and the Communists. In the spring of 1941 a group of Vietnamese nationalists, meeting at a small town in southern Kwangsi near the Indo-China border, organized a Vietnamese League for Revolution and Independence, colloquially labeled the Viet Minh. The objective of the Viet Minh, which represented an alliance of Vietnamese Communists and various non-Communist groups, was to develop a resistance movement against the Japanese in Indo-China. Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh), a veteran Communist, was a leading figure in the league, and the radical nature of its propaganda and political activities conducted on Chinese soil led Chang Fa-k'uei to arrest Ho Chi Minh and to jail him from August 1942 until September 1943.

Encouraging resistance to the Japanese, however, was in the Chinese interest. On the urging of Nguyen Hai Than, a Vietnamese nationalist who had ties with the Kuomintang, Chang Fa-k'uei and the Chinese Nationalist authorities at Chungking agreed to sponsor the cause of the Vietnamese exiles. In the summer of 1942 the Vietnamese in Kwangsi were organized into a special training group near Liuchow, where the Fourth War Area cadre training corps was based, under the jurisdiction of Chang Fa-k'uei. A new meeting, held at Liuchow in October 1942 under Chang's auspices, led to the formation of the Vietnamese Revolutionary League, the Dong Minh Hoi. The Chinese placed Nguyen Hai Than at the head of the new organization and appointed Chang Fa-k'uei to a supervisory role as director.

The Dong Minh Hoi, however, proved ineffectual in intelligence work in Indo-China, which was one of the main tasks Chungking

had envisaged for it. After reappraisal of the situation, the Chinese Nationalists concluded that the Vietnamese Communists might be more useful allies and that the Indochinese Communist party could be maneuvered and controlled. Chang Fa-k'uei therefore released Ho Chi Minh from prison in September 1943. The Viet Minh then joined the Dong Minh Hoi, and the quality of intelligence work improved notably. The Vietnamese factions in China continued to bicker among themselves, however. At the same time, the Free French military mission at Kunming was increasingly concerned by the obvious anti-colonial potential represented by the Viet Minh movement. At the end of March 1944 another conference, held at Liuchow under Chinese auspices, established a so-called provisional republican government of Viet Nam, with Ho Chi Minh at its head. Chang Fa-k'uei still felt that he could control the new organization, and Chungking still believed that the arrangement would enable Chinese influence to replace the former French authority in Indo-China.

Chang Fa-k'uei's armies, however, were battered by the impact of the Japanese offensive of late 1944. In October 1944 Ho Chi Minh named his lieutenant Vo Nguyen Giap to head a Vietnamese guerrilla force which was established in Tonkin on 22 December 1944. Chang Fa-k'uei may have been aware of the true character of the Viet Minh movement, but he reportedly did not inform the National Government authorities at Chungking that Ho Chi Minh was the same man as the well-known Communist Nguyen Ai Quoc. In any event, Chang apparently assumed that Nationalist rule would continue in China after the war and that, after the removal of both Japanese and French authority from Indo-China, the prosperous, mineral-rich Tonkin area would be brought under Chinese influence. As a result of Chinese Nationalist assumptions and policies, it was the Viet Minh organization which created the first effective anti-Japanese forces in Viet Nam, spread its propaganda among the indigenous population, and received credit for anti-Japanese activities there during the war. The Viet Minh seized power at Hanoi in August 1945 and confronted the Allied forces with a *fait accompli*. The organization then went on to defeat postwar French efforts to reestablish colonial rule in the area.

In 1945 Chang Fa-k'uei was appointed commander in chief of the new Second Front Army and assigned the mission of moving down the West River to occupy Canton. That move was accomplished in September 1945, and Chang received the formal surrender of the Japanese forces in the Canton area. He was then appointed director of the Generalissimo's headquarters at Canton and he held that post during the postwar period until early 1949, when he served briefly as commander in chief of Chinese land forces. In June 1949, however, he retired to take up residence in Hong Kong, where he had already gained the respect and goodwill of the local British authorities, many of whom had worked with him in south China during the Japanese war.

Early in 1950, after the Chinese Communists had gained control of the mainland and Chiang Kai-shek and his associates had moved to Taiwan, Chang Fa-k'uei was often identified as a leader of the so-called third force movement in Hong Kong. That movement, however, proved to be short-lived. At the same time Li Tsung-jen, who had left for the United States, announced that he intended to continue to exercise authority as acting President of the Republic of China and appointed Chang Fa-k'uei to command the land forces. Chang at once issued a statement rejecting the appointment.

After his brief and unfortunate venture with the third force movement, Chang Fa-k'uei consistently affirmed his continued loyalty to the government on Taiwan and his resolute opposition to the Communists. In 1960, however, when the presidential election was about to be held in Taiwan, Chang Fa-k'uei joined other Chinese public figures, including a Young China party leader, Tso Shun-sheng, in issuing a statement from Hong Kong opposing a third term for Chiang Kai-shek. Since the Hong Kong group was merely voicing support of the 1947 constitution, which does not permit a third presidential term, that statement did not imply that Chang was opposed to the Kuomintang or to Chiang Kai-shek personally.

In the autumn of 1960 Chang Fa-k'uei visited the United States, where he was given an enthusiastic reception by the Chinese community in New York and in other parts of the country. At the time he was president of the Tsung Tsin Association of Hong Kong, the society for the Hakka people of Kwangtung.

At a banquet given in his honor on 10 October 1960 by the Tsung Tsin Association of New York, he delivered a stirring speech in which he called upon all overseas Chinese to support Taiwan and expressed his confidence that the campaign against the Communists on the mainland would eventually succeed. The address greatly impressed his audience. Two weeks later, representatives of the Chinese community in New York entertained Chang at another banquet, where he repeated these views. In spite of periodic reports that Chang Fa-k'uei would accept a high government post in Taipei, he continued to reside in Hong Kong and did not visit Taiwan.

Chang Fa-k'uei was generally regarded as one of the most capable army officers associated with the Chinese Nationalist cause and was known for his victories on the Northern Expedition and for his emphasis on military discipline. Although in the late 1920's his army included a significant number of Communists, he himself consistently avoided identification with that party. During the early stages of his career, he looked upon Teng K'eng as his military mentor. In later years, Chang was associated with Wang Ching-wei and the reorganizationist group in the Kuomintang, and his opposition to Chiang Kai-shek stemmed principally from that connection. During the Japanese war, Chang had no contact with Wang Ching-wei after Wang moved to Nanking to work with the Japanese. After the Communist victory on the mainland, Chang Fa-k'uei, aside from the ill-advised third force movement in the early 1950's, attempted to avoid politics.

Chang Hsueh-liang

T. Han-ch'ing

張學良

漢卿

Chang Hsueh-liang (1898-), known as the Young Marshal, was the son of Chang Tso-lin (q.v.), from whom he inherited control of Manchuria in 1928. In 1936, Chang Hsueh-liang detained Chiang Kai-shek at Sian in an attempt to persuade the National Government to form a united front with the Chinese Communists against Japan. Chang was imprisoned and later was granted amnesty. However, he remained under Chiang's surveillance even after the government moved to Taiwan.

Born in Haich'eng, Liaoning, Chang Hsueh-liang was the eldest son of Chang Tso-lin. Chang Hsueh-liang was prepared for a military career, and after graduation from the Fengtien Military Academy he began service in his father's army at the age of 19. In 1919 he was promoted to the rank of colonel and was made commander of his father's bodyguard. The next year he became aide-de-camp to Hsu Shih-ch'ang (q.v.), a former governor general of Manchuria who held the presidency at Peking.

At the time of the Anhwei-Chihli war of 1920, Chang was given command of the 3rd Mixed Brigade of the Fengtien forces, which participated in sporadic fighting in north China. In November 1920 the Peking government promoted him to brigadier general. In 1921 Chang Hsueh-liang went to Japan to observe the Japanese military maneuvers in the autumn. On his return he proposed reforms in the Fengtien Army, and his recommendations were followed. Chang played an active role in the first Fengtien-Chihli war of 1922, and at the end of that conflict he was made commander of the Fengtien Second Army and, concurrently, director of the Fengtien Military Academy.

During the second Fengtien-Chihli war in 1924, Chang commanded the Fengtien First Army and distinguished himself in the fighting at the Great Wall. After the victory of the Fengtien forces, Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.) returned to a position of authority in Peking as chief executive. In 1925 Tuan designated the youthful Chang Hsueh-liang to assist in the rehabilitation of political affairs in the lower Yangtze region, and Chang reached Shanghai in mid-June at the head of 2,000 Fengtien troops for the nominal purpose of maintaining peace following the May Thirtieth Incident, when British policemen had fired on Chinese. Chang's movement, however, violated the truce agreement of February 1925 that had ended the Kiangsu-Chekiang war, and Sun Ch'u-an-fang (q.v.) embarked upon counter-measures. Chang Hsueh-liang withdrew to Peking, where he became director of the Peking War College. He remained in nominal command of one of the Fengtien armies, although actual field command was exercised by his favorite officer, Kuo Sung-ling (q.v.).

Kuo Sung-ling, in concert with Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.), led a revolt against Chang Tso-lin's power in November and December 1925.

That revolt failed, but it came dangerously close to toppling Chang Tso-lin's authority. The Old Marshal was furious with his son and apparently was only dissuaded from having him executed by the entreaties of veteran associates, including Chang Tso-hsiang. Though Chang Hsueh-liang did continue to exercise command responsibilities, he nevertheless remained in semi-disgrace in his father's eyes. In the spring of 1926, Chang Hsueh-liang was assigned to command the Third Army in the military operations undertaken by the combined forces of Chang Tso-lin and Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.) against Feng Yü-hsiang's Kuominchün. When the northern generals organized the Ankuochün [national pacification army] in December 1926 to confront the forces of the National Revolutionary Army moving up from south China, Chang Tso-lin became its commander in chief. Chang Hsueh-liang was given command of some of the Ankuochün troops, and he served in the field against the Nationalists after the launching of the final stage of the Northern Expedition in April 1928.

After the defeat of the Ankuochün and the violent death of his father on 4 June 1928, Chang Hsueh-liang's career took a major turn. Still with the armies in Chihli, he was at first unaware of his father's death, which was kept secret for over two weeks. After the defeat of the Shantung-Chihli forces commanded by Chang Tsung-ch'ang (q.v.) and Ch'u Yü-p'u and after their retreat toward Shanhaikuan in the wake of the Fengtien troops, Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Yü-t'ing met at Luanchow to discuss the situation. It was decided that Chang should go to Mukden and that Yang should remain inside the Great Wall to supervise the withdrawal of the Manchurian forces. Chang arrived in Mukden on 17 June 1928; the death of Chang Tso-lin was announced on 21 June.

The Northeastern leaders were faced with the necessity of choosing a successor to exercise the regional power that the Old Marshal had held in Manchuria. The leading candidates were Chang Tso-hsiang and Yang Yü-t'ing (q.v.). Chang Tso-hsiang was then the governor of Kirin province; Yang Yü-t'ing had been Chang Tso-lin's chief of staff. Chang Hsueh-liang at first urged Chang Tso-hsiang to become commander in chief of the Manchurian forces. Chang Tso-hsiang refused and pledged his personal support to Chang Hsueh-liang. On

4 July 1928, Chang Hsueh-liang assumed the post of commander in chief of the Northeast Peace Preservation Forces and the concurrent post of chancellor of Northeastern University at Mukden. The rule of the Young Marshal had begun. However, he generally was viewed as an ineffectual young man who was addicted to drugs.

All the Manchurian forces in north China had been withdrawn into the Northeast by mid-July of 1928. Chang Hsueh-liang's position in Manchuria, however, still was precarious. When he succeeded to power, at a time when it was still not known that the Japanese had been responsible for his father's murder, Chang was confronted at once with the problems of determining Manchuria's future relationship with Japan and with the new National Government of China at Nanking. At the same time, he had to counter the moves of possible rivals for power in the area.

The Japanese consul general at Mukden, Hayashi Hisajiro, played an important role in the initial Japanese contacts with Chang Hsueh-liang in the summer of 1928. At the end of June, the Young Marshal, after conferences with his advisers, decided to follow a policy of friendship toward Japan. However, public sentiment favored agreement between Mukden and the victorious Nationalists; and the Kuomintang authorities at Nanking sent emissaries to Manchuria to work out a political accord. Chang Hsueh-liang negotiated with Nanking's representatives on the basis of conditions which would have left him in power in Manchuria as head of a Northeastern political council and would have incorporated Jehol province into his domain in exchange for his public declaration of allegiance to the new National Government. Agreement on that basis was said to have been reached, and the Nationalist flag was scheduled to be raised over Manchuria on 22 July 1928.

On 19 July, however, Nanking informed the Japanese government that its 1896 and 1903 treaties had expired and that Chinese law and regulations would thereafter govern Japanese subjects residing in China. The Japanese rejected that *démarche*. At Mukden, Hayashi warned Chang Hsueh-liang against the projected alignment with Nanking, and shortly afterwards Premier Tanaka elaborated on the warning. Through Baron Hayashi Gonsuke,

who visited Manchuria ostensibly to attend the funeral of Chang Tso-lin as Tanaka's personal representative, Tanaka sent a message indicating that Japan opposed the union of Manchuria and China proper, and that Japan would provide Chang Hsueh-liang with advisers and other assistance if he would devote himself to the development of Manchuria—that is, if he would maintain Manchuria's autonomy. Baron Hayashi delivered the message on 6 August 1928.

At a conference in Mukden four days later it was decided that the negotiations with Nanking, which had been suspended in late July, should not be resumed for a period of three months. Chang Hsueh-liang nevertheless sent a delegation in mid-August to Nanking and Shanghai for further talks with the Nationalists.

In early October 1928, Premier Tanaka learned definitely that elements of the Japanese Kwantung Army had been responsible for the death of Chang Tso-lin. By that time Chang Hsueh-liang presumably had developed strong suspicions about the affair. Although he had not acknowledged the legitimacy of the National Government when it was formally inaugurated at Nanking on 10 October 1928, Nanking appointed him a member of the State Council and chairman of the Northeast Political Council. Also, Jehol province was allocated formally to the jurisdiction of Mukden.

On 29 December 1928, Chang Hsueh-liang pledged the allegiance of Manchuria to the National Government and raised the Nationalist flag at Mukden. On 20 December, Nanking confirmed all senior officials of Chang's regional government. The Japanese government issued a new warning, but took no other action. The Japanese apparently had thought of attempting to exercise control over Chang Hsueh-liang through Yang Yü-t'ing. Yang on several occasions had acted in evident contempt of the authority of Chang Hsueh-liang, whom he viewed as a political upstart and a weakling, and had conducted negotiations without Chang's foreknowledge. Chang, however, had learned the lesson of the Kuo Sung-ling rebellion against his father and was aware of the political penalties that could accompany excessive trustfulness. He invited Yang Yü-t'ing and his close associate Ch'ang Yin-huai, director of railways in the Northeast, to a banquet on 10 January

1929 at which he had them shot. Chang Hsueh-liang's personal control over Manchuria thus was established. Through Chang, the authority of the National Government of China was extended to Manchuria, and Nanking designated Chang commander in chief of the Northeastern Border Defense Army.

In the years that followed, the Young Marshal was much influenced by an Australian adviser, William H. Donald, who became associated with Chang in December 1928. Another influential adviser was V. K. Wellington Koo (Ku Wei-chün, q.v.), who had been close to the Old Marshal. Koo arrived in Mukden in 1929 and entered the Young Marshal's service. Chang Hsueh-liang, like his father before him, also made use of the services of a number of Japanese advisers. In most cases it is impossible to distinguish between the advisers' influence and Chang's own judgments with respect to policy, but there can be no doubt of the importance of his staff of advisers.

Chang Tso-lin in 1926 and 1927 had undertaken anti-Soviet actions in Manchuria and Peking. The Nationalists in December of 1927 had broken off Sino-Soviet relations in the territory under their control. In 1929, Nanking and Mukden consorted in new moves against the Soviet position in Manchuria. That operation began in May with a police raid on the Soviet consulate general at Harbin and with the arrest of several Chinese found there. On 10 July the Northeastern authorities seized the Chinese Eastern Railway and ousted Soviet citizens from their administrative posts. The Soviet government at once demanded restoration of the *status quo ante* and began a series of threatening moves. When the Chinese authorities continued to procrastinate—and retained control of the railway—Soviet armed forces went into action in mid-November. Nanking then suggested to Chang Hsueh-liang that he seek peace. The resulting Khabarovsk Protocol of 22 December provided for restoration of the *status quo ante*.

That situation probably influenced Chang's behavior with respect to the National Government's next predicament. For some time, an involved political contest had been developing in north China between Yen Hsi-shan and Feng Yü-hsiang on one side and Chiang Kai-shek on the other. As the struggle developed, the Yen-Feng side secured the military support of Li

Tsung-jen (q.v.) and the political support of Wang Ching-wei. By June 1930 the matter had reached a critical stage. Since Chang Hsueh-liang held the key to the situation, both sides sued for his support. Nanking sent a political delegation to attempt to enlist his aid and on 21 June named him deputy commander in chief of the military forces of China. Chang Hsueh-liang, however, refused to commit himself or to take up Nanking's appointment. In August 1930 the north China rebels included Chang Hsueh-liang among the officials of their proposed new government. Chang publicly denied that he had encouraged formation of that government and stated that his name had been used without authorization. As the military struggle developed, it became evident that the situation could only be saved for the north China combination through the Young Marshal's intervention on its behalf. Since the tide of battle was running strongly against the rebels by that time, Chang remained aloof, and the coalition collapsed.

On 18 September 1930, Chang Hsueh-liang attempted to capitalize on his politically discreet conduct by issuing a public message calling for the cessation of all military operations. He at once moved some 100,000 of his own troops from the Northeast into the Tientsin-Peiping area, without incident and seemingly by prior arrangement with the local generals of north China. He then proceeded to remove the provincial capital of Hopei from Peiping to Tientsin and to take control of the northern sections of the Peiping-Hankow and the Tientsin-Pukow railroads. While restoring the nominal authority of the National Government over the Tientsin customs, he actually arranged that the customs surplus be paid to him. If Chang Hsueh-liang had refrained from helping to install at Peiping a challenger to Nanking, it appeared that he had successfully excluded Nanking's power from that region.

The Northeastern Border Defense Army under Chang Hsueh-liang numbered over 400,000 men. In September 1930 the National Government, with due regard for political realities, again appointed Chang deputy commander in chief of the national armed forces of China. On 9 October, in an impressive ceremony—held, significantly, at Mukden—Chang Hsueh-liang assumed his new post. Chang appeared at the fourth plenary session

of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, which was held in Nanking in November 1930. Although not a member, he was "especially" invited to participate in the meeting. The area of agreement between Chang and Chiang Kai-shek was further enlarged, and Chang became a member of the Central Political Council of the Kuomintang. He reciprocated by helping to suppress a revolt against Nanking's authority led by Shih Yu-san on the southern fringe of Chang's north China domain.

Disregarding Tokyo's early warnings and ignoring the underlying significance of the Soviet Union's military intervention of 1929, Chang Hsueh-liang, buttressed by Nanking, continued his father's war of attrition against the Japanese position in Manchuria. In mid-January 1929 the Japanese had taken up with Chang the problem of implementing a railway agreement reached with Chang Tso-lin in May 1928. When Chang Hsueh-liang referred the matter to Nanking, Chiang Kai-shek instructed him to disregard the Japanese railway proposals. Chang then adopted as his regular tactic, when approached by the Japanese regarding outstanding issues, the excuse that he had to refer the problem to Nanking; and Nanking, as regularly, when the Japanese endeavored to take up those issues in the capital, responded by saying that the Japanese would have to arrange matters locally first. At the same time, the Chinese pushed forward with a project for the construction, by a Dutch company, of a new port at Hulutao in southern Manchuria to rival the Japanese-controlled port of Dairen. And a campaign was launched in Manchuria for the recovery of the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway.

The responsible Chinese authorities followed similar tactics of shifting responsibility and procrastination in the so-called Nakamura case, which involved the execution as spies of a Japanese staff officer and three companions by the Chinese military authorities in June 1931. The killings, which were kept secret for a time, were followed by the Wanpaoshan Incident, which gave rise to an anti-Chinese movement in Korea. The Chinese then launched a boycott of Japanese goods. The Japanese government finally made a public issue of the Nakamura case in August 1931 and showed evidence of extracting maximum political gains from it.

Chang Hsueh-liang for some time was distracted from problems of state by the demands of his social life at Peiping, where he was known as one of the more active members of the international set. One of his most intimate companions at the time was the Countess Edda Ciano, daughter of Benito Mussolini and wife of the Italian minister to China. Chang, after his life of pleasure at Peiping and at the north China seaside resort of Peitaiho was interrupted by a bout of typhoid fever, suddenly recovered and finally recognized the grave consequences of further temporizing in face of the threat posed by the Japanese Kwantung Army. He instructed the Liaoning provincial authorities to conduct a new investigation of the Nakamura case and sent a Japanese adviser to Tokyo to assure the Japanese government authorities that he desired an amicable settlement of the affair.

The National Government at Nanking announced on 14 September that it intended to appeal the Nakamura case to the League of Nations, and on the following day it charged that Japan was responsible for the Wanpaoshan Incident and for all subsequent developments in the relations between China and Japan. Nanking's brash pronouncements only complicated the situation, and the activist staff officers of the Kwantung Army advanced their plans for a coup in Manchuria. On 18 September 1931, the Kwantung Army began the occupation of Manchuria with the Mukden Incident.

At the time a large contingent of Chang Hsueh-liang's Northeast Border Defense Army was stationed in north China, while other units were at Chinchor, near the Great Wall. Yet, a large number of the Young Marshal's Manchurian troops were in Manchuria, in position to resist the numerically inferior Japanese forces. Chinese strategy in the situation was determined by Nanking, however, not by local commanders. Chang was instructed by Chiang Kai-shek to follow a plan of non-resistance and withdrawal before the advancing Japanese forces, and Chiang announced that China had entrusted its case to the League of Nations. Thus, the Chinese defense of Manchuria was little more than a token effort. Some of the Northeastern units were shattered; others surrendered to the Japanese; a few retreated into Soviet territory; and the remainder withdrew into north China. General Honjo, the

commander of the Kwantung Army, who knew Chang Hsueh-liang personally, had the contents of Chang's Mukden residence carefully crated and shipped to Peiping at Japanese expense.

Chang Hsueh-liang emerged from the Manchurian disaster with his reputation badly damaged, and Nanking's propaganda machinery did nothing to remove the blame from his shoulders. He lost his position as deputy commander in chief of the Chinese armed forces in November 1931, and in December he was removed from the State Council. He was assigned to be peace preservation commander in north China and was made a member of the North China Political Council, however. The Young Marshal's position deteriorated further after the establishment of the Japanese-sponsored state of Manchoukuo in March 1932. On 15 August, Nanking accepted Chang's resignation from the peace preservation post in north China and assigned him to new positions at Peiping. These could hardly compensate the Young Marshal for the loss of his homeland; and they did nothing to restore his position in Chinese political and military life. In fact, when the Japanese invaded Jehol in February 1933 and pressed on toward Inner Mongolia, Chang Hsueh-liang was the chief target of public criticism despite the fact that the National Government authorities at Nanking had sent neither troops nor planes to help stop the Japanese. Under heavy pressure, Chang handed over control of his remaining troops to Chiang Kai-shek at Paoting in March 1933. Chang then was appointed to membership on the executive committee of the Central Military Academy, a position designed to keep him at Nanking under the eye of Chiang Kai-shek.

The Young Marshal, however, opted for another course frequently taken by defeated Chinese leaders—the trip abroad. Since 1926 Chang had been addicted to drugs: first to opium, then to a morphine derivative, Pavemal. Under strong pressure from W. H. Donald, he finally entered a Shanghai hospital, where he was cured. In April 1933, accompanied by a not inconsiderable personal entourage, he sailed from China for Europe aboard the Italian liner Conti Rossi. The party was composed of Chang's wife, a secretary known as Miss Chao, four children, W. H. Donald, Chang's American adviser James Elder, and a group of personal nurses and servants. Chang spent several

months in Europe, where he found much of interest in both Italy and Germany. When he returned to China in January 1934, he was much improved in health and was strongly nationalistic in outlook.

Chiang Kai-shek still adhered to the view that the consolidation of effective control over China must be accomplished before China could resist foreign invaders. He therefore was pressing the military campaigns against the Communists that he had begun in 1930. In February 1934, Chang Hsueh-liang was assigned as deputy commander in chief of anti-Communist operations in Honan, Hupeh, and Anhwei, with headquarters at Hankow. In December, W. H. Donald, who had served Chang for six years, left his service to join the personal staff of Chiang Kai-shek. In May 1935, Tokyo presented Nanking with a set of far-reaching demands regarding north China, and Chiang Kai-shek again capitulated to the Japanese. One consequence of his action was that the Northeastern troops formerly under the Young Marshal's command were moved from north China to northwest China. Chang was then made deputy commander in chief of operations against the Communists in the northwest, with his headquarters at Sian. There he was subordinate to Chiang Ting-wen (q.v.), a trusted associate of Chiang Kai-shek.

In campaigning against the Communist forces in Shensi in the autumn of 1935, Chang's forces lost two divisions. The Manchurian troops clearly had little desire to fight other Chinese while their home region remained under Japanese occupation. In June 1936, Chang met with the Communist leader Chou En-lai, who apparently convinced him of the practicability of the Communist proposals for a united front against the Japanese. The two sides reached a secret arrangement, and military action, tacitly held in abeyance since the spring of 1936, was effectively halted. Regular liaison was established, with the assignment in August of a so-called unofficial Communist representative to Chang's staff. The Chinese Communists and Chang agreed to give prior notification to each other of any moves; and by their joint efforts a network of branches of the National Salvation League was organized in northwest China.

Chang Hsueh-liang's deviation from Chiang Kai-shek's policy did not go unnoticed in

Nanking, but it is evident that Chiang was not aware of the full extent of Chang's commitment to the united front. Chiang still planned to annihilate the Communist forces in the northwest through a new military campaign, making use of Northeastern troops. That maneuver would weaken both the Communists and the unreliable Northeastern faction, while Chiang Kai-shek's position would be strengthened. Chiang visited Sian at the end of October 1936, as the Japanese were thrusting into Suiyuan, to discuss the impending campaign. Chang Hsueh-liang on that occasion argued for the cessation of the civil war and for the formation of a united front against Japan. Chiang brusquely rejected his views and returned to his field headquarters at Loyang. A later visit by Chang Hsueh-liang to Loyang brought him only a harsh reprimand. Chiang Kai-shek returned to Sian on 4 December 1936 and announced that the general offensive against the Communists would begin on 12 December. Chang Hsueh-liang and his colleague Yang Hu-ch'eng (q.v.), the pacification commissioner of Shensi province, endeavored again to argue the matter, but without avail. In fact, it appears that Chiang Kai-shek announced that Chiang Ting-wen would exercise supreme command in the campaign and that the so-called rebellious units of the Northeastern forces would be transferred to south China for reorganization.

After Chang, Yang, and the Northeastern commanders conferred, on 12 December 1936 the rebels arrested Chiang Kai-shek and confronted him with eight demands. The chief purport of the demands was that the civil war with the Communists should be terminated in favor of a national united front against the Japanese and that the National Government at Nanking should be reorganized. On 14 December an announcement from Sian stated that a United Anti-Japanese Army—composed of the Northeastern, northwestern, and Communist forces—had been formed. Some of the rebels argued that Chiang Kai-shek should be shot. Chang Hsueh-liang acted as a moderating influence and attempted to negotiate with Chiang for acceptance of the rebel program. The negotiations assumed a new form on 15 December with the arrival at Sian of a Chinese Communist delegation, headed by Chou En-lai, Yeh Chien-ying, and Ch'in

Pang-hsien, which was armed with the information that Moscow favored the preservation of Chiang Kai-shek as the national leader of China. From the Nanking side, W. H. Donald flew into Sian on 14 December. T. V. Soong arrived on 20 December, and Madame Chiang Kai-shek arrived two days later. In the end Chiang accepted the essential points of the rebel demands—though he did not put his acceptance in writing—and he was released on Christmas Day 1936. The Young Marshal quixotically accompanied his erstwhile prisoner back to Nanking. The party boarded the plane and flew first to Loyang, where Chiang Kai-shek issued a face-saving telegram of admonition to Yang Hu-ch'eng and to the man then in his company, Chang Hsueh-liang.

At Nanking, Chang Hsueh-liang was tried by a military court. On 31 December 1936 he was sentenced to ten years imprisonment and the loss of civil rights. He was granted amnesty on 4 January 1937, with the proviso that he be turned over to the National Military Council for "stringent supervision." The chairman of that body was Chiang Kai-shek. In March 1937 a delegation of representatives of the Northeastern armies saw Chang Hsueh-liang at Ch'ik'ou, Chiang Kai-shek's native village in Chekiang, and met with T. V. Soong, Ho Ying-ch'in, Ch'en Ch'eng, and Chiang himself in an attempt to gain the Young Marshal's freedom. The attempt was unsuccessful. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, Chang Hsueh-liang was removed in advance of the Japanese invaders to Anhwei, Kiangsi, Hunan, and finally Kweichow, where he was detained for the remainder of the war period. After the Japanese surrender, there was speculation in China that the Young Marshal might be released to be employed in connection with the Nationalist attempt to consolidate control over Manchuria. No such development occurred. When Li Tsung-jen became acting President of China in January 1949, one of his first official acts was to order the release of Chang Hsueh-liang.

By that time, however, the Young Marshal already had been moved to Taiwan, where he remained in detention. He first resided near Hsinchu, but later was moved to Keelung. About 1956 he was moved to the hot-springs resort of Peitou, some eight miles from Taipei. During his long captivity Chang reportedly made a special study of the history of the Ming

period. Few people visited him, although Mo Te-hui (q.v.), the veteran Manchurian political leader, occasionally called on him. Chang Hsueh-liang also became a Christian and attended church services in a small chapel near Taipei. On 1 September 1961 an official statement from Taiwan announced that the Young Marshal, who was described as living in retirement in the suburbs of Taipei, had been given his freedom. At the same time he received a visit from his eldest daughter, Chang Min-ying, and her husband, Dr. T'ao P'eng-fei, who had arrived in Taiwan from the United States. It was evident, however, that the Young Marshal was still not free to leave Taiwan and that he remained under the surveillance of Chiang Kai-shek. It was also apparent that he was not free to release a full and independent version of the critical political developments of the pre-1937 period in China in which he had played a major role.

Chang Hsueh-liang's first wife, Yü Feng-chih, and their children resided in the United States during Chang's years of imprisonment. His constant companion, who remained with him throughout his detention, was Miss Chao. She bore him one son, Chang Lü. On 4 July 1964 Chang and Miss Chao were married in Taiwan in a Christian ceremony performed by an American missionary. The wedding was attended by Chang Ch'un and a dozen other guests. Yü Feng-chih, who then resided in southern California, stated that she was so moved by Miss Chao's devotion to Chang Hsueh-liang that she had released Chang from their marriage bonds.

Chang Hsün

T. Shao-hsüan
H. Sung-shou

張勳

少軒
松壽

Chang Hsün (14 December 1854–September 1923), military leader, is best known for his unsuccessful attempt to restore the Manchu dynasty in 1917.

The family into which Chang Hsün was born had lived for generations in a small village near the district-city of Fenghsin, west of Nanchang in Kiangsi province. Already poor, the family suffered further privations during the Taiping wars when insurgent forces overran its native district in 1861. By the time Chang was ten

years old he had lost both parents and was left to fend for himself. For several years thereafter details of his life are obscure. He was reported to have made his living at one time as a servant boy and, subsequently, to have traveled to Fukien and then to Hunan. In 1884, when the Sino-French war broke out in Annam, Chang Hsün was in Changsha. Entering military service under the governor of Human, P'an Ting-hsin (d. 1888; T. Ch'in-hsuan), he went as a member of P'an's forces to the Kwangsi-Annam border and during 1884–85 took part in several engagements against the French, including the siege and capture of Langson (Liang-shan). Chang's conduct in these engagements won recognition from his superiors, who promoted him to the rank of major. For several years after the war he continued to serve on the Kwangsi frontier under the provincial commander in chief, Su Yuan-ch'un (d. 1908), rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel. At that time Chang established a lifelong friendship with another of Su's officers, Lu Jung-t'ing (q.v.), who was to become a prominent military figure in south China during the early part of the republican period. Although little is known of Chang's life during these years, there is a colorful story that while in Kwangsi he was sent by Su Yuan-ch'un with a large sum of money to purchase military supplies in Shanghai, where he promptly squandered the money in brothels and taverns. On being advised by his friends to run away, Chang protested that such conduct would not be manly and decided to return to Kwangsi, where he begged Su to give him the deserved punishment. Feigning anger, Su sentenced him to death, but secretly had him released from prison and sent off with letters of recommendation. While of undetermined reliability, this story may well account for Chang's departure from Kwangsi and his search for a career far away in north China.

In any case, Chang went north and in 1894 joined the so-called Resolute Army under general Sung Ch'ing (1820–1902; ECCP, II, 686–88). Arriving in Mukden two months after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, Chang took command of a cavalry unit and participated in the hostilities. At the conclusion of the war he went to Tientsin, where he made the acquaintance of Yuan Shih-k'ai. Yuan, who had just been assigned the task of building a modernized military organization, engaged him as one

of his officers to help train the so-called Newly Created Army, then stationed at his military headquarters at Hsiao-chan. In the years that followed Chang Hsün became one of Yuan's senior military officers. He accompanied Yuan to Shantung when Yuan was appointed governor of that province late in 1899 and, two years later, was transferred to Paoting when Yuan became governor general of Chihli (Hopei) province. During the Boxer Uprising of 1900, Chang took part in the military operations against the rebels.

In December 1901, after order had been restored in the metropolitan province, he commanded the troops sent to Tz'u-chow, on the Chihli border, to serve as military escort to the empress dowager, the emperor, and the imperial entourage on the final stage of their journey from Sian back to Peking. At that time he won the special favor of the empress dowager, a fact that may have contributed to his unwavering allegiance to the Manchu dynasty even after its abdication in 1912.

After the imperial party reached Peking, Chang Hsün was granted special honors by the throne, including an appointment to serve with his unit as part of the imperial guard corps stationed at the south gate of the capital. In 1903 he was sent beyond the Great Wall to put down the bandits that infested the Chahar-Shansi border region. In the two years that followed, during the Russo-Japanese war, he remained with his troops in the vicinity of Kalgan to guard the Inner Mongolian pasture lands from armed forays by Russian raiders. In 1906, after the conclusion of hostilities between Russia and Japan in Manchuria, Chang was transferred to Mukden as commander of the military forces in northern Fengtien. Two years later he was promoted to the post of *t'i-tu* [provincial commander in chief] of Yunnan, then transferred to a similar post in Kansu. In neither case, however, did Chang take up these posts: he was given special orders to continue his duties in Manchuria. In 1910 he was transferred to Pukow on the Yangtze as commander of the defense forces in that region. In the summer of 1911 he became military commander in chief of Kiangnan (Kiangsu and Anhwei) with headquarters in Nanking.

Soon after this appointment the revolt of 10 October took place at Wuchang. The revolutionary forces quickly seized the Wuhan cities,

Shanghai, and Soochow, and combined to advance upon Nanking. Chang Hsün meanwhile had assumed command of the imperial armies defending Nanking. After stubborn resistance to the superior numbers of the revolutionaries, he abandoned the city on 12 December 1911. Crossing the Yangtze with the remainder of his troops, he withdrew along the Tientsin-Pukow railway as far north as Yenchow (Tz'u-yang) in Shantung province. After the fall of Nanking the embattled Manchu court appointed Chang to the post of governor of Kiangsu and shortly thereafter to the positions of governor general of Liang-Kiang and high commissioner of military and foreign affairs in southern China. Within a few months, however, the Manchu dynasty came to an end, and a republican government was inaugurated in Peking.

Under the new president, Yuan Shih-k'ai, Chang Hsün was given the rank of general in the Chinese army. As a protégé of Yuan, Chang was obligated to his former patron and benefactor. His primary allegiance, however, remained with the deposed imperial house. Thus while he agreed not to oppose Yuan as president of the new republic, he insisted that the imperial family be accorded full privileges under the Articles of Favorable Treatment stipulated in the abdication agreement. Throughout Yuan's presidency he continued to defend the interests of the fallen dynasty. As a sign of his personal loyalty he not only retained his own queue but also ordered the troops under his command to do so, thus earning for himself the popular epithet of *pien-tzu chiang-chün* [the pigtail general]. As self-appointed protector of China's traditional political institutions, he vigorously opposed efforts to abolish the official cult of Confucius, and on one occasion dispatched troops from his base at Yenchow to nearby Ch'ü-fu to preserve the buildings and property of the Confucian temple there from the depredations of the local populace.

To consolidate power over the entire country, Yuan Shih-k'ai gradually strengthened the military units under his subordinates. As a result of this policy Chang Hsün, with increased funds and munitions at his disposal, was able to expand the military forces under his command. With the outbreak of the so-called second revolution in the summer of 1913, Chang was assigned to the Second Peiyang Army, under the over-all command of Feng Kuo-chang (q.v.),

and was ordered to attack the Kuomintang forces defending Nanking. In August he moved down along the Tientsin-Pukow railway with his troops and, together with other units of Feng's army, laid siege to the city. On 1 September 1913 Chang's forces stormed the walls. After allowing his troops three full days of looting and rapine, he entered the city in triumph. In recognition of this victory he was made military governor of Kiangsu province. The outrages perpetrated by his troops at Nanking, however, soon aroused the protests of the foreign communities in that city, and after strong pressure from Japanese and other diplomatic representatives in Peking, Yuan Shih-k'ai appointed Feng Kuo-chang to replace Chang as military governor on 16 December 1913. Chang was given the rank of field marshal and the title of inspector general of the Yangtze provinces. Although Yuan had originally conceived of this as a purely titular appointment, Chang Hsün, through his own interpretation of its functions and by virtue of his personal military power, was able to impart considerable prestige and authority to the position. As a result, the title of inspector general (hsün-yueh-shih) came to be sought after eagerly by generals of the Peiyang military clique. On being appointed to this new post, Chang Hsün withdrew his troops from Nanking to take up positions in the vicinity of Hsuchow, the strategic railroad junction in northern Kiangsu; that area was to remain his stronghold until the end of his military career.

In the summer of 1915 the movement to make Yuan Shih-k'ai the new monarch of China was launched. As a supporter of the Manchu dynasty, Chang Hsün indicated strong disapproval, but took no action to oppose the movement. In the spring of 1916, as the new order was confronted by open revolt from the southwestern provinces, Yuan was forced to abolish the short-lived monarchy. He resumed his position as president, but, as the anti-Yuan movement gained momentum, Yuan came under increasing pressure from the southwestern leaders, and even from some of his own subordinates, to step down from the presidency. In April 1916, one of Yuan's top officers, Feng Kuo-chang, then the military governor of Kiangsu, called for a conference in Nanking to discuss the question of Yuan's resignation. The conference was held in the following month.

There Chang Hsün's representative, backed by Ni Ssu-ch'ung, the governor of Anhwei, vigorously supported Yuan's position and opposed Feng's efforts to obtain a resolution in favor of Yuan's retirement from the presidency. Dissatisfied with the inconclusive results of the Nanking conference, Chang invited the provincial delegates to attend a conference at his own base in Hsuchow. *

Before the new conference opened, however, the question of the presidential succession was resolved by the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai on 6 June 1916 and by the accession of Li Yuan-hung (q.v.) to the presidency. The military leadership of the Peiyang clique passed to the premier, Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.). Despite this sudden change in the political situation, the Hsuchow conference was held as scheduled on 9 June 1916. At the meeting Chang Hsün proposed the formation of an association of provincial governors for the purpose of maintaining the solidarity of the Peiyang clique against the southern military leaders. Viewing such an organization as an effective means of strengthening their influence, Tuan and his supporters not only agreed to participate but also had Chang chosen to head the new association. In July, Tuan's regime also appointed Chang tu-chün [military governor] of Anhwei province. In the months that followed, as political opposition to Tuan's regime intensified, Chang was host to a number of additional conferences of the Peiyang leaders held at Hsuchow (September 1916, and January and May 1917).

Although Tuan and his associates regarded the Hsuchow conferences merely as a means of applying pressure on Li Yuan-hung and on Tuan's enemies in the National Assembly, Chang Hsün had another objective in mind. Since the establishment of the republic he had looked upon himself as the protector of the fallen dynasty and had looked forward to the day when he would be able to restore the Manchu emperor to the throne. During the ascendancy of Yuan Shih-k'ai, Chang seems to have been unwilling to act against his former patron, but with Yuan's death he began to pursue a policy designed to fulfill his ambitions. Through the formation of an association of provincial governors under his leadership he hoped that he would eventually be able to secure support for his venture from his military colleagues in the Peiyang clique. He also invited to his camp at

Hsuchow a number of men well-known for their monarchist inclinations, such as Yang Tu (q.v.), the former leader of the movement to make Yuan monarch, and K'ang Yu-wei (q.v.), the famous classical scholar and former leader of the reform party under the Manchus.

Late in the spring of 1917 Chang Hsün believed that the situation was favorable for him to take action. By May, Tuan Ch'i-jui's political feud with Li Yuan-hung and the National Assembly had reached an impasse, and both Tuan and Li had made overtures to Chang to gain his backing. On 21 May, the day before Li dismissed Tuan as premier, Chang called a fourth conference at Hsuchow. Tuan's representative, Hsu Shu-cheng (q.v.), hoping to use Chang to get rid of Tuan's enemies in Peking, led him to believe that Tuan would not oppose the Manchu restoration if Chang succeeded in ousting Li Yuan-hung and the recalcitrant National Assembly from the capital. At the conference it was further decided that all of the provincial governors except Chang Hsün would declare their independence of the Peking government. Chang would go to Peking as a "mediator" in the dispute and then take advantage of his presence there to drive Li and the assembly from office. In accordance with this scheme, Ni Ssu-ch'ung declared his independence on 29 May 1917, and the other provincial governors, with the exception of Chang Hsün, quickly followed suit. Helpless in the face of this revolt, Li Yuan-hung unwittingly played into the hands of the militarists by sending for help to Chang, apparently the only neutral in the conflict, and inviting him to Peking to mediate between the opposing groups.

Beguiled into assuming that he would encounter no opposition to his restoration plans from Tuan Ch'i-jui and other Peiyang leaders, Chang Hsün accepted Li's invitation and left for the north with 5,000 troops, leaving the major part of his forces behind in Hsuchow. Before going to Peking, however, he went to Tientsin on 8 June 1917 for consultation with Tuan and other military chiefs. From Tientsin he dispatched an advance contingent of his troops to take control of Peking and called upon Li Yuan-hung to order the dissolution of the National Assembly as the initial condition of his "mediation." On 14 June, the day after Li had reluctantly complied with this demand, Chang entered Peking with the main body of his black-

garbed troops and a number of monarchist supporters. Soon, Chang Hsün went to the imperial palace and paid his respects to the 11-year-old Hsuan-t'ung emperor, P'u-yi (q.v.), who agreed, reportedly with some reluctance, to Chang's plans to restore him to his throne.

After several days of hasty preparation during which Chang Hsün was joined by K'ang Yu-wei and other Ch'ing loyalists, P'u-yi was installed upon the throne in the early morning hours of 1 July 1917. Later that morning Chang returned to the palace with K'ang and had the imperial seal affixed to some 19 "edicts" announcing the restoration of the Manchu dynasty and the imperial administrative system. Most of the edicts dealt with official appointments, of which the lion's share fell to Chang himself—a clear indication that personal ambition as well as loyalty to the dynasty was behind his efforts to restore the emperor. Chang had himself made Chung-yung ch'in-wang [Prince Chung-yung], governor general of Chihli and high commissioner of military and foreign affairs for north China, minister of war in the new imperial cabinet, and one of the six personal counselors to the emperor in matters of government. While he intended to play the predominant role in the new government, Chang was careful to have the Peiyang military leaders confirmed in their positions in the provinces, altering only their official titles to conform to those used under the Ch'ing administration. Through that action he evidently hoped to gain their acceptance of the revived imperial order.

Almost immediately after the announcement of the restoration, however, it became apparent to Chang Hsün that he had been deceived both by the Peiyang leaders and by his own illusions regarding the extent of his power. A flood of telegrams from military and civil officials in the provinces reached Peking denouncing Chang and the coup which he had engineered. On 4 July 1917, the two most formidable leaders of the Peiyang clique, Tuan Ch'i-jui and Feng Kuo-chang, issued a joint announcement of their intention to oppose the restoration. From his headquarters in Tientsin, Tuan assembled an army that quickly routed and dispersed Chang's outnumbered troops and laid siege to Peking. On 12 July, Tuan's forces stormed the city; Chang, deserted by his monarchist supporters, took refuge in the Dutch legation. After making

himself master of Peking, Tuan Ch'i-jui announced the end of the restoration and issued orders for the arrest of Chang Hsün and other leaders of the coup.

After spending more than a year in the political asylum afforded by the Dutch legation, Chang Hsün was pardoned, along with other participants in the restoration movement, by order of Hsu Shih-ch'ang (q.v.), the president, on 23 October 1918. He went to live in seclusion at his home in Peking, moving to Tientsin in the summer of 1920. Despite attempts to bring him back into public life, such as his appointment in January 1921 by Chang Tso-lin to the post of forestation and reclamation commissioner of Jehol province, Chang continued to live in retirement for the rest of his life. He died in September 1923. He was given a magnificent funeral in Tientsin, which the boy emperor P'u-yi attended. In recognition of Chang Hsün's long service to the dynasty, P'u-yi bestowed upon him the posthumous title, Chung-wu—loyal and valiant.

Chang Hsün had nine sons, six of whom survived him. His first wife, *née* Ts'ao, died in 1893. After his rise to power and affluence, he took several concubines, one a well-known actress in Chinese opera. In a character sketch appearing in the August 1917 issue of the *Far Eastern Review*, Chang was described as being "high-shouldered, thick-necked, with a sloping forehead, bushy brows, a white skin, and a slender queue," and as being "always thoughtful and serious, stubborn and decided in his arguments, frank in his condemnations, courteously formal with his guests, but ready to smile brilliantly at every touch of humor." Chang was generous, loyal, and open. However, he was also arrogant, ferociously cruel in war, venal, and unscrupulously ambitious. Trained in the rude school of traditional Chinese military life, Chang had little comprehension of such concepts as national interest or representative government.

Although Chang had received only limited education in his youth, it was said that in his later years he became a diligent student of historical works. At the age of 68 sui he published an autobiography, probably ghostwritten, entitled *Sung-shou lao-jen tzu-hsu*. This later was translated into English and included by Reginald F. Johnston in *Twilight in the Forbidden City* (1934).

Chang I-lin

T. Chung-jen
Cheng-chiao
H. Kung-fu
Min-yung
Ta-huan chü-shih

張一麌
仲仁
崢角
公綏
民傭
大圓居士

Chang I-lin (1867-24 October 1943), government official, was a trusted secretary to Yuan Shih-k'ai for many years during the late Ch'ing and early republican periods.

A native of Wuhsien, Kiangsu, Chang I-lin was born into a gentry-official family. His father, Chang Shih-i, was a chin-shih of 1880 and a hsien magistrate in Chihli (Hopei). Together with his two brothers, one elder and one younger, Chang I-lin received a traditional Chinese education. After becoming a sheng-yuan at the early age of 12, he obtained a chü-jen degree in 1885. In 1903 he passed the special examination in political economy, administered by the Manchu court. Later that year Chang I-lin joined the secretariat of Yuan Shih-k'ai, then the governor general of Chihli. His ability won him Yuan's confidence, and when Yuan was summoned to Peking in 1907 to become minister of foreign affairs and grand councillor, Chang went with him. When Yuan was forced into retirement in 1908, Chang returned home. For a time in 1910 he served in the secretariat of Tseng-yun, then the governor of Chekiang.

When Yuan Shih-k'ai was recalled to duty after the outbreak of the revolution in 1911, Chang joined him in Peking. After his native province of Kiangsu declared independence from Manchu rule in December 1911, he served briefly as commissioner of civil affairs; but when Yuan Shih-k'ai was elected provisional president, Chang returned to Peking to be chief secretary. He then became head of the office of confidential communications, an important section in the reorganized cabinet in Yuan's government. When Yuan embarked upon his monarchical adventure, however, Chang I-lin resigned his position as head of that office. He did, however, serve as minister of education until late 1915. In this position he promoted the development of the newly formulated chü-yin tzu-mu [phonetic alphabet], thus developing what came to be a continuing personal interest

in the reform of the written script. Then he left Peking for the south.

In the last days of Yuan Shih-k'ai's rule, he again summoned Chang to his service. The difficult task of drafting the proclamation abolishing the monarchy was entrusted to the skillful hand of Chang I-lin. In 1917, when Feng Kuo-chang (q.v.) became acting president, Chang again became secretary to the president. In 1919, as the schism between north and south widened, Chang, as a prominent private citizen, attempted to find means for a peaceful unification of China. In 1921 he helped persuade Wu Pei-fu (q.v.) to stop the civil war and was one of the planners of the Lu-shan conference for peace. When the conference failed, he abandoned participation in national politics and remained at home during the years from 1921 to 1931, promoting local welfare projects in the Soochow area.

The Japanese attack at Shanghai in January 1932 turned Chang's attention once more to national problems, and he worked energetically to aid wounded soldiers and war refugees. His efforts were redoubled when Japan again invaded Shanghai in August 1937. Then 70 years old, Chang proposed the formation of an Old Men's Army, to be limited to men 60 years old or more. Though few people took him seriously, he was in earnest, and he actually drafted a set of regulations for the organization. The duties he proposed for the old men were, in general, tasks which involved probable death, but demanded no strenuous physical labor, or tasks which involved leadership in protecting the people against the so-called unjust militarists and local bosses on the home front.

Soon, however, the advancing Japanese forces occupied Shanghai, Nanking, and Soochow. Donning the garb of a Buddhist monk, Chang evaded the Japanese, made his way to Hong Kong, and thence to Chungking. To mobilize popular support, the Nationalist Government organized the People's Political Council in 1938, and Chang I-lin was appointed to membership. At the council's sessions, Chang, the eldest member of that body, often was outspoken in raising questions critical of and embarrassing to the Kuomintang and the National Government. In 1943, Chang contracted pneumonia; on 24 October he died in Chungking.

Chang I-lin's collected works, entitled *Hsin-t'ai-p'ing-shih chi* [collection of studies with a

clear conscience], were published in 1947. His random notes, the *Ku-hung-mei-ko pi-chi* [notes from the ancient pavilion of red plum blossoms], touch on many aspects of modern Chinese history, including such matters as Sino-Korean relations and the reform movement of 1898. The marginal notes in the frequently quoted work on Yuan Shih-k'ai, the *Yuan Shih-k'ai yü Chung-hua min-kuo* [Yuan Shih-k'ai and the republic of China] of Pai Chiao, are also credited to Chang. On the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Shanghai *Shun Pao* [Shanghai news daily] in 1922, Chang contributed an article, "Wu-shih-nien lai kuo-shih t'an-wang" [reminiscences of national affairs during the past fifty years].

The French journalist Fernand Farjenel gave an interesting account of a 1913 interview with Yuan Shih-k'ai, at which Chang I-lin was also present. The Frenchman described Chang as a "fussy little man" and a "scholar of the old school." He reported that Yuan depended on the opinions of Chang and of Liang Shih-i (q.v.) in all matters, stating that "these three were for the time being rulers of China." It is difficult to estimate the accuracy of Farjenel's observations, but there is little doubt that Chang I-lin was one of Yuan's most trusted assistants.

Chang Jen-chieh

T. Ching-chiang

張人傑

靜江

Chang Jen-chieh (19 September 1877–3 September 1950), businessman and government official, was an early supporter of Sun Yat-sen and a patron of Chiang Kai-shek. He was one of the "four elder statesmen of the Kuomintang" and served as governor of Chekiang province and as director of the National Reconstruction Commission at Nanking.

Wuhsing hsien, Chekiang, was the birthplace of Chang Jen-chieh. He was born into a family which had come from Huichou, in Anhwei. His native town, Nan-hsun-chen, was famed as a center of silk culture, and both of his grandfathers were wealthy silk merchants noted for their generosity and for their adventurous spirit. The second of seven sons in the family, Chang was a precocious child and reportedly mastered several of the Chinese classics by the age of eight. He also showed a flair for calligraphy at a very

early age. He was, however, a spoiled lad as well and loved to ride horseback through the crowded streets of the town.

Because of the financial security which his family provided, Chang Jen-chieh did not have to prepare for an official career through the traditional method of sitting for the imperial examinations. While he was still in his teens, the family purchased for him the official qualification of expectant tao-t'ai. In 1901 Chang visited Peking, ostensibly to seek an official post for which that qualification might be suited. There he met Li Shih-tseng (q.v.). Their life-long friendship was to leave a considerable imprint on the subsequent history of the Chinese revolution. The two youths found that they shared many interests, the most compelling of which was the desire to go abroad to widen their horizons. Their desire was soon fulfilled. In 1902, Sun Pao-ch'i was appointed Chinese minister to France. Both Chang Jen-chieh and Li Shih-tseng joined his staff as attachés.

On arrival in Paris, Chang Jen-chieh surveyed the market for Chinese products in Europe. As a result of the survey he decided to establish a private trading company for the sale of curios, tea, and silk. He took a trip back to China to raise capital for the projected enterprise. While the proposition seemed attractive, few Chinese would venture to invest in it, and in the end it was his father, Chang Ting-fu, who provided him with China \$300 thousand to launch the Ton Ying (T'ung-yun) Company. That company long remained a family enterprise in Paris, later branching out to New York.

Chang's activities as a curio merchant brought him into contact with many intellectuals, among whom were some anarchists. He read some anarchist literature and agreed with the tenets which he discovered there. However, since he was on the staff of the imperial Chinese legation, the more radically inclined Chinese students in Europe were suspicious of his motives, and few dared to have open relations with him.

In 1905, on a visit to London, he met Wu Chih-hui (q.v.), who had met Chang's friend Li Shih-tseng earlier in Shanghai. Chang Jen-chieh and Wu Chih-hui took to each other at once. Shortly after this meeting, and possibly because of it, Chang Jen-chieh, Li Shih-tseng, and Wu Chih-hui formed the Shih-chieh-she, a cultural and revolutionary publishing house, with a printing establishment as its affiliate.

It was about this time that Chang Jen-chieh met Sun Yat-sen. According to Sun, the two met on board a French steamship in 1906. Chang offered Sun financial aid for his revolutionary movement. Then, early in 1907 when Sun Yat-sen was in Saigon plotting an uprising in southwestern Kwangtung, he sent two messages to Chang Jen-chieh asking for funds, and Chang responded to both, giving a total of China \$60 thousand. Sun's close adherents, including Hu Han-min, had not known of Chang, and they were surprised by his support.

Meanwhile, chiefly through Chang's financial support, the *Hsin shih-chi* [new century] began publication in Paris in June 1907, with Wu Chih-hui and Li Shih-tseng doing the bulk of the writing. The magazine issued a total of 121 numbers, but had to be suspended on 21 May 1910 after suffering heavy financial losses.

In 1907, chiefly for health reasons, Chang Jen-chieh took another trip, traveling by way of Hong Kong. At this time, he was officially admitted to the T'ung-meng-hui. Records preserved by the Kuomintang state that Chang had joined the T'ung-meng-hui in Singapore in 1906, but Feng Tzu-yu (q.v.) reported that Chang was admitted officially in Hong Kong in June 1907, when he was on his way back to Shanghai. Feng Tzu-yu, who was then head of the Hong Kong branch of the T'ung-meng-hui, and Hu Han-min administered the oath of admission at a ceremony which was exceptional in that they, respecting Chang's beliefs, waived the use of the words "by heaven" in the phrase "I swear by heaven." The two dates are not necessarily incompatible; Chang could have joined the league when its Singapore branch was established, yet delayed taking the oath of admission until 1907.

His generous contributions to both the anti-Manchu cause and the operational costs of the *Hsin shih-chi* had drawn heavily on the resources of Chang's curio business in Paris. In 1908, therefore, he made plans to establish a bank at Shanghai to finance realty purchases, raising funds through the issuance of debentures by the bank. He sought the cooperation of French banks, for only a foreign organization could command the confidence necessary for such schemes. The plan failed to materialize, but the French took up the idea and later established their own financing house in Shanghai.

Chang Jen-chieh returned to Paris in the summer of 1910. The outbreak of the Wuchang revolt in the autumn of 1911 brought him back to China; it also prompted Wu Chih-hui and Li Shih-tseng to return. When Sun Yat-sen became provisional president in January 1912, he wished to make Chang Jen-chieh finance minister, but Chang stoutly declined. When the so-called second revolution of 1913 failed, and Sun Yat-sen reorganized the revolutionary party as the Chung-hua ko-ming-tang, Chang was among its most enthusiastic supporters. Sun made him director of the finance department, and, though illness prevented him from taking up the post actively, Chang permitted his name to be used by the deputy director, Liao Chung-k'ai (q.v.). Sun had also appointed Teng Tse-ju director of the finance department in charge of the Southeast Asia branches of the party. When Chiang Kai-shek joined the Chung-hua ko-ming-tang in 1914, his oath of allegiance was taken before Chang Jen-chieh.

After the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai in 1916, Chang remained at Shanghai and, although he was not active in politics during the next few years, he remained a staunch partisan. His home in the French concession at Shanghai became a meeting place for hard-pressed comrades. Chang was a shrewd businessman and reportedly had extensive dealings in the stock exchange in Shanghai. During this period he came to know Chiang Kai-shek more intimately. After the assassination of Ch'en Ch'i-mei (q.v.) in 1916, Chang Jen-chieh in a sense replaced Ch'en as Chiang's patron, and he exerted great influence on his younger protégé. Chiang Kai-shek treated Chang Jen-chieh with every respect, and in one of his letters he stated: "Tai Chi-t'ao is my beneficial friend, you, sir, are my good teacher." Chang Jen-chieh, in turn, gave Chiang moral support and encouragement on several occasions.

When Sun Yat-sen, late in 1921, decided on what proved to be the final reorganization of the Kuomintang, Chang Jen-chieh was included in the group of some 60 representative comrades of the party, selected regionally, to attend three preliminary meetings in December 1922 and discuss the plans. When the reorganization was effected at the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in January 1924, Chang was elected to the Central Executive Committee, although he did not attend the meeting. The

Central Executive Committee had a system of maintaining executive headquarters at selected regional centers, and Chang was assigned to the Shanghai executive quarters, together with Wang Ching-wei, Yeh Ch'u-ts'ang, and Yü Yu-jen. The Shanghai headquarters had jurisdiction over Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei, and Kiangsi.

Later that year, Chang Jen-chieh suffered a serious attack of a foot disease, and Sun Yat-sen was so concerned about his health that he wrote Chang a special letter in June 1924 recommending the service of a doctor who had recently returned from Germany. Later, in February 1925, when Sun lay ill of cancer in the hospital in Peking and radium treatment had proved of no avail, Chang Jen-chieh suggested the consultation of practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine. Sun, however, vetoed the suggestion. Chang was present in Peking at Sun's deathbed and was one of the witnesses to his political will.

After Sun's death in March 1925, the National Government was organized by the Kuomintang at Canton on 1 July 1925, and Chang Jen-chieh was elected to its 16-member State Council. At the Second National Congress of the Kuomintang, Chang was elected to the Central Supervisory Committee, together with Li Shih-tseng, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, and Wu Chih-hui. The four friends, of whom Chang was the youngest, were collectively referred to as the "four elder statesmen of the Kuomintang." Chiang Kai-shek was then rising rapidly to power, and Chang Jen-chieh, despite his poor health, felt moved to give his young friend effective support by taking a more active part in the political field. While in France, Chang Jen-chieh had become friendly with Wang Ching-wei (q.v.), and in the growing conflict of interests between Chiang Kai-shek and Wang, he attempted to play a mediating role. In January 1926 Chang made a brief visit to Canton, where, in an attempt to promote friendship, he accompanied Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei, and the latter's wife, Ch'en Pi-chun, on a tour of scenic areas near Whampoa. Chang then returned to Shanghai. When the political situation at Canton became more complex, he was again summoned there. He arrived there on 2 March 1926, two days after the mysterious Chung-shan gunboat incident, which led to Wang Ching-wei's departure from China. Since both Wang and Hu Han-min were then absent from Canton and since T'an Yen-k'ai, who had become acting chairman of the

government, was still a comparatively new member of the Kuomintang, Chang Jen-chieh felt obliged to remain at Canton to give moral support to Chiang Kai-shek.

On 19 May 1926, the election of Chang Jen-chieh as chairman of the standing committee of the party's Central Executive Committee made him virtually the party chief. On 7 July, however, his resignation from that position was accepted, and Chiang Kai-shek was elected his successor. During the period of the Northern Expedition, when Chiang was in the field conducting military operations, Chang Jen-chieh was made acting chairman of the standing committee. Thus, Chang Jen-chieh held office as acting chairman from July through December 1926, one of the most critical periods in the recent political history of China.

In November of that year, the Kuomintang headquarters and the National Government started to move northward from Canton as the Northern Expedition rapidly won victories. Chang's father died at this time. At the request of Chiang Kai-shek, he postponed a trip to his home district and in mid-December 1926 arrived at Nanchang, where Chiang had his temporary headquarters. When the Northern Expedition forces occupied Chekiang province, Chang Jen-chieh moved to Hangchow to head the provisional provincial government established there. The Kuomintang and National Government leaders then at Wuhan made strong propaganda attacks on Chang, calling him "foolhardy, senile, and corrupt." After reviewing the situation with Chiang Kai-shek, Chang Jen-chieh asked Ch'u Min-i to deliver a message to Wang Ching-wei urging Wang to return to China from Europe.

When Wang Ching-wei arrived at Shanghai on 1 April 1927, a number of members of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang met there to discuss measures for dealing with the Communists. Chang Jen-chieh made the trip from Hangchow to attend. The meeting adopted a resolution calling for the ousting of Communists from the Kuomintang. That action precipitated the party purge which began at Shanghai on 12 April and spread to other parts of the country. On 18 April 1927 the Nanking leaders announced the organization of the National Government at Nanking. Previously, the Wuhan leaders had already announced the establishment of the government at Wuhan.

Thus, Nanking and Wuhan split. In September, when the Kuomintang leaders at Wuhan also broke with the Communists, a special committee of the Kuomintang was organized to effect the reunification of the various sections of the party—those of Nanking and Wuhan, and also that of Shanghai, which consisted of members of the Western Hills conference group. Chang Jen-chieh was a member of this special committee.

Chiang Kai-shek resumed his offices in Nanking in January 1928. In February of that year, the National Government established the National Reconstruction Commission, with Chang Jen-chieh as its chairman. Although the work of that commission did not match the grandiose plans of its originators, nevertheless, under Chang's direction, it had several significant achievements to its credit. The commission's first task was to convert the Nanking power station into a modern plant, a job which was completed in less than a year. The next project completed was the Chihsuyeh power plant on the Nanking-Shanghai railway, which served to promote industrial development and farm irrigation in the area. In November 1928, Chang entered into an agreement with the Radio Corporation of America for an international radio station to be built at Chenju, a suburb of Shanghai. Later, an agreement was reached with the German Siemens Company for the development of a number of domestic radio stations. The commission was responsible for the completion of the Kiangnan railway and the Huai-nan railway, and, in coordination with these lines, the development of coal deposits at Ch'ang-hsing, Huai-nan, Man-t'ou-shan, and I-lo. The commission also operated a bus service between Nanking and Wuhu.

However, with the establishment in October 1931 of the National Economic Council, the responsibilities of the National Reconstruction Commission were limited to the design and guidance of construction projects. The National Economic Council, headed by T. V. Soong, took charge of general development plans. In 1938 the commission was abolished altogether and its remaining functions were delegated to the ministry of economic affairs and the National Resources Commission.

In November 1928 Chang Jen-chieh was appointed governor of his native Chekiang province, and he held that post until January 1930. During that period he devoted particular

attention to the expansion of communications facilities in the province. In 1930 he held the West Lake exposition at Hangchow, which was criticized as being extravagant and wasteful.

Gradually Chang began to withdraw from active participation in politics. His health was poor; and he had contracted paralysis of the limbs. In January 1932 he heard the news of the Japanese attack on Shanghai while he was having a meal. Suddenly recognizing the true significance of the phrase, "the strong making meat out of the weak," he became a vegetarian and remained one for the rest of his life.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in July 1937, Chang went to Hankow. In the autumn of 1938 he left China by way of Hong Kong for Europe. There he visited Switzerland and France, reviving memories of the pleasant life which he had led as a young man in Paris after the turn of the century. When the Second World War broke out, Chang left Europe for the United States and took up residence in New York. In December 1942 he was host to a group of pacifists, who met at his home and advocated peace through world government. All the while his paralysis grew steadily worse, and in 1945 he lost his sight. He died in New York on 3 September 1950. On 16 September, Chiang Kai-shek presided over a memorial service held in Chang's honor at Taipei.

Chang Jen-chieh married twice. He had five daughters by his first wife, Yao Hui. The fourth, Li-ying (Georgette), caused her father much disappointment by marrying Eugene Ch'en (q.v.) in Paris in 1930. After Eugene Ch'en's death, she married Ho Yung-chi, author of *The Big Circle*, but they were divorced later. His fifth daughter, Ch'ien-ying (Helen), married Dr. Robert K. S. Lim (Lin K'o-sheng, q.v.) in Shanghai in 1946. After Yao Hui died, Chang married Chu I-min. They had five daughters and two sons. After Chang's death, Chu went to live in the United States.

Chang Kia-ngau: see CHANG CHIA-AO.

Chang Kuo-t'ao
T. T'e-li

張國燾
特立

Chang Kuo-t'ao (1897-), one of the founders of the Chinese Communist movement, was an in-

fluent leader of the Chinese Communist party until 1938, when he defected to the National Government after coming into conflict with Mao Tse-tung. In the 1920's, Chang headed the China Trade Union Secretariat. In the early 1930's, he was one of the senior men in the Hupei-Honan-Anhwei soviet.

A native of Chishui, Chang Kuo-t'ao was born into a prosperous landlord family of the Hakka community in P'inghsiang hsien, Kiangsi province. The family had lived in the area since the seventeenth century. Chang's native district was linked more closely with adjacent Hunan province than with the rest of P'inghsiang. As a result, notably during his years at Peking University, Chang was grouped with the Hunanese students rather than with the Kiangsi students.

After initial schooling in his native district, Chang went to Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi, where he enrolled in a middle school which was then regarded as progressive because of its emphasis on Western learning. At the provincial capital, Chang was exposed to the conflicts between old and new that marked the early republican period in China. Before the revolution of 1911 he worked covertly with a young agent in Sun Yat-sen's underground network, helping to smuggle arms. While a middle school student at Nanchang, he sustained his contacts with the republican revolutionaries at Shanghai and led agitation against Yuan Shih-k'ai in 1915.

In the autumn of 1916, Chang Kuo-t'ao went to north China to enroll at the National Peking University, where Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei had just become chancellor. The following year, when Ch'en Tu-hsiu (q.v.) joined the faculty as dean of the college of letters, Chang threw himself into the so-called new culture movement led by Ch'en and other prominent figures. It was at Peking University during the 1917-19 period that Chang Kuo-t'ao's personal friendship with Ch'en Tu-hsiu, who was nearly 20 years his senior, began. Although the two men frequently disagreed on political issues during their later association in the Chinese Communist party, their personal cordiality continued until Ch'en's death. Chang's closest faculty tie at Peking University, however, was that with the university librarian, Li Ta-chao (q.v.), whose disciple he became.

While at Peking University, Chang Kuo-t'ao became a prominent figure in radical student groups. Students met informally to discuss such topics as the future of China and the relevance to China of Western political and social theories. The ideas of Hegel and John Dewey were probed and criticized. Chang founded a Peking student group which was devoted to studying anarchism. He and his associates banded together and rented a house, where they lived and worked communally, doing the cooking and the household chores normally done by servants in China. The group also took upon itself the mission of investigating economically depressed groups in Peking and published the results of these rudimentary social surveys in the press.

Chang Kuo-t'ao also played a leading role in the mass patriotic demonstrations of 4 May 1919, when he organized and directed student agitators. He was jailed when he defied an official ban on these activities by leading a demonstration across the street from the central police station in Peking. It was the arrest of this squad that touched off general student defiance of the ban in north China. Chang was also prominent in the formation of a north China federation to link the student organizations of that area. In the summer of 1919 he escaped a second arrest by leaving Peking to go to Shanghai, where he attended the meeting to found the All-China Federation of Student Unions. While in Shanghai, he had two interviews with Sun Yat-sen, who was then living in semi-retirement in the French concession. Chang was depressed at the apparent ineffectualness of Sun's cause, however, and soon returned to Peking to resume his activities as a radical student leader.

During 1919 Chang Kuo-t'ao had begun studying the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. At that time, however, little first-hand information regarding either the Soviet experiment or Marxism was available in China. After the collapse of Allied intervention in Siberia in 1920, however, direct communication between the Soviet Union and China opened up for the first time, and a flow of Communist materials began to reach Peking. Chang had previously read anarchist works by Kropotkin and others. In the spring of 1920 he became a serious student of Marxism under the tutelage of Li Ta-chao. Chang was not, however, a member of any of the Marxist study groups which were being organized in Peking and elsewhere in China.

By that time, both Ch'en Tu-hsiu, who was living in Shanghai, and Li Ta-chao had already accepted the major assumptions of Marxism and had decided that an organizational structure was required to implement these doctrines in China. In mid-1920, faced with the threat of another arrest by the authorities at Peking, Chang Kuo-t'ao again went to Shanghai, where he stayed with Ch'en Tu-hsiu. While he was there, Gregory Voitinsky and Yang Ming-chai, representing the Comintern, were in Shanghai to discuss organizational plans and prospects with Ch'en Tu-hsiu.

As a result of these talks during the summer of 1920, Ch'en established a Communist nucleus at Shanghai. The immediate task was to form nuclei in other key cities. During the latter part of 1920, groups were formed at Peking, Wuhan, Canton, and Changsha to organize labor unions, to establish units of the Socialist Youth League, and to disseminate materials on Marxism among student and labor groups. In September 1920, after a summer of exhaustive discussions with Ch'en Tu-hsiu at Shanghai, Chang Kuo-t'ao returned to north China to work under Li Ta-chao in establishing the Peking nucleus. Since the basic doctrinal framework guiding activities was Marxism, labor was a key target. During the winter of 1920-21 Li Ta-chao brought together a group of former Peking University students, including Chang Kuo-t'ao and Teng Chung-hsia (q.v.), to carry the message of Marxism to the railroad workers of north China. Early in 1921 these young intellectuals went to Ch'ang-hsin-tien, where they established a club and a night school for the laborers. They also began to publish a small newspaper for the workers to prepare the way for organizational activities.

When the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China met at Shanghai in July 1921, Chang Kuo-t'ao attended as one of the two delegates (Liu Jen-ching being the other) representing Peking and, in the absence of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, presided at the small but historic gathering. Ch'en was unanimously elected *in absentia* to be chairman of the Central Committee. Chang Kuo-t'ao was chosen to head the organization department and was assigned principal responsibility for work in the labor field.

A start was made with the establishment at Shanghai in the summer of 1921 of the China Trade Union Secretariat, headed from its

inception by Chang Kuo-t'ao. During the early 1920's Chang was one of the leading young intellectuals involved in the Communist effort to create a unified national labor movement as the basis for genuine social revolution in China. In November 1921 he made his first trip to the Soviet Union to attend the Congress of the Toilers of the East, scheduled to be held at Irkutsk. Domestic developments in Russia forced its postponement, however, until January 1922, when it met at Moscow, with a one-day session at Leningrad. While in Russia, Chang Kuo-t'ao was received by Lenin in the Kremlin.

Chang returned to China, and in May 1922 he directed the meeting at Canton, sponsored by the China Trade Union Secretariat, which established the All-China Federation of Labor. Teng Chung-hsia was elected to head the new organization's secretariat, which soon was moved to Peking. Chang Kuo-t'ao himself went to Shanghai to attend the Second National Congress of the Chinese Communist party, held in July 1922. The Comintern, through Maring, its representative in China, informed the Chinese Communist leaders of Moscow's decision to work with Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang. Although Chang favored the establishment of some sort of united front with the Kuomintang, he opposed the policy, voiced by Maring, that members of the Chinese Communist party should join the Kuomintang and work on its behalf. Chang contended that such a procedure would involve the risk that the Chinese Communists would lose their party identity and sense of political purpose. He also argued that the Kuomintang leaders would resent any indication that the Communists were attempting to become Kuomintang leaders. After Maring invoked the authority of the Comintern, the Chinese Communist leaders reluctantly adopted the Comintern decision.

During 1922 and 1923, Chang Kuo-t'ao continued to devote himself to trade union work. Writing in December 1922 in *Hsiang-tao* [guide weekly], then the Chinese Communist party journal, he deprecated the political capacities of the Chinese peasant. In February 1923, working with Teng Chung-hsia, Chang made plans for the organization of a general labor union of the workers on the Peking-Hankow Railroad and called a strike to mark the opening of the union office. That step attracted the

active opposition of Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.), who was then heavily dependent on the rail line for revenue and for troop transport. The resulting suppression, in which some 80 workers and Communist organizers were killed by Wu P'ei-fu's troops, was called the 7 February Incident by the Communists. After the failure of the attempt to organize the railroad workers, Chang visited Moscow briefly to discuss the problems and potentialities of the Chinese labor movement. At the Third National Congress of the Chinese Communist party, held at Canton in June 1923, Chang continued to resist the Comintern policy of creating a Communist bloc within the Kuomintang. After being defeated on that issue, he fought to keep the labor unions from control by either the Kuomintang or the Communist party.

In January 1924, when the First National Congress of the Kuomintang met at Canton, Chang, despite his earlier objections, was elected an alternate member of its Central Executive Committee. Although he assumed that post, he held no official position in the Nationalist government at Canton. His election to the highest organ of the Kuomintang, however, automatically made him a marked man in north China, where the organization of the Kuomintang, like that of the Chinese Communist party, was forced to operate underground. Chang was imprisoned by the government authorities at Peking, but regained his freedom in October 1924, when Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.) staged his coup and occupied the capital.

Together with Teng Chung-hsia, Chang Kuo-t'ao was a leading figure in the establishment in October 1924 of the *Chung-kuo kung-jen* [China worker]. Chang was a principal editor and wrote vigorous political analyses under his alternate name, Chang T'e-li.

Chang was in Peking when Sun Yat-sen died there in March 1925. He then left for Shanghai, where he played an active role in the anti-imperialist agitation that followed the May Thirtieth Incident of 1925, when police in the International Settlement fired on Chinese. Chang then organized and directed the trade unions of Shanghai. After the initial success of the Northern Expedition in mid-1926, the left-Kuomintang leaders at Canton moved both the party headquarters and the newly formed National Government to Wuhan in central China. Chang Kuo-t'ao also moved to Wuhan,

where he attempted to extend the influence of the Communist party in the affairs of the regime there. Since the central organs of the Communist party operating underground in Shanghai confronted growing difficulties at that time, many Communist leaders moved to Wuhan, where the party held its Fifth National Congress during late April and early May of 1927. Chang urged a formal end to the alliance with the Kuomintang. The Comintern, however, insisted on the maintenance of the union, and Ch'en Tu-hsiu, then still general secretary of the Chinese Communist party, carried the Fifth Congress on behalf of that policy, despite his strong personal reservations. At the Fifth Congress, the Chinese Communist party created the Political Bureau, and Chang Kuo-t'ao was elected to membership on that body.

The Kuomintang-Communist coalition was doomed: the Nanking faction of the Kuomintang had already carried out a violent purge of the Communists in Shanghai, Canton, and other cities under its control, and the Wuhan authorities were revealing clear signs of similar intentions. The Comintern, however, clung stubbornly to its position that the alliance must be sustained. Moscow refused to endorse the plan of the Communist leaders at Nanchang in Kiangsi province to stage a coup with Nationalist military units led by Yeh T'ing and Ho Lung (qq.v.). Chang Kuo-t'ao, acting on orders from the Communist leaders at Wuhan, reluctantly went to Nanchang to halt the uprising. He discovered that plans for the insurrection had gone too far to be halted. As the ranking Chinese Communist leader present, he thus took over the direction of the 1 August 1927 uprising at Nanchang, since observed by the Chinese Communists as the founding of the Red Army.

The Communists held the city for only three days. Unable to win over Chang Fa-k'uei to their support or to defeat his forces, the insurgents left the city on 3 August and marched southward with the aim of taking Canton. They reached Swatow and turned westward toward Canton, but then were completely routed by Nationalist forces attacking from all sides. Chang Kuo-t'ao, Chou En-lai, and other Communist leaders fled to Hong Kong and then returned covertly to Shanghai.

Early in 1928, on his return to active duty, Chang Kuo-t'ao again visited Moscow, where

the Sixth National Congress of the Chinese Communist party was convened that summer. A review of past failures ensued, and charges and counter-charges were exchanged. Although Chang Kuo-t'ao was severely criticized for his so-called left opportunism, he was reelected to the Central Committee and named a representative of the Chinese Communist party to the Comintern. Chang remained in the Soviet Union for three years. During that period, Li Li-san was in effective control of the central apparatus of the Communist party in China. His revolutionary strategy, generally called the Li Li-san line, also failed. Early in 1931, Chang Kuo-t'ao was recalled to China in an attempt to restore unity to the top command. By that time, after Li Li-san's political downfall and departure for Moscow, the youthful Ch'en Shao-yü (q.v.) had become general secretary, and the central apparatus was finding it increasingly difficult to operate underground in Shanghai. Soon its members had to flee Shanghai and seek shelter in the Communist rural base in Kiangsi, which had been created by Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh.

Another Communist group, which had its beginnings in northern Hupeh in 1929, had developed a significant military force and was occupying the area on the borders of the three provinces of Hupeh, Honan, and Anhwei. Chang Kuo-t'ao was sent to this area, generally known as the O-yu-wan soviet, to direct the establishment of a border region administration and to serve as political commissar to the Fourth Front Army, commanded by Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien. In November 1931 the first All-China Congress of Soviets met at Juichin in Kiangsi. Its delegates elected Mao Tse-tung chairman of the central soviet government, with Hsiang Ying and Chang Kuo-t'ao, the two vice chairmen. Chang Kuo-t'ao was chosen *in absentia* and, despite his nominally senior post in the central soviet, he remained at the Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei base.

As Communist strength in the rural areas grew, the Kuomintang, having established a new National Government at Nanking in 1928, regarded that development with growing concern. Beginning in the winter of 1930, Chiang Kai-shek conducted several campaigns in an attempt to annihilate the Communists. In June 1932 he called a conference to deal with the suppression of the Communists in the five

provinces of Honan, Anhwei, Hupeh, Hunan, and Kiangsi. Chiang Kai-shek established his headquarters at Hankow to direct military operations, and a large force was sent against the O-yu-wan area. Confronted with greatly superior force, Chang Kuo-t'ao, the senior political leader in the area, had to order evacuation.

On 25 November 1932, Chang and Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien led the Fourth Front Army on a westward retreat from the Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei border area into northern Szechwan. There, early in 1933, they established the Szechwan-Shensi border area, with Chang Kuo-t'ao as chairman and Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien as senior military commander. Isolated from their comrades in the central soviet area in distant Kiangsi, this group carried on independently in an attempt to rehabilitate their forces and to expand Communist influence and control. For a period, their operations were successful because the local generals of Szechwan were then committed to their own internecine struggles. Late in 1934, however, the Szechwan provincial forces moved together to bring renewed pressure on the Szechwan-Shensi base. By February 1935, the Communists there had been forced to retreat again. They crossed the Chialing river and moved along the Szechwan-Sikang border in the spring of 1935 to establish a new base. This branch of the Chinese Communist forces was then headed by the so-called northwest revolutionary military council, with Chang Kuo-t'ao as chairman. Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien was its top military commander, with Ch'en Ch'ang-hao as his political commissar. Their strategy was to extend Communist control throughout the areas of China's northwest provinces which were inhabited by ethnic minorities.

In the meantime, the ragged Communist forces from the former central soviet base in Kiangsi had marched and fought their way to the Szechwan-Sikang border. In June 1935 these Long March forces pushed forward to effect a rendezvous with Chang Kuo-t'ao's forces near Mou-kung. Although the Political Bureau, meeting at Tsunyi, Kweichow, in January 1935, had placed Mao Tse-tung in charge of a new central leadership of the Chinese Communist party, Chang Kuo-t'ao was still a major figure. The two men, who had not met since the Fifth Congress at Wuhan in 1927, came into open conflict in the summer of 1935.

The basic issues were control of the Communist military forces and delineation of future political strategy. Chang Kuo-t'ao had for some time controlled an autonomous area and a separate base of military power. He was clearly an obstacle to Mao Tse-tung's domination of the Chinese Communist party. During the summer of 1935, both Chang Kuo-t'ao and Mao Tse-tung gained recognition from the Comintern, which elected them to membership on its Executive Committee.

Related to the central issue of political authority were the practical problems of logistics and plans. Chang Kuo-t'ao proposed moving west to establish a new base in Sikang. Mao proposed moving north to Shensi province, where a Communist base already existed. Buttressed by his victory a few months earlier at the Tsunyi meeting of the Political Bureau, Mao Tse-tung apparently carried the day. As a result, Mao and his associates of the First Front Army continued toward Shensi, where they arrived in October 1935.

Chang Kuo-t'ao, with the acquiescence of Chu Teh and Liu Po-ch'eng, drove into Sikang. In October 1935 they established a new regime at K'ang-ting, designed to mobilize the non-Chinese minorities of the area. Early in 1936, the Szechwan armies and National Government troops led by Hsueh Yueh moved westward from Chengtu, launched sharp attacks on this base, and dislodged the Communists. In March, Chang and the Fourth Front Army had to flee to Kantzu, but the country there was so barren that the Communists found it difficult to feed their troops. Li Hsien-nien (q.v.), then political commissar of the Thirtieth Army, managed to make local arrangements with the Tibetans which, to some extent, solved the dire food problem. In June 1936 these Communist forces were joined by the Second Front Army under Ho Lung, which had retreated separately from the western Hunan-Hupeh base. The combined Communist forces then abandoned Sikang and marched northeast, arriving in southern Kansu in August and in Shensi in October.

Chang Kuo-t'ao resolved to march on, perhaps to prove the practicality of his plan for establishing a soviet in the far northwest and of making direct contact with the Soviet Union. Chang crossed the Yellow River at Chingyuan and ordered his forces to move up the Kansu

corridor toward Sinkiang. He returned to Yenan, and his forces in Kansu encountered heavy resistance from the Muslim cavalry troops of Ma Pu-fang (q.v.). The Communists suffered heavy losses and were forced to retreat. Some of the survivors did not return to join the main body of the Communist forces in northern Shensi until the spring of 1937.

Chang Kuo-t'ao had repudiated Mao Tse-tung's political authority during the 1935-36 period by creating his own center of operations. Afterwards, his military losses in the northwest undermined his prestige and his power position. Although Chang remained an active member of the political bureau in Shensi, his policies were strongly criticized by Mao's supporters on such occasions as the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau, the so-called Lo-ch'uan conference, in August 1937.

After the outbreak of war with Japan, the National Government declared a general amnesty under which Ch'en Tu-hsiu and many lesser Communist figures who had been imprisoned on political charges were released. In April 1938, Chang Kuo-t'ao left Yenan to represent the Communists in the traditional ceremony held at Sian to offer sacrifices to the legendary Yellow Emperor of the Chinese people. Chang took the opportunity to go directly to Hankow. There he requested the protection of the National Government and issued a public statement announcing that he had severed connections with the Chinese Communist party. He later moved to Chungking, where he remained for the duration of the war. He was nominated to the Third and Fourth People's Political councils but took no active role in them. Toward the end of the war, Chang Kuo-t'ao was appointed to membership on the provisional provincial council of his native Kiangsi province. After the war, he served in 1946 as the director of the Kiangsi regional office of the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

At the time of Mao Tse-tung's movement to national power on the mainland of China in 1949, Chang Kuo-t'ao moved to the British colony of Hong Kong; he lived simply and quietly. He knew many of the senior party and government figures at Peking. For example, Liu Shao-ch'i (q.v.), who in 1959 became Chairman of the People's Republic of China, began his political career as a Communist labor

organizer under Chang Kuo-t'ao when Chang headed the China Trade Union Secretariat at Shanghai in the early 1920's.

Chang Lan
T. Piao-fang

張瀾
表方

Chang Lan (1872-February 1955), Szechwanese political leader, was the first chairman of the China Democratic League; from 1949 to 1954 Chang served as one of the three non-Communist vice chairmen of the Central People's Government.

Born into a scholarly family in Nanch'ung, Szechwan, Chang Lan received a traditional Chinese education and was respected in later years as a classical scholar. Growing up amidst the troubles which beset China toward the end of the Ch'ing dynasty, he was attracted by the reformist views expounded by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (q.v.), and he joined the group which favored constitutional monarchy for China.

Chang Lan gained public attention in 1911, when he was a vice chairman of the committee of shareholders which opposed government nationalization of the projected Szechwan-Hankow railroad. As the Szechwan populace rose in increasingly stormy opposition to Peking's plans, the Manchu authorities resorted to ruthless measures to suppress the demonstrations. The resulting bloodshed turned what had begun as a peaceful protest into an armed uprising. However, the authorities easily quelled the uprising. Nevertheless, the movement against nationalization of the railroads, which rapidly spread to other parts of China, was successfully exploited by the anti-Manchu republican revolutionaries. The issue was one of the immediate causes of the Wuchang revolt of 10 October 1911.

Chang Lan remained politically affiliated with the constitutional monarchists and was one of the leaders of that group in Szechwan. During the 1916 campaign against Yuan Shih-k'ai, he reportedly organized a small local force to support the republican cause against Yuan, but before they could act, Yuan died. Although Chang Lan never controlled any military forces in Szechwan, he was one of the senior political leaders of the province during the early republican period.

Szechwan was then the scene of constant internecine rivalry among local military leaders, who had earlier joined forces to oust the Yunnan army that had occupied parts of the province for some years. No single authority exercised effective control of the entire province, and the province, in turn, did not accept any central authority. Because of his personal prestige, Chang Lan was governor of Szechwan for a short period in 1920. During the 1920's, however, he devoted his energies primarily to education, becoming president of Chengtu University in 1928 after having headed Chengtu Normal College for two years. During the 1928-37 period he played no active political role but, nonetheless, he continued to occupy a significant position in Szechwan. He had long association with most of the local Szechwan military leaders and his non-partisanship was generally respected by them. At the same time, as president of an important provincial university, he was respected by students and intellectuals.

When war with Japan broke out in 1937 and the National Government moved to Chungking, Chang Lan was appointed a member of the People's Political Council. Although he rarely took active part in that body's deliberations, his remarks were notable when he did speak. Outspokenly critical of the dictatorial measures of the National Government, Chang won attention and became very popular with Chinese university students.

When various opposition groups joined forces in 1941 to form the League of Chinese Democratic Political Groups, Chang Lan was elected chairman. His election, though doubtless due in part to a realistic desire to avoid rivalry among the participating groups, was a tribute to Chang's seniority in Szechwan. Chang remained chairman when the federation was reorganized into the China Democratic League in 1944 and held that post until his death a decade later. Although never regarded as a policy-maker in the league, Chang, nevertheless, had a stabilizing influence on the small parties and the politicians who composed that organization.

In 1946 Chang Lan was one of four representatives of the league who attended the abortive Political Consultative Conference; the others Tere Carsun Chang (Chang Chia-sen), Chang wung-sun, and Lo Lung-chi. Chang Lan went

to Shanghai later in 1946. The league was outlawed by Nanking in October 1947, at which time many of its leaders fled to Hong Kong. Chang remained in Shanghai, however; he was placed under house arrest by the Kuomintang authorities. By the spring of 1949, however, the situation for the Nationalists in the Nanking-Shanghai area had become desperate. At that point Chang Lan, together with Lo Lung-chi, was spirited away by Chinese Communist agents and was given shelter pending the "liberation." By mid-1949 there had been Communist victories over the major part of the mainland. Accordingly, Chang Lan moved to Peiping to help in the preparations for establishing a new national government.

In September 1949 he headed the China Democratic League delegation to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. When the People's Republic of China was officially established on 1 October 1949, Chang was elected one of the six vice chairmen of the Central People's Government. The other two non-Communists elected to that post were Madame Sun Yat-sen (Soong Ch'ing-ling) and Li Chi-shen. Chang held that position until the Central People's Government was reorganized in 1954 with only one vice chairman. He then became a vice chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress.

Chang Lan's final years at Peking appear to have been quiet and contented. Then in his late seventies, he was no longer the stormy critic of dictatorial powers that he had been at Chungking during the Sino-Japanese war. He regularly appeared at ceremonial occasions, and he was accorded the respect befitting his age and senior position in the government. He died of arteriosclerosis in February 1955 at the age of 84 sui. He was survived by his widow, *née* Liu Hui-cheng.

Chang Li-sheng
T. Shao-wu

張厲生
少武

Chang Li-sheng (24 May 1900-), Kuomintang leader and government official, was director of the party's organization department in 1936-37 and minister of the interior from 1944 until May 1948; in Taiwan, he served as vice president of the Executive Yuan and then as ambassador to Japan.

Lot'ing hsien in Chihli (later Hopei) province was the birthplace of Chang Li-sheng. The area is south of the Great Wall and borders on the Gulf of Chihli. Although the traditional occupation of the family was farming, Chang's father, Chang Sheng-wu, often joined groups of traders traveling to Manchuria. During these trips the elder Chang witnessed atrocities perpetrated by the Japanese in the Northeastern provinces and was once imprisoned by them for anti-Japanese acts. The boy, after hearing his father's reports of these trips, developed deep feelings of animosity toward the Japanese.

Although the family was in straitened circumstances, they managed to send Chang Li-sheng to school at the age of eight sui and, later, to the higher primary school operated by Lot'ing hsien. His father died at that time, but with financial aid from friends and relatives, Chang was able to continue his studies. In 1917 he enrolled in the Nankai School at Tientsin, operated by Chang Po-ling (q.v.). Wu Chih-hui (q.v.), the prominent classical scholar and revolutionary, was teaching Chinese at the nearby Tangshan School of Railways and Mines. Chang Li-sheng, who held Wu in high esteem, secured an introduction to Wu Chih-hui and visited him at every opportunity. Under Wu's influence, Chang resolved to go abroad to study in Europe. He therefore left Nankai to enter the preparatory department of the law school of Ch'ao-yang College at Peking, studying European history and French.

In the summer of 1920, with funds provided by friends and relatives, Chang Li-sheng left for France. After preparatory courses, he entered the University of Paris in 1922 to study sociology and economics. In Paris he joined the Kuomintang, and in 1924 he was elected to the executive committee of the French branch of the party, then the largest Kuomintang organization in Europe. That was the period of the first political alliance between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists; one of Chang's fellow committee members was Chou En-lai, and another associate was Li Fu-ch'un. Even at that time, Chang came into constant conflict with the two young Communists.

Chang Li-sheng returned to China in 1925 and took a teaching job at Chungshan College in Shanghai. Toward the end of 1926, when the Northern Expedition reached Wuhan, Chang went there and became a secretary in the politi-

cal department of the Tenth Army. Later in 1927, when Shao Yuan-ch'ung became mayor of Hangchow, Chang went there to serve as chief secretary of the municipal government. The purge of the Communists was then being carried out, and because of Chang's record in opposing the Communists in France, he was made a member of the guidance committee of the Nanking municipal headquarters of the Kuomintang. He attended the Third National Congress of the Kuomintang in March 1929 as a delegate and made a fine impression on Ch'en Kuo-fu, then head of the organization department in the central party headquarters. Ch'en Kuo-fu appointed Chang a secretary in the organization department. In 1931, at the Fourth National Congress the Kuomintang, he was elected an alternate member of the Central Executive Committee. In October 1932 he was appointed a member of the Hopei provincial council and was placed in charge of party affairs in north China. He was then only 32 sui. At the Fifth National Congress in November 1935 he became a full member of the Central Executive Committee, and in February 1936 he succeeded Ch'en Li-fu (q.v.) as chief of the organization department, the most important branch of the Central Executive Committee.

After the Sino-Japanese war began, Ch'en Ch'eng was appointed director of the political department of the military council in January 1938. Chang Li-sheng was relieved of his duties as head of the organization department to become secretary general of the political department. Later, he became a deputy director. Chang held that post until September 1940, when he relinquished it at the same time that Ch'en Ch'eng left the post of director. Chang then was appointed secretary general of the Supreme National Defense Council's newly created party and government work examination committee for the promotion of administrative efficiency. He held that post for two years.

In December 1942 Chang was appointed secretary general of the Executive Yuan on the recommendation of H. H. K'ung, then vice president of the yuan. That appointment marked the beginning of Chang's direct participation in government administration. He was *ex officio* secretary general of the National General Mobilization Council. He remained in the Executive Yuan for three years and won a good reputation for his sense of responsibility.

and his capacity to coordinate the various governmental departments at Chungking. When T. V. Soong became president of the Executive Yuan in December 1944, Chang was appointed minister of the interior. He continued to hold his position as secretary general for a few months until Chiang Monlin was appointed his successor. Chang Ch'un replaced T. V. Soong as president of the Executive Yuan in March 1947. There were several ministerial changes, but Chang Li-sheng remained as minister of the interior until the promulgation of the new constitution in May 1948. Then he became vice president of the Executive Yuan.

In his four years as minister of the interior, Chang Li-sheng, in addition to his normal duties, supervised the holding of the elections to the National Assembly and to the Control Yuan and the popular elections. He also undertook the preparation of census laws and regulations and the planning of a nation-wide census. These laws and regulations were published in 1946, and a census bureau was established in March 1947. Unfortunately, because of the developing civil war in China, the planned census could not be carried out. These laws, however, did provide the basis for the census taken in Taiwan in September 1956.

In spite of the non-cooperation of the Chinese Communists, the various elections were held, and the National Assembly met on schedule to adopt the new constitution and to enforce constitutional government. Chang Li-sheng became vice president of the Executive Yuan. This cabinet fell in November 1948, however, and in the new cabinet of Sun Fo, Chang Li-sheng became minister without portfolio. When the Communist military forces swept south over the mainland, he moved to Taiwan.

In August 1949, Ch'en Ch'eng, then governor of Taiwan, appointed Chang Li-sheng to serve as chairman of the Taiwan Provincial Autonomy Research Institute so that he could use his experience in the formulation of plans and regulations for the enforcement of local autonomy in Taiwan province. When Ch'en Ch'eng was appointed president of the Executive Yuan in March 1950, Chang Li-sheng was again made vice president of the yuan. He remained in that post for four years until June 1954, when Ch'en Ch'eng relinquished the premiership on his election as vice president of the republic. From August 1954 through 1958 Chang served as

secretary general of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. In 1959 he was appointed Chinese ambassador to Japan and held that post for four years. He returned to Taiwan in September 1963, when official relations between Taipei and Tokyo were seriously strained, and retired from official life.

Chang Lo-fu: see CHANG WEN-T'IEN.

Chang Mo-chün 張默君
Orig. Chang Chao-han 張昭漢
West. Sophie M. K. Chang

Chang Mo-chün (4 October 1883–30 January 1965), feminist, educator, and poet, was the first principal of the Shen-chou Girls School, principal of the Kiangsu First Girls Normal School, and was a member of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang and of the Legislative and Executive yuans in China and in Taiwan.

Born into a gentry family in Hsianghsiang, Hunan, Chang Mo-chün grew up in an environment which provided her with a solid background in classical Chinese literature and a keen interest in contemporary political affairs. Both of her parents were scholars. Her father, Chang Po-ch'un, was a Hanlin scholar and official. Her mother, Ho I-hsiao, was a poet whose work was esteemed by T'an Yen-k'ai, the veteran governor of Hunan, who was himself a Hanlin scholar well versed in poetry and classical literature.

After receiving her early education at home under her mother's direction, Chang Mo-chün attended middle school at Nanking, where her father was serving as education commissioner under Tuan-fang, governor general of Liang-kiang during the last years of the Ch'ing period. While at Nanking, she also taught at the primary school attached to the Chin-ling yang-cheng hsueh-t'ang and at the same time studied English at the Hui-wen Girls School. She became interested in political ideas through reading *Ko-ming chün* [revolutionary army] by Tsou Jung (ECCP, II, 769) and *Jen-hsueh* [study in benevolence] by T'an Ssu-t'ung (ECCP, II, 702–5). The young Chang Mo-chün was influenced also by the progressive views of her father, who, though serving as an official of the imperial government, was sympathetic to the

new ideas of nationalism. From Nanking, Chang Mo-chün went to Shanghai to attend the Wu-pen Girls School. There she read nationalistic journals such as *Hsin Hu-nan* [new Hunan journal], *Tung-t'ing po* [Tung-t'ing journal], and *Che-chiang ch'ao* [the tides of Chekiang] and came into contact with members of the anti-Manchu movement. On the recommendation of Huang Hsing (q.v.), she joined the T'ung-meng-hui and was soon drawn into the secret work of the society in planning for revolution in Kiangsu and Chekiang. During this period she was associated with Ch'iu Chin (ECCP, I, 169-71), Chao Sheng (T. Po-hsien; 1881-1911), and other anti-Manchu revolutionary activists.

After being graduated at the top of her class from the Wu-pen Girls School, Chang Mo-chün taught at the Kiangsu provincial Ts'u-min Girls School and studied English at the Laura Haygood Normal School in Soochow with a view to continuing her education in the United States. Her political associates, however, persuaded her to remain in China: her contacts through her father with officials of the Ch'ing government provided an important channel for obtaining information useful to the revolutionary cause.

When the Wuchang revolt broke out in October 1911, Chang Mo-chün and her father played active roles in bringing about Soochow's declaration of independence of Manchu rule. Chang Po-ch'un served as general counselor in the office of Ch'eng Te-ch'uan, who became military governor of Kiangsu, and Chang Mo-chün drafted and edited propaganda materials. She was also responsible for the *Ta Han Pao* [the great Han journal] of Kiangsu, published at Soochow, which carried her forceful and influential editorials.

Chang Mo-chün continued to be active in politics during the first years of the republican period. With a group of women associates, she organized the Society of Shen-chou [Chinese] Women for the Support of the Republic. Chang was elected director, and raised funds for the new provisional government which had been established in Nanking at the beginning of 1912—activities which gained the attention of Sun Yat-sen. Following the reorganization of the T'ung-meng-hui into the Kuomintang, Chang was appointed to work in the party's Shanghai headquarters as chief of the correspondence section. At the same time Chang

Mo-chün and the Society of Shen-chou Women played an active part in pressing for the recognition of women's rights and for the improvement of women's education. To gain publicity, the group turned to journalism and launched the *Shen-chou jih-pao* [Shenchow daily]. The society also founded the Shen-chou Girls School, one of the pioneer private girls' schools in Shanghai. Chang was appointed the first principal in the fall of 1914, and she contributed greatly to building up its enrollment and expanding its faculty. In the years following, Yeh Ch'u-ts'ang, Yeh Sheng-t'ao, Hsieh Liu-i, and other prominent men taught there at her invitation.

In 1918 the ministry of education sent Chang Mo-chün abroad to study Western educational methods. She went first to the United States. After inspecting schools and women's colleges in various places, she took the opportunity to study at Teachers College, Columbia University. She was elected president of the Chinese students' association in New York. At the end of the First World War she went to Europe and, in the summer of 1919, toured England, France, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland, paying special attention to social conditions and women's education. This trip was recorded in her *Ou-Mei chiao-yü k'ao-ch'a lu* [investigation of education in Europe and America]. On her way back to China she also visited Southeast Asia. Arriving in Shanghai in the winter of 1920, she resumed her duties as principal of the Shen-chou Girls School. Shortly thereafter the Kiangsu provincial government appointed her to head the Kiangsu First Girls Normal School. In the years following, until her resignation in 1927, Chang Mo-chün gained distinction for the school by improving the academic program, enlarging classes and the amount of equipment, and securing the services of prominent people as instructors. In an attempt to combat illiteracy, Chang Mo-chün, together with her friend Chu Ch'i-hui, the first wife of Hsiung Hsi-ling, launched a program of popular education by setting up special schools over a wide area and by offering evening instruction at her school for women and for children out of school. She also continued to work in the field of journalism, supervising the *Shen-chou jih-pao* and editing the weekly woman's section of the *Shanghai Shih-pao* [Shanghai times].

Chang Mo-chün's independence and devotion to her career during these years discouraged

male admirers. In 1924, however, she married Shao Yuan-ch'ung (q.v.), the personable and intelligent confidential secretary to Sun Yat-sen. The marriage, which took place in September 1924 at Shanghai, with Yu Yu-jen officiating at the ceremony and Tai Chi-t'ao present as matchmaker, attracted widespread attention and approval in China: Chang and her husband had similar backgrounds, combining Chinese classical training with advanced studies in the United States.

Chang Mo-chün remained active politically after her marriage. In 1927, when Shao Yuan-ch'ung was mayor of Hangchow, she served as director of the municipal education bureau and also as education member of the Shanghai branch of the Central Political Council. The following year, they moved to Nanking to join the new National Government. Chang Mo-chün became, successively, a member of the special examinations committee of the Examination Yuan (1929), member of the Legislative Yuan (1930), and, in the spring of 1931, an honorary editor on the Kuomintang party history compilation committee. In 1931 she was also a member of the examinations committee of the Examination Yuan.

From 1933 to 1935 Chang Mo-chün served on the supervisory committee of the Nanking municipal headquarters of the Kuomintang; then she was elected to membership on the Central Supervisory Committee of the party. In the spring of 1935 she and her husband made an extended trip through the northwest of China, visiting Shansi, Shensi, Kansu, Tsinghai, and Ninghsia. Their record of the trip, *Hsi-pei lan-sheng* [viewing the grandeur of the northwest], was published shortly afterwards.

In December 1936, Shao Yuan-ch'ung, accompanying Chiang Kai-shek to Sian for conferences with Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng (qq.v.), was shot and killed by snipers during a coup in which Chiang was captured. Shocked by the sudden loss of her husband, Chang Mo-chün withdrew from public life and returned to her mother's home in Hunan, where she devoted herself to caring for her children, studying poetry, and perfecting her calligraphy. In 1940 the National Government invited her to Chungking to serve in the Examination Yuan. Two years later, she was sent to inspect Kuomintang activities in Hunan province. Toward the end of the Sino-Japanese

war, she served on the standing committee of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang, on the Central Political Council, and on the codification committee of the Examination Yuan.

During the postwar period, Chang Mo-chün was a member of the Examination Yuan in Nanking and an honorary editor of the national history institute. Following the Communist accession to power on the mainland, she went to Taiwan, where she was a member of the Examination Yuan and, concurrently, a member of the Central Supervisory Committee and the central appraisal committee of the Kuomintang. There her private life was saddened by the sudden death of her son, who died shortly after reaching adulthood. In 1957 she donated to the Government of the Republic of China in Taiwan more than 100 pieces of antique jade from her collection. Chang Mo-chün died at Taipei on 30 January 1965. She was survived by a daughter, Shao Ying-to, and one grandson.

Chang Nai-ch'i

章乃器

Chang Nai-ch'i (1897-), banking official, economist, and politician, was one of the founders of the National Salvation Association nucleus in Shanghai in 1936 and of the Democratic National Construction Association in Chungking in 1945. From 1952 to 1957 he was minister of food at Peking; then he came under censure as a rightist and was stripped of his government and party posts.

A native of Ch'ingt'ien hsien in Chekiang province, Chang Nai-ch'i was born into a merchant family of moderate means. After his basic education, he studied at the Chekiang Provincial Commercial School at Hangchow and was graduated in 1920. Chang then went to Shanghai and became a clerk in the Chekiang Industrial Bank, which was then partly owned by the Chekiang provincial government, and served as its financial agent in Shanghai. Chang was promoted to assistant manager in 1930. In 1932 the bank was reorganized into a completely private enterprise, and Chang became its deputy general manager.

Chang Nai-ch'i's interest in politics was apparent as early as 1927, when he participated in the launching of a monthly political magazine,

the *Hsin p'ing-lun*. For the most part, however, he devoted himself to economic and business affairs in Shanghai. In 1929 he founded a credit service bulletin, the first financial newsletter published in China. He also wrote on monetary and financial problems and gained a reputation as an economic theorist. His book about Chinese currency went through several editions and was translated into Japanese.

As Japanese aggression against China was intensified during the early 1930's, Chang Nai-ch'i became increasingly outspoken in criticism of the one-party dictatorship of the Kuomintang and of its lack of a strong policy against Japan. His anti-Japanese views of that period often appeared in *Ta-chung sheng-huo*, edited by Tsou T'ao-fen (q.v.). Because of political pressure, Chang severed his connection with the Chekiang Industrial Bank and moved to Hong Kong. By December 1935, however, he had returned to Shanghai and had rented a house in the French concession. He earned his living as professor of economics at Kuang-hua University, where he was a colleague of Wang Tsao-shih. Two of his books, *Chung-kuo ching-chi k'ung-huang yü ching-chi kai-tsao* [economic panic and economic reform in China] and *Chung-kuo huo-pi chin-jung wen-t'i* [currency and financial problems of China] were published in 1935 and 1936, respectively.

Chang Nai-ch'i was increasingly preoccupied with anti-Japanese political agitation. Together with Shen Chun-ju (q.v.), Tsou T'ao-fen, Wang Tsao-shih, and others, he organized the Shanghai nucleus of the National Salvation Association; the organization was formally established on 30 May 1936. On 15 July 1936 several prominent members of the association, including Chang Nai-ch'i, issued a public document calling on the National Government to stop the civil war, to negotiate with the Chinese Communists, to release political prisoners, and to establish a united front for resistance against Japan. When the Chinese Communist party responded to this document in August 1936 by issuing an anti-Japanese declaration along similar lines, the leaders of the National Salvation Association were viewed with sharp suspicion by the government authorities at Nanking.

Late in 1936, when strikes broke out in Japanese-owned factories in Shanghai, the National Salvation Association promptly organized a relief committee for the striking workers. The National Government was anxious to avoid

such provocative activities. On the night of 22 November 1936, Chang Nai-ch'i, together with several other key figures in the National Salvation Association, was arrested by the Shanghai municipal police. The group was held at Shanghai and then was moved to Soochow in early December. Since patriotic sentiment was running high in China at that time, the group was honored as the ch'i chün-tzu [seven gentlemen], although one of its members, Shih Liang, was a woman. At the trial in April 1937, the government prosecutor accused them of having international backing in their so-called intrigue to endanger the Chinese republic. Chang Nai-ch'i and the others attempted to use the trial as an opportunity to argue for resistance to Japan. In fact, that issue had already been resolved through the Sian Incident of December 1936, and the trial of the ch'i chün-tzu was anticlimactic and inconclusive. Eventually, after the Japanese attack in July 1937, the seven were released on bail. Bail for Chang Nai-ch'i reportedly was provided by the veteran revolutionary and politician Li Ken-yuan (q.v.), who then was living in retirement in Soochow.

Having gained national prominence through his involvement in that incident, Chang Nai-ch'i attempted to convert notoriety into position. In 1938 he left Shanghai to accept the post of finance commissioner of Anhwei province, under Li Tsung-jen (q.v.). The course of the war forced Chang to leave Anhwei. In 1939 he went to Chungking. When the lower Yangtze valley was being evacuated, Chang reportedly had assisted the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank to transfer some of its assets away from the war zone. After arrival in Szechwan, therefore, Chang was able to request financial assistance from K. P. Ch'en, the general manager of the Shanghai bank. With that loan, Chang organized the Upper Szechwan Industrial Company, which began by operating an alcohol distillery and soon expanded into other fields. The enterprise, with Chang Nai-ch'i as chief stockholder, became heavily involved in the transport business, one of the most lucrative operations in west China. Chang, who had already been a banker, an economist, a professor, a journalist, a political martyr, and a government official, now became a successful entrepreneur and speculator. He also continued to serve as self-appointed adviser to the National Government on economic and fiscal policies.

After the Japanese surrender, Chang Nai-ch'i joined a number of other men who were affiliated with business and industrial circles to organize the China Democratic National Construction Association. It was formally established at Chungking in December 1945, with Chang as a member of its central committee. On his return to Shanghai in 1946, Chang became head of the department of industrial management at the University of Shanghai. He was also appointed a member of the planning committee of the ministry of economic affairs. At Shanghai, Chang utilized a portion of the capital built up in his Upper Szechwan enterprise to found the K'un-lun Motion Picture Company, which successfully produced several politically progressive films in 1946 and 1947. He cherished ambitious plans for developing that undertaking into a large Sino-American cooperative enterprise, but the rapid deterioration of the situation in China made those plans impractical. The so-called democratic parties, including the Democratic National Construction Association, became increasingly hostile to the central government and aligned themselves with the Chinese Communist position. The National Government declared them illegal in October 1947. Forced to flee from Shanghai, Chang Nai-ch'i moved to the British colony of Hong Kong, where he promoted real estate development and financing.

In October 1948 Chang Nai-ch'i left Hong Kong for Communist-controlled territory in north China. In September 1949 he attended the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference as a delegate of the Democratic National Construction Association. Addressing the conference on the third day of its meeting, Chang stated that his organization stood for the unity of the national businessmen and industrialists of China and that its members were particularly interested in the economic measures of the new government that was then being formed. When the Central People's Government was established at Peking on 1 October 1949, he was appointed a member of its Government Administration Council and a member of its economic-financial committee. He also became a member of the standing committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and a member of the executive board of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. In 1950 he was named an ad-

viser to the People's Bank of China. He also was named to the standing committee of the China Peace Committee and to the Chinese delegation to North Korea for the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Communist regime there.

At the time of the government expansion in 1952, Chang Nai-ch'i was named to head the new ministry of food. He was also appointed a member of the newly organized China Committee for the Promotion of International Trade. That year he was on the preparatory committee for the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, and when that federation was inaugurated in 1953 he became one of its vice chairmen. In 1953 he also became vice chairman of the Democratic National Construction Association. And, as a leader in that association, he served on the administrative committee of the *Kuang-ming jih-pao* [bright daily news], the newspaper which served as the official organ for all the "democratic parties and groups."

In 1954 Chang Nai-ch'i was elected to the First National People's Congress as a deputy from Szechuan province. At the congress he took the opportunity to report on the excellent work done by the ministry of food and to project a favorable food situation for the years ahead. In the government reorganization of that year, Chang was reaffirmed in his position as minister of food. He was also reelected to the standing committee of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference that same year. Reports in 1955 and 1956 confirmed his senior positions in the Democratic National Construction Association and in the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce.

In 1957, however, when the widespread criticism of Communist policies which followed Mao Tse-tung's call for the "blooming of a hundred flowers" led in turn to a drastic anti-rightist purge, Chang Nai-ch'i was one of the major targets of attack. Public criticism of him, which began in the early summer of 1957, met with his firm rebuttal, which was published in the Peking *Ta Kung Pao* on 9 June. His rebuttal was answered by a stern official editorial statement, "Chang Nai-ch'i's False Views and Erroneous Attitudes," which appeared in the Peking *Jen-min jih-pao* [people's daily] on 18 June 1957. The fourth session of the National People's Congress, which was convened in July 1957, provided a convenient platform from

which to attack the rightists. Toward the close of the session, there was a so-called general surrender of the accused. Chang Nai-ch'i made his statement on the last day of the session, 17 July 1957. He admitted that he had shown ideological faults, but defended himself by saying that he had refused consistently to oppose Communism. Chang's colleagues in the National Construction Association refuted his statement and made detailed allegations to show that Chang had been a consistent opponent of Communism and of the people of China. He was charged with betraying the National Salvation Association, supporting the Kuomintang's plan to eliminate the Communist party, recommending to the Kuomintang authorities the use of "Hitlerite" methods to control the wartime currency inflation, and suggesting an international loan from the United States in betrayal of China's national interests.

In the first three months of 1958 Chang Nai-ch'i was relieved of his substantive posts both in the government and in his own party. In 1960 he was criticized further for statements regarding the major economic policies of the government. In March 1963 he again was stigmatized as a rightist and was relieved of membership on the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, virtually his only remaining post.

Chang, Paul C. C.: see CHANG CHIH-CHIANG.

Chang Pi-shih
T. Chen-hsun

張弼士
振勳

Chang Pi-shih (1840–August 1916), entrepreneur, was known for his Chang Yü brewery at Chefoo. He became a multimillionaire in Java and Malaya and was one of the few overseas Chinese whose patriotism and services were utilized by the Manchu government.

A native of Tap'u hsien in eastern Kwangtung, Chang Pi-shih was born into a poor family. The Tap'u district was culturally one of the more advanced areas of Kwangtung province, and Chang did receive some education in his boyhood. Even so, in 1856 at the age of 17, he left home and emigrated to Southeast Asia to seek his fortune. His destination was Batavia.

The young Chang Pi-shih was both ambitious and observant. On his arrival in the new land, he soon recognized that his interests could be furthered most effectively by cultivating the friendship and trust of the Dutch colonial masters. He worked assiduously and gradually ingratiated himself with the authorities. In 1858, only two years after his arrival in Java, he already had established his first business, a company engaged in the development of coconut and rice plantations. The rich island of Java was then leading the other islands of the archipelago in intensive economic development.

Chang's growing friendship with the Dutch colonial officials provided him with opportunities to acquire wasted land for reclamation and development and enabled him to bid successfully for trade monopolies, such as those for the sale of tobacco and wine. Within a few years he had accumulated sufficient wealth to become one of the most prominent residents of Java. Business success, in turn, strengthened his personal relations with Dutch administrative circles.

In 1875, when Chang Pi-shih was 36 sui and in the prime of his career, his Dutch friends suggested that he extend his operations to Sumatra, which was undeveloped economically. The Dutch correctly estimated that Chang was the ideal man to be entrusted with pioneering work in the development of the economic resources of Sumatra. Chang's success was phenomenal and rapid. In 1877 he organized his first large-scale undertaking, the Yu-hsing Company, which began the development of pepper, rubber, coffee, and tea plantations on Sumatra. His operations contributed greatly to the growth of the port of Deli on the northeast of Sumatra. Chang also established a bank in Deli.

The proximity of Medan to Penang, the British island colony which was then the second largest trading center in Malaya, soon attracted Chang Pi-shih into extending his operations to Malaya. Together with a friend, Li Ya-i, who was at the time the leader of the Chinese community in Surabaya, Chang established a trading firm at Penang chiefly for the export of products from Sumatra. Next, he entered the shipping business. In 1886 he founded the Wan-yu-hsing Company, which acquired three vessels operating between Sumatra and Penang.

By this time Chang Pi-shih was recognized as the wealthiest Chinese in Sumatra and had become one of the most prosperous in Southeast

Asia. The Manchu government in Peking, then gradually awakening to the need for modernization and industrialization, had the very practical idea of offering high official posts to rich Chinese abroad in return for their financial investments in China. Chang Pi-shih was among the first overseas Chinese to be selected by the Manchu government for such honors. In 1890 Peking established a consulate in Penang and appointed Chang consul.

As a government official, Chang Pi-shih made periodic visits to China. During these trips he surveyed economic conditions and invested in a variety of industrial enterprises in many parts of the country. His grasp of the principle of diversification, the more remarkable because of the early date, is apparent from even a few of his interests: a weaving mill with machine-operated looms in Canton; a machine-operated brick factory in Fatshan, Kwangtung; a glass works in Waichow, Kwangtung; a cattle ranch in the Luichow peninsula on the mainland opposite Hainan island; and a salt works at Pinghai, Fukien.

In 1894 Chang Pi-shih established the best known and most successful of his enterprises in China, the Chang Yü winery at Chefoo in Shantung province. The Chang Yü establishment was the first large-scale Chinese enterprise to undertake the production of commodities entirely Western in character. The origins of this winery idea may be traced back to 1871. Then a young man of 32 sui beginning his climb to wealth and prominence, Chang Pi-shih had met a veteran of the 1860 Anglo-French expedition against China who had become a French consular official in Java. The Frenchman said that the troops, while on occupation duty in the Chefoo area, had established by experiment that the climate was well suited to the cultivation of grapes for wine. In 1891, the year after he was appointed consul at Penang, Chang visited China and made a trip to Chefoo at the invitation of Sheng Hsuan-huai (q.v.), who was customs tao-t'ai there. Recalling the Frenchman's observations, Chang made inquiries of Sheng Hsuan-huai, who pointed out that native wines were produced successfully in the district. Determined to proceed with the project, Chang then sought to obtain the services of a European expert. The first man he engaged died on the trip to China. The second man proved to be unqualified. The third man, an Austrian,

finally arrived at Chefoo, imported grape seedlings from both Europe and the United States, and gradually established a vineyard. However, it was not until 1906 that the winery began to produce on a commercially profitable basis. In 1909 the winery built its own glass works. Chang Pi-shih's eldest son, Chang Chih-chao, an able entrepreneur like his father, managed the Chang Yü winery from its beginnings. The establishment produced red and white wines, and also brandy.

In 1896, Chang Pi-shih embarked on a silver mining scheme in Kweihsien, Kwangsi. That venture was a failure, partly because the machinery imported was unsuited for local use, and partly because the political situation in the area was unstable.

In Southeast Asia, however, Chang Pi-shih continued to add to his vast fortune. He took a hand in the fast-growing mining industry in British Malaya. In 1898 he helped to found the mining town of Bentong, on the east coast of Malaya, where a miniature "gold rush" was reported. Tin, however, was the major mineral undertaking in Malaya, and Chang had interests in tin mining in the state of Selangor.

Chang Pi-shih also advanced in his official life, being promoted to consul general at Singapore in 1902. In 1903, he was summoned to an audience with the empress dowager in Peking. There he was given the rank of third grade metropolitan official and was appointed to the newly created Board of Trade. On 24 October 1904 Chang submitted, through the board, a memorial to the throne, making important recommendations regarding the economic development of China. Considering the date at which it was written, the document was remarkably advanced in its views. Chang pointed out that the top government leaders of China, while anxious to attract foreign capital for the development of the country, did not offer practical measures to interest prospective foreign investors. Chang suggested the alternative of raising capital from overseas Chinese entrepreneurs. He explained the difficulties that obstructed overseas Chinese interest and suggested methods to overcome them.

The Manchu government viewed his proposal with approval, and Chang was appointed special trade commissioner in Southeast Asia and, concurrently, tuman of agricultural, industrial, highway, and mining development for the two

provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien. He was also given an honorary title as director of one of the five imperial courts and the personal rank of vice minister with permission to wear the first class button. The court's objective was, of course, to ensure Chang's active support in the attempt to interest his fellow overseas Chinese to invest in China. However, in spite of great effort, Chang made little or no headway. The revolutionary tides were rising, and no overseas Chinese leader wanted to offer support to the Manchu government.

When the republic was founded in 1912, Chang Pi-shih returned to Java and Malaya. In Penang, he launched a new enterprise connected with the coconut industry. He died in Surabaya in August 1916, at the age of 77 sui.

Chang Ping-lin

Orig. Chang Hsueh-ch'eng	章炳麟
Chang Chiang	章學乘
T. Mei-shu	章絳
H. T'ai-yen	枚叔
Tao-han	太炎

Chang Ping-lin (25 December 1868–14 June 1936), scholar and anti-Manchu revolutionary, was an editor of the noted newspaper *Su-pao* and of the T'ung-meng-hui's *Min-pao* [people's journal] and a leader of the Kuang-fu-hui [restoration society]. A prominent classical scholar, he was known for his studies in philology and textual criticism.

Although there are many biographical accounts of Chang Ping-lin, there is a singular lack of information about his ancestry and his parents. He was a native of Yühang, Chekiang, and as a child he apparently was educated by members of his family, particularly by his maternal grandfather, who tutored him in the Chinese classics and history. At about the age of 12, while studying the *Tung-hua-lu* [notes from the Manchu archives] with his grandfather, he learned of the anti-Manchu activities of Lü Liu-liang (1629–1683; ECCP, I, 551–52) and Tseng Ching (1679–1736; ECCP, II, 747–49), and first became aware of the Manchus as an alien race of rulers. Thereafter he read the works of anti-Manchu scholars of the seventeenth century such as Wang Fu-chih (1619–92; ECCP, II, 817–19), and studied the historical writings of

Ch'üan Tsu-wang (1705–55; ECCP, I, 203–5), which described the resistance to the Manchus by Ming loyalists in Chang's native province of Chekiang. At the age of 19, Chang's antipathy toward the Manchus was further aroused by reading the *Ming-chi pai-shih hui-pien* [collection of notes on Ming history], a collection of works by pro-Ming authors dealing with the years immediately preceding the Manchu conquest. According to Chang himself, it was from these works that he derived his strong anti-Manchu convictions.

Chang Ping-lin's boyhood interests were not confined to political history. Although he had but little inclination to attempt the civil service examinations, he developed what was to become a life-long interest in philology and textual criticism. When still in his mid-teens he began to read such ancient Chinese lexicons as the *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* [interpreting the language and refining the characters] and the *Erh-ya* [the elegant], as well as collections of textual commentaries on the Thirteen Classics. In 1892, when he had reached the age of 25 sui, Chang decided to leave his native Yühang and to continue his studies in Hangchow at the famous Ku-ching ching-she, then headed by the eminent classical scholar Yü Yueh (1821–1907; ECCP, II, 944–45). Chang spent the next four years studying philology, history, and the classics, devoting special attention to the *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan* [Tso's commentary on the spring and autumn annals].

During the disastrous war of 1894–95 with Japan, Chang was among the many Chinese who became convinced that China must undertake far-reaching reforms to survive as an independent nation. When K'ang Yu-wei (q.v.) and others organized the Ch'iang-hsueh-hui in 1895, Chang sent a contribution and a request that his name be included in the membership of this reform society. In this way Chang's name came to the attention of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (q.v.), at whose invitation Chang left the Ku-ching ching-she in 1896 to join the staff of the *Shih-wu pao* [current affairs journal] the reform magazine which Liang and Wang K'ang-nien had started in Shanghai. In 1898, after two years with the *Shih-wu pao*, Chang accepted an invitation to join the staff of Chang Chih-tung (ECCP, I, 27–32), the governor general of Hupeh and Hunan. At Wuchang, however, he soon clashed with Chang Chih-tung over the latter's recently

published book, *Ch'uan-hsueh p'ien* [exhortation to study]. In particular, Chang Ping-lin criticized this work for its emphasis upon loyalty to the reigning dynasty of Manchus. Shortly after Chang left his post with Chang Chih-tung, the empress dowager's coup in Peking against the reform party took place, and orders were sent out for the arrest of several persons associated with the reform movement. Because of his former connection with the *Shih-wu pao*, Chang was included on the list of those to be apprehended, and to avoid arrest he went to Taiwan, which was then under Japanese control.

While Chang Ping-lin was in Taiwan he established contact with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in Yokohama and, at Liang's invitation, left for Japan in 1899. At that time Liang and other followers of K'ang Yu-wei were considering the possibility of cooperation with the revolutionary party of Sun Yat-sen. Through Liang's introduction, Chang became acquainted with Sun in Yokohama. However, when K'ang Yu-wei organized the Pao-huang hui, a society dedicated to the rescue of the imprisoned Kuang-hsu emperor from the hands of the conservative empress dowager and to his restoration at the head of a reform government, Chang Ping-lin parted ways with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Liang, as a follower of K'ang Yu-wei, supported the view that China could be reformed only under the emperor's leadership, but Chang maintained that all Manchus, including the emperor, were enemies of the Chinese and had to be expelled from China before any reform movement could succeed. Chang then left Japan and returned to Shanghai.

In June 1900, at the height of the Boxer Uprising in north China, Chang Ping-lin attended a meeting of several hundred reform sympathizers in Shanghai. The meeting was organized by T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang in an attempt to unite the monarchist and the revolutionary factions in support of an armed revolt against the imperial authorities in Hupeh and Hunan. To secure the financial backing of the monarchist group, T'ang and other leaders drew up a covenant expressing loyalty to the Kuang-hsu emperor. Chang protested vigorously and, as a gesture of his final break with the Manchu dynasty, cut off his queue in front of the entire assemblage. Three months later, following the suppression of T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang's revolt in Hankow, orders went out for the arrest of Chang

Ping-lin and other prominent members of the Shanghai meeting. Chang took refuge in Soochow, where he taught at Anglo-Chinese College (Tung-hsi shu-yuan, in 1901 renamed Soochow University, or Tung-wu ta-hsueh), a school operated by American missionary groups. While teaching in Soochow, he assigned to his students essay topics in Ming and Ch'ing history which were regarded as being politically provocative by the Manchu authorities. Therefore, late in 1901, En-ming (1846-1907), the Manchu governor of Kiangsu, pressed the school authorities for information of Chang's whereabouts. Chang, then on winter vacation in Hangchow, was secretly notified of the inquiries, and, early in 1902, he made his escape to Shanghai and thence to Japan.

In Tokyo, Chang Ping-lin renewed his acquaintance with Sun Yat-sen and came in contact with a number of young revolutionists, including Chang Chi, Feng Tzu-yu, and Ch'in Li-shan, with whom he discussed ways of overthrowing the Manchu dynasty. Chang maintained that to achieve this end it was necessary to arouse the patriotism of the young Chinese, and that the best way to do this was to stimulate a sense of the history of China in them. He proposed that a mass meeting of Chinese students and political refugees be held on 6 May 1902 to mark the anniversary of China's fall to the Manchu conquerors. An announcement of the meeting was prepared by Chang and circulated among the Chinese in Japan. Although the Japanese authorities prohibited the meeting at the request of the Chinese minister in Tokyo, Chang's idea of a patriotic anti-Manchu association became very popular among the Chinese students and quickly led to the formation of several Chinese revolutionary organizations, such as the Ch'ing-nien hui (1902) and the Chün kuo-min chiao-yü hui (1902) in Japan and the Kuang-fu hui (1903) in China.

In 1902 Chang returned from Tokyo to Shanghai, where he joined Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, Wu Chih-hui, and others in organizing the Chung-kuo chiao-yü hui [China education society] to promote modern education in China. Since many of its members were young Chinese imbued with radically nationalistic ideas, the society soon became a center for clandestine revolutionary activities. In November, at the urgent request of many young students who had recently returned from Japan, the leaders of the

society set up a new school in Shanghai, the Ai-kuo hsueh-she [patriotic society], with Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei as principal and Chang Ping-lin, Wu Chih-hui, Huang Yen-p'ei, and Chiang Wei-ch'iao as teachers. Early in 1903, the Ai-kuo hsueh-she added to its enrollment many students who had withdrawn from the Nan-yang kung-she [Nanyang academy] in Shanghai, including a radical youth by the name of Chang Shih-chao (q.v.). While teaching sinological studies at the Ai-kuo hsueh-she, Chang Ping-lin became a close friend of Chang Shih-chao and of Tsou Jung (1885-1905; ECCP, II, 769), a young student who had recently returned from Japan. It was through his association with these two young friends that Chang Ping-lin became involved in the well-known *Su-pao* case in June 1903.

Late in May, Chang Shih-chao became editor in chief of the *Su-pao*, a newspaper closely connected with the Ai-kuo hsueh-she in Shanghai. Under Chang Shih-chao, the *Su-pao* became increasingly radical in tone and published several articles by Chang Ping-lin, Wu Chih-hui, and others in the Ai-kuo hsueh-she which reflected strong anti-Manchu sentiment. Among these was Chang Ping-lin's laudatory preface to Tsou Jung's *Ko-ming chiün* [the revolutionary army], the pamphlet in which Tsou had set down his ideas of armed revolt against the Manchus. The *Su-pao* also carried Chang's "Refutation of K'ang Yu-wei's Political Views," in which Chang denounced K'ang's arguments for a constitutional monarchy and ridiculed the Kuang-hsu emperor as being a "young clown who couldn't tell beans from barley." Incensed at such open attacks, the Manchu court ordered the suppression of the *Su-pao* and the arrest of Chang Ping-lin, Tsou Jung, and others connected with it. Chang was arrested on 29 June 1903, and two days later Tsou surrendered. They were tried by a mixed court in Shanghai, which sentenced Chang to three years imprisonment, and Tsou to two years. Refusing the Manchu government's extradition requests, the foreign consular authorities in Shanghai assigned Chang and Tsou to a prison in the International Settlement. Tsou Jung died there in 1905 shortly before the end of his term.

On 29 June 1906, at the end of his three-year term, Chang was released from prison and immediately escorted to Japan by members of the

newly organized T'ung-meng-hui. In Tokyo he was given a hero's welcome by members of the revolutionary party and was made editor in chief of the T'ung-meng-hui's magazine, the *Min-pao* [people's journal] of which he edited fifteen issues during the next two years. As chief editor and a major contributor, Chang Ping-lin lent to the *Min-pao* both his prominence as a revolutionary and his training as a classical scholar. He helped to combat the influence of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's popular monarchist journal, *Hsin-min ts'ung-pao* [new people's miscellany] and to draw an increasing number of Chinese intellectuals into the revolutionary movement. However, an article advocating political assassination as a revolutionary means, which appeared in the *Min-pao* issue of 10 October 1908, prompted the Japanese authorities to confiscate the magazine. Chang Ping-lin vigorously protested this action and, with Sung Chiao-jen (q.v.), took the case to the Japanese courts, but was unsuccessful.

In the meantime, the repeated failures of revolutionary attempts in Kwangtung in 1907 had led to growing discontent with Sun Yat-sen's leadership among some members of the T'ung-meng-hui in Japan. One of Sun's harshest critics was Chang Ping-lin, who not only held Sun responsible for the failure of the party's military ventures but also accused him of misappropriating party funds for his personal use. Within the T'ung-meng-hui headquarters in Tokyo, a movement to oust Sun as party chairman was begun by Chang and T'ao Ch'eng-chang (1878-1912; T. Huan-ch'ing), one of Chang's colleagues on the *Min-pao* staff and chief editor of the magazine from April to July 1908. T'ao Ch'eng-chang had become a member of the Kuang-fu-hui [restoration society] in Shanghai soon after its formation in 1903, and, with several other members of this revolutionary society, he had joined the T'ung-meng-hui in 1906. Dissatisfied with the T'ung-meng-hui leadership, T'ao left Tokyo for Singapore in 1908 and began to reorganize the Kuang-fu-hui. Thereafter, frequently at the expense of the T'ung-meng-hui, the Kuang-fu-hui rapidly gained adherents among the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia and the Netherlands East Indies and in Chekiang, Kiangsu, Fukien and other provinces of east China. Although Chang Ping-lin remained in Japan, he was highly respected by the Kuang-fu-hui members in

China and Southeast Asia and was recognized by them as the leader of T'ao's organization. In 1910, when the Kuang-fu-hui was revived in Tokyo, Chang was elected head of the party, with T'ao second in command. Subsequently, rivalry between the Kuang-fu-hui and the T'ung-meng-hui became increasingly bitter, and in January 1912, shortly after the capture of Shanghai by the revolutionary forces, T'ao Ch'eng-chang was assassinated, reportedly at the instigation of the T'ung-meng-hui leaders in Shanghai.

Despite his connections with the Kuang-fu-hui, Chang Ping-lin remained a member of the T'ung-meng-hui until the 1911 revolution. Chang believed that the main purpose of the T'ung-meng-hui was to overthrow the Manchu dynasty and that once this objective had been attained, there would be no reason for its continued existence. After the revolution late in 1911, Chang was among the first of many members to sever ties with the T'ung-meng-hui. Returning from Japan to Shanghai at the end of 1911, he organized the Chung-hua min-kuo lien-ho hui [united association of the Chinese republic], established on 3 January 1912. This political group opposed the T'ung-meng-hui on several important issues; in spite of his differences with the T'ung-meng-hui, Chang accepted the invitation of Sun Yat-sen, then president of the provisional government at Nanking, to act as his confidential adviser. In February 1912, Yuan Shih-k'ai invited Chang to serve as his adviser in Peking. Before leaving for Peking in April, Chang merged his association with a group led by Chang Chien (q.v.) to form a political party named the T'ung-i-tang [unification party]. Chang Ping-lin became one of its four directors, with Chang Chien, Hsiung Hsi-ling, and Ch'eng Te-ch'uan. In Peking, Chang Ping-lin set up headquarters for the party, which in May joined with the Min-she [people's society], headed by Li Yuan-hung (q.v.) and other Hupeh leaders to form a new political party, the Kung-ho-tang [republican party], again with Chang as one of the directors. The membership of that group included many people who had formerly served as officials under the Manchus and who in the National Assembly generally supported Yuan Shih-k'ai against the T'ung-meng-hui and, later, against the Kuomintang. Dissatisfied with its political conservatism and its subservience to Yuan

Shih-k'ai, Chang soon withdrew from the Kung-ho-tang and attempted to reorganize the T'ung-i-tang as a separate political group.

In Peking, Chang Ping-lin was appointed by Yuan Shih-k'ai to the post of frontier defense commissioner of the Three Eastern Provinces. Chang went to Manchuria to take up his duties. After a brief period in Mukden, however, he found to his chagrin that the position amounted to little more than a title. His indignation with Yuan turned to overt hostility in the spring of 1913 when he heard that his long-time colleague Sung Chiao-jen had been assassinated in Shanghai, apparently by Yuan's agents. Resigning his position, Chang hastened to Shanghai where he joined his former T'ung-meng-hui associates in publicly denouncing Yuan Shih-k'ai.

After the so-called second revolution of July-August 1913, Chang revisited Peking for the purpose of reorganizing the Kung-ho-tang. Yuan, fearful lest Chang should attempt to stir up opposition to his regime, placed him under house arrest, and only a few of Chang's closest followers were permitted to visit him. Not until Yuan's death in June 1916 was Chang released from his enforced seclusion in Peking. After returning to Shanghai, he left almost immediately on an extensive tour of Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies, where he lectured to groups of overseas Chinese on the political situation in China. In the autumn he returned again to Shanghai, where he set up his permanent residence and began to discuss national affairs with many of his old acquaintances and former revolutionary comrades.

In July 1917, Chang Ping-lin sailed from Shanghai to Canton with Sun Yat-sen, T'ang Shao-ji (q.v.), and others to organize support for a so-called constitution protection movement against the Peking government, then controlled by Tuan Ch'i-jui. On 3 September 1917 the extraordinary parliament at Canton elected Sun Yat-sen head of a new military government. A few days later Sun appointed Chang secretary general of his military headquarters. Since Chang found his duties to be irksome and frequently quarrelled with Hu Han-min in conferences, Sun agreed to his suggestion that he go on a personal mission to enlist the support of the powerful militarists in Yunnan and Szechwan. Traveling by way of Annam, Chang went to Kunming, where he interviewed T'ang Chi-yao (q.v.). He then spent several months in

Chungking. However, after much inconclusive negotiation for military cooperation against the Peking government, Chang finally left Szechwan in disgust and returned to Canton in the spring of 1918, only to find that Sun had resigned his position in the military government and had left for Shanghai. With the failure of this venture, Chang Ping-lin retired to his residence in Shanghai and withdrew almost completely from political activity. Occasionally, however, crises in national politics aroused him to action. In 1922 he wrote a letter to Li Yuan-hung (q.v.) urging him to refuse the presidency of China, offered to him by Ts'ao K'un and Wu P'ei-fu (qq.v.) in Peking; in 1924 he issued a call for a meeting of former T'ung-meng-hui members to discuss ways of halting Communist activities within the reorganized Kuomintang; and in 1932 he paid a visit to Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.) in Peiping, urging him to harass the Japanese in the north in order to reduce Japanese military pressure on the Chinese army then fighting in Shanghai.

Following his retirement from political life in 1918, Chang Ping-lin devoted the greater part of his energies to teaching and to classical scholarship. During the mid-1920's, he also served as editor in chief of the *Hua-kuo* [the flower country], a monthly magazine begun in September 1923 and suspended in July 1926, in which he published many of his scholarly studies. After residing in Shanghai for some 15 years, he moved to Soochow in April 1934. The following year he set up a private school, the Chang-shih kuo-hsueh chiang-yen-so, in connection with which he began to publish a semi-monthly magazine entitled *Chih-yen*. Through writings published in this periodical and lectures at his school, Chang Ping-lin sought to preserve the traditions of Chinese classical learning in the face of an increasingly Westernized system of national education. It was while thus engaged that he died on 14 June 1936. After his death, the school he had founded, renamed T'ai-yen wen-hsueh-yuan in his honor, was moved to Shanghai, where it continued to operate until September 1940.

Although Chang Ping-lin was known and respected for his role in the Chinese revolutionary movement, he was most prominent in the field of classical scholarship. Even during his early years as a reformer and revolutionary, he was profoundly interested in questions of classi-

cal learning. Following in the footsteps of his famous teacher, Yü Yueh, he continued his studies of philology and textual criticism as applied to both the Confucian classics and the works of the ancient Chinese philosophers. To these studies he added strong personal sentiments of anti-Manchu nationalism. His early essays on Chinese philosophy and history, filled with hostile allusions to the Manchu dynasty, reflected his early intellectual interests. Chang published a collection of these in 1901 as the *Ch'iushu*, a work which in 1914 he revised, enlarged, and published with the title *Chien-lun* [revised views]. In his years as an exile in Japan, apart from his duties as editor of the *Min-pao*, Chang devoted his attention to teaching and research on sinological studies. From 1906 to 1911 a number of his most important writings on the Chinese classics and the ancient philosophers were published in the *Kuo-ts'ui hsueh-pao* [classical studies academic journal], a scholarly journal with a nationalistic point of view published in Shanghai by Liu Shih-p'ei (q.v.) and Teng Shih (T. Ch'i-mei). Another subject in which Chang had considerable scholarly interest was Buddhism. That interest was apparent in several of his contributions to both the *Min-pao* and the *Kuo-ts'ui hsueh-pao*. Chang gave particular attention to the *Chü-she wei-lun* (*Abhidharma-kosa-sastra*), and in such writings as his *Chuang-tzu chieh-ku* [interpretation of Chuang-tzu] and his *Ch'i-wu-lun shih* [interpretation of *Ch'i-wu-lun*] he compared with much originality the teachings of this Buddhist work with the Taoist philosophy of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu.

Since his days as a student under Yü Yueh, Chang Ping-lin had been especially fond of studying the *Tso-chuan* [Tso's commentary on the spring and autumn annals]. In several of his writings, such as his *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan tu hsü-lu* [notes on the spring and autumn annals and on Tso's commentary] and his *Liu Tzu-cheng Tso-shih shuo* [Liu Tzu-cheng's views on the *Tso-chuan*], he maintained the superiority of the *Tso-chuan* over the two other commentaries on the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, the *Kung-yang chuan* [teachings of Kung-yang] and the *Ku-liang chuan* [teachings of Ku-liang]. Chang was an exponent of the *ku-wen* [old text] school of classical learning (in opposition to the scholarship of such contemporaries as K'ang Yu-wei, who based their theories on the Kung-yang commentary and the writings of the *chin-wen* [new text] school

of classical interpretation). In the field of classical learning, Chang's greatest accomplishments were probably his studies of philology and linguistics. Among his major achievements in these subjects were his *Wen-shih* [literature and history], on the origins of Chinese script; his *Hsin fang-yen* [new dialects], a geographical survey of modern Chinese dialects modeled on the *Fang-yen* [dialects] of the Han-dynasty scholar Yang Hsiung; the *Hsiao-hsueh ta-wen* [answers to questions on philology]; and the *Shuo-wen pu-shou yün-yü* [a study of the radicals in the Shuo-wen]. But Chang's best-known work in this field, which dealt with philology in relation to literature and philosophy, was his *Kuo-ku lun-heng* [discussions of Chinese classics], a brilliant example of how ancient Chinese texts can best be understood by mastery of linguistic knowledge. Despite his erudition in philology, however, Chang belittled the study of the chia-ku-wen, or oracle-bone inscriptions, and refused to recognize the contributions of contemporary scholars in this field to the knowledge of the ancient history of China.

As a proponent of the preservation of China's moral and cultural heritage, Chang Ping-lin was interested in the legal and ethical codes of antiquity, which he held to have been the foundations of China's traditional culture. Among his writings on this subject was a brief study of the legal codes throughout China's history which first appeared in the *Min-pao* as "Wu-ch'ao fa-lü so-yin" [study of the laws of the five dynasties]. In his later years he devoted much time to a compilation of the ceremonial regulations to be observed during the period of mourning. Although Chang wrote but little in the field of history, he planned at one time to compile a general history of China. A table of contents for this projected history appeared in the original edition of his *Ch'iu-shu*, but was deleted when this work was subsequently published as *Chien-lun*. In prose writing, Chang Ping-lin was recognized as being one of the most authentic representatives and accomplished stylists of the traditional ku-wen literature, and his poetry, mostly written in the condensed five-character line form, has been found to bear a striking resemblance to the poetry of the Wei-Chin period. After the 1911 revolution, Chang exerted considerable influence as a scholar and literary stylist at National Peking University, where several of his disciples and friends (known

as the Kiang-Che group) replaced Lin Shu (q.v.) and other representatives of the T'ung-ch'eng school as professors in the faculty of literature. As a staunch defender of China's literary traditions, Chang was among the most powerful and effective opponents of the vernacular literature movement led by Hu Shih and Ch'en Tu-hsiu (qq.v.). With the increasing popularity of *pai-hua* [vernacular] literature among Chinese university students, however, Chang's influence at Peking University and other centers of learning rapidly declined, and by the final years of his life his writings in the ku-wen style had come to be regarded as curious literary antiques.

A number of Chang Ping-lin's early essays, including several articles he had written for the *Min-pao* and the *Kuo-ts'u hsueh-pao* were collected and printed in 1914 as the *Chang T'ai-yen wen-ch'ao* [selected works of Chang T'ai-yen] by the Chung-hua Bookstore in Shanghai. In 1919, fourteen of Chang's sinological writings were gathered into a collection by the Chekiang Provincial Library and printed under the title *Chang-shih ts'ung-shu* [Chang's works]; and in 1924 this collection was reprinted by the Ku-shu liu-t'ung-ch'u in Shanghai. A supplementary collection was printed at Peiping in 1933 as the *Chang-shih ts'ung-shu hsü-pien* [second series of Chang's works] by his disciples Ch'ien Hsuant'ung, Chu Hsi-tsu (qq.v.), and Ma Yü-tsao (1880-; T. Yu-yü) and a third collection, the *Chang-shih ts'ung-shu san-pien* [third series of Chang's works], was published in 1939 by his own establishment, the Chang-shih kuo-hsueh chiang-hsi-hui. An extensive catalog of Chang's writings, *T'ai-yen hsien-sheng chu-shu mu-lu ch'u-kao* [catalogue of writings of Tai-yen], was prepared by some of his pupils and published in September 1939 as part of a special number of the *Chih-yen* magazine, issued in commemoration of his death. Among Chang's numerous unpublished writings is the *Tzu-ting nien-p'u* [autobiographical chronology].

Chang Ping-lin had four children—two sons, Chang Tao and Chang Ch'i, and two daughters, Chang Li and Chang Chan. Chang Li (T. Yün-lai) was married to Kung Pao-ch'üan (1883?-1922; T. Wei-sheng), who had founded the Kuang-fu-hui in 1903. While Chang Ping-lin was under house arrest in Peking, Chang Li went to visit him and on 7 September 1915 mysteriously hanged herself in the house where

her father was detained. Chang Ping-lin's first wife died at an early date, and in June 1913 he married a second time. T'ang Kuo-li, his second wife, was regarded as a learned woman of unusual ability. Chang himself was by temperament direct and outspoken, highly individualistic, and frequently impulsive in his actions, for which he gained the reputation of being a feng-tzu [eccentric]. As a young man he was noted for his strict moral views, and for his criticism of others to their faces for any flaws he found in their character or behavior. Later in life, however, Chang became more restrained in his criticism, the result, it was said, of the beneficial influence of his second wife.

As one of modern China's foremost classical scholars, Chang Ping-lin taught several students who later became distinguished scholars in their own right, including Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung, Chu Hsi-tsü, and Wu Ch'eng-shih (1885-1939; T. Chien-chai and Yen-chai) a chü-jen of 1902. The two pupils of whom Chang Ping-lin spoke most highly were Huang K'an (q.v.) and Wang Tung (1890-). Their names were often referred to in combination as Huang-Wang.

Chang Po-chün

章伯鈞

Chang Po-chün (1895-), political leader, was a founder of the Third party and of its successor, the Chinese Workers and Peasants Democratic party. He became secretary general of the China Democratic League. From 1949 until 1957 he was minister of communications at Peking. In 1957 he came under Communist censure as a rightist.

A native of T'ungch'eng, Anhwei, Chang Po-chün was born into a scholar's family. After a traditional education in the Chinese classics, he studied at the Wuchang Higher Normal School in its foreign languages department. After his graduation, he returned to his native district of T'ungch'eng and served as principal of the local normal school. In 1922 he obtained a government scholarship for study in Germany, enrolling in the department of philosophy of the University of Berlin. He remained there from 1922 to 1925. It was in Germany that he met both Chu Teh and Teng Yen-ta (q.v.). Through Teng's introduction, he was admitted to the Kuomintang.

In 1926, at the invitation of Teng Yen-ta, Chang Po-chün returned to China and joined the National Government at Wuhan. Teng was then director of the general political department in the headquarters of the commander in chief of the Northern Expedition, and Chang served as chief of the propaganda section in that department. Like Teng, he opposed the conservative Kuomintang group at Nanking, and, accordingly, he participated in the Chinese Communist insurrection at Nanchang on 1 August 1927, which was directed by the Communist military leaders Ho Lung and Yeh T'ing (qq.v.). Chang followed the rebels as they marched southward toward Canton. When this force was routed by the Kuomintang in the Swatow area, Chang Po-chün, like most of its other leaders, fled to Shanghai by way of Hong Kong. Teng Yen-ta fled to Europe.

In 1928 in Shanghai, together with T'an P'ing-shan (q.v.) and others who had left the Chinese Communist party, and with the long-distance support of Teng Yen-ta, Chang Po-chün organized a so-called provisional central action committee of the Kuomintang. This group advocated restoration of the so-called three great policies of Sun Yat-sen: alliance with the Soviet Union, cooperation with the Communists, and support of the workers and peasants. After Teng Yen-ta returned from Europe, a meeting was held at Shanghai in September 1930 to launch a new organization called the Provisional Action Committee of the Kuomintang, with Teng Yen-ta as its head.

When Teng was executed a year later, in November 1931, Chang Po-chün succeeded him as titular head of the political group, which was generally referred to in China as the Third party. Assured of the implacable hostility of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang authorities at Nanking, Chang Po-chün had to flee from Shanghai. In November 1933, he and Huang Ch'i-hsiang led members of the party in joining the Fukien revolt. In the so-called people's government which was formed at Foochow, Chang Po-chün was elected a member of the government council and head of the communications department. The Fukien revolt collapsed within a few weeks, however, and in January 1934 Chang Po-chün fled to Hong Kong with the other Foochow leaders. From Hong Kong he went to Japan, where he remained in exile for over a year.

Chang returned to Hong Kong in 1935. There he reestablished his party, now named the Chinese National Liberation Action Committee, a title which avoided any reference to the Kuomintang. When war between China and Japan broke out in 1937, political differences in China were for a time resolved; all factions rallied to confront the national crisis and to resist the Japanese aggression. Chang Po-chün went to Nanking, and thence he accompanied the National Government to Wuhan and eventually to the wartime capital of Chungking. There he served as a member of the First and Second People's Political councils from 1938 to 1941, when he was expelled for his criticism of the government's handling of the New Fourth Army affair. He also played a leading role in the organization of the League of Chinese Democratic Political Groups, the predecessor of the China Democratic League, in 1944. He was reinstated as a member of the Fourth People's Political Council in 1945, and he was a member of the delegation of the council which visited Yenan in an effort to seek a peaceful settlement of the differences separating the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist party. At this time he also served as chairman of the Chungking branch of the China Democratic League.

In 1946 Chang Po-chün was a delegate to the Political Consultative Conference, held under the auspices of the National Government (first at Chungking and later at Nanking) with a view to settling differences and drafting a constitution that would be acceptable to all parties. Chang served on the committee for drafting the constitution, but the conference soon broke down. During the postwar interlude, Chang Po-chün lived the harassed existence common to all anti-Kuomintang minor party leaders in China. His own group was reorganized as the China Peasants and Workers Democratic party. In 1947, when the National Government outlawed the China Democratic League, Chang moved to Hong Kong. He remained there until late 1948 when, together with a substantial group of minor party and non-partisan figures, he moved to Harbin in Communist-controlled Manchuria. After the Communists carried their successes south of the Great Wall and occupied north China, Chang went to Peiping in February 1949. In the summer of that year he was named by the Communists to the preparatory committee of the Chinese People's Political Con-

sultative Conference. When that conference opened in September 1949, Chang attended as a representative of the China Democratic League, of which he was then secretary general. His own party, the Workers and Peasants Democratic party, was also represented at the meeting. Meanwhile, when the newspaper *Kuang-ming jih-pao* [bright daily news] was established at Peiping in June 1949 as the organ of the minor political parties and groups, Chang Po-chün was named its managing director.

With the establishment of the Central People's Government in October 1949, Chang Po-chün was elected a member of the Central People's Government Council and was named minister of communications in the Government Administration Council. He also served as a member of the standing committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Like some other non-Communist figures at Peking, Chang was assigned to play a role in the so-called people's diplomacy programs of the Peking government. As a member of the Chinese delegation to the Second World Peace Congress, held at Warsaw in November 1950, Chang was elected a member of the World Peace Council. In 1951 and 1952 he attended the meetings of that council held, respectively, at Vienna and at Berlin. In 1952 he also took part in the Third World Peace Congress at Vienna, and in 1953 and 1954 he attended the meetings of the World Peace Council held at Vienna and at Berlin, respectively. In 1953 he served as a member of the Chinese delegation which attended Stalin's funeral at Moscow, and later in that year he accompanied the Chinese mission sent to provide "comfort" to the people of North Korea.

Within China, in addition to his responsibilities as minister of communications, Chang Po-chün took an active part in the preparations for the government reorganization of 1954. He served as a member of both the committee to draft the new constitution and the central election committee. In the general elections held in 1954 he was elected as a delegate from his native Anhwei province to the First National People's Congress. In that year he was appointed a vice chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

During the first few years of the new regime at Peking, Chang Po-chün's career appeared to

be spectacularly successful. He held his government post as minister of communications uninterrupted after 1949. He was one of the relatively small number of approved non-Communists honored by assignments to travel abroad. Indeed, he served as one of the deputy leaders of the delegation of the National People's Congress which visited the Soviet Union and several other Communist countries of Eastern Europe during the tumultuous period after the Hungarian uprising in the autumn of 1956. And, within the context of minor party politics in the People's Republic of China, Chang's prospects seemed to be good. After the death in 1955 of Chang Lan (q.v.), chairman of the China Democratic League, Chang Po-chün and Lo Lung-chi (q.v.) had become the senior leaders of the league, in fact if not in name. Chang Po-chün continued to serve as titular head of the Peasants and Workers Democratic party.

However, in 1957 when Mao Tse-tung announced his program of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," inviting free expression of views and free criticism of both the government and even the Communist party, Chang Po-chün, prompted either by political naivete or by a sense of security bred by the period of smooth sailing since 1949, took Chairman Mao at his word and, as did many others, expressed both his views and his criticisms of the regime.

The reaction was swift and sharp. In a nation-wide movement against the "rightists," the Communists severely attacked their critics and reprimanded their "reactionary thoughts" and alleged plots against the regime. Chang Po-chün and Lo Lung-chi were singled out for an extensive campaign of denunciation. The two men were charged with the formation of an alliance (widely referred to in China as the Chang-Lo alliance) which was anti-Communist, anti-socialist, and contrary to the interests of the people. Some of the specific charges made against Chang Po-chün and Lo Lung-chi, as the ranking leaders of the China Democratic League, were: that they had exploited the organization by an extensive recruitment campaign to add to its ranks people who were against the Communist party; that they had attempted thereby to set up an effective "opposition" to the Communist party; that they advocated bourgeois democracy; that they

opposed Communist leadership in the cultural and educational fields; and that they used the newspapers *Kuang-ming jih pao* and *Wen Hui Pao* to further these ends.

The major attack on Chang Po-chün and Lo Lung-chi came from within the ranks of the league itself. The attack was led by Shih Liang, the woman leader of the league and, for a time, minister of justice of the Peking regime. Early in 1958, Chang Po-chün was dismissed from his post as minister of communications. He was also removed from his high offices in the league, of which he was a vice chairman; the Peasants and Workers Democratic party, of which he was chairman; and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, of which he was vice chairman of the National Committee.

After his admission of guilt and public expression of repentance, however, Chang Po-chün was reappointed a member of the standing committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in April 1959. The Communist authorities at Peking appeared to have been satisfied that Chang had learned his lesson and that the political moral which they had wished to impress upon the general populace through his example had been understood.

Chang Po-chün was married to Li Chien-sheng, a graduate of the Peking Union Medical College who was a vice chairman of the Peking branch of the China Red Cross Society. Two daughters were born to them.

Chang Po-ling T. Shou-ch'un

張伯苓
壽春

Chang Po-ling (1876-1951), prominent Christian educator, founded the Nankai Schools and established Nankai University at Tientsin in 1919, serving as its president until 1948. Deputy speaker of the People's Political Council during the Sino-Japanese war, he served as president of the Examination Yuan at Nanking in 1948. He retired in 1949 to live in Tientsin.

Born in Tientsin, Chang Po-ling was the first son of a talented and scholarly family of that area. His father, a *bon vivant* as well as a scholar, had dissipated the family fortune through his propensity for good living. He was reduced to earning a living by tutoring. Considering his

own life a failure, he determined to give his son both an education and discipline. Thanks to his father's training and supervision, Chang Po-ling successfully passed the matriculation examination for the Peiyang Naval Academy when he was but 13.

An industrious lad who combined a sturdy physique with a good mind, Chang climbed to the top of his class during his five-year period of study at the academy. Among his teachers were such versatile scholars as Yen Fu (q.v.) and Wu Kuang-ch'ien, who later gained renown for their efforts in introducing Western ideas to China. Chang's final year as a cadet at the Peiyang Naval Academy was the year of the first Sino-Japanese war, in which the Chinese navy was disastrously defeated by the Japanese navy. Since the entire Peiyang fleet was virtually destroyed, Chang had to wait for a year after graduation before he could join his training ship, the Tung-chi. This ship was ordered to participate in the transfer of the important port of Wei-hai-wei in Shantung province from Japanese occupation to British control. That transfer took place in July 1898, when China was forced to lease Wei-hai-wei to Great Britain as a naval base. Depressed by the humiliation of his country, Chang Po-ling resigned his naval commission and returned to Tientsin.

He determined to devote his energies to the field of modern education as a means of reforming China and of checking her decline. Chang began his career as an educator by teaching in a private school which held its classes in the home of Yen Hsiu, a prominent Tientsin scholar and public-spirited citizen. Known as the Yen-kuan, or Yen's school, it offered a small laboratory for experimentation in modern educational methods. In addition to English, mathematics, and the elements of natural science, Chang Po-ling taught physical education. He designed and had a local carpenter produce wooden Indian clubs and dumbbells such as he had used as a naval academy cadet. He also followed the practice, almost unheard of in China at that time, of playing games with his students. His interest in science and physical education and his emphasis on a freely democratic association between teacher and pupils were unmistakable marks of one of the founders of modern education in China. Three years later, in 1901, Chang also began to conduct classes at another private school, the Wang-kuan, held in the home of

Wang Kuei-ch'ang, another prominent and prosperous Tientsin citizen.

From these modest beginnings the educational enterprise associated with the name of Nankai gradually developed. An important element in the founding of the Nankai schools was the close friendship between Chang Po-ling and Yen Hsiu. Scholar, bibliophile, and patriot, Yen Hsiu viewed the new Western learning with an open mind and a receptive spirit. He had great personal prestige in Tientsin and throughout north China and was an unfailing financial patron. Chang Po-ling, in turn, had youth, administrative ability, and dedication. In 1903 the two men traveled together to Japan to study the educational system in that country.

In 1904, they decided to expand the Yen Hsiu private school at Tientsin into a modern middle school. The new venture, which began with an enrollment of some 70 pupils, was called the First Private Middle School. Two years later, when friends donated about two acres of land, the school moved to a site in an area known as Nankai and changed its name to the Nankai Middle School. To acquaint himself with modern Western educational concepts and methods, Chang Po-ling made a trip to the United States and Europe in 1908.

The Nankai objective was "to reform old habits of life and to train youth for the salvation of the country." The credo summarized China's major shortcomings: physical weakness and poor health; superstition and lack of scientific knowledge; poverty; deplorable lack of social conscience and social reform; and selfishness. To correct these national defects, Chang Po-ling proposed and implemented a five-point program of educational reform: (1) to improve physical fitness, (2) to train youth in the methods and achievements of modern science, (3) to organize students to participate in group activity and team work, (4) to give them moral training, and (5) to cultivate in students both the will and the capacity to work for China.

Chang Po-ling's early career as an educator was influenced by his interest and activity in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association in north China. When Chang was still a student at the Peiyang Naval Academy, an American YMCA secretary, D. Willard Lyon, had organized the first Chinese municipal YMCA at Tientsin in 1895. By the time Chang established his first school, he was already

acquainted with several American YMCA secretaries, including two outstanding athletes who were then serving in north China: Robert Gailey, an All-American football center from Princeton, and C. H. Robertson, a high jumper from Purdue. Robertson, who conducted a weekly Bible class in Tientsin, had a direct personal influence on Chang Po-ling by introducing him to Christianity as a force for social reform. Through his association with these and other American YMCA representatives, including Roscoe M. Hersey, the father of John Hersey, and through his own observations, during his trip abroad in 1908, of social and civil programs which were religiously motivated, Chang developed sufficient personal interest to become a Christian in 1909. Because he was one of the very few intellectuals in China to make such a commitment at that time, Chang attracted notice by making this decision.

Partly through his YMCA connections, Chang Po-ling soon gained a reputation as an active promoter of amateur athletics and physical education programs. In 1909 the first north China track and field meet was held, with Chang Po-ling's assistance, on the campus of the Nankai Middle School. In the absence of other sponsors, the national association of the YMCA in China, at Chang's urging, took the lead in organizing China's first national athletic meet in October 1910, in connection with a national industrial exposition. In later years, Chang, who was known for his emphasis on good sportsmanship and on the highest standards of amateur athletic competition, was continually in demand to serve as an official at regional and national tournaments. And, at a very early date, Nankai was outstanding among the non-missionary schools in China for producing winning teams and individuals in athletic competition.

Chang had long cherished the ambition of establishing a model private university on his campus. To prepare for this task, he visited the United States in 1917 and attended courses at Teachers College, Columbia University. Chang's dream was realized in 1919, when Nankai University was inaugurated at Tientsin. It had three colleges: liberal arts, science, and business. In 1920, a college of mining was added. Chang Po-ling's contributions to Chinese education were recognized in 1919, when St. John's University at Shanghai awarded him the honor-

ary degree of Doctor of Letters. A more unusual token of respect for his work was that of Li Ch'un, a prominent Peiyang general of the Chihli faction and a native of Tientsin: when he committed suicide in October 1920, Li Ch'un bequeathed to Nankai a substantial amount of money, which did much to underwrite the continued progress of Chang Po-ling's work.

The Nankai establishment expanded steadily. In 1923 a middle school for girls was established, and in 1928 an experimental primary school was set up. To provide post-graduate work, the Nankai Institute of Economics was founded in 1931, and the next year the Nankai Institute of Chemistry came into being. Although a relative newcomer in the field of higher education in north China, Nankai under Chang Po-ling's direction soon established itself as a leading private university.

Part of Chang Po-ling's success as an educator was due to his administrative ability. He was able to find leading younger scholars to staff academic posts at Nankai and to trust them implicitly once they had been employed. With such men on its faculty as Hsu Mo (q.v.), who was to achieve fame as a jurist, and T. F. Tsiang (Chiang T'ing-fu, q.v.), then an active historian, Nankai's liberal arts college became one of the best in north China. Since Tientsin was a leading industrial city, the establishment of an economic research center was a natural step in the service of both academic and community interests. Under the direction of such economists as Franklin L. Ho (Ho Lien) and H. D. Fong (Fang Hsien-t'ing), the Nankai Institute of Economic Research undertook pioneering work in compiling cost-of-living indices, studying factory conditions, and investigating foreign trade returns. The institute gradually came to be recognized as a center of authoritative research on the Chinese economy, and its publications became known throughout the world. As Nankai developed and expanded, Chang Po-ling was able to secure financial support not only from government and private institutions in China but also from educational and philanthropic bodies outside the country. These included the China Foundation, the Sino-British Boxer Indemnity Commission, and the Rockefeller Foundation. During the 1920's and 1930's, Nankai acquired more than 200 acres of land and built an impressive campus to house a student body numbering some 3,000.

As part of his program for moral and civic education at Nankai, Chang Po-ling held convocations of the entire school each Wednesday, at which he would discuss problems of student life as well as broader issues of national and international affairs. He knew many of the Nankai students by name and devoted much time to personal counseling. Chang also took a leading part in establishing in Tientsin a non-sectarian Protestant church, independent of all missionary bodies, which became a model for similar congregations in other major cities of China. Since he believed the YMCA to be the most indigenous Christian group in China, he devoted a significant part of his time and energies to its work. He became a member of the board of directors of the Tientsin YMCA and served as its president for many years. Even when the financing of Nankai presented problems, Chang worked unstintingly to raise funds for the Tientsin YMCA.

Years earlier, when he had been a naval cadet at the time of the first Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95, Chang Po-ling had become aware of the threat to China posed by Japanese expansion. In 1927 he made a trip to Manchuria, and on his return to Tientsin he enjoined both faculty and students at Nankai to hold a special forum to study the problems of the Northeastern provinces. After the Mukden Incident of September 1931, Japanese military influence came to bear directly on the Tientsin area of north China, where Nankai was located. In the recurrent student demonstrations directed against Japanese imperialism the Nankai students played a key role, thus antagonizing the Japanese military commanders in north China. Since the Nankai campus lay very near the barracks of the Japanese garrison, Chang Po-ling had no alternative but to live with a potentially explosive situation. Shortly after the Japanese attack in north China on 7 July 1937, low-flying Japanese bombers struck Nankai on two consecutive days (29-30 July) and reduced the campus to rubble.

Chang Po-ling was at Nanking when the news of the disaster reached him. When he reported to Chiang Kai-shek that his schools had been destroyed by the enemy, Chiang, noting that Nankai had been sacrificed for China, pledged that "as long as China lives, Nankai will live." Never active in politics, Chang Po-ling had not been close to Chiang Kai-shek during the

Nationalist decade from 1928 to 1937. However, they had appeared together in 1934 at the graduation exercises held at the Central Aviation Academy on the outskirts of Hangchow. Chiang Kai-shek was there as titular president of the institution; Chang Po-ling attended because his fourth son, Chang Hsi-hu, was being graduated. Both men made fervent addresses to the cadets on that occasion. Shortly after the destruction of the Nankai campus in 1937, Chang Po-ling suffered another tragedy: his son's plane crashed during a bombing mission.

As the tempo of Japanese aggression had increased during the mid-1930's, Chang Po-ling had visited Szechwan province with the intention of finding a suitable site to establish a school in the interior. On the eve of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, he had been successful in obtaining land near Chungking and in establishing the Nanyu Middle School. In 1938, pursuant to a decision by the Nankai Alumni Association, the school was renamed the Nankai Middle School in Chungking. During the war years, it served as an important educational institution in west China, maintaining the high standards and traditions of its forerunners in Tientsin.

When north China was engulfed by the war, Nankai University was forced to move to safety. It first was merged with Peking and Tsinghua universities to form a provisional university at Changsha, Hunan, in 1938, and later moved with them to Kunming in Yunnan province to form Southwest Associated University. An executive committee of three senior educational administrators supervised the refugee institution. Chang Po-ling represented Nankai, Mei Yi-ch'i (q.v.) represented Tsinghua, and Chiang Mon-lin (Chiang Meng-lin, q.v.) represented Peking University. Chang Po-ling, however, spent most of his time in the wartime capital of Chungking, where his political duties in connection with the People's Political Council absorbed much of his attention and energy.

Although Chang Po-ling had been offered senior government posts during his educational career, he was not drafted for active service until the war years. When the People's Political Council was formed in 1938, Chang was named its deputy speaker. A quasi-democratic body, the People's Political Council included representatives of diverse political parties and groups; it was designed to serve as a forum for public

opinion. Chang Po-ling discharged his duties faithfully and discreetly. He was consistently loyal to Chiang Kai-shek because he saw Chiang as the symbol of Chinese national resistance to Japanese invasion.

After the Japanese surrender in 1945, Chang Po-ling began preparations to return Nankai to its former campus, which had been decimated by the war. The National Government, in order to fulfill Chiang Kai-shek's 1937 promise that Nankai would survive, issued a mandate to make it a national university as of 1946 and appointed Chang Po-ling to continue as its president. The change of status was a welcome relief to the elderly educator, since the soliciting of funds to keep the Nankai enterprise going had been a difficult and onerous task. J. Leighton Stuart, the president of Yenching University at Peking, also a private institution, commended Chang Po-ling for his long service to higher education in China. Stuart observed that while Chang had always had "a potential constituency in the United States, which was accustomed to responding to educational and religious appeals," he had been a notable pioneer in China, where education traditionally had been a matter for the state.

In 1946 Chang Po-ling was honored by Columbia University, which conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. Chang made his third and final visit to the United States to be present at that ceremony. The citation, read by Frank M. Fackenthal of Columbia, lauded Chang as "educator; founder and president of Nankai University; of nationwide influence and world-wide recognition as builder of educational institutions and builder of men; a personality dedicated through nearly fifty years of unshatterable faith and unwavering devotion to the regeneration of China through the education of her youth; a symbol of national confidence."

To commemorate Chang Po-ling's half-century of service to the cause of modern Chinese education, some of his many Chinese and American friends contributed articles to a book entitled *There Is Another China*. The allusion was to the fact that behind the tumultuous political and military events there was another China, humane and progressive, that was vital and significant. Interwoven through the essays in the book are the biography of Chang Po-ling, his major accomplishments, and related aspects

of modern Chinese history. The essays were written by Hu Shih, J. Leighton Stuart, Arthur W. Hummel, and others.

Although Chang Po-ling had been non-partisan throughout most of his public career, he joined the Kuomintang after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937 and gained membership on the Central Supervisory Committee at the Sixth National Congress in 1945. Although over 70, he consented to serve as president of the Examination Yuan after the promulgation of the new constitution in 1948. When the Chinese Communist forces occupied Tientsin in the winter of 1948, Chang remained in that city. He died there of apoplexy on 23 February 1951, at the age of 76 sui.

A tall northern Chinese, Chang Po-ling towered over most of his compatriots. He was fond of strenuous exercise and participated in many of the games that his students played. An eloquent and persuasive public speaker, he was a master in the art of charging simple moral truths with dynamic emotion. Always generous in spending for his schools, he nevertheless demonstrated an exemplary frugality in his personal life. He laid great emphasis on the position of the YMCA as an interpreter of applied Christianity and did much to enhance the prestige of the YMCA as an agency of co-operation between Christian and non-Christian groups in promoting the moral soundness of Chinese society. Recognizing the dangers of imported sectarianism, Chang encouraged forms of Protestant organization that reflected Chinese thought and practice.

Chang was survived by several children and by his younger brother, P. C. Chang (Chang P'eng-ch'un). His eldest son, Chang Hsi-lu, studied mathematics at the University of Chicago and later became a professor in China. P. C. Chang, after studying literature and drama in the United States at Columbia University, returned to Tientsin to assist Chang Po-ling and to direct the theater program at Nankai. He was particularly interested in the dramatic arts and attracted considerable notice in China for his excellent staging at Nankai of some of the well-known plays of the Western theater. He was also keenly interested in the traditional Chinese theater. When Mei Lan-fang (q.v.) made his trip to the United States in 1930, P. C. Chang voluntarily served as impresario and press agent to assist in explaining the productions

of Mei's troupe to American audiences, who were completely unfamiliar with Chinese stage traditions and techniques. P. C. Chang later entered the diplomatic service and served as Chinese minister to Chile and Cuba. He retired in the United States, where he made his home in Nutley, New Jersey. He died of a heart ailment on 19 July 1957, at the age of 65.

Chang Shih-chao
T. Hsing-yen

章士釗
行嚴

Chang Shih-chao (1881-), journalist, educator, government official, and lawyer, established his claim to prominence in the fields of Chinese letters and political thought primarily as the editor of such journals as the *Su-pao*, the *Tu-li chou-pao* [independent weekly], and especially the *Chia-yin* [tiger] group of publications.

A native of Changsha, Hunan, Chang Shih-chao was born into a farming family. Although they were poor, his parents were able to send him to a local private school, where he acquired a solid foundation in classical Chinese learning. In 1901 he and his younger brother went to Wuchang in search of a military education, and in the following year Chang was admitted to the Military Academy at Nanking, where one of his fellow students was the future anti-Manchu revolutionary leader, Chao Sheng (see Huang Hsing). Soon, however, Chang left Nanking during a wave of student unrest and, with some 30 schoolmates, went to Shanghai. There he enrolled in the Ai-kuo hsueh-she [patriotic institute], a school where students were taught revolutionary ideas by such faculty members as Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei (the principal), Chang Ping-lin, and Wu Chih-hui (qq.v.). Here, Chang came into contact with Chang Chi, Tsou Jung (1885-1905; ECCP, II, 769), and other young radicals.

In May 1903, Chang Shih-chao was engaged as editor in chief of the noted newspaper *Su-pao*. In this paper, in addition to expressing his own increasingly radical views, he published two inflammatory pieces by Chang Ping-lin—his preface to Tsou Jung's celebrated pamphlet, *Ko-ming-chün* [revolutionary army], and his famous refutation of K'ang Yu-wei's views supporting constitutional monarchy. In response to the increasingly revolutionary tone taken by the *Su-pao* under Chang's editorship,

the Manchu authorities had the paper banned in July and had Chang Ping-lin and Tsou Jung imprisoned. Although he was the editor of the offending paper, Chang Shih-chao was not arrested.

In August 1903, Chang Shih-chao joined Chang Chi, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, and others in Shanghai in organizing the *Kuo-min jih-jih pao* [national daily news], a daily newspaper, which in its advocacy of political revolution was even more radical than the *Su-pao*. Chang Shih-chao's articles in this newspaper, signed with his pen name Ch'ing-t'ung, soon became famous among students in China and Japan not only as political documents but also as models of literary style.

In the winter of 1903 Chang was associated with Huang Hsing (q.v.) in the founding of the Hua-hsing-hui, a secret society designed to prepare for a large-scale anti-Manchu revolution in Hunan. Chang Shih-chao was also responsible for a Chinese translation of a book written by Miyazaki Torazō, a Japanese adventurer who was an active supporter of Sun Yat-sen's political cause. Entitled *Sanjū-sannen no yume* [the thirty-three years' dream], that book had first appeared in Japan in 1902. Chang's abridged Chinese version, which contained a preface lauding Sun Yat-sen as the leading contemporary revolutionist of China, was published at Shanghai in 1903 and was widely read. Late in 1904, Chang Shih-chao was jailed with Chang Chi and Huang Hsing on suspicion of being involved in a plot to assassinate Wang Chih-ch'un, a former governor of Kwangsi. Some six weeks later they were released, but fearing further action by the government authorities, Chang and his companions left for Japan.

In Tokyo, Chang Shih-chao was greatly impressed by Japanese modernization and came to the conclusion that, for China to achieve similar modernization, the basic requirement would be the development of education, not political revolution. Thus, he gradually abandoned his radical views, and when the revolutionary T'ung-meng-hui was organized in August 1905, he refused to join in spite of repeated appeals from his former colleagues, Chang Chi and Chang Ping-lin. Enrolling at the Seisoku School to study English, he began to prepare himself for the study of European civilization and departed in 1908 for Scotland to continue his Western education. At the

University of Edinburgh he majored in political economy and became an avid reader of works on constitutional government and the cabinet system by such authors as Walter Bagehot, James Bryce, and Leonard Trelawney Hobhouse. He also developed a fondness for logic and pored over the works of ancient Chinese ming-chia [logicians]. These studies enabled him to make certain corrections in the translations of Mill and Jevons which had been made by Yen Fu (q.v.).

After the Wuchang revolt of October 1911, Chang returned to China. While in Great Britain, he had written several articles on the development of constitutional government and political parties in the West. Appearing in the *Ti-kuo jih-pao* [imperial daily news] in Peking, these articles had attracted the attention of several Chinese advocates of constitutional government. After his return to Shanghai, Chang discussed at length with Sung Chiao-jen (q.v.) the problems of government organization. Although he continued to resist pressures from his old associates to join the T'ung-meng-hui, he accepted the invitation of Yu Yu-jen (q.v.) to join the editorial staff of the *Min-li-pao* [people's strength]. In the spring and summer of 1912 Chang outlined his views on party politics in the *Min-li-pao*. An admirer of the British two-party system, he deplored the bewildering array of political parties then being organized in China. He proposed that all existing parties be dissolved and that at a national political consultative conference two large parties be created to represent opposing political views. These proposals were attacked from several quarters, and particularly by members of the T'ung-meng-hui (which had been reorganized as the Kuomintang). Under fire from the Kuomintang, he left the *Min-li-pao* and in September 1912 founded his own paper, the *Tu-li chou-pao* [independent weekly]. Thus, he continued to express his theories on government and his opinions on current affairs.

In the latter part of 1912, as tension mounted between the Kuomintang and president Yuan Shih-k'ai, the latter, to exploit Chang's differences with the revolutionary party, invited him to Peking and offered him several high positions, including the chancellorship of Peking University. Chang was suspicious of Yuan's intentions, however, and following the assassination of Sung Chiao-jen in March 1913, he left Peking for

Shanghai. There he met one of Yuan's former rivals, Ts'en Ch'un-hsuan (q.v.), and began to work with him in organizing opposition to Yuan. During the so-called second revolution in the summer of 1913, Chang Shih-chao served as secretary general to his old friend Huang Hsing. After the collapse of that effort, Chang joined the general exodus of Yuan's political enemies to Japan, where he remained for the next three years.

In May 1914 Chang Shih-chao founded the most famous of all his publications, the *Chia-yin tsa-chih* (*The Tiger Magazine*). The magazine criticized Yuan Shih-k'ai for violating the principles of republican government. It soon became an important forum of opinion both in China and abroad, and one of its most notable features, the correspondence column, carried letters from such figures as Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Li Ta-chao, and Wu Chih-hui. But the most important contributor was Chang Shih-chao himself, who in his articles expounded his ideas on constitutional government, the cabinet system, and the doctrine of political compromise. The moderate tone and logical clarity of these essays soon gained for the *Chia-yin tsa-chih* great popularity and influence among Chinese intellectuals.

Early in 1916, as armed resistance to Yuan Shih-k'ai's monarchical movement increased, Chang Shih-chao followed Ts'en Ch'un-hsuan back to China. In May, when Ts'en became acting head of the anti-Yuan military council at Chaoch'ing, Kwangtung, Chang became secretary general of the organization. After Li Yuan-hung had been installed as the new president, Chang went to Peking to sit in the reconvened National Assembly (he had been elected from Hunan as Senator in 1913). He also served as senior instructor in logic at the newly opened research institute of Peking University. In January 1917 he revived his magazine as a daily newspaper, *Chia-yin Jih-k'an* (*The Tiger Daily*). After the seizure of power by Tuan Ch'i-jui and the dissolution of the National Assembly in June, Chang left Peking for Shanghai. In May 1918, the military government in Canton, established in the preceding year by Sun Yat-sen, was reorganized under the control of Chang's former associate Ts'en Ch'un-hsuan. Through Ts'en, Chang was appointed one of the Canton delegates when peace talks between the northern and southern governments were held in Shanghai in 1919.

By that time the chaotic political conditions within the country and the repeated failures of the National Assembly to assert its authority over the military had caused Chang Shih-chao and many other leading intellectuals to doubt the suitability of representative government to China. In February 1921, Chang left again for Europe with the intention of examining at first hand the political changes that had taken place in England. In London, he had talks with such celebrities as H. G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw. Their comments upon the political situation in China served to reinforce his doubts about the efficacy of the representative parliamentary system. He came to believe that it was suitable only to the industrialized nations of the West and that since China was fundamentally an agricultural nation, its basic need was the development of political and social institutions suitable to an agricultural economy.

Chang returned to China in 1922 and in November accepted the invitation of the ministry of education to serve as chancellor of Peking Agricultural Institute, then being reorganized as the National College of Agriculture. However, following the ouster of President Li Yuan-hung by the Chihli militarists in June 1923, Chang left Peking for Shanghai. In October, the election of Ts'ao K'un to the presidency through the bribing of members of the national assembly completed Chang's disenchantment with the parliamentary system of government. In a number of articles published in the *Sin-wen-pao* [the news] and the *Tung-fang tsa-chih* [eastern miscellany], he urged the rejection of the representative system and other political institutions borrowed from the West and the adoption of a political system more in keeping with China's agricultural foundations. To give greater publicity to his views on the development of agriculture in China, Chang planned to resume publication of "The Tiger" as a weekly magazine.

In October 1924, Ts'ao K'un was ousted from the presidency, and Tuan Ch'i-jui was installed as provisional chief executive. Because of Chang's recent proposals to abolish the National Assembly and the constitution, Tuan believed that he could exploit Chang's reputation by including him in his government. In November Chang accepted the post of minister of justice in Tuan's government and shortly afterward began the prosecution of those assembly members who

had been involved in the bribed election of Ts'ao K'un.

In April 1925, increasing friction between the government and the college community in Peking led to Chang's appointment as acting minister of education. Dissatisfied with academic standards and discipline, he announced that henceforth the ministry of education would conduct all matriculation and graduation examinations, and that the eight universities in Peking would be merged under one administration. These measures provoked bitter opposition from the students, who until then had not been required to take examinations. Resentment of Chang Shih-chao came to a head on 7 May 1926, observed by students as "national humiliation day" (on 7 May 1915, Japan had presented the famous Twenty-one Demands upon China). Enraged by press reports that the ministry of education had banned all demonstrations on that day, bands of students marched on Chang's residence, caused considerable damage, and, two days later, appealed for his dismissal. On 12 May, Chang resigned as minister of education and left for Shanghai.

In June, however, Chang returned to Peking, at Tuan's request, to resume his duties as minister of justice. Confronted with continuing student unrest, Tuan again appointed Chang to head the ministry of education (28 July 1925). At that time, the trouble centered about the Women's Higher Normal School in Peking, where a student strike, supported by such prominent faculty members as Chou Tso-jen, Li Shih-tseng, and Shen Yin-mo, was directed against the chancellor of that university. To end the strike, Chang decided to issue a series of drastic measures, culminating in the reorganization of the university under the ministry of education—a decision that resulted in further violence from the students and faculty. Despite the remonstrances of friends and mounting public opposition, Chang sought to enforce his measures by using the metropolitan police. Such was his unpopularity in Peking that in December 1925 his private residence was attacked and completely demolished during a student riot. Although he had submitted his resignation in November, he remained in Peking in the post of secretary general to Tuan Ch'i-jui until April 1926. After Tuan's withdrawal from the government, Chang left Peking to take up residence in the Japanese concession in Tientsin.

Another source of Chang's unpopularity with young intellectuals and students was his opposition to the new literary and cultural movements, as expressed in his *Chia-yin chou-k'an* (*The Tiger Weekly*), which he had begun to publish in Peking in July 1925. In this magazine he aired his misgivings about what he called the Europeanization of China and reiterated his view that China was basically an agricultural nation which should seek to develop its existing institutions rather than try to imitate the industrialized nations of the West. While criticizing those who, he claimed, were willing to abandon China's cultural traditions in their blind desire to imitate the West, he urged a harmonizing of the old and the new—a judicious adaptation of China's distinctive traditions to the needs of the present day. These basically conservative views aroused strong objections, and even ridicule, from many progressive intellectuals of the day, to whom Chang, because of his great literary prestige and influence, seemed a dangerous reactionary.

After the establishment of the National Government in Nanking in 1928, orders were issued for the arrest of several important figures who had served in the Peking government, including Chang Shih-chao. Late in 1928, after the National Revolutionary Army had captured Peking, Chang left with his family for his third trip to Europe and spent over a year traveling through Germany, France, and England. Returning to China in the spring of 1930, he accepted an invitation from Chang Hsueh-liang, the warlord of Manchuria, to become professor of literature at Northeastern University in Mukden, and in March 1931, he became dean of the university's college of arts and letters. Through the intercession of Chang Hsueh-liang, orders for his arrest were rescinded by the National Government, and after the Mukden Incident of September 1931, he returned to Shanghai as the guest of Tu Yueh-sheng (q.v.), a powerful figure in that city. With Tu's support, he took up the practice of law. In October 1932, he volunteered to serve as defense counsel for his old friend Ch'en Tu-hsiu (q.v.), the former head of the Chinese Communist party who was being tried for treason. In April 1933, Chang submitted a lengthy brief in Ch'en's defense which (though rejected by Ch'en himself) was considered a literary and legal masterpiece. Having established himself as a prominent figure in the legal

world, Chang became president of Shanghai Law College in the spring of 1934.

During the early years of the war with Japan, Chang remained in the foreign concession of Shanghai. In the autumn of 1941, however, with the help of emissaries sent by Tu Yueh-sheng, he made his way to Hong Kong and thence to Chungking. He lived at Tu's residence for the rest of the war and attempted to persuade Tu to form a new political party.

Late in 1945, Chang returned to Shanghai and resumed his law practice. Among his more notable cases was his unsuccessful defense of the Japanese collaborator Liang Hung-chih (q.v.) against the charge of treason. Early in 1949, when the civil war was turning in favor of the Communists, Chang, acting as a delegate of the National Government, flew to Peiping on two occasions to discuss the possibility of peace. Chang himself was graciously received by Mao Tse-tung, to whom Chang had given some financial assistance several years previously, and whose father-in-law, Yang Ch'ang-chi, he had known while a student in England. After attempts to negotiate failed in April 1949, Chang elected to remain in Peiping. In the early 1950's he made several visits to Hong Kong, reportedly to win the support of prominent Chinese in that colony for the Chinese Communist war effort in Korea.

As an elderly scholar at Peking, Chang Shih-chao turned his attention to reassessment of the events and personalities of the anti-Manchu movement of the pre-1911 period. He was viewed as the leader of the group supporting the importance of Huang Hsing, rather than Sun Yat-sen, to the early history of the Chinese revolution and to the political controversies among the republican revolutionaries after the fall of the dynasty in 1911. Chang's position was set forth in an article on Huang Hsing which he wrote for the symposium, *Hsin-hai ko-ming hui-i-lu* [reminiscences of the 1911 revolution], published at Peking between 1961 and 1963. There he stated that during his early days he had made friends with intellectuals and political figures all over China. Huang Hsing, because of his magnanimous nature, was the one easiest to work with. The three men who were most difficult to get along with were Chang Ping-lin, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, and Li Ken-yuan (q.v.).

The bulk of Chang Shih-chao's writings consisted of articles and essays written for various

periodicals with which he was connected. Many of these were later collected and reprinted in collections such as the *Chia-yin tsa-chih ts'un-kao*, which included his writings for the *Chia-yin tsa-chih*, the *Chia-yin jih-k'an*, and the *Tu-li chou-pao* [independent weekly]; and the *Ch'ang-sha Chang-shih ts'ung-kao* [miscellaneous essays of Chang of Changsha], containing his political writings in the *Sin-wen-pao* during 1923-24. Chang's continuing interest in logic can be seen in such volumes as his *Lo-chi chih-yao* [elements of logic] and his *Ming-chia hsiao-shuo* [short stories by noted authors]. He was also the editor of a dictionary of the Chinese language, *Chung-teng kuo-wen tien* [intermediate language readings], and the author of *Fu-lo-i-te hsu-chuan* [introductory biography of Sigmund Freud]. As a writer, Chang was considered to have been at his best in his essays in the *Chia-yin tsa-chih*. In these essays, markedly influenced by Western principles of grammar and logic, Chang brought to the Chinese classical language a degree of precision and clarity unsurpassed by any predecessor or contemporary.

Chang Shih-chao married Wu Jo-nan, a granddaughter of Wu Ch'ang-ch'ing, who was at one time Yuan Shih-k'ai's military superior in Korea. A student in Japan and a member of the T'ung-meng-hui, she was introduced to her future husband by Chang Ping-lin about 1906.

Chang, Sophie M. K.: see CHANG MO-CHÜN.

Chang Ta-ch'ien 張大千

Chang Ta-ch'ien (10 May 1899-), painter and dilettante, gained an international reputation for both his paintings in several classical styles and for his copies of the Tunhuang cave paintings in Kansu.

A native of Neichiang, Szechwan, Chang Ta-ch'ien was one of the eight children of Chang Huai-chung and Tseng Yi, herself a painter. Chang had his first painting lessons from his mother and by the age of 12 was already skilled in making flower, figure, and landscape studies. He received his early education in Chinese classics from his elder sister until her death in 1911. In that year the Chang family was in official disfavor because of the anti-

Manchu revolutionary activities of Chang's elder brother, Chang Shan-tzu. Later, Chang Shan-tzu was involved in the 1915-16 movement against Yuan Shih-k'ai, but eventually abandoned politics for painting and became noted for his studies of tigers. Chang Ta-ch'ien's younger brother Chang Chun-shou was also a painter.

In 1914 Chang Ta-ch'ien was sent to the middle school at Hsuehing, where he remained until 1916. By his own account, he was kidnapped by bandits in that year, was held for ransom, escaped, and made his way to Shanghai, where he arrived in December 1916. In April 1917 he went to Kyoto to live with his brother Chang Shan-tzu. There Chang Ta-ch'ien learned the art of painting on textiles.

Chang Ta-ch'ien returned to Shanghai in 1919 and became a pupil of the scholar Tseng Hsi. Then he entered a Buddhist monastery at Sungkiang where the abbot, Yi-lin, a poet-calligrapher-painter, gave Chang the name of Ta-ch'ien, which he retained after his period of monastic seclusion was ended. He then returned to Szechwan and married. Then, on the advice of Tseng Hsi, he returned to Shanghai to study under Li Jui-ch'ing (1867-1920), a painter who also taught him seal-style calligraphy. When Li died, Chang went to Szechwan where he remained until the death of his father in 1925. During this period he made a deep study of the work of the two seventeenth-century monk painters, Shih T'ao (1630-c.1707; Tao Ch'i) and Pa-ta Shan-jen (1626-c.1705; Chu Ta), both of whom had a lasting influence on his own painting. In 1926, Chang made his home in Shanghai. The next year he began to travel extensively through China, visiting the mountains, lakes, and gorges which had inspired the great Chinese masters of the past.

In 1929 Chang Ta-ch'ien was elected to the selection committee of the National Exhibition of Fine Arts held at Nanking under the auspices of the ministry of education and organized by the Cantonese painter Kao Chien-fu (Kao Lun, q.v.). Chang and his brother Chang Shan-tzu were sent to Japan as official delegates to an important exhibition of classical Chinese painting held in Tokyo. In the following year Chang moved to an old house in Soochow and amused himself for a period with horticulture and in keeping monkeys and a pet tiger. By 1933 he had moved to Peking. In that year his work

attracted notice when it was included in a large exhibition of Chinese painting held at the Musée du Jeu de Paume in Paris.

In the spring of 1934 Chang held a successful exhibition at Nanking. In the autumn he climbed the famous Hua Shan with his brother, and in December he returned to Japan. He visited the Lung Men caves in 1935 and held an exhibition at Peking in September. In 1936 he went to Nanking to teach in the art department of National Central University under Hsü Pei-hung (q.v.), and he held an exhibition in Shanghai which added considerably to his reputation.

In 1937 Chang returned to Peking. On 7 July, the day of the Marco Polo Bridge incident, he was arrested by the Japanese, but was released on parole after a week's confinement. In 1938 he escaped from Peking and returned to Szechwan. The next year he spent visiting places in west China which were famous for their beauty, including O-mei Shan and Ching-cheng Shan.

In 1940 Chang Ta-ch'ien went to the Tunhuang caves in Kansu province. He was so impressed by the Buddhist frescoes that he organized a band of helpers; in the next two years they made more than two hundred copies of the wall paintings in the caves. In 1943 he held an exhibition of his own paintings in Chengtu, and in January 1944 he showed the copies made at Tunhuang, going on to Chungking with them in May. They caused widespread interest, for it was the first time the general public was able to form an impression of the old Buddhist masterpieces. Reproductions of his copies were printed with critical introductions. In 1945 Chang held another exhibition in Chengtu, and in 1946 he returned to Peking. In the same year the UNESCO exhibition of contemporary painting was held in Paris at the Musée d'Art Moderne, and 12 of Chang's works were included in the Chinese section. The exhibition toured London, Geneva, and Prague. In November 1946 and in May 1947 Chang held exhibitions in Shanghai. In 1948 he went to Hong Kong where he held an exhibition before leaving for Taipei.

In January 1950, Chang was invited by the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society to hold an exhibition in New Delhi. Another exhibition was held in Hyderabad in May, and Chang stayed in India for the rest of the year, spending three months studying the frescoes in the Ajanta caves. He then returned to Hong Kong, but in

1952 he left for Argentina with his family. By 1953 he was traveling once more, first to the United States, where he held an exhibition at the China Institute in New York in September, and then on to Taiwan to visit the collection of ancient paintings belonging to the former imperial palace collection. In 1954 Chang moved his home to São Paulo, Brazil. In 1955 he went to Tokyo, where four volumes of reproductions of old paintings from his personal collection were published. While there, he held an exhibition of his own works. In January 1956, Chang made his first trip to Europe, visiting Rome and Paris. In June and July he held an exhibition of his paintings in Paris at the Musée d'art Moderne. Afterwards he was the guest of Pablo Picasso at his villa, La Californie, in the south of France. Chang also showed some of the old paintings from his collection in an exhibition at the Musée Cernuschi in Paris. He returned to Brazil by way of Asia in 1957. In 1961 he visited Paris a second time, and he was interviewed by André Masson, with whom he discussed the principles of Chinese painting.

It is difficult to estimate what Chang Ta-ch'ien's place in the history of Chinese painting will be. He was an eclectic and prolific painter, but the bulk of his work remains in private collections and is not generally accessible to the public. In his interview with Masson, Chang said that "the goal and aspiration of every Chinese painter is to be able to express with his hand that which is in his spirit." His own command of ink and brush certainly qualified him in the first sense, although his creations were scarcely original in content—he followed implicitly the well-trodden paths of the Chinese masters. To the Western observer there is something disconcerting about the facility with which Chang turned from painting landscapes identical in brushwork and subject with the masters of the southern school to making studies which were based directly on the Tunhuang frescoes. He was admired by some for his paintings of women, which show the strong influence of his Tunhuang phase, but his most representative works are landscapes and large, bold renderings of lotus and other flowers.

Chang's famous collection of old Chinese paintings were his constant inspiration and guide. Indeed there are several apocryphal stories concerning his ability to make copies of

the masters which are indistinguishable from the originals, even by Chang. Nevertheless, Chang Ta-ch'ien commands a healthy respect among his own people for the manner in which he perpetuated the spirit and tradition of the artist's vision according to classical Chinese precepts.

Chang was a restless, ebullient character with a long beard which he wore in the style of the old Chinese sages. He was reputed to be a connoisseur of wine and women. In China he always employed special cooks, whose reputations were enhanced by working for the artist-gourmet. Chang Ta-ch'ien was one of the last examples of the traditional Chinese romantic artist, and he consistently accepted this role in both his work and his life.

Chang T'ai-lei 張太雷
Orig. Chang T'ai-lai 張太來

Chang T'ai-lei (1898–December 1927), Communist martyr, was known principally for organizing the Canton Commune of December 1927; he was killed in the fighting.

A native of Wuchin, Kiangsu, Chang T'ai-lei attended the Ch'angchou Middle School, where he was a classmate of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (q.v.), but, like Ch'ü, he left school before graduation. In the years following he learned to speak English, probably at Soochow University. By 1920 he had become active in left-wing politics in Shanghai, and in August of that year when Ch'en Tu-hsiu (q.v.), with the help of Gregory Voitinsky, organized the Socialist Youth League, Chang became one of its first members. He attended the meeting called by Ch'en Tu-hsiu in the autumn of 1920 to discuss the formation of a Communist party in China. Already fluent in English, Chang evidently began the study of Russian about that time.

From 1920 to 1922 Chang T'ai-lei traveled extensively in China, Japan, and Russia. He was in Tientsin in October 1920 when Ch'u Ch'iu-pai, then not yet committed to Communism, passed through that city on his way to Russia. It is probable that Chang was helping Li Ta-chao (q.v.) to organize in north China a socialist youth league modeled after the one which had been set up in Shanghai. Chang went to Shanghai in May 1921 to participate in planning a national meeting of all Communist

groups in China. Chang, however, left China before that meeting took place. He went to Irkutsk and was designated secretary of the Chinese section of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern. Accordingly, he was not present at the First National Congress of the Communist party in July 1921, as he was in Moscow attending the Third Congress of the Comintern. At the Comintern Congress, Chang, on behalf of the Chinese Communists, demanded that more attention be accorded the Chinese situation. In making this plea, he was echoing M. N. Roy's criticism of the Comintern leadership. Chang reportedly helped in the drafting of the Theses on National and Colonial Questions issued by the Comintern Congress. In October 1921, Chang reportedly was in Japan as a secret representative of the Far Eastern branch of the Comintern, and in February 1922 he went to Moscow to attend the Congress of the Toilers of the East.

Returning to China in 1923, he became general secretary of the Socialist Youth League. When, after the Sun-Joffe talks, the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists agreed to collaborate, the Kuomintang sent Chiang Kai-shek to the Soviet Union as head of a delegation to survey conditions there. Chang T'ai-lei, then a member of the Kwangtung regional committee of the Chinese Communist party, was a member of the delegation, which left Shanghai in August 1923. Chiang Kai-shek returned in December of that year, but Chang T'ai-lei remained in Moscow and studied at the Communist University for Toilers of the East.

After he returned to China in 1925, he was chief interpreter in Borodin's office in Canton until Borodin left for Wuhan in October 1926. Chang T'ai-lei then became secretary of the Wuhan municipal committee of the Chinese Communist party. When the Communists and the Wuhan faction of the Kuomintang finally split, Ch'en Tu-hsiu's leadership within the Communist party was challenged. Ch'u Ch'iu-pai, then a member of the Central Committee, called an emergency conference, which Chang T'ai-lei attended. This conference met on 7 August 1927. As a result, Ch'en Tu-hsiu was deposed, Ch'u Ch'iu-pai became general secretary of the party, and Chang T'ai-lei became secretary of its Kwangtung provincial committee and head of the south China bureau of the Central Committee.

Chang then moved to Canton. On his way south, he met with Yeh T'ing and Ho Lung, who were leading their forces southward after the Nanchang uprising of 1 August 1927, allegedly to capture Canton. After these forces were defeated at Swatow and Ch'ao-chou, Chang assembled the disorganized remnants to strengthen the peasant militia of P'eng P'ai (q.v.) in the Hai-lu-feng area.

In November 1927, Ch'ü Ch'iü-pai and his associates in the Chinese Communist party decided that an uprising in a major Chinese city was strategically necessary and gave instructions to Chang T'ai-lei to organize a coup in Canton. Chang mobilized sufficient strength in Canton to overthrow the municipal government on the evening of 11 December 1927. The following day a mass meeting was called in the city, where so-called representatives of workers, peasants, and soldiers proclaimed the founding of the Canton soviet government. Su Chao-cheng (q.v.) *in absentia* was elected chairman, and Chang T'ai-lei became commissioner of army and navy and acting chairman of the government. After the meeting broke up, Chang's forces were attacked by Kuomintang troops which had entered the city from the north gate, and Chang was shot and killed in the fighting. Originally the Communists had planned that P'eng P'ai's militia from the Hai-lu-feng area should come to support the Canton Commune. After Chang T'ai-lei's death, however, the Canton Commune lost its central political and military leadership and disintegrated rapidly. It was completely suppressed on 14 December 1927.

Chang T'ai-lei had an engaging personality, but he had no major political impact upon the Communist movement in China. Indeed, his contribution is now accorded little mention, his name being principally associated with the ill-fated Canton Commune of 1927, which the Chinese Communist party has called the "heroic battle in the retreat of a revolutionary high tide."

Chang T'ai-yen: see CHANG PING-LIN.

Chang Tao-fan

張道藩

Chang Tao-fan (1897-) held senior government and party posts at Nanking and Chungking and

accompanied Chiang Kai-shek to India in 1942. In Taiwan, he was president of the Legislative Yuan from 1952 to 1959.

A native of Panhsien, Kweichow, Chang Tao-fan came from a family which was noted in Kweichow for its scholarly tradition. It had produced six chin-shih during the century or so prior to the birth of Chang Tao-fan. Chang's grandfather died at the age of 32, leaving his family destitute. Chang's father, although a well-read man, failed to pass the state examinations and was unable to serve in the government as many of his ancestors had done. Chang Tao-fan studied the Chinese classics under his father's tutelage. In 1911, when he was a student at the local higher primary school, he became acquainted with the radical intellectual currents of the time by reading periodicals sent to him by relatives who were studying in Japan.

Unable to continue his formal education after his graduation in 1914, Chang Tao-fan, then 18, accepted a teaching appointment in February 1915 at a private primary school in the neighboring P'u-an county. Having been graduated first in his class, he was capable of teaching such varied courses as mathematics, music, drawing, and calligraphy; only physical education was difficult for him.

In this period Chang became indirectly involved with clandestine political activities. His seventh uncle was a member of the Chung-hua ko-ming-tang, which was engaged in a campaign against Yuan Shih-k'ai. Chang was entrusted with the local membership roster and with other party documents. After the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai in 1916, Chang, in order to continue his schooling, accompanied his fifth uncle, a member of the Senate, to Peking. On his way to the capital, Chang stopped at Tientsin to visit his uncle's friend Yen Fan-sun, who persuaded him to study at the Nankai Middle School.

In June 1917 the Parliament was dissolved. Chang's uncle, having lost his senatorship, was no longer able to support his nephew's schooling. Fortunately, Chang's fifth granduncle, director for Suiyuan and Chahar of the state monopoly of tobacco and wine, found an opening for Chang in the Paotow branch office. After working for about two years in Paotow, during which time he took correspondence courses in English and Japanese, Chang Tao-fan decided

to resume his studies in Nankai. His return coincided with the May Fourth Movement, and he spent more time in popular agitation than in the classroom. Attracted by the work-and-study plan initiated by Wu Chih-hui (q.v.) and others, Chang determined to go to France. Despite the objections of his granduncle, he left Shanghai for Paris in November 1919. While waiting for the ship to sail, he and 17 fellow student passengers were granted an interview by Sun Yat-sen at his residence in Shanghai.

After arriving at London on 1 January 1920, the work-and-study students were advised by Chinese who were studying in England that it would be difficult for anyone who was not fluent in French to find employment in France. Accordingly, Chang decided to study in England. With financial assistance from his granduncle, he entered a private high school in Manchester for a term and then went to a Roman Catholic college in London. In 1921 he became the first Chinese student to matriculate at the Slade School of Fine Arts of the University of London. After his graduation in 1924, he went to Paris, where he studied at the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts for two years.

While in London, Chang Tao-fan helped to organize a worker-merchant-student association which aimed to improve the social and recreational life of the overseas Chinese community. In the winter of 1922 his determination not to become involved in politics was undermined, and he was persuaded by Liu Chi-wen and Shao Yuan-ch'ung (q.v.) to join the Kuomintang. In the following year he was elected director general of the London branch of the Kuomintang.

In April 1926 Chang left Europe for China, arriving in Shanghai at the end of June. There he shocked conservative Chinese by giving a public lecture on the nude—which resulted in an order for his arrest.

Liu Chi-wen, the director of the peasant-worker bureau in the Canton government invited Chang to participate in the work there, and Chang left Shanghai for the heady atmosphere of revolutionary Canton. Chang Tao-fan was Liu's secretary for a period before becoming acting director of the peasant-worker bureau in the autumn of 1926 after Liu was transferred to the headquarters of the National Revolutionary Army. In November 1926, Ch'en Kuo-fu (q.v.), who was responsible for party organization, met

Chang at a conference and asked him to direct Kuomintang activities in Kweichow. Delighted at the prospect of visiting his home province, Chang accepted the assignment and went to Kweichow in January 1927. At that time Kweichow was ruled by Chou Hsi-ch'eng, an autocratic warlord. Chou Hsi-ch'eng prohibited Kuomintang activities in his domain and had Chang arrested on 3 May 1927 when he refused to give up his secret telegraphic code. When Chang was released on 18 September 1927, none of his friends dared to shelter him. After hospitalization to treat the wounds inflicted on him by his jailers, Chang left Kweichow in December for Shanghai.

In February 1928, on the recommendation of Ch'en Kuo-fu and Liu Chi-wen, Chang was appointed secretary of the Kuomintang's central organization bureau, which was controlled by Ch'en Kuo-fu. In September, Chang was appointed secretary general of the Nanking municipal government. Chang represented Nanking at the Third National Congress of the Kuomintang, which was held in Nanking in March 1929. He was elected an alternate member of the Central Executive Committee. In a dispute over electoral procedure Chang aroused the ire of Hu Han-min (q.v.), and consequently had to leave his Nanking post to become a member of the Kuomintang committee for party affairs in Kiangsu province.

In the summer of 1929 Chang Tao-fan agreed to serve as dean of studies at Tsingtao University. He stayed in Shantung for only a few months, however. Then he became head of the department of education in the Chekiang provincial government. Some months later, Ch'en Li-fu (q.v.), the brother of Ch'en Kuo-fu and the director of the Kuomintang organization department, asked Chang to serve as his assistant director. Thus, Chang commuted between Nanking and Hangchow in his dual capacity as government and party official. When the Japanese invaded Manchuria in September 1931 irate students wrecked Chang's home at Hangchow in protest against the non-resistance policy of the Nanking government. Forced to be the scapegoat, Chang resigned all his posts in Chekiang and moved to Nanking, where he served Chiang Kai-shek in a personal capacity.

On 29 November 1932 Chang Tao-fan was appointed vice minister of communications, the first of a series of vice ministerial posts which he

held. At the Fifth National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1935, he was elected a member of the Central Executive Committee. In the autumn of 1936 he moved from the ministry of communications to the ministry of interior. In January 1938 he followed his political patron, Ch'en Li-fu, to the ministry of education and also served as assistant director to Ch'en Li-fu in the Kuomintang central social affairs bureau. Later in 1938 he was appointed senior member of the cultural movement committee of the Kuomintang central propaganda bureau. In August 1939 he was appointed dean of the Central Political Institute, the highest training school for Kuomintang cadres. In 1941 he was promoted to vice chancellor and directed the school, which was nominally headed by Chiang Kai-shek.

In February 1942 Chang accompanied Chiang Kai-shek on his visit to India for meetings with Gandhi and Nehru. Madame Chiang served as interpreter at the talks, and Chang was the recorder. Chang Tao-fan himself had three long conversations with Nehru concerning the organization and strength of the Congress party in India. On 7 December 1942 Chang took over the post of director of the Kuomintang central propaganda bureau. In October 1943 he was transferred to the central overseas bureau of the party. When the Japanese army approached Kweiyang in December 1943, Chang returned to his home province to rally the people against the invaders.

In 1945 Chang reached the top level of the Kuomintang hierarchy when he became a member of the standing committee of the Central Executive Committee. He was elected a member of the Legislative Yuan in 1948 and became its president in 1952 after the move to Taiwan. He resigned the presidency in 1959, but retained his membership in the yuan.

Chang Tao-fan also played a leading role in cultural, literary, and artistic organizations in Nationalist China. He occasionally acted in amateur theater productions and wrote and translated several plays. These include *Self-Redemption*, *Honeymoon Trip*, *Who's at Fault*, *Secret Code* (a film script), *The Last Stronghold*, and *Unalloyed Patriotism*. All of these were published at Shanghai between 1934 and 1937. Chang also translated W. G. Constable's *Treatise on Modern European Painting* and Allen Thornhill's *The Forgotten Factor*.

Chang T'ien-yi

張天翼

Chang T'ien-yi (1907-) was known in the 1930's for his short stories of the new realist school. After 1949 he edited the Communist literary magazine *Jen-min wen-hsueh* [people's literature] and wrote stories and plays for children.

The younger brother of Chang Mo-chün (q.v.), Chang T'ien-yi was born at Nanking, the fifteenth and youngest child of the family. His grandfather, a native of Hsianghsiang, Hunan, had served under Tseng Kuo-fan (ECCP, II, 751-56) during the period of the Taiping Rebellion and had established himself as a prominent member of the landowning gentry in the province. Chang's father, Chang Po-ch'un, was one of five brothers, all of whom held the rank of chü-jen and were scholar-officials in the late Ch'ing period. Chang Po-ch'un served as education commissioner at Nanking under Tuan-fang. His wife, Ho I-hsiao was a poet whose work was highly esteemed by the prominent Hunan scholar and statesman T'an Yen-k'ai (q.v.).

Chang T'ien-yi's early life was influenced by the fact that the family's fortunes had declined greatly. After the Wuchang revolt of 1911, the boy led an unsettled existence because of his family's movements during the early years of the republican period. He was exposed to people of many social backgrounds, speaking a variety of dialects, with whom his father associated for either business or pleasure. During his school days, Chang T'ien-yi was also influenced by the literary proclivities of his family.

After graduation in 1924 from the middle school at Hangchow, Chang T'ien-yi moved to Peking. There, though he did not engage in formal study, he quickly absorbed some of the new ideas of the younger Chinese intellectuals and began to write. In 1925 a Peking newspaper published an article he wrote imitating the fashionable symbolist manner. In 1928 he dropped these affectations in favor of a realistic style, exemplified in his first short story, "San-jih-pan chih meng" [a dream of three-and-a-half days], which was published in the magazine *Pen-liu* [the rising torrent], which was edited by Lu Hsün (Chou Shu-jen, q.v.). Greatly encouraged by his success, Chang continued to

write in the same vein, and his stories began to appear in the magazines *Wen-hsueh yueh-pao* [literary monthly], *Hsien-tai* [the present age], and *Wen-hsueh* [literature].

His first collection of short stories was published in 1931 under the title *Mi-Feng* [the honey bee]. By 1937 he had published four novels and a half-dozen volumes of short stories, as well as a children's tale entitled "A Strange Place." Chang T'ien-yi's keen ear and his comic exuberance attracted much favorable attention. With a minimum of description and exposition, he caught his characters in action with a touch that was sure and light. He was especially known for his ability to render precisely the speech patterns of various social classes. During his productive years as a writer he worked at many jobs to support himself. He was at various times a school teacher, a journalist, and a minor official. Before the Sino-Japanese war, he lectured on contemporary Chinese literature at Chinan University in Shanghai and also taught at Kuo-min University.

After the outbreak of war Chang moved westward, first to his native Hunan, where he taught briefly at Changsha, and then to Szechwan, where he spent the remaining war years. In 1943 he published *Three Sketches*, a satiric study of undesirable types of intellectuals who thrived on the chaotic wartime conditions. One of these stories, "Hua-wei hsien-sheng" [Mr. Hua Wei], was popular among Chinese students of that period. *Three Sketches* proved to be Chang T'ien-yi's last significant contribution to fiction; soon after its publication he learned that he had tuberculosis, and he was forced to go into retirement at Chengtu to recuperate.

After the establishment of the new government at Peking in 1949, Chang T'ien-yi's name again began to appear, now in the Communist literary journals such as the *Jen-min wen-hsueh* (*People's Literature*). He wrote tales and one-act plays about children for children, indicating that the Communists assigned him to write in that field. In view of the importance that Peking attaches to the indoctrination of the young, the significance of Chang's assignment was clear. He also served as deputy director of the Central Literary Research Institute and as editor of *People's Literature*, and was a delegate to the National People's Congress.

Chang T'ien-yi's place in recent Chinese

literary history rests largely on his brilliant short stories of the 1930's. His sympathies were consistently with the underdog, and his stories were often directed against landlords and wealthy exploiters. Yet he remained free of the overt propaganda tendencies shown by the more extreme leftist writers.

Essentially, Chang T'ien-yi was concerned with the artistic development of his themes. He acknowledged his debt to such authors as Maupassant, Dickens, and Zola, and he was increasingly influenced by Chekov, Gorky, and by the more recent authors of the Soviet period. It is said that he had no political ambitions but that, like many of his contemporaries, he gave his allegiance to the Communist cause because of his disillusionment with the social decadence and irresponsibility of the pre-1949 period in China.

Chang Tso-lin
T. Yü-ting

張作霖
雨亭

Chang Tso-lin (1873–June 1928), known as the Old Marshal, military leader who consolidated control of the Northeast. He began as the leader of a local army in Fengtien and rose to rule Manchuria as a virtually autonomous state from 1919 to his death. After 1924, Chang extended his control to Peking and he served as a barrier to the unification of China by the revolutionary forces. He was succeeded as ruler of Manchuria by his son Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.).

A family biography prepared shortly after Chang Tso-lin's death in 1928 provides some information about his early years. According to that source, he was born in Haich'eng, Fengtien. He was the fourth child in the family. The oldest son died in infancy, the second son was executed as a bandit, and the third child was a girl. His father, Chang Yu-ts'ai, died about 1882, and his mother later married the village veterinarian. Of peasant origin and without education, the young Chang Tso-lin appeared to have limited prospects.

He began his military career before he was 20. He enlisted in the unit known as the I-chün, commanded by Sung Ch'ing (ECCP, II, 686–88) and fought in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894–95. After the war he returned to Fengtien province to organize an armed group to protect

his native district. Through his capacities for leadership, Chang built a substantial and well-organized military force of his own. In training local militia in Fengtien, he was closely associate with Chang Ching-hui, who later became premier of the Japanese-sponsored government of Manchoukuo, and with Chang Tso-hsiang, who later became governor of Kirin province. Because Chang Tso-lin was not in the official military system of imperial China, he is often referred to as having been a bandit.

During the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, Chang Tso-lin and his troops became irregular allies of the Japanese and engaged in harassing attacks against the Russians. Chang emerged from that conflict with substantial military power and with increased prestige in southern Manchuria. After the war he came to an agreement with Chao Erh-sun (q.v.), who was then military governor of Fengtien, and his unit was organized into a regiment. Although his fortunes were not immediately advanced, Chang had found a useful political patron. Chao Erh-sun soon afterwards went to Peking to take up a metropolitan post, but he returned to Mukden as governor general of all Manchuria in April 1911. On the eve of the 1911 revolution, the territorial guard forces comprised a total of 40 battalions, divided into five routes, and Chang Tso-lin commanded the Forward Route, with garrison station at Taonanfu.

When the Wuchang revolt broke out, Chao Erh-sun transferred the Rear Route guard force from the Liaoyuan-Tungliao sector to Mukden. Chang Tso-lin, sensing a political opportunity, on his own initiative moved his guard troops to the Mukden sector. Chao Erh-sun accepted this action, and soon afterwards he gave Chang concurrent command of the Central Route guard force stationed in the Mukden-Tiehling sector. When Lan T'ien-yü and his 2nd Mixed Brigade threatened revolt, Chang put down the incipient rebellion, and thus made a major contribution to the maintenance of order in the Northeast.

After the establishment of the new republican government and the accession to power of Yuan Shih-k'ai in 1912, the Manchurian provinces came under the nominal control of Peking. The Mukden garrison forces were reorganized into two divisions, the 27th and the 28th. In September 1912 Chang Tso-lin, now a lieutenant general, took command of the 27th Division;

Feng Te-lin, who had commanded the Left Route garrison force, received command of the 28th Division.

- In November 1912 Chao Erh-sun was succeeded in Fengtien by Chang Hsi-luan, who had known both Chang Tso-lin and Feng Te-lin for years. Chang Hsi-luan effectively commanded their respect and obedience. When Yuan Shih-k'ai launched his scheme to become emperor at Peking in 1915, Chang Tso-lin and Feng Te-lin initially supported that move. Yuan, however, appointed his trusted lieutenant Tuan Chih-kuei to be military commander of the Northeast and civil governor of Fengtien. Tuan's father, Tuan Yu-heng, had acted as guarantor for Chang Tso-lin when Chang had made his arrangements with the Ch'ing authorities several years earlier. The new appointment of Tuan Chih-kuei, however, was a clear challenge to Chang Tso-lin's political ambitions in Manchuria; on Tuan's recommendation, Yuan Shih-k'ai ordered Chang and his 27th Division to Hunan.

Chang was saved from transfer by "popular protest," doubtless organized by Chang himself. When opposition to Yuan's monarchical scheme developed in Yunnan in December 1916, Chang let it be rumored that Manchuria was going to declare its independence and issued plans for the establishment of a so-called people's peace preservation society. Chang was challenging the authority of Tuan Chih-kuei, and Yuan Shih-k'ai, if he desired to keep Fengtien from rebelling, would have to give Chang Tso-lin a responsible post. Tuan Chih-kuei resigned and left Mukden. Chang was made tutuh [military governor] of Fengtien.

After the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai, Chang Tso-lin moved to consolidate his personal control of southern Manchuria. He became tuchün (the new title for military governor) and civil governor of Fengtien, retaining control of the 27th Division. Trouble arose when T'ang Yü-lin, commanding the 53rd Brigade of the 27th Division, endeavored to organize a movement against Chang's authority. Chang Tso-lin heard of T'ang's scheme, and T'ang fled with a small force to Hsinmin. Chang sent Chang Tso-hsiang after him with a cavalry force, but T'ang was saved from immediate retribution by the intervention of Chang Hai-p'eng, the commander of the 55th Brigade of Feng Te-lin's 28th Division.

Chang Tso-lin chose not to pursue the affair. Feng Te-lin, however, tried to exploit the situation. He made contact with Wu Chün-sheng, the commander of the 2nd Cavalry Brigade, with the aim of overthrowing Chang Tso-lin. When he heard of this plot, Chang Tso-lin made a number of command shifts and dispatched the 56th Brigade of the 28th Division on a bandit-suppression mission in Liaosi. At the end of May 1917 Chang deployed the 27th and 29th divisions against Feng Te-lin and announced that he was changing the commands. Feng, seeking a way out of his predicament, reached an agreement with Chang Hsün (q.v.) and left the area in haste to participate in Chang Hsün's restoration attempt of July. Thus, Chang Tso-lin came to control the 28th Division.

In 1917 Chang succeeded in having one of his own supporters named military governor of Heilungkiang province by Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.) who then was premier at Peking. Early in 1918 Chang lent Fengtien military support to Tuan Ch'i-jui and his lieutenant Hsu Shu-cheng (q.v.) to exert pressure on Feng Kuo-chang (q.v.) in north China. When Tuan Ch'i-jui again became premier at Peking, he repaid Chang Tso-lin by naming him in September 1918 to the post of inspector general of the Three Eastern Provinces. In that year Chang added seven mixed brigades to his domain's military forces. When Meng En-yuan, the Kirin military governor, resisted his authority, Chang forced him out of office in mid-1919 and had one of his supporters, Pao Kuei-ch'ing, appointed to the Kirin post. Chang's personal control of the Northeast was complete. During the final decade of Chang Tso-lin's life, his domain in Manchuria was, for all practical purposes, an autonomous state. Although his political and military ventures in north China during those years were inconclusive, nevertheless, with the support of Japan, he was at all times in control of the provinces lying to the northeast of the Great Wall.

From 1917 until 1920 Chang Tso-lin had cooperated closely with Tuan Ch'i-jui, to their mutual benefit. Late in 1919, however, Hsu Shu-cheng began to build up a personal empire in the Mongolian borderlands, disregarding Chang Tso-lin's view that the area fell within the Northeastern sphere of influence. The alliance with Chang was broken as a result of these actions. Tuan Ch'i-jui, however, continued to support Hsu Shu-cheng. Chang Tso-lin

joined forces with the Chihli generals led by Ts'ao K'un (q.v.), and the combined Chihli and Fengtien forces administered a swift series of defeats to Tuan Ch'i-jui's forces. On 13 July Chang announced that he was sending forces inside the Great Wall. The Chihli forces defeated Tuan and his Anfu forces in a battle near Paoting on 18 July, and Tuan resigned his post the following day. The victors, however, were unable to agree on the composition of a new government, and in mid-August of 1920 the Fengtien forces withdrew to Manchuria. They took with them the heavy equipment captured from Tuan Ch'i-jui's armies, an action that sowed additional seeds of dissension between the Chihli generals and Chang Tso-lin.

Developments in Outer Mongolia occupied the attention of both Chang Tso-lin and the Japanese. In the spring of 1921, after the abortive intervention of Baron von Ungern-Sternberg and his White Russian forces, a provisional people's government of Mongolia was established at Urga (Ulan Bator) in March. In May, units of the Russian Red Army also entered Outer Mongolia. Although the new authorities in Outer Mongolia had declared their independence of the republican government of China, Chang Tso-lin was appointed high commissioner for the Mongolian borderlands and was charged with the task of maintaining Chinese influence there. As a result of that appointment, his authority was extended into Inner Mongolia, to the south of the Gobi. Chang's men were appointed to high positions in the three special districts of Jehol, Chahar, and Suiyuan. But the combined Russian Red Army and Mongol forces on 6 June 1921 occupied Urga (Ulan Bator), and on 10 July the provisional people's government became the people's revolutionary government of Mongolia. The Soviet Union supported the new regime and signed a treaty of friendship with it on 5 November. Chang, who had received a large sum of money to finance his military expedition against Outer Mongolia, reputedly pocketed the money. He turned again to north China politics.

In December 1921, Chang Tso-lin succeeded in installing his chosen instrument, Liang Shih-i (q.v.), as premier at Peking. Chang's challenging position in north China, where he was again aligned with Tuan Ch'i-jui, alarmed his nominal allies, especially the Chihli faction. Ts'ao K'un and Wu P'ei-fu were not prepared to cede north

China to Fengtien control, and Wu P'ei-fu was able to force Liang Shih-i to abandon his post in January 1922. Chang Tso-lin's attempts to buttress Liang's position proved futile. The first Chihli-Fengtien war began in April 1922, when Chang Tso-lin started to move his troops inside the Great Wall. In a public telegram of 19 April he announced that his move was designed to unify his "rear shield." Ts'ao K'un, in a telegram of 22 April, opposed the proposition that unity should be achieved through military force. Other north China militarists, including Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.), supported Ts'ao's position. Chang announced on 1 May 1922 that henceforth all Manchurian affairs would be handled independently by the North-eastern authorities at Mukden and that Manchuria was aligning itself with the "Southwestern authorities," that is, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. Thus, he temporarily allied himself with the loose grouping that included Sun Yat-sen.

In the battle that was joined on 3 May at Ch'anghsintien, near Peking, the Fengtien forces were defeated. Chang Tso-lin then pulled his troops back into Manchuria, leaving Wu P'ei-fu dominant in north China. Hsu Shih-ch'ang, who then held the presidency at Peking, had stripped Chang Tso-lin of his posts on 1 May. But the conflict was inconclusive in view of Chang's remaining military strength, some 100,000 troops, and his special position with respect to the Japanese in Manchuria. He then proclaimed himself commander in chief for peace preservation in the Three Eastern Provinces and began to ready his forces for another bid for power in north China.

Early in 1923 Sun Yat-sen sent Wang Ching-wei to talk with Chang Tso-lin and with Lu Yung-hsiang, the military governor of Chekiang and a supporter of Tuan Ch'i-jui, about a so-called triple alliance, based on the political program of the Kuomintang. Chang and Lu, however, qualified their acceptance by insisting that Wu P'ei-fu be overthrown and that China be unified before they would enter into such an alliance.

The position of Chang Tso-lin's regime at Mukden complicated the foreign relations of the Peking government during this period. Chang's government performed all the functions of a sovereign state, including the making of treaties with foreign governments. This ambiguous situation was evident in connection with the problem of the Chinese Eastern Railway. On

31 May 1924 the Peking government signed an agreement with the Soviet Union defining the status of that railroad and the rights of the two parties in its operation. To make the agreement effective, it was necessary to obtain Chang Tso-lin's acceptance of its terms, since the rail line ran through his Manchurian territory. The Peking government sent an emissary to Mukden to attempt to obtain his acquiescence, but that mission failed. However, Chang's position on the Chinese Eastern Railway issue was awkward, since he could not count on Japanese support in the contravention of a treaty properly concluded by the Chinese government at Peking. At the same time, since he was preparing for a new war against Wu P'ei-fu, he could not afford to aggravate relations with Moscow.

The Soviet government therefore was able to take advantage of the situation, and a separate Mukden-Soviet treaty was concluded on 20 September 1924. By this agreement, which was signed by Chang and Nikolai Kuznetsov as the Soviet representative, the Russians were granted rights with regard to the Chinese Eastern Railway similar to those covered in the May 1924 treaty that Chang Tso-lin had refused to recognize. This action temporarily restored the special Russian position in northern Manchuria. Another salient aspect of the September 1924 treaty, however, was that in permitting Chang Tso-lin to save face by repudiating the right of the Peking government to conclude an international agreement on a specifically Manchurian question without his consent a dangerous precedent was created. The Mukden agreement recognized Chang Tso-lin's government of the Three Eastern Provinces as a separate and autonomous regime at a time when he was in open rebellion against the central government of China, thus laying the foundations for the proclamation of independence of Manchuokuo in 1932.

War had begun on 1 September 1924 between Chekiang and Kiangsu. Chang promptly announced his support of his Chekiang ally Lu Yung-hsiang and moved forces against Jehol. As he advanced, Wu P'ei-fu moved to reinforce Chengteh, the provincial capital. On 5 September Sun Yat-sen issued a manifesto opposing Ts'ao K'un and Wu P'ei-fu and on 18 September announced that his proposed northern expedition aimed to overthrow the warlords and the imperialism on which they relied.

By the beginning of October, Chang Tso-lin was attacking at Shanhakuan. As Wu P'ei-fu advanced northward with his army to meet the invasion at Shanhakuan, the situation was disrupted by the defection of Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.), who was a subordinate of Wu. Feng abandoned his sector of the front at Kupeikow, proceeded rapidly to Peking, staged a coup d'état, and issued a public call for peace in October. The coup had been worked out in advance with Chang Tso-lin. The forces of Feng Yü-hsiang and those of Fengtien commander Chang Tsung-ch'ang (q.v.), cut off the line of retreat of Wu P'ei-fu's forces deployed along the eastern end of the Great Wall. The war ended in disastrous defeat for the Chihli faction and left the Fengtien group in a stronger position than ever in north China.

The new regime at Peking centered on a coalition of Chang Tso-lin, Feng Yü-hsiang, and Tuan Ch'i-jui. However, the alliance began to disintegrate even as victory was being consolidated. One paramount problem was that of relations with the forces of revolutionary nationalism in south China, where Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang were consolidating their position in alliance with the Communists. Chang Tso-lin, who was opposed to the concept of revolutionary change, met with Sun Yat-sen in December 1924, when Sun arrived in north China to confer with the generals holding power there. He discovered that Sun Yat-sen's plans were considerably at variance with those which he and Tuan Ch'i-jui had made. When Sun, by then seriously ill, finally arrived at Peking at the end of December, Feng Yü-hsiang had already retired in disagreement with his former allies, and Chang Tso-lin and Tuan Ch'i-jui were patently opposed to the establishment of a new government in which, as Sun Yat-sen hoped, the Kuomintang would exercise dominant authority. The death of Sun Yat-sen in March 1925 only confused the situation further.

Chang Tso-lin and the Fengtien generals succeeded in pushing southward to the Shanghai area at the beginning of 1925 and also attempted to drive westward along the Lunhai rail line to penetrate Honan province. But Chang had to face continuing opposition during the year from competing leaders with autonomous military forces. Sun Ch'u'an-fang (q.v.) in the lower Yangtze provinces defeated the Fengtien forces in October 1925, while Feng Yü-hsiang, Chang

Tso-lin's erstwhile ally, posed a threat from Honan. Faced with an unpromising military situation and with a deteriorated position at Peking brought about by the political pressures that he had exerted on Tuan Ch'i-jui, Chang Tso-lin withdrew important elements of his army to the Great Wall and into Manchuria.

Feng Yü-hsiang then joined with Sun Ch'u'an-fang and Wu P'ei-fu; and they formed an army to drive the Fengtien forces from north China. In a move to break up that combination, Chang Tso-lin sent an envoy to Feng Yü-hsiang to review the situation. Feng went through the motions of forsaking his new alliance in favor of a reconciliation with Chang Tso-lin, but Feng had actually won over a Fengtien general, Kuo Sung-ling (q.v.), to betray his chief. In November 1925 Kuo Sung-ling issued a telegram demanding the retirement of Chang Tso-lin in favor of his son, Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.). Kuo's move, designed to divert attention to Manchuria while Feng Yü-hsiang's Kuomin-chün attacked in north China, apparently had Soviet sympathy, if not actual support. But it failed because the Japanese at once intervened in the Mukden area. Kuo Sung-ling soon was captured and was executed in December 1925.

The Soviet Union and Japan were concerned with developments in Manchuria because of their competition for influence in that critical area. The fact that Chang Tso-lin, with indirect assistance from Japanese officials, emerged victorious from the Kuo Sung-ling incident did little to stabilize the situation. In January 1926 Chang Tso-lin gave vent to his anti-Russian feelings again. In a blunt effort to demolish Soviet railroad interests in Manchuria, the Northeast authorities on 21 January 1926 arbitrarily arrested A. N. Ivanov, the general manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway, three Soviet directors of the railroad, and other Soviet citizens. On the following day Moscow replied with an equally blunt ultimatum fixing a three-day time limit for the release of the Russian prisoners and for the restoration of normal traffic on the line. The threat of Soviet military action forced Chang Tso-lin to back down, and on 24 January an agreement was signed at Mukden calling for the restoration of the *status quo ante* on the railroad.

In the sphere of domestic politics, Chang Tso-lin had joined forces in January 1926 with Wu P'ei-fu, a natural alliance since both men

were anxious for revenge against Feng Yü-hsiang. Feng himself, judiciously estimating the potential military strength that could be marshaled against him, resigned his posts and departed on a visit to Moscow. His Kuomin-chün forces were defeated in north China and driven back into Inner Mongolia. Later in the year, the Nationalists, based at Canton, had launched their Northern Expedition in July 1926 and then drove rapidly through Hunan toward the Yangtze. The Fengtien forces had reached an agreement with Sun Ch'uan-fang in the lower Yangtze region, and in December 1926 the northern generals formally united for joint defense against the revolutionary armies surging up from the south. After a meeting at Tientsin, the northern generals on 1 December 1926 announced the formation of the Ankuochün [national pacification army]. Chang Tso-lin was its commander in chief, with Sun Ch'uan-fang, Chang Tsung-ch'ang, and Yen Hsi-shan as deputy commanders. Wu P'ei-fu, who had remained distrustful of Chang Tso-lin, was associated with the coalition, but was not part of its command.

By the spring of 1927, the position of Chang Tso-lin in north China was under heavy attack. The revolutionary armies commanded by T'ang Sheng-chih and Chang Fa-k'uei (qq.v.) were pressing hard on the Fengtien positions in Honan; while Feng Yü-hsiang, now professing Nationalist sympathies, threatened the flank of Chang's forces. On 28 May, Chang Tso-lin ordered all Fengtien forces committed on the southern front to withdraw to Chihli (Hopei) and Shantung. On 5 June, Yen Hsi-shan declared himself on the side of the Nationalists and advised Chang Tso-lin to do the same. Chang replied on 18 June 1927 by publicly assuming the title of Ta-yuan-shuai, a rank that had previously been held by Yuan Shih-k'ai and Sun Yat-sen. Chang indicated that he intended to remain in the northern capital. Actually, Chang Tso-lin's hold on Peking during his last, short-lived period of supremacy there meant the virtual end of the already shadowy authority of the central government of China represented by Peking.

Chang Tso-lin's final period of ascendancy at Peking also had an aggravating effect on Sino-Soviet relations, which were considerably strained by Chiang Kai-shek's anti-Communist coup in the spring of 1927. Chang Tso-lin had

nurtured a consistent distrust of the Russians, both White and Red, since the time of the Russo-Japanese war. In no way chastened by the results of the abortive 1926 move against the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria, he began a series of resolute blows against Soviet interests and representatives in north China. On 28 February Chang Tsung-ch'ang (q.v.) detained the Russian vessel *Pamyat Lenina*, which was on its way to Hankow. It is probable that the intelligence documents he obtained led to Chang Tso-lin's raid on the Soviet embassy at Peking. On 6 April, Chang Tso-lin ordered a force of the Peking municipal police and his own men to raid the premises of the Soviet embassy inside the Legation Quarter. The raiding party seized truckloads of documents, in both Russian and Chinese, relating to Soviet espionage and the Communist effort in China. It also seized Li Ta-chao (q.v.) and other Chinese Communists who had taken refuge in the compound three months earlier.

The rise of Chinese nationalism, spearheaded by the northward advance of Chiang Kai-shek's armies in 1926-27 was viewed with growing concern by Japan, where the cabinet headed by General Tanaka was in office. The possibility that the Chinese conflict on the mainland might spread through north China and into Manchuria could only have a harmful effect on what influential groups in Japan viewed as their special interests. After becoming premier, Tanaka had requested Chang Tso-lin's Japanese adviser to initiate discussions with Chang concerning the financing and construction of five new rail lines in Manchuria. There were also conversations at Peking in 1927 between Yoshizawa Kenkichi, the Japanese minister to China, and Yang Yu-t'ing (q.v.), Chang Tso-lin's chief of staff. These moves were designed to impress upon China and the world the intention of Japan to continue to view Manchuria as a special sphere of influence. At the end of May 1927, after their advance into Honan had placed the Nationalists in a position to threaten Shantung, Tokyo had sent Japanese military units into Shantung for the ostensible purpose of protecting Japanese lives and property.

In the summer of 1927, Tokyo urged upon Chang Tso-lin the advisability of withdrawing his armies from north China into Manchuria and of securing his position there with Japanese aid. In mid-1927, however, Chang estimated that his

position in north China might still be saved by the widening split within the Nationalist camp in central China.

The Nationalist armies, once again unified under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, began the final stage of their drive on north China in April 1928. At the beginning of May, the Japanese again intervened at Tsinan, capital of Shantung province, in an attempt to divert the Nationalist drive from Japanese interests there. On 18 May 1928, in identical notes addressed to Peking and Nanking, Tanaka clearly outlined a so-called positive Japanese policy. The notes warned that, if disturbances in north China continued, "the Japanese government . . . may possibly be constrained to take appropriate and effective steps for the maintenance of peace and order in Manchuria." At the same time, Tokyo warned that Japan would act to prevent "defeated troops or those in pursuit of them" from entering Manchuria. Chang Tso-lin was specifically warned that his units would not be permitted to retire north of the Great Wall unless they left Peking peacefully.

Chang's position at Peking was now undermined beyond repair. He stood as a barrier both to Nationalist plans for the unification of China and to Japanese plans for the future development of East Asia. Chang was resentful of Japanese dictation, but he concluded that he had no realistic alternative but to capitulate and to evacuate Peking. He bade farewell to the diplomatic corps at Peking on 1 June 1928 and left the city for Mukden on 3 June. At half past five on the morning of 4 June, the private railway car in which Chang Tso-lin was traveling was wrecked by a bomb explosion. Chang was severely wounded, and he died a few days later. The explosion took place at the point where his train was passing under the bridge just outside Mukden where tracks of the South Manchurian Railway crossed those of the Peking-Mukden line. The murder was apparently the result of a well-laid plan, since the preparations necessary in laying the wires, detonators, and explosives required several hours. Responsibility was generally attributed to the Japanese. In fact, it was later discovered to have been the responsibility of Colonel Komoto Daisaku, a Japanese staff officer, and his associates, who plotted the killing of Chang Tso-lin as part of a larger plan for the seizure of Manchuria by the Kwantung Army.

With the death of Chang Tso-lin, the Old Marshal, in June 1928, a notable chapter in the history of modern Manchuria ended. His eldest son, Chang Hsueh-liang, the Young Marshal, consolidated power at Mukden, and preserved the family dynasty in Manchuria for another three years (*see separate article*).

Slight of stature and rather delicate in appearance, the Old Marshal had never looked the part of the redoubtable Manchurian warlord. A Western correspondent who interviewed Chang Tso-lin at Mukden in 1922 just before the outbreak of the first Fengtien-Chihli war described him as "a slim little man, with shining brown eyes, a kindly smile, and a gentle manner" and added that, had one met Chang casually, one would have taken him to be "a man who had lived his life in a quiet study poring over the Analects of Confucius." Photographs of Chang give a similar impression. Actually, he was harsh and ferocious when necessary, though he preserved a resolute dignity. He was shrewd without being educated, perceptive without being sensitive. The Chang family had been poverty-stricken peasants; he had made them wealthy and powerful. It was the type of success story always popular in China, and contemporary observers recorded a genuine flush of anti-Japanese sentiment at the news of the killing of the Old Marshal.

During his lifetime, Chang Tso-lin, through both circumstances and geographical propinquity, was regarded by many as being pro-Japanese. He first rose to power under Japanese supervision and, in return for their active or tacit support of his rule in Manchuria, served Japanese interests by acting as an effective bulwark against the spread of Soviet influence on the mainland of East Asia. After his death, however, many Chinese writers gave him credit for compromising with the Japanese on minor issues in order to resist on larger ones and acknowledged that he was always shrewd and alert in dealing with Japan. Actually, Japanese support of Chang Tso-lin was never a coordinated national policy, and there were frequent differences of opinion among Japanese military and civilian officials over the appropriate course of action to be taken in Manchuria.

Chang Tso-lin's inconsistent policies, his opportunism, and his autocratic rule have often been criticized. Yet, his positive accomplishments also deserve attention. Chang did succeed

in maintaining a high degree of stability in the Three Eastern Provinces for over a decade during a period when China was confused and divided and when both Japan and Russia had competing political and military interests in that area. Chang Tso-lin's strength in his own domain rested on several factors. Economically, he was supported by the agricultural resources of Manchuria and by the taxes which that region provided. Chang based his military forces on a developed railroad network and on the Mukden arsenal, which he developed with foreign technical advice. Relatively peaceful conditions in Manchuria also permitted him to maintain a regional currency of relative stability. Chang's expeditions into north China constituted a heavy drain on Manchuria's finances and partially nullified the positive effects of his regional rule. But the physical destruction, agricultural and economic paralysis, and human waste characteristic of the warlord period in China were diverted from Manchuria while Chang Tso-lin was in control there.

Chang Tso-lin's actions, contradictory though they often were, did contribute to the movement of twentieth-century China toward political unification. By extending his power into north China and by playing a part in the balance of power in warlord politics there, Chang blurred the distinction between regional and national commitments and made Manchuria an integral part of the framework of Chinese national politics. Thus, he paved the way for the eventual political and economic integration of the Three Eastern Provinces with the rest of China.

In addition to Chang Hsueh-liang, Chang Tso-lin had several other children. Chang Hsueh-ssu (1903-) was graduated from the Hui-wen Middle School in Peking and the Central Military Academy at Nanking. He was deeply affected by the imprisonment of Chang Hsueh-liang after the Sian Incident of December 1936, when he himself had been detained until Chiang Kai-shek's release. Later, however, he resumed active duty in the Fifty-third Army under Wan Fu-lin, one of Chang Hsueh-liang's former commanders, and advanced to the rank of captain. During the Sino-Japanese war, he disagreed with the passive policies of the National Government against the Japanese. He therefore joined the Communist forces and served under Lü Cheng-ts'ao and Nieh Jung-chen. During the later war years, he

commanded a sub-district of the Communist Hopei-Jehol-Liaoning military district. After 1945 he returned to his native Manchuria, participated in the campaigns of the civil war there, and appeared at Mukden when the Communists captured that city in October 1948. After 1949 Chang Hsueh-ssu became chairman of the Liaoning provincial government and served as a member of the Northeast regional government council until 1954; for a time he also headed Northeast University at Mukden. He later served as vice president of the Naval Academy in the People's Republic of China and was given the rank of rear admiral in 1956. In 1954 he was a delegate from his native Liaoning to the National People's Congress. Chang Hsueh-ming (1908-) was graduated from the Japanese Infantry Training School in Tokyo. After Chang Hsueh-liang's intervention in north China in 1930, Chang Hsueh-ming became commissioner of public safety at Tientsin. He served with the Nationalist forces in Manchuria in the postwar interlude and presumably surrendered to the Communists when the Nationalists were defeated in that theater. A Chang Hsueh-ming was listed as a member, in the category of "specially invited personalities," of the Third National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1959. Another son, Chang Hsueh-cheng, served in the Secretariat of the United Nations in New York.

Chang Tsung-ch'ang 張宗昌 T. Hsiao-k'un 效坤

Chang Tsung-ch'ang (1881-3 September 1932), military commander, served under Chang Tso-lin (q.v.) from 1922 to 1925. From 1925 to 1928 he was military governor of Shantung province.

Born at Chuichiatsun, Yihsiien, in Shantung province, Chang Tsung-ch'ang came from undistinguished stock. Both of his parents practiced trades which were socially marginal: his father was a trumpeter and a head-shaver, and his mother was a working witch who was skilled at exorcising evil spirits. At the age of 12, the boy began to accompany his father on the cymbals. In the mid-1890's, perhaps in one of the waves of mass migration from Shantung to southern Manchuria, the poverty-stricken family moved

to that area. There Chang found work as a helper in a gambling den in Harbin and began to associate with petty thieves and pickpockets. From juvenile delinquency he graduated to banditry in the countryside of southern Manchuria.

As a youth, Chang Tsung-ch'ang was already a tremendous figure of a man, standing well over six feet. Possessing native courage and fighting instincts, he flourished in the tough frontier environment of Manchuria. During the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, Chang fought on the side of the Russian forces. Some biographies state that he received a commission as captain in the Imperial Russian Army, but that claim must be viewed with circumspection. Chang's service with the Tsarist forces was brief in any case, and after the Russian defeat he returned to banditry in Manchuria.

By the time of the revolution of 1911, Chang was 30 years of age and an experienced, if irregular, fighting man. His role in the turmoil of the 1911-12 period may have been embellished by his biographers. He reportedly led a small contingent of Manchurian bandits from the Kwantung peninsula to Chefoo in his native Shantung to support the republican cause. Chang later moved to the Shanghai area, where he and his motley contingent were attached to a regiment of the revolutionary forces. When the military phase of the revolt ended, Chang was given command of the regiment. In the subsequent military reorganization undertaken by Ch'eng Te-ch'uan, the military governor of Kiangsu province, Chang Tsung-ch'ang gained regular military status. His unit was transferred to northwestern Kiangsu and was assigned to the task of suppressing bandits; by 1913 Chang had become a divisional commander.

Between 1913 and 1916 Chang Tsung-ch'ang served under the military governor of Kiangsu province, Feng Kuo-chang (q.v.), and gained in rank. After the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai in 1916, Feng moved to Peking in 1917 to assume office as acting president of the government there. Chang Tsung-ch'ang accompanied him as his chief adjutant. From the summer of 1917 until the autumn of 1918, while Feng Kuo-chang was acting president, Chang Tsung-ch'ang served as superintendent of military education in the ministry of war at Peking.

During that period at Peking, Chang was once sent back to Manchuria to perform a mis-

sion for Feng Kuo-chang concerning the White Russian forces that had fled to Harbin following the outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution in 1917. Chang also visited Shantung to pay his respects to his parents. He reportedly arrived in his native district at the head of a small caravan of carts loaded with silks, brocades, art objects, and other appurtenances of social status and high living. His return home was less than successful, however, since the local gentry welcomed him only to the extent dictated by political prudence. His mother, who had been sold by his father to a local grain merchant at a time of financial dearth, refused her son's entreaty to return home. Chang Tsung-ch'ang who was loyal to the ties of family and friendship, reportedly viewed her refusal as a matter for lasting regret.

In 1918, Chang returned to active duty in the field. He was assigned to command the 6th Mixed Brigade and was sent south with the Peking forces to campaign against the Constitution Protection Army of the southern regime at Canton. His unit was stationed in Hupeh. He later became a divisional commander and served with his unit in Kiangsi province, probably from 1919 to about 1921, but won no special fame during those years.

A turning point in Chang Tsung-ch'ang's career came in 1922, when he returned to Manchuria to enter the service of Chang Tso-lin. In physical appearance, the two men were very different, for Chang Tso-lin was slight and frail, while Chang Tsung-ch'ang was a veritable bear. However, they shared a common background and viewed the China of the 1920's through similarly cynical eyes. Chang Tsung-ch'ang soon proved himself worthy of trust, acting with dispatch to suppress a revolt against Chang Tso-lin at Kirin. He was made Suining defense commissioner. Because of Chang Tsung-ch'ang's earlier Russian associations, Chang Tso-lin gave him responsibility for the White Russian troops then in the Northeast. A considerable number of these anti-Bolshevik troops had remained in the field in Siberia even after the defeat of General Wrangel at Sebastopol in the Crimea in November 1920. The most important pocket of resistance centered around Vladivostok, where the White Russian forces held out for another two years. In November of 1922, all but a few crossed into Manchuria at Hunchun, a town in eastern Kirin where the borders of the

Maritime Province of Siberia, Korea, and Manchuria meet. The troops then were disarmed and placed in military camps directed by Chang Tsung-ch'ang.

In the second Fengtien-Chihli war of 1924, Chang Tsung-ch'ang performed yeoman service as commander of the 1st Fengtien Division. Chang was indubitably a fighter, and the men under his command won their battles. His was the first Fengtien unit to enter Tientsin and Peking after the coup by Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.) in October 1924. Chang Tso-lin, with the assistance of Feng, soon won a complete victory over Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.) in north China and pressed forward with plans to extend his authority to the Yangtze valley.

In December 1924 the Peking government dismissed Ch'i Hsieh-yuan from his post as military governor of Kiangsu and appointed Lu Yung-hsiang pacification commissioner of Kiangsu and Anhwei. Chang Tsung-ch'ang was given command of the Fengtien forces, and he and Lu Yung-hsiang entered Nanking in January 1925. Ch'i Hsieh-yuan was overthrown, and he left Shanghai for Japan. In February 1925, under the terms of an agreement between Chang Tsung-ch'ang and Sun Ch'u-an-fang (q.v.), Lu Yung-hsiang became military governor of Kiangsu. Chang, the dominant Fengtien military figure—with authority over Kiangsu, Anhwei, and Shantung—moved to Hsuchow at the end of March. A month later, in April 1925, he became military governor of Shantung province.

Chang Tsung-ch'ang formally assumed that post in June, thus beginning a period of autocratic personal rule. Although Shantung was his native province and he renovated his home village for sentimental reasons, he showed little social consciousness toward his fellow-provincials. His regime in Shantung was characterized by brutality and by extortion designed to support the provincial war chest and to sustain Chang's capacious personal coffers. Many of his advisers were venal and corrupt. He continually recruited fresh troops, and by 1927 his military establishment was estimated to number more than 100,000 men. At the same time, he extracted a substantial personal fortune from the province through such measures as collecting taxes for a decade ahead and levying a multitude of special assessments.

Popular legend had it that Chang Tsung-ch'ang, during his period of personal rule in

Shantung, had san pu-chih [three don't knows]: he did not know how much money he had, how many troops he had, or how many women he had in his harem. His military establishment during those years included a force of some 4,000 White Russians, aptly labeled "soldiers of misfortune," who provided a bizarre dimension to the campaigns conducted by Chang during that period. Few mercenaries ever fought for a cause in which they had less direct concern or faced possible death under worse conditions. Chang's military establishment also included a unit composed of several thousand Chinese boys averaging ten years of age, equipped with specially manufactured short rifles. They were commanded by a son of Chang. Chang's personal household included an extensive private harem of some 40 women of a variety of types and nationalities. The majority of the girls reportedly were White Russians, and they sometimes acted as hostesses at Chang's lavish dinner parties. When entertaining foreign guests, Chang would often appear in formal Western dress and preside with monumental aplomb over a festive Western-style affair which was graced by European china and crystal, and was enlivened by heroic quantities of French champagne and brandy and by imported cigars.

Despite the admixture of tragedy and comedy which marked his rule in Shantung, Chang Tsung-ch'ang was an important factor in the internecine campaigns of the period, for he possessed a major territorial base. His political position was aligned consistently with that of Chang Tso-lin, and he was directly involved in north and central China. He was a prominent commander in the campaigns of late 1925 and early 1926 in which the Fengtien forces defeated the Kuominchün of Feng Yü-hsiang. When Chang Tso-lin and his victorious armies entered Peking in 1926, Chang Tsung-ch'ang became commander in chief of the Chihli-Shantung Joint Defense Force, and his Shantung troops supplied a part of the garrison force in the ancient capital. There he continued to act with characteristic decisiveness in enforcing social order according to his own tenets. On the grounds that it was guilty of disseminating radical ideas, the newspaper *Ching-pao* [Peking journal] was closed by Chang, and its editor, Shao P'iao-p'ing (q.v.) was shot. Another newsman, Lin Pai-shui, was executed by Chang

because his paper, the *She-hui jih-pao* [social daily news] of Peking, printed stories which Chang viewed as being derogatory to him. Chiang Monlin (Chiang Meng-lin, q.v.), who was then in Peking, later expressed his personal fear of the "notorious warlord" who had "the physique of an elephant, the brain of a pig, and the temperament of a tiger." Whatever the accuracy of that characterization may have been, it is true that Chang Tsung-ch'ang applied his control policies with determination in the countryside equal to his decisiveness in Peking. In the spring of 1926 his forces conducted a vigorous campaign in Shantung against the rebellious Red Spear Society. And his troops were known in that province for their habits of "opening melons" (splitting skulls) and of adorning telegraph poles with strings of severed human heads as a means of instilling respect for authority.

A major development which threatened the position of the warlords of north China was the launching of the Northern Expedition from Canton in 1926. When the forces of the National Revolutionary Army penetrated the central Yangtze valley and captured the Wuhan cities in the autumn of 1926, Wu P'ei-fu was forced to withdraw up along the Peking-Hankow railroad into Honan. Chang Tsung-ch'ang was then in the lower Yangtze provinces supporting the position of Sun Ch'u'an-fang (q.v.). In February 1927 the two generals established a joint headquarters at Nanking, with Chang Tsung-ch'ang's Chihli-Shantung forces assuming front-line responsibilities. At that juncture, Chang became directly involved in foreign relations. On 28 February 1927 he detained the Russian vessel *Pamyat Lenina*, which was on its way to Hankow, and seized several Soviet couriers, much propaganda literature, and the wife of Borodin, principal Soviet adviser to the Nationalist government. Chang detained the Soviet citizens and sent them to Tsinan, and it is probable that the intelligence documents he obtained led to Chang Tso-lin's raid of 6 April on the Soviet embassy at Peking.

Meanwhile, the military situation in Honan was steadily deteriorating, and Chang Tsung-ch'ang went to Hsuchow in early March. By the spring of 1927, Wu P'ei-fu's position had become intolerable: he was pressed from the north and east by the armies of Chang Tso-lin, threatened from the west by Feng Yü-hsiang's

advancing forces, and confronted on the south by the Nationalist Eighth Army under T'ang Sheng-chih (q.v.). With the collapse of Wu P'ei-fu's resistance, Chang Tsung-ch'ang and his forces retreated northward; and at the end of May, Chang Tso-lin ordered a general retreat of the Fengtien armies into Chihli and Shantung.

In a move designed to stabilize his tottering military structure, Chang Tso-lin in July 1927 reorganized his forces, with Chang Tsung-ch'ang and Sun Ch'u'an-fang each assigned to command an army. In August their combined forces again drove southward from Hsuchow. Although they reached the Yangtze, Sun Ch'u'an-fang's troops suffered heavy losses in a Nationalist pincers movement, conducted by Li Tsung-jen (q.v.), which simultaneously crippled Chang Tsung-ch'ang's position. When that development was followed by more bad news from the western front, Chang became enraged. On 6 November 1927 he executed a number of officers whom he had captured earlier in the year. One of them was Cheng Chen-t'ang, a Kuominchün general who had fallen into Chang's hands during the spring offensive in Honan. It was not unusual for Chang Tsung-ch'ang to give vent to his anger in this fashion, but that particular execution was to have fatal consequences for him five years later. Chang, with his headquarters at Hsuchow, then came under joint attack from the First Army Group of Ho Ying-ch'in (q.v.) and the Second Army Group of Feng Yü-hsiang. When the First Army Group seized Hsuchow in mid-December, Chang Tsung-ch'ang retreated northward into Shantung.

Another Nationalist drive began in April 1928, with the First Army Group advancing along the Tientsin-Pukow rail line. Chang Tso-lin attempted to stabilize a defense position along the Techow-Paoting line; Chang Tsung-ch'ang abandoned Tsinan and retreated to the Techow position. In April, the Japanese, citing the need to protect Japanese interests and nationals in Shantung province, landed forces at Tsingtao. A clash occurred between their troops and the advancing Chinese Nationalist forces at the beginning of May (see Ho Yao-tsü). Chiang Kai-shek, who was in Tsinan, desired to avoid a serious clash with the Japanese and, accordingly, withdrew to Hsuchow. But that final gambit could not save the defeated Fengtien-Chihli-Shantung warlord combination. The

Fengtien forces abandoned Paoting at the end of May and began a general retreat northward toward Shanhaikuan. When Chang Tso-lin was killed by a bomb explosion near Mukden on 4 June 1928, the principal task facing his successor was evacuation of the coalition forces from north China without further losses.

Chang Tso-lin's son, Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.), succeeded him. The Young Marshal reached an agreement with the Nationalist side for peaceful withdrawal of the Fengtien forces into Manchuria and announced that the war was over. The official Fengtien order for a general withdrawal was issued on 11 June 1928. Chang Tsung-ch'ang, whose units were then concentrated in eastern Chihli, delayed in carrying out the order; perhaps he was in connivance with Yang Yu-t'ing (q.v.), who had been Chang Tso-lin's chief of staff. Nationalist forces under the command of Pai Ch'ung-hsi (q.v.) then moved out from Peking against the Fengtien troops, which finally withdrew to Manchuria. In mid-September of 1928 Chang Hsueh-liang in Mukden notified Pai Ch'ung-hsi that he had disarmed the recalcitrant troops and had taken them over for reorganization. That episode was the final chapter in the long and bloody civil struggle between the Nationalists and the loose coalition of Chang Tso-lin, Chang Tsung-ch'ang, and Sun Ch'u'an-fang.

Chang Tsung-ch'ang then took up residence at Mukden, where Yang Yu-t'ing was a challenger to the still immature authority of Chang Hsueh-liang. However, when Yang was executed by the Young Marshal in January 1929, Chang Tsung-ch'ang's personal position in the new Manchuria became problematical. Feeling that he was still a power in Chinese politics, he moved to Dairen. Some Japanese considered that Chang Tsung-ch'ang might still prove useful in their struggle against the tide of Chinese nationalism that had swept Chang Tso-lin from power and thereby had threatened their plans to create a special Japanese position in Manchuria and north China. During the first four months of 1929, Chang, with Japanese support, attempted to return to power in Shantung.

The Japanese intervention along the Tsinan-Tsingtao railroad line in 1928 had prevented effective Nationalist occupation of northeastern Shantung. In February 1929 Chang Tsung-ch'ang boarded a Japanese ship at Dairen and sailed for Lungkow. Upon arrival in Shantung,

he promptly assumed command and attempted to mobilize disaffected conservative elements in north China. In Tokyo, Premier Tanaka at the beginning of March characterized the reports that there was a secret understanding between Chang Tsung-ch'ang and Japan as being "absolutely without the least foundation." Some measure of Japanese involvement seemed clear, and, in any event, Chang Tsung-ch'ang's attempted comeback was short-lived. By April his units had been forced into disorderly retreat, and on 23 April 1929 Chang himself embarked again for Dairen. The Japanese authorities permitted him to stop in Dairen only long enough to change clothes and to select two favorite girls from his harem. He then went to Japan, where he took up residence at the hot springs resort of Beppu. Chang lived thereafter under the Japanese flag, except for occasional trips back to China.

At the beginning of September 1932, Chang Tsung-ch'ang left Peiping to return to his native Shantung, which then was ruled by Han Fu-chü (q.v.), for the announced and conventional purpose of "sweeping the ancestral graves." Accompanied by a large retinue, he arrived at Tsinan on 2 September. Although the evidence is conflicting, one plausible hypothesis is that Chang was planning to reassert his position in Shantung politics, with the support of Han Fu-chü. When a meeting at Tsinan failed to take place because a former subordinate officer did not appear, Chang Tsung-ch'ang sensed possible danger to himself. He then announced that he had just received an urgent telegram stating that his mother was ill and that he must return immediately to Peking. On 3 September 1932, as Chang was saying farewell to Shih Yu-san and other notables in his private car a few minutes before the train was scheduled to depart, he was assassinated. The killer was Cheng Chi-ch'eng, the nephew and adopted son of the Kuominchün cavalry division commander Cheng Chen-t'ang, who had been executed by Chang Tsung-ch'ang in 1927. Cheng Chi-ch'eng had sworn at his foster father's graveside that he would avenge his murder. Cheng was imprisoned for the killing but was granted a special pardon at the end of seven months.

Chang Tsung-ch'ang generally has been pictured as being the prototype of the "bad" warlord of early republican China. Descriptions

of Chang almost invariably endow him with an ample share of the shortcomings which are conventionally attributed to his type and to his era. Since the descriptions are highly seasoned with prejudice and clichés, it is difficult to separate the man from the myth. He may be viewed as one who lived his life in a milieu where both physical survival and practical success depended upon realism, force, violence, and manipulation. Nothing in his early years would tend to produce a sentimental view of the human species in him; nothing in his later career altered his conviction of the central importance of power in human affairs. To Chang Tsung-ch'ang, public power was based on personal control over territory, money, and military units, and private power was based on personal control over material objects and human beings. Chang Tsung-ch'ang is best remembered in China by the popular appellation given him by the men of Shantung, the kou-jou chiang-chün [dog-meat general]. It is perhaps fitting that Chang is principally known in the West through the caricature by Lin Yü-t'ang (q.v.), "In Memoriam the Dog-Meat General," which appeared in Lin's book *With Love and Irony* in 1940.

Chang Tsung-hsiang 章宗祥
T. Chung-ho 仲和

Chang Tsung-hsiang (1877-?) studied law in Japan and served the early republican government in such positions as minister of justice. Tuan Ch'i-jui appointed him minister to Japan in 1916, and he helped to negotiate the Nishihara loans in 1917-18. When opposition to the secret agreements with Japan gave rise to the May Fourth Movement, he was branded a traitor.

Born in Wuhsing, Chekiang, in 1877, Chang Tsung-hsiang received a good classical education from tutors and in local schools in Chekiang. After passing the first government examinations for the degree of sheng-yuan in 1895, he went to Japan to study law at Tokyo Imperial University. He was one of the earliest Chinese students to seek a modern education in Japan, and at that time he became acquainted with Ts'aō Ju-lin (q.v.), who was also a student in Tokyo. When Hu Shih-lun, dean of the Ching-shih ta-hsueh-t'ang, the predecessor of Peking Univer-

sity, visited Japan on an inspection trip, Chang Tsung-hsiang served as his interpreter. Chang received the LL.B. degree from Meiji University in 1903.

After his return to China, he taught for a time at the Ching-shih ta-hsueh-t'ang at Peking, and he was granted the degree of chin-shih by the Ch'ing court. From 1905 until 1911 he held government posts at Peking. He first became a compiler in the law revision office and assisted Tsai Chen, president of the Board of Trade, in the field of commercial law. In 1907 he became an official in the Board of Trade at Peking. He also served in the bureau of laws and regulations of the Board of Interior and, concurrently, was chief of the bureau responsible for legal codification, part of the effort to prepare for constitutional government in China. When Hsu Shih-ch'ang (q.v.) was appointed the first governor general of the Three Eastern Provinces in 1907, Chang accompanied him on an inspection trip to Fengtien. In 1908, Chang became superintendent of police at Peking in the new police system then recently established by Lu Tsung-yü, who had been graduated from Waseda University in Tokyo. Chang held that post until 1910, and reportedly extended a measure of protection to Wang Ching-wei (q.v.) when Wang was arrested in April 1910 for the attempted assassination of the Manchu prince regent. Chang also made a trip to Germany about this time. In 1910, however, he returned to the field of legal work at Peking as assistant chief of the law compilation bureau. In June 1911 he was appointed deputy commissioner of the constitutional department of the Ch'ing cabinet. In these legal positions, Chang was again associated with his former schoolmate in Japan Ts'aō Ju-lin.

After the outbreak of the Wuhan revolt in October 1911 and the recall of Yuan Shih-k'ai to the service of the Ch'ing court, Chang was designated by Yuan to participate in T'ang Shao-yi's negotiations with the republican revolutionaries at Shanghai. When T'ang resigned his position as head of the northern delegation in January 1912, Chang also gave up his assignment. In April 1912, after Yuan Shih-k'ai had assumed the post of provisional president of the Republic, Chang Tsung-hsiang was named chief of the legal department of the cabinet. In July he was appointed minister of justice, but the Senate rejected his and five other cabinet

appointments. He was then named chief justice of the Supreme Court in July 1912, and, concurrently, head of the law codification commission. In February 1914, when Sun Pao-ch'i succeeded Liang Ch'i-ch'ao as premier, Chang finally received the post of minister of justice at Peking. In April, he was designated by Yuan Shih-k'ai to serve as minister of agriculture and commerce as well. As Yuan Shih-k'ai approached the zenith of his political power at Peking during 1914, Chang Tsung-hsiang, as a loyal subordinate, appeared to have a promising political future.

Actually, although Yuan Shih-k'ai's power was in the ascendancy, his control over his principal military officers steadily diminished. As a result, Yuan was forced in the spring of 1916 to abandon his plans for restoring the monarchy. When Tuan Ch'i-jui (*q.v.*) organized a new cabinet in April 1916, Chang Tsung-hsiang remained briefly in the post of minister of justice, while his associate Ts'ao Ju-lin became minister of communications. With the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai in June 1916, however, considerable political reshuffling ensued at Peking, and Chang was dropped from his cabinet post.

At the end of June 1916, Chang was appointed Chinese minister to Japan to succeed his friend Lu Tsung-yü. In October 1916, General Terauchi Seiki became premier at Tokyo in succession to Count Okuma Shigenobu, who had been associated with the chauvinistic nationalism of the infamous Twenty-one Demands which Japan had forced upon Yuan Shih-k'ai's government in 1915. Ts'ao Ju-lin in the autumn of 1916 presented a new proposal to Tuan Ch'i-jui, who then held much of the power that Yuan Shih-k'ai had formerly exercised at Peking. That plan envisaged the employment of Japanese aid to assist the Peking government to attain the military unification of China under Tuan's direction. Chang Tsung-hsiang, because of his position as China's envoy in Tokyo and his intimate personal ties with Ts'ao Ju-lin, was the natural channel for negotiations.

The discussions at Tokyo proceeded against the background of a power struggle at Peking between Tuan Ch'i-jui and Li Yuan-hung (*q.v.*), who held the presidency. That contest centered in a clash between the two men regarding the issue of war with Germany. Tuan Ch'i-jui, recognizing the benefits which might accrue to both China and his government through partici-

pation in a victorious war against Germany, finally succeeded in August 1917 in obtaining a formal declaration of war against Germany at Peking. Chang Tsung-hsiang thereby became involved in implementing the policy of collaboration with China's ally, Japan. Secret talks directed at obtaining large Japanese loans had started in the spring of 1917. Beginning in September 1917 and continuing until September 1918, a series of agreements, known as the Nishihara loans, was negotiated. Ts'ao Ju-lin and Lu Tsung-yü were prominent in the negotiations at Peking, while Chang Tsung-hsiang was directly involved in the discussions in Tokyo. The resulting network of secret agreements made close ties between Tuan Ch'i-jui's government at Peking and Japanese military and financial interests. In return for substantial loans from Japan, Tuan granted Japan extensive railroad, mining, and other concessions in China and agreed to military cooperation between the two nations. Through these agreements, Japan's influence in China during 1917-18 reached a peak that was unsurpassed until after the occupation of Manchuria in 1931-32.

As the Chinese minister to Japan, Chang Tsung-hsiang made one particularly unfortunate lapse in signing an exchange of notes with the Japanese foreign minister on 24 September 1918, stating that "the Chinese government gladly agrees" to Japan's proposal regarding her position in Shantung province. It was generally assumed that China had hoped, through her entry into the European war, to recover full sovereignty over Shantung, where Japan had moved in forcibly at the beginning of the conflict to occupy Germany's former privileged position. While the September 1918 exchange of notes effectively destroying that hope remained temporarily secret, the existence of that and other agreements with Japan became known at the Paris Peace Conference during the winter of 1918-19. The agreements made it virtually impossible for the United States to assist China in recovering the former German rights in Shantung.

The resulting wave of public indignation in China had major political consequences. Chang Tsung-hsiang, now charged with responsibility for the secret agreements with Japan, was recalled to Peking for consultation. On his departure from Tokyo in the spring of 1919, he encountered a large demonstration of Chinese

students at the railroad station in Tokyo, charging him with treason. When Chang arrived back in China, he stopped for several days at Tientsin. Only after Lu Tsung-yü went there to meet him did he continue his journey to Peking on 30 April 1919. He maintained a residence in the capital, but chose to stay in the home of Ts'ao Ju-lin. When rumors circulated that Chang Tsung-hsiang was going to Europe to replace Lu Cheng-hsiang as chief Chinese delegate at the Paris Peace Conference, popular indignation increased. In student meetings on the evening of 3 May, Chang, Ts'ao Ju-lin, and Lu Tsung-yü were condemned as the "three traitors" who had bartered Chinese rights and resources for Japanese loans. On the following day, a student demonstration turned into a march on the residence of Ts'ao Ju-lin. Lu Tsung-yü was not present when the demonstrators arrived, and Ts'ao Ju-lin succeeded in escaping and took refuge in the Legation Quarter. Chang Tsung-hsiang, however, was caught and beaten into insensibility. Initial reports stated he had been killed, but it was later discovered that he had been removed to the Japanese hospital in Peking and that his wounds, while painful, were not fatal.

In the ensuing nationwide agitation known as the May Fourth Movement, one of the most persistent demands was for the dismissal of the three men who had become known as the "three traitors." Actually, the three had only acted as the agents of policies determined by Tuan Ch'i-jui. Hsu Shih-ch'ang, who then held the presidency at Peking, at first refused to bow to the popular demand. Hsu issued orders for the arrest of the students involved in the attacks on Chang Tsung-hsiang and his associates and publicly praised those officials for their services. However, after the spreading of strikes and disorders, and particularly after the Shanghai merchants on 5 June declared a business strike and demanded the release of the students and the dismissal of the three officials, Hsu was forced to capitulate. On 10 June 1919, the Peking government relieved Chang Tsung-hsiang and his associates of all official posts.

In January 1920, Chang was awarded the Fourth Order of Merit at Peking. His political career, however, had already ended, since he was condemned in the public mind as a traitor. Subsequently, in 1925, he became general manager of the Peking Exchange Bank. In July 1928, after the overthrow of the Peking

government, the new National Government at Nanking issued a formal order for his arrest. By that time, however, Chang Tsung-hsiang and other men in north China known for their Japanese connections had disappeared from public view. The place and manner of his presumed death during the 1940's is unknown. He left one unpublished volume, *Tung-ching san-nien chi* [a record of my three years in Tokyo], which was later included in Wang Yün-sheng's work, *Liu-shih-nien lai Chung-kuo yü Jih-pen* [China and Japan in the past sixty years].

Chang Tung-sun

Alt. Chang Tung-sheng

T. Sheng-hsin

張東蓀

聖心

Chang Tung-sun (1886-), philosopher and political independent, known for his interpretation and teaching of Western philosophy in China. He was an advocate of the constitutionalist theories of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, and became chief editor of the *China Times* and a leading figure in the science-philosophy debates of 1923. In 1951 he came under Communist censure and was removed from the faculty of Yenching University on which he had served since 1930.

A native of Ch'ient'ang, Chekiang, Chang Tung-sun came from a prominent Chekiang family which had produced a long line of scholar-officials. He was born in the Wuhsien (Soochow) district of Kiangsu province and received a solid education in the Chinese classics under the supervision of his elder brother, Chang Erh-t'ien (q.v.). In 1905 Chang Tung-sun went to Japan, where he studied Buddhism and Western philosophy in Tokyo. Little is known about his stay there, but it is possible that he was in contact with Chinese refugee groups which were organized there during the final years of the Ch'ing period to work for constitutional government. Except for that period of study in Japan, Chang never studied or traveled outside China. On his return to China, he was among the students who were granted imperial degrees on the basis of foreign education.

During the early years of the republican period, Chang Tung-sun worked with men and journals that were concerned with Western political and constitutional theories. They were especially interested in the social and educational

implications of these theories for China. In 1912 he was editor of the *Ta-kung-ho jih-pao* [great republican daily news] at Shanghai before going to north China to become an editor of the new publication *Yung-yen* [justice], published at Tientsin. This magazine—sponsored by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (q.v.), then one of the leading proponents of parliamentary government in China—was then very popular. Its issues of 1913 contained many of Chang Tung-sun's discussions. In July 1913, in an article entitled "My View of Confucianism," he supported those prominent scholars who had petitioned the Parliament at Peking to adopt Confucianism as China's state religion. Chang Erh-t'ien, who was a member of the Confucian Association and a regular contributor to the association's magazine, *K'ung-chiao-hui tsa-chih* [Confucian association magazine] reprinted the article in its September 1913 issue.

The next year, many of Chang Tung-sun's articles on constitutional problems appeared in the magazine *Cheng-i* [righteousness], which was established at Shanghai in January 1914 by Ku Chung-hsiu and others to oppose Yuan Shih-k'ai.

Chang also served as an editor of the magazine *Ta Chung-hua* [great China], to which Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was a major contributor, and during 1915 he wrote many articles on political theory for *Chia-yin tsa-chih* [the tiger magazine], which was published by Chang Shih-chao (q.v.) in Tokyo. During these years Chang Tung-sun was also associated with Carsun Chang (Chang Chia-sen, q.v.), with whom he was to have long-standing intellectual and political ties.

After the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai in June 1916 and the succession of Li Yuan-hung to the presidency, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao again turned his attention to the affairs of the Progressive party, with which Chang Tung-sun had previously been associated. Liang and some of his associates organized a new group, the so-called Research clique. Liang hoped to use this group so that he could play an influential role in the reconstituted Peking Parliament. Chang Tung-sun was both a member of the clique and secretary general of the Parliament. The political leadership of Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.) at Peking, however, appeared to be making scant contribution to China's regeneration, and most of the intellectuals in official positions withdrew from the Peking government.

Chang Tung-sun then became the chief editor of the prominent independent daily newspaper, the *Shih-shih hsin-pao* (*China Times*) of Shanghai, a position which he retained through the 1920's. Through *Hsueh-teng*, the literary supplement of the newspaper, Chang played an important role in commenting upon the principal intellectual and social currents of the day. In June 1919 he publicly supported the Peking demonstrations. Later that year he joined with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and others in organizing the *Hsin-hsueh-hui* [new learning society], a group devoted to examination of new ideas from Western Europe and Russia which might assist the intellectual and cultural regeneration of China. Chang attempted to introduce some basic concepts of Western philosophy for the benefit of the young Chinese intellectuals. He produced Chinese translations of two philosophical works of Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, which appeared in 1918, and *Matter and Memory*, published in 1922.

As a prominent intellectual and writer at Shanghai, Chang Tung-sun was also involved in the early efforts to introduce Marxism to China. In the spring of 1920, when Gregory Voitinsky, an agent of the Comintern, arrived in Shanghai to meet with Ch'en Tu-hsiu (q.v.), Ch'en attempted to rally the support of influential men of the city. Chang Tung-sun attended some of the secret discussions which led to the creation of a small Communist organization. He withdrew from the group, however, before the Shanghai Communist nucleus was formed in the summer of 1920. His withdrawal, reportedly because of his refusal to accept the concept of class struggle inherent in the Marxist message, marked the beginning of his protracted debate with the political and ideological proponents of Communism in China. Late in 1920 Bertrand Russell, who was lecturing in China, and Chang Tung-sun both attacked the Marxist analysis of the Chinese situation and argued that only capitalism could achieve China's most urgent need: the development of industry. Ch'en Tu-hsiu at once denounced that view in the December 1920 issue of *Hsin ch'ing-nien* [new youth], which had then been transferred from Peking to Shanghai to serve as an organ of the new Communist group there. In an article entitled "Discussion on Socialism," Ch'en stated that it was possible for China to achieve industrialization on a socialist basis, free of the

ideological and financial constrictions imposed by foreign capitalism.

In 1923 Chang Tung-sun and Ch'en Tu-hsiu again clashed in the course of a more philosophical, if equally inconclusive, controversy. In February 1923 Carsun Chang published in the *Tsinghua University Weekly* a lecture in which he assailed the growing expression of scientific thought among the intellectuals of China. Aroused by the open attack on scientific method, the eminent geologist V. K. Ting (Ting Wen-chiang, q.v.) issued a rebuttal in which he sought to defend the value of science for man's intellectual life and philosophy. The issue ignited a lively science-philosophy debate, which engaged many of the nimblest minds of the day.

Chang Tung-sun, as editor of the influential *Shih-shih hsin-pao* of Shanghai, placed himself on the side of philosophy. His critical review of the debate, *K'o-hsueh yü che-hsueh* [science and philosophy], drew arguments from a wide range of contemporary Western philosophers and scientists to demonstrate that the categories of science are not equally applicable to all human experience. He attacked the naive materialism of Wu Chih-hui and Hu Shih (qq.v.) by quoting from Eddington and Einstein, who asserted that earlier concepts of matter, energy, space, and time had been disproved by modern physics. The objects of scientific investigation seemed to be reduced to abstract, mathematical equations. The positivism of V. K. Ting, derived from the Austrian physicist Ernst Mach and the English mathematical statistician Karl Pearson, though considerably more sophisticated than the materialism of Wu Chih-hui and Hu Shih, nevertheless was based, in Chang Tung-sun's view, on an incomplete understanding of the bases of knowledge. Pearson accepted the abstract, ideal, quality of knowledge but failed to see that such acceptance contradicted his theory of sensational epistemology. Chang Tung-sun dismissed Ch'en Tu-hsiu as being unaware of the philosophical implications either of historical materialism or of his own (Ch'en's) assertions. In conclusion, Chang stated his own view of the relationship of philosophy and science, outlining an epistemology based upon the idealistic nature of scientific knowledge. In his system, which he termed "objective idealism," philosophy held an important place in the world of science.

Shortly after this debate, Chang Tung-sun

entered the academic community. Following the May Thirtieth Incident of 1925, when many professors and students withdrew from St. John's University in Shanghai, Carsun Chang and Chang Tung-sun obtained funds from Sun Ch'uan-fang (q.v.) to establish a political college at Woosung. For the next five years, Chang Tung-sun served as professor of philosophy and dean of the college of arts at Kuang-hua University and as president of the Chung-kuo kung-hsueh [China Institute] at Woosung. He also wrote many articles for China's leading intellectual magazines, including *Che-hsueh p'ing-lun* [philosophical critique], and published textbooks intended to acquaint Chinese students with the history and contemporary problems of Western thought.

In the autumn of 1930, Chang moved to Peiping to become professor of philosophy at Yenching University, where he was to remain for the rest of his teaching career. From 1931 until 1933, he served as chairman of the department of philosophy, after which he returned to teaching and writing. He also served as an adviser to the fellows and scholars of the Harvard-Yenching Institute.

Chang Tung-sun's long-standing interest in Western philosophy was reflected in the courses he offered at Yenching. In addition to introductory courses on ethics and on the history and problems of Western thought, Chang conducted advanced courses on Plato, Hobbes and Locke, Berkeley, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Bergson, and contemporary philosophers. He occasionally offered courses on the history of materialism, language and thought, and the philosophy of history (Comte, Hegel, Marx, Croce, Rickert, and others). During the 1934-35 academic year Chang first offered work in Oriental thought—a course on Chinese political and social philosophies. He later added courses on Confucianism, Taoism, and Neo-Confucianism. In 1936 he published a paper entitled "Sino-Western Philosophical Differences as Seen through the Structure of Language" in the *Tung-fang tsa-chih* [eastern miscellany].

By the time he joined the Yenching faculty in 1930, Chang Tung-sun had begun to expound his revised epistemological synthesis. He now termed the basis of his thought "epistemological pluralism." According to Chang, the most difficult theme in the history of Western thought, yet the most compelling, has been the attempt to

discover the nature and content of knowledge. The fundamental problem of epistemology has been the origin of the seeming orderliness of knowledge. The realist holds that order exists in things and that it is the task of the mind to discover that order. The idealist maintains that this order does not exist *in* things but is superimposed *on* things by categories of the mind. Chang Tung-sun found neither of these explanations to be wholly adequate.

Chang then set forth an epistemological system in which the basic elements of knowledge were four: order, category, postulate, and concept. In human experience these four are interdependent; by combination they produce what Kant termed phenomena. It is important to note that, although they are interdependent, each has its own source and cannot be reduced to any one or combination of the others. Thus we have "epistemological pluralism." For the inspiration for his new theory of knowledge, Chang Tung-sun gave credit to the American C. I. Lewis, especially his work, *Mind and the World Order* (1929). In the final development of his own system, Chang acknowledged his broad eclecticism. He recognized that eclecticism was "not a term of the highest honor in philosophy." Despite this cautionary note, he continued, "I confess that I still prefer to call myself eclectic because in category, I have generally followed Kant; in postulate, I followed Professor Lewis; and in order, Eddington and Whitehead. But taken from the view of the arrangement of these parts into an integrated system, my thesis is no less original." In the next few years, Chang attempted to refine this philosophy. His paper on "Thought, Language, and Culture" appeared in Chinese in the journal *She-hui-hsueh chieh* [sociological world] in 1938. An English translation of that paper, prepared by Li An-che and entitled "A Chinese Philosopher's Theory of Knowledge," appeared in *The Yenching Journal of Social Sciences* in January 1939.

In addition to his professorial and philosophical concerns, Chang Tung-sun continued to take an active interest in contemporary Chinese politics. In 1930, while still at Shanghai, he had announced in the pages of the *Shih-shih hsin-pao* his new political concept of "national socialism" and proposed the organization of a national socialist party to bring democratic government to China. In 1931 he

discussed the matter with his old friend Carsun Chang at Peiping. In the following year the two men gathered a number of professors, students, and former members of the Progressive party and the Research clique into a society to prepare for the organization of a new political party and, at the same time, launched a new magazine, *Tsai-sheng* [national renaissance]. In 1934 that group held a national meeting and formally announced the inauguration of the National Socialist party. (The confusing and unhappy similarity of the name of the new party to that of the party led by Adolf Hitler in Germany was accidental.) In the years after 1934 Chang Tung-sun was both a prominent member of the new party and a frequent contributor to its magazine, the *Tsai-sheng*. In that forum, and in other journals and newspapers, Chang analyzed contemporary problems. In a philosophical controversy of the early 1930's he again placed himself in opposition to the Marxists, and in 1934 he edited a volume of essays in refutation of dialectical materialism, *Wei-wu pien-cheng-fa lun-chan* [discussion on dialectical materialism]. Yeh Ch'ing (Jen Chohsuan, q.v.) responded by publishing articles supporting Marxism. Chang also drew attention to the growing Japanese threat to north China and supported the stand of the National Salvation Association (*see* Shen Chun-ju).

When the Japanese took over Peiping in 1937, the president of Yenching University, J. Leighton Stuart, decided to keep the institution open and to attempt to prevent an open break with the Japanese authorities. In January 1941, Stuart met with a representative faculty group to discuss university policy "in view of possible developments." Chang Tung-sun was one of the five professors present. On 8 December 1941, a Monday, the "possible developments" were realized. During the eight o'clock classes, Japanese military police surrounded the Yenching campus and ordered separate meetings of the students, the Chinese faculty, and the Western faculty. Eight Chinese faculty members and some twenty students were arrested immediately. Chang Tung-sun, who was known for his anti-Japanese stand, was among the first arrested. In June 1942, Y. P. Mei (Mei Yipao, q.v.), Chang's former colleague in the philosophy department at Yenching, wrote from Chungking: "these Chinese colleagues have been kept in military prisons and, because of

their uncompromising attitude, tasted the Japanese third degree. . . . The effect of the patriotic and righteous stand which they have taken with imminent danger to themselves . . . is nothing short of being electric."

Following the Japanese surrender and the reopening of Yenching University at Peiping, Chang Tung-sun returned to his post in the philosophy department. He also lectured occasionally at Peking University. In four works published in 1946 and 1947, Chang concentrated on political and social, rather than philosophical, problems. In these writings he evidenced increased respect for the Marxist historical perspective and attempted to interpret its relevance to Chinese society, thought, and culture. Nonetheless, Chang remained highly critical of intellectual orthodoxies and, like many other independent Chinese intellectuals, found himself uncommitted to either the Kuomintang or the Chinese Communist party.

Chang Tung-sun also resumed his political activities. As an important figure in the China Democratic League, he was a member of the four-man delegation from that organization at the Political Consultative Conference in January 1946, which attempted to resolve the differences separating the Nationalists and Communists and to prevent civil war in China. The other China Democratic League delegates were Carsun Chang, Chang Lan, and Lo Lung-chi. Chang served as secretary general of the league in 1946 and 1947. Within the Social Democratic party, a group formed by union of the former National Socialist party with the Democratic Constitutional party, Chang Tung-sun broke with Carsun Chang in December 1946 and organized a reformist group which opposed participation in the National Assembly.

Following the Communist occupation of Peiping early in 1949, Chang Tung-sun remained in that city and took part in preparing for the establishment of a new central government. In the summer of that year he served as a member of the preparatory committee for the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. After the organization of the new government, he was appointed to membership on the Central People's Government Council.

In the autumn of 1951, Chang Tung-sun's continued independence brought him into conflict with Communist plans for the ideological mobilization of the Chinese academic com-

munity. On 26 November 1951 Chang presented a discussion of "The Problems of the Reform of the Colleges and Departments of Regular Universities." During the Communist-sponsored political reform which developed that winter, three of Yenching's leading faculty members were singled out for public criticism. They were Chang Tung-sun, then the chairman of the department of philosophy; T. C. Chao (Chao Tzu-ch'en, q.v.), the director of the school of religion; and Lu Chih-wei (q.v.), the president of the university. In February 1952 Chang was brought before joint student-faculty meetings at Yenching for self-examination and discussion. On 29 February he came before an all-Yenching meeting of teachers, students, staff members, and workers for further self-criticism. Chang then was removed from his academic and government positions and lost his national prestige.

Chang Tung-sun was a short man, but he commanded the lecture platform with the keenness of his mind and the skill of his rhetoric. Responding to the demand of young Chinese intellectuals for Western knowledge, Chang brought to the China of the first half of the twentieth century a better understanding of the historical development and contemporary perspectives of Western philosophy.

Two of his three sons, Chang Tsung-sui and Chang Tsung-ping, studied and taught in the United States. The former was trained as a biologist and the latter as a physicist. The third, Chang Tsung-kung, studied sociology, but marriage and politics kept him from studying abroad. All were in China in 1965.

Chang Tzu-p'ing

張資平

Chang Tzu-p'ing (1893-?), author and geologist, was a founder of the Creation Society and a writer of popular romantic fiction. During the Sino-Japanese war, he served in the Japanese-sponsored government of Wang Ching-wei.

Meihsien, Kwangtung, was the birthplace of Chang Tzu-p'ing. His father was a sheng-yuan in straitened circumstances who gave his son his early instruction in the Chinese classics. In 1906 Chang Tzu-p'ing entered the Kwang-yi Sino-Western School, an American Baptist

mission school in Kwangtung, where he studied until 1909. In 1910 he passed the entrance examinations for the Kwangtung higher police school and considered criminal law as a career while he studied there. In 1912 he passed the Kwangtung provincial examinations for a government scholarship and went to Japan to study.

Chang Tzu-p'ing's stay in Japan was as important to his intellectual and personal development as to his professional training. About 1914, while studying the Japanese language in Tokyo, he became acquainted with Kuo Mo-jo, Yu Ta-fu (q.v.), and other Chinese students who shared his interest in literature. Although Chang was granted a degree in geology from Tokyo Imperial University in 1922, he chose a literary career. In 1921 Kuo Mo-jo left Japan to return to Shanghai, where he worked as an editor. He published his first collection of poems, *The Goddesses*, which brought him immediate recognition. Kuo returned to Japan in July 1921 and met with friends to discuss the formation of a literary magazine. This group included Chang Tzu-p'ing, T'ien Han (q.v.), and Yu Ta-fu. The result of their discussions was the founding of the literary association known as the Creation Society.

The years between 1922 and 1924 were the heyday of the early Creation Society. Chang Tzu-p'ing worked actively with Kuo Mo-jo and his colleagues in editing the *Creation Quarterly* (*Ch'uang-tsao chi-k'an*), which was committed to popularizing romanticism and the concept of art for art's sake. Chang Tzu-p'ing was a regular contributor to the magazine. The year 1922 also saw the appearance of Chang's first novel, *Ch'ung-chi-ch'i hua-shih* [fossils of the alluvial age], published by the T'ai-tung Publishing Company in Shanghai, which also published the periodicals of the Creation Society. Chang soon established himself as an author of popular romantic fiction.

Chang Tzu-p'ing later stopped working for the *Creation Quarterly* and in 1926 took a position as professor of mineralogy and head of the geology department at the National Normal University of Wuchang. There he began to learn something of revolutionary theories and proletarian literature. He returned to Shanghai in May 1928 and taught literature at Chinan University and Great China University. During this period Chang departed from romantic

themes and attempted to write some political essays. He also tried his hand at running bookstores and publishing periodicals, but these ventures were short-lived. Chang reportedly maintained his connection with the Creation Society until that group was proscribed by the Nationalist authorities in February 1929. After 1929, Chang continued his creative writing and engaged in business. During the Sino-Japanese conflict he worked in the Japanese-sponsored government headed by Wang Ching-wei at Nanking. After the Japanese surrender, he sought temporary refuge in Taiwan, but later returned to Shanghai, where he was brought to trial on charges of collaboration in June 1947. Nothing further is known of him.

Chang Tzu-p'ing was a prolific author of novels and short stories and an active translator. His early romantic stories were the most interesting of his works. His later work was based largely on such stereotyped situations as the romantic triangle; his characters were superficial; and he exploited the physical aspects of love. His alleged espousal of the new nationalistic spirit of China in his writing merely meant adopting a new vocabulary after 1928. In all, his writings were designed as popular works to divert his readers, and, for a time, he enjoyed considerable popularity in China.

Chang Tzu-p'ing was married and reportedly had four children.

Chang Wen-t'ien

Alt. Lo-fu

Chang Lo-fu

張聞天

洛甫

張洛甫

Chang Wen-t'ien (1898-), known as Lo-fu, a writer and translator, was one of a group of Russian-trained Chinese Communists known as the 28 Bolsheviks. General secretary of the Chinese Communist party in the mid-1930's, he was ambassador to the Soviet Union 1951-55 and senior vice minister of foreign affairs 1955-59.

Nanhui, a suburb of Shanghai, was the birthplace of Chang Wen-t'ien. His father was a prosperous farmer who permitted his son to begin a formal education at an early age. Chang Wen-t'ien was graduated from the Woosung Middle School at the age of 16. Then he went

to Nanking to enter the engineering college, where he studied for three years. However, he left before completing his studies.

While at college in Nanking, Chang came under the influence of Tso Shun-sheng, a faculty member who then was associated with other young intellectuals at Peking in planning the establishment of a Young China Association [Shao-nien Chung-kuo hsueh-hui] to mobilize patriotic opposition to the pro-Japanese policies of Tuan Ch'i-jui's government at Peking. Utilizing the prestige of his teaching position, Tso Shun-sheng began to recruit members for the organization in the Nanking-Shanghai area. Chang Wen-t'ien, together with Shen Tse-min (q.v.), a fellow student who became his close friend, was attracted by the avowed patriotic purpose of the association, which was formally established in the summer of 1919. Chang was admitted to the association that winter. Since the several branches of the organization kept in contact with each other regarding membership and activities, Chang Wen-t'ien became acquainted by letter with a number of men who later became prominent in the affairs of the Chinese Communist party, such as Li Ta-chao, Mao Tse-tung, Teng Chung-hsia, and Yun Tai-ying.

Before that time, however, he and his comrade Shen Tse-min had become restless at Nanking. Both were more interested in literature, politics, and current affairs than in engineering. After the May Fourth Movement of 1919, they left college to go to Shanghai. Shen Yen-ping (q.v.), Shen Tse-min's elder brother, was then working at the Commercial Press in Shanghai, and, apparently through that connection, Chang Wen-t'ien obtained a minor editorial post. In the autumn of 1920, Chang Wen-t'ien and Shen Tse-min went to Japan to study. In six months they were back in Shanghai. In July 1921 the two young men went to Nanking to attend the first conference of the Young China Association and to meet and exchange ideas with members of that organization from other cities.

Although Shen Tse-min and many other members of the Young China Association joined the Chinese Communist party after its establishment in 1921, Chang Wen-t'ien did not commit himself to any doctrinal or partisan affiliation. After the meeting at Nanking, he sailed from Shanghai for the United States. For a year he earned his living as a translator on a Chinese-

language newspaper in San Francisco, while he also worked in the library and perhaps attended classes at the University of California in Berkeley. Although some sources identify Chang as "American-trained," it is unlikely that he matriculated at Berkeley.

After his return to China late in 1922, Chang Wen-t'ien became an editor at the Chung-hua Book Company in Shanghai under Tso Shun-sheng, who had become chief editor of that firm. In Shanghai he came to know Yun Tai-ying, who was then an active Communist and director of propaganda work of the Communist Youth League in Shanghai. Yun had recently returned from Szechwan, where he had taught for two years, and it was probably through his influence and recommendation that Chang Wen-t'ien went to Szechwan in 1923 to teach in a normal school.

Although he was acquainted with Marxism and with some of the early activities of the Chinese Communist party, Chang Wen-t'ien was primarily intent upon a literary career. As early as 1921, he had begun contributing to the *Hsiao-shuo yueh-pao* [short story magazine], the organ of the Society for Literary Studies. Most of his early contributions were translations of and commentaries on Western authors, and Chang's subjects reflected the literary eclecticism and experimentation of that period. The Commercial Press published three of his translations: *Le Rire*, by Henri Bergson; *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*, by Oscar Wilde; and *The Waltz of the Dogs*, a play by Leonid Andreyev. The Chung-hua Book Company published his Chinese renderings of two novels: *Gioconda*, by Gabriele D'Annunzio, and *The Blind Musician*, by V. G. Korolenko. Chang's article on Kahlil Gibran appeared in the *Ch'uang-tsao chou-k'an* [creation weekly] in October 1923. He also translated some of Tolstoy and Turgenev. While in Szechwan in 1923-24, Chang Wen-t'ien turned to creative writing and produced a novel, *Lü-t'u* (*The Journey*), and a play, *Ch'ing-ch'un te meng* (*Dream of Youth*). *The Journey*, which first appeared in installments in the *Hsiao-shuo yueh-pao* in 1924 and then was published in book form by the Commercial Press in 1925, won acclaim. It was a love story, set in China and the United States, written in an attractive style, with vivid description and penetrating characterization. His play *Dream of Youth* was also hailed in literary and dramatic circles in Shanghai.

Chang's promising literary career soon was interrupted by political activity. After his return to Shanghai in 1925, he joined the Chinese Communist party. Later that year he was one of the young Chinese Communists selected to go to Moscow for study at Sun Yat-sen University. The group, which also included Chang's good friend Shen Tse-min, spent nearly five years in the Soviet Union studying the Russian language, Marxism-Leninism, and revolutionary tactics under the tutelage of Pavel Mif, then head of Sun Yat-sen University. A group of Mif's favorite Chinese students were so firm in support of Stalin's China policy that they became known as the 28 Bolsheviks. That group included Chang Wen-t'ien, as well as Ch'en Shao-yü, Ch'in Pang-hsien, Shen Tse-min, Wang Chia-hsiang, and others.

After his years of study and teaching in Moscow, Chang Wen-t'ien returned to China in the summer of 1930. He was assigned to the Shanghai headquarters of the Communist party; he was there when Li Li-san (q.v.), who had dominated the central apparatus of the Chinese Communist party since 1928, lost power in November 1930. At the fourth plenum of the Sixth Central Committee, held at Shanghai in January 1931, the group that had returned from Moscow with Pavel Mif gained control of the central party organs. Chang Wen-t'ien, despite his limited practical experience in political work in China, was elected to membership on both the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist party. That summer, when Ch'en Shao-yü became general secretary of the party, Chang Wen-t'ien became head of the organization department of its Central Committee, and Shen Tse-min took over the propaganda department.

During the early 1930's Chang Wen-t'ien—then better known by his pen name, Lo-fu—produced a stream of political and polemical articles for the party journals. His duties as head of the organization department in the underground party apparatus at Shanghai were more dangerous than taxing, since the urban party organization had been smashed by the Kuomintang after the 1927 break with the Communists. Chang and other members of the Shanghai group finally were forced to move to the rural base in Kiangsi, which was headed by Mao Tse-tung. After his arrival at Juichin, the Communist base in southern Kiangsi, Chang Wen-

t'ien was assigned to head the propaganda department of the Central Committee, replacing Shen Tse-min, who had gone to the Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei soviet area. Chang also edited the Communist party weekly *Tou-cheng* [struggle] and continued to serve during 1933-34 in articulating party policies. During that period, Ch'in Pang-hsien, who had succeeded Ch'en Shao-yü in 1932, was general secretary of the Chinese Communist party.

In October 1934 Chang Wen-t'ien left with the main force of the Chinese Communist army on its exodus from Kiangsi. A new alignment in the top party command was effected at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau, held at Tsunyi in January 1935. At that time Chang Wen-t'ien replaced Ch'in Pang-hsien as general secretary of the party. After the Communist forces arrived in Shensi province in northwest China in late 1935, Chang Wen-t'ien continued to serve as a member of the party's Political Bureau during the period when Mao Tse-tung was consolidating his personal control over the central apparatus of the party. After the outbreak of the Japanese war in 1937, most of Chang's writings were devoted to anti-Japanese propaganda. In 1940 he became president of the Marx-Lenin Academy at Yenan. He also served as head of the reference section of the official Communist newspaper, the *Chieh-fang jih-pao* [liberation daily], which began publication in 1941. Although the details of Chinese Communist party history during the Yenan period are obscure, Chang Wen-t'ien apparently continued to serve as general secretary of the party until about 1943, when Mao Tse-tung was elected chairman of the Central Committee, a new title designed to distinguish his position from that of general secretary, which had been the top post in the party hierarchy during the 1920's and the 1930's.

Although he was no longer a spokesman on major policy matters, Chang Wen-t'ien retained his position in the top echelon of the Chinese Communist party. When its Seventh Annual Congress met at Yenan in April 1945, he was elected a member of the presidium of the meeting. At its conclusion in June, he was re-elected to both the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. After the Japanese surrender, Chang Wen-t'ien was a member of the first group of Chinese Communist leaders sent to Manchuria. He held key posts there during the

next five years, although he then was subordinate to such men as Ch'en Yun, Kao Kang, and Lin Piao (qq.v.). In 1945-46 Chang was secretary of the Ho-chiang (Sungkiang) provincial committee of the Chinese Communist party and political commissar of the Ho-chiang military district. Throughout the postwar period he was a member of the standing committee of the Northeast bureau of the Chinese Communist party, and he served for a period as director of the organization department of that regional bureau. When the Northeast Administrative Council was established at Mukden under the direction of Ch'en Yun, Chang became deputy director of its financial-economic committee. In August 1949, when the Northeast People's Government was set up under the chairmanship of Kao Kang, Chang became a member of its government council. He also served as secretary of the Liaotung provincial committee of the Communist party in 1949-50.

When the Central People's Government was established in October 1949, Chang Wen-t'ien was not given a senior substantive post at Peking. The reason for that omission became apparent when Peking laid claim to China's seat in the United Nations and named a full slate of delegates to that body. Chang Wen-t'ien was appointed chief delegate from the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. The delegation was not seated. In the spring of 1951, when Wang Chia-hsiang (q.v.) was recalled for reasons of health from the post of Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union, Chang Wen-t'ien was named to succeed him. Chang arrived in Moscow and presented his credentials as ambassador from the People's Republic of China in April 1951. Chang served as China's chief envoy to the Kremlin during the last two years of Stalin's life and during the difficult period of the Korean war. In April 1954 he was given the concurrent rank of vice minister of foreign affairs. That announcement came just before Chang left Moscow for Switzerland, where he was a member of the Chinese delegation supporting Foreign Minister Chou En-lai at the Geneva Conference on Indo-China during the summer of 1954. In November 1954, after the first session of the National People's Congress, Chang Wen-t'ien was reappointed vice minister of foreign affairs. He left the Moscow post and formally assumed his new responsibilities in the ministry of foreign affairs at Peking in Jan-

uary 1955. As the second-ranking official of that ministry, Chang Wen-t'ien served as acting foreign minister whenever Chou En-lai was absent from Peking, notably during Chou's attendance at the Bandung Conference in April 1955 and again when Chou visited the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe after the Hungarian uprising in late 1956. In February 1958, he accompanied Chou En-lai to North Korea and assisted in the negotiations that led to the withdrawal of Chinese Communist military forces from that country. He continued to serve as vice minister when Ch'en Yi (q.v.) replaced Chou En-lai as foreign minister.

In April 1959 Chang was named to membership on the standing committee of the Second National People's Congress at Peking. In that same month he flew to Poland to attend a conference of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries. After his return to China, Chang was relieved of his government post as vice minister of foreign affairs in September 1959, when many personnel shifts were made at Peking.

At the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist party in 1956, Chang was reelected to the Central Committee and to the Political Bureau of the party. The membership of the Political Bureau was expanded at that time, and Chang was elected only to alternate membership, though he previously had been a regular member. Chang Wen-t'ien's position in the Chinese Communist hierarchy was unusual in that he retained senior positions after the party's stern criticism in 1945 of his former associates, notably Ch'en Shao-yü and Ch'in Pang-hsien. Both men were accused of having caused great damage to the Chinese Communist party during the period when they held senior rank in the party hierarchy. Chang Wen-t'ien could not escape a certain measure of guilt by association, since he had been a member of the Political Bureau at that time. However, Chang had served as general secretary during the period of Mao Tse-tung's consolidation of power, and perhaps he escaped overt criticism because of that circumstance. In any event, Chang Wen-t'ien and Wang Chia-hsiang were the two leading survivors of the 28 Bolsheviks who made the transition to the Mao Tse-tung era in the Chinese Communist party. Chang's wife, Liu Ying, also studied in the Soviet Union and was a veteran of the Long March.

Chang Yuan-chi

T. Hsiao-chai
H. Chu-sheng

張元濟
小齋
菊生

Chang Yuan-chi (1866–14 August 1959), largely responsible for developing the Commercial Press into the largest publishing house in China, produced a major textbook series, built up the Han-fen-lou library, and, using modern techniques, initiated the large-scale reprinting of rare books, including the 24 dynastic histories and rare editions of the *Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu*. He also established and edited such magazines as the *Tung-fang tsa-chih* [eastern miscellany] and the *Hsiao-shuo tsa-chih* [short story magazine].

Born into a scholarly family in Haiyen, Chekiang, Chang Yuan-chi inherited the ancestral interest in good books and solid learning. He earned his chin-shih degree in 1892, before he was 30. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei (q.v.) passed the state examinations and became a member of the Hanlin Academy at the same time, and he and Chang became lifelong friends.

Distressed by China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894–95, Chang and many other young intellectuals began to agitate for political reforms. In 1898, while serving as a minor official at Peking, he was recommended by Hsu Chih-ching to serve as an adviser to the reform-minded Kuang-hsu emperor. Other advisers were Huang Tsun-hsien (ECCP, I, 350–51), K'ang Yu-wei, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (qq.v.), and T'an Ssu-t'ung (ECCP, II, 702–5). On 16 June 1898 the emperor granted Chang Yuan-chi and K'ang Yu-wei a court audience; they stressed the necessity for overhauling the traditional examination system by eliminating the writing of conventional eight-part essays, which, they stated, had a stifling effect upon the intellectual development of the students. Chang later sent a memorial to the throne, calling for reorganization of the bureaucracy and elimination of the ceremonial kow-tow. After the collapse of the ill-fated Hundred Days Reform in the autumn of 1898, Chang Yuan-chi was removed from his post and was proscribed from future appointment in the government bureaucracy.

Officially disgraced, Chang left for Shanghai, where he continued to agitate for reform

measures. In 1902 he became principal of the Nan-yang kung-hsueh (established 1897), a government-supported academy which later became Chiao-t'ung University. The school curriculum emphasized foreign languages, and Chang became head of the translation section, a post which provided him with an opportunity to gain experience in the selection and translation of foreign texts and in the preparation of manuscript for publication. He remained at the Nan-yang kung-hsueh for only a short period, however, probably leaving early in 1903, when many of its students and faculty moved to join the newly established Ai-kuo hsueh-she [patriotic society], headed by Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei.

Just after the turn of the century Chang Yuan-chi joined the Commercial Press, the organization to which he was to devote the rest of his working life. The Commercial Press had been established at Shanghai in 1897 as a small printing shop. When the Ch'ing court, after the Boxer Uprising, bowed to the pressure of public opinion and announced its readiness to initiate reforms which it had adamantly rejected but a few years before, the revamping of the educational system was among the first items on the agenda. Accordingly, there was a pressing demand for modern school textbooks. At the same time, the desire for modern knowledge, which had been increasing in the educated stratum of Chinese society during the late nineteenth century, offered a growing market for Chinese translations of foreign books. The founders of the Commercial Press, Hsia Jui-fang (d. 10 January 1910) and Pao Hsien-ch'ang (d. 9 November 1929), surveyed this situation with interest. Attracted by the potential profits in the market, they commissioned Chinese translations of a large number of Japanese books. The results, because of the incompetence of the student translators, were disappointing. Faced with a substantial loss, Hsia and Pao sought advice from Chang Yuan-chi, who was then editing the periodical *Wai-chiao pao* [diplomatic review] for them. Chang recommended the establishment of a new department of compilation and translation in the Commercial Press, the staffing of that department with members of the translations section of the Nan-yang kung-hsueh, and the appointment of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei as director of the department. Ts'ai, when approached on the matter, suggested that the Commercial Press concentrate its resources on

the publication of school texts. Ts'ai himself, however, was unable to devote full attention to these publication problems. In June 1903 Ts'ai left Shanghai for Tsingtao.

Chang Yuan-chi then took over the directorship of the department of compilation and translation of the Commercial Press. Under his direction the press began the publication of textbooks which had been systematically compiled by a board of editors. In addition to Chang, the board then included Chang Wei-chiao (1873-; T. Chu-chuang), Chuang Yu, and Kao Feng-ch'ien, all of whom became well-known educators. The initial volume of a ten-volume textbook series appeared in 1904, and that series soon displaced the majority of textbooks then in current use in China. In the following decade, several million sets were sold. The profits from the textbook market made possible the rapid expansion of the Commercial Press into republican China's largest and most enterprising publishing house.

As a scholar turned businessman, Chang Yuan-chi was hardly to be contented with the publication of textbooks. One channel of activity into which his energies flowed was the launching and later editing of magazines of general interest. The famous *Tung-fang tsa-chih* [eastern miscellany], for example, made its first appearance in January 1904 under Chang's editorship; it grew into the best-known and longest-lived periodical of general interest of the republican period, appearing regularly until 1949. Between 1909 and 1915 Chang also launched such popular magazines as the *Chiao-yü tsa-chih* [educational journal], *Hsiao-shuo tsa-chih* [short story magazine], *Shao-nien tsa-chih* [teenagers' magazine], *Hsueh-sheng tsa-chih* [student magazine], *Fu-nü tsa-chih* [women's journal], *Ying-wen tsa-chih* [English studies], and others.

Beginning in 1905 Chang began to build up a library of rare books, known as the Han-fen-lou, for the Commercial Press. The Han-fen-lou began modestly, acquiring its first valuable books from the Hsü family of Chekiang, with Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, an old acquaintance of the family, arranging the transaction. Books were acquired from many collections, including those of Sheng-yü (ECCP, II, 648-50), Ting Jih-ch'ang (ECCP, II, 721-23), and Tuan-fang (ECCP, II, 780-82). Within 20 years after its original establishment, the library was expanded into the *Tung-fang t'u-shu-kuan*, or Oriental

Library. In 1924 it was moved to a new site in Chapei and was opened to the public in May 1926. At the time of the Japanese action at Shanghai in January 1932, the Chapei library was completely destroyed by fire. Only those books which had been moved to the vaults of the Kincheng Bank in the International Settlement, about one-seventh of the collection, escaped destruction. Prior to that disaster, the library had grown to be one of the largest in China, including more than 518,000 volumes. A catalogue of its most valuable books was published many years later (1951) under the title *Han-fen-lou chih-yü shu-lu* [catalogue of the Han-fen-lou library], prepared jointly by Chang Yuan-chi and Ku T'ing-lung (1905-; T. Ch'i-ch'ien). This catalogue lists 93 sets of Sung editions, 89 of Yuan, 156 of Ming, 192 hand-copied works, and 17 manuscripts. The collection was notably rich in local histories, numbering 2,671 titles and including many Yuan and Ming editions.

The valuable holdings of the Han-fen-lou library enabled Chang to initiate large-scale reprinting of rare Chinese books. Advances in modern printing techniques had substantially lowered production costs, and rapid growth of libraries throughout China had created a dependable market for the products. A conscientious and well-trained scholar, Chang Yuan-chi did not rely solely on the Han-fen-lou resources, but searched indefatigably for the best available editions of those books which he wished to reprint. Before the reprinting, each book was carefully re-edited. The first important series was published by the Commercial Press under the title "Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an ch'u-pien"; this was reprinted in 1929 with some changes in the editions reproduced. Two supplementary collections followed in 1935 and 1936: the "Hsü-pien" [first supplement] and the "San-pien" [second supplement]. Another series called the "Hsu ku-i ts'ung-shu" [library of supplementary volumes of ancient and rare texts] was published between 1923 and 1938.

Historians of China will long be grateful to Chang Yuan-chi for his role in the reprinting of the 24 dynastic histories. Dissatisfied with the editions generally available in China in the 1920's, Chang resolved to seek out the best edition of each history and succeeded in obtaining many Sung and Yuan texts for the project. Throughout this arduous undertaking, he acted

as chief editor, supervising the collation of variant versions. The entire set of histories, entitled the "Po-na-pen erh-shih-ssu shih" [the Po-na edition of the twenty-four histories], was published during the years from 1930 to 1937. From the voluminous notes that Chang and his assistants accumulated during their editorial labors, Chang selected the more significant ones for the explanatory notes which he appended to the histories. In 1938 he selected some of these items and assembled them in a single volume entitled *Chiao-shih sui-pi* [notes on the checking of historical treatises].

In November 1935, after months of negotiation between the ministry of education at Nanking and the Commercial Press at Shanghai, a joint enterprise was begun under Chang's direction to reproduce for the first time the Wen-yuan-ko edition of the famous *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* (see Chi Yun, ECCP, I, 120-22), which then was housed in the Palace Museum at Peiping. Many earlier attempts had ended in failure, and again it was deemed impossible to reproduce the whole of the vast manuscript library. There was long debate among the scholars about which books to select. On the advice of Ch'en Yuan (q.v.), it was decided that only those books which had been copied into the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* from the Ming encyclopedia, the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, should be included. The resulting publication, the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen*, represented only about one-fifth of the entire *Ssu-k'u* compendium.

In addition to these editorial labors, Chang Yuan-chi had found time to prepare works in which he had a personal as well as a scholarly interest. In 1917 he compiled and published the *Wu-hsü liu chün-tzu i-chi* [the behest writings of the six gentlemen executed by the emperor in 1898], which contained the writings of his fellow patriots who participated in the Hundred Days Reform of 1898. Weng T'ung-ho (ECCP, II, 860-61), the prominent scholar-official of the late Ch'ing period, had been the chief examiner when Chang won his chin-shih degree in 1892. Weng's diary, concerning the years from 1858 to 1905, was an important document for students of modern Chinese history. It was through Chang Yuan-chi's patient and persistent negotiations with Weng's descendants that the diary was photographically reproduced by the Commercial Press in 1925.

In his years of service at the press, Chang had been promoted to supervising manager in 1920

and had become chairman of its board of directors in 1930. In addition to his managerial and scholarly contributions to the firm, he had invented in 1923 a new machine for the more efficient and economical setting of Chinese type.

When the Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1937, Chang, already over 70, went into semi-retirement, but he continued to follow national events with keen interest. At his old home in the Hai-yen district of Chekiang, a private library known as the She-yuan had been constructed by his ancestor Chang Ch'i-ling (T. Fu-chiu), a chü-jen of 1603. For generations this library had been kept in good condition, housing works by members of the Chang family as well as by other scholars of Hai-yen and Chia-hsing. Chang donated all of these works to the Ho-chung t'u-shu-kuan [Ho-chung library] at Shanghai in 1939. A catalogue describing the contents of this collection was published in 1946 under the title *She-yuan ts'ang-shu mu-lu* [catalogue of the She-yuan library].

After the victory over Japan, Chang was greatly disillusioned by the postwar policies of the National Government. Chang was elected to membership in the Academia Sinica in 1948. At the first meeting of academicians which he attended, undeterred by Chiang Kai-shek's presence, he spoke out sharply against the National Government's policy of attempting to deal with the problem of Communism in China through military means.

It was hardly surprising that the Communist authorities invited Chang Yuan-chi to participate in the first session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which was held in September 1949. At 83, he was the oldest member of that historic assembly. Chang was appointed in 1949 to membership on the East China Military and Administrative Committee and, in 1953, to its successor, the East China Administrative Commission. Throughout these years he retained his long-standing connection with the Commercial Press, as chairman of the board, and, after the firm was converted to a joint state-private enterprise in 1953, as general manager. In 1954 Chang was elected deputy from Shanghai to the First National People's Congress. He was reelected to the Second National People's Congress in 1958 and appointed director of the Shanghai Museum in the same year. He died in August 1959 at the age of 93.

Chao Erh-sun

T. Tz'u-shan
H. Wu-pu

趙爾巽

次珊
無(光)補

Chao Erh-sun (7 July 1844–3 September 1927) served the Ch'ing government in such capacities as governor general of Szechwan and of the Three Eastern Provinces. After 1912 he was editor of the bureau of Ch'ing history, responsible for the compilation of the *Ch'ing-shih kao* [provisional history of the Ch'ing].

A native of T'iehling, Fengtien, Chao Erh-sun was a member of a distinguished family of officials belonging to the Chinese Blue Banner. The family had originally come from Manchuria. His father, a chin-shih of 1845 and a district magistrate in Shantung, had died at his post in 1854 while resisting the Taiping rebels. Of Chao Erh-sun's three brothers, two were chin-shih: Chao Erh-chen (T. T'ieh-shan), and Chao Erh-ts'u (T. Ch'ing-kung). The third, Chao Erh-feng (T. Chi-ho), rose in the official service to become governor general of Szechwan province; he was killed in the revolution of 1911.

Educated in the traditional manner, Chao Erh-sun became a chü-jen in 1867 and a chin-shih with the honor of being elected to the Hanlin Academy in 1874. Rising steadily in the official hierarchy, he was made a provincial censor in 1882, in which capacity he earned the reputation of being bold and forthright. After over a decade of metropolitan service, Chao in 1887 began to serve as a provincial official. His first appointment was as prefect of Shih-ch'i'en in Kweichow, he was promoted to tao-t'ai of Kuei-tung in the same province in 1893. Then, after some three years as provincial judge of Anhwei, he became lieutenant governor of Sinkiang in 1898. However, after the death of his mother, he retired in 1899 to Shantung to observe the mourning period. When that observance ended in 1901, he was appointed lieutenant governor and then acting governor of Shansi. Two years later he became governor of Hunan. After being recalled briefly to Peking to be president of the board of revenue, he was sent to the Northeast in 1904 to be general of Mukden. In 1907 Chao was appointed governor general of Szechwan; later he became governor general of Hu-kuang (Hunan and Hupeh), but

he returned to his post in Szechwan in 1908. Early in 1911 he was sent again to Manchuria as the third and last governor general of the newly created Three Eastern Provinces.

Reports of rice riots and other local disturbances had already been brought to Peking in 1910. When the revolt broke out at Wuchang in October 1911, similar outbreaks followed in Manchuria as well as in other provinces. Since he had some reliable military units, such as the troops of Chang Tso-lin (q.v.), at his disposal, Chao Erh-sun was able to outmaneuver the revolutionary leaders and to take the initiative in Manchuria: the revolutionaries had originally planned to seize power in Fengtien through an organization called the peace preservation society, but Chao succeeded in having himself elected head of this society and thereby preserved his power. When the republic was inaugurated in 1912, military governors in the provinces were given the title of tutuh, and Chao Erh-sun consequently became tutuh of Fengtien. Toward the end of that year, however, he resigned. After his retirement, Chao, like many other former officials of the Manchu dynasty, chose to make his home in Tsingtao.

In March 1914 the Peking government under Yuan Shih-k'ai established the Ch'ing-shih kuan to compile a history of the Ch'ing dynasty—in keeping with Chinese tradition. Chao Erh-sun was appointed editor in chief of this project. In December 1915, when Yuan was preparing to assume the throne, he designated Chao, Chang Chien, Hsu Shih-ch'ang (qq.v.), and Ching-hsi, as the Sung-shan ssu-yu [four friends of Sungshan] to indicate that these old colleagues were to be honored as his personal friends under the new regime. At the time of the 1917 attempt of Chang Hsün (q.v.) to restore the Manchu dynasty, Chao was named an adviser to the privy council. In 1925, under the administration of Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.), he was appointed chairman of the reorganization conference and then chairman of the provisional senate. In 1926 Peking experienced another of its periodic changes of power when Tuan Ch'i-jui departed for Tientsin as Chang Tso-lin's forces approached the capital. Chao Erh-sun and Wang Shih-chen (q.v.) worked to maintain peace and order in the ancient city. Chao died in Peking on 3 September 1927. The problem of the publication of the *Ch'ing-shih kao* was one of his dying concerns.

Although a scholar of the Hanlin Academy, Chao was not particularly noted for scholarship or literary attainments and was by no means the best choice to supervise the compilation of the Ch'ing history. Yuan Shih-k'ai, in establishing the bureau, was conforming to an established tradition, but his real intention may have been to give employment to elder statesmen of the former dynasty as a means of ensuring their support. Yet, in certain respects Yuan's choice of Chao Erh-sun to head the bureau proved to be a sound one. An editor in chief must be a man with administrative skill as well as historical scholarship. Lacking a man of Chao's official prestige and practical experience, the project might not have survived the difficult decade of political instability and financial uncertainty that followed Yuan's death. Whatever the defects of the resulting historical compilation, that it was brought to completion and published was in large part due to Chao's resourcefulness and perseverance. Chao himself was well aware of the shortcomings of the work, and for that reason named it the *Ch'ing-shih kao* [provisional history of the Ch'ing], and not *Ch'ing-shih* [history of the Ch'ing].

During the lifetime of Yuan Shih-k'ai, the project was well supported financially. Chao invited many noted scholars of the time to participate and kept a number of them on the payroll even though they did little or no work. Thus, during the early period, compilation work was not taken too seriously. Among the working staff members there was neither coordination nor an effective system of organization, and duplications, omissions, and discrepancies naturally occurred. As financial support dwindled and sometimes became uncertain, Chao had to economize and think of ways to raise funds himself, generally by soliciting aid from the warlords.

In 1927 Chao Erh-sun saw that the Kuomintang Northern Expedition would be successful, and he became anxious about the completion and publication of the *Ch'ing-shih kao*. Shortly before his death in September 1927, he entrusted this task to Yuan Chin-k'ai (T. Chieh-shan), a native of Liaoyang, Fengtien, who had served under him in Manchuria before 1911 and was later to hold office in the Japanese-sponsored state of Manchoukuo.

However, in 1928, during the final days of preparation for publication, the editorial duties

were left largely in the hands of Yuan Chin-k'ai's Manchu assistant, Chin-liang (T. Hsi-hou, H. Kua-p'u). Chin-liang took the liberty of making alterations in the text, some of them serious, of which no one was aware until the work was printed. When the changes were discovered, certain corrections were hurriedly made, but not before 400 copies of the original printing bearing Chin-liang's alterations had been shipped to Manchuria. These circumstances have given rise to two variant texts of the *Ch'ing-shih kao*, known as the kuan-nei and kuan-wai editions. The most notable difference was the addition in the kuan-wai (Manchurian) edition of the biographies (lieh-chuan) of Chang Hsün, Chang Piao, and K'ang Yu-wei, which are not to be found in the kuan-nei edition.

The printing of the *Ch'ing-shih kao* preceded by only a few weeks the entry of the National Revolutionary Army into Peking. On 28 June 1928 the *Ch'ing-shih* kuan was turned over to a committee in charge of taking over the palaces. Soon afterwards, this group petitioned the National Government in Nanking to ban the *Ch'ing-shih kao*, giving 19 reasons, the foremost of which was that the work was "anti-revolutionary." After 1928 the *Ch'ing-shih kao* remained under a ban imposed by the Kuomintang-controlled National Government on the mainland and, after 1949, in Taiwan. Under this ban, copies of the work grew increasingly rare, and its price among booksellers soared, thus encouraging the appearance of pirated editions.

Since its publication, the *Ch'ing-shih kao* has received much criticism, and a variety of opinions have been expressed with respect to the official ban. In 1945 the Historical Society in Chungking petitioned the ministry of education for permission to undertake the task of re-editing the work because of its importance to the study of modern China. However, serious work began only after the removal of the government to Taiwan in 1949, and it was not until 1961-62 that an officially approved eight-volume revision appeared in Taiwan under the title *Ch'ing-shih*. Based largely on the *Ch'ing-shih kao*, the *Ch'ing-shih* appears to differ from the earlier "provisional history" mainly in the treatment of some of the biographies of late Ch'ing personalities, such as the Taiping leader Hung Hsiu-ch'üan (ECCP, I, 361-67).

Chao Heng-t'i

T. I-wu
H. Yen-wu

趙恒惕
彝五，夷午
炎午

Chao Heng-t'i (1880-), Hunanese general and governor of Hunan from 1921-26. As governor he attempted to put into practice the constitutionalist ideas of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (q.v.).

A native of Hengshan, Hunan, Chao Heng-t'i was born into a fairly prosperous family. His father, Chao Tzu-ying, was a sheng-yuan and had a local reputation as an accomplished poet. After receiving his early education in the traditional subjects at home, Chao Heng-t'i was sent to study at the Wuchang language school. He then passed the government qualification examination for study abroad and went to Tokyo to enter the Shikan Gakkō [military academy]. He became acquainted with two young anti-Manchu activists from Hunan, Huang Hsing and Ts'ai O (qq.v.), and on their recommendation he joined the T'ung-meng-hui in 1905. Returning to China in 1908, Chao went to Kwangsi, where he served under Ts'ai O, who was directing the training of army cadets. At the time of the Wuchang revolt in October 1911, Chao was ordered to lead a contingent of Kwangsi cadets and soldiers to fight under Huang Hsing in the Wuhan area.

After the establishment of the republic, Chao Heng-t'i worked in Hunan under the governor, T'an Yen-k'ai, to reorganize the Hunan army. When the so-called second revolution of 1913 failed, Chao was arrested by order of Yuan Shih-k'ai and was sent to Peking. Through the intercession of the vice president, Li Yuan-hung, however, he was released and was permitted to return to Hunan. There he served under T'an as commander of the 1st Division of the Hunan army, fighting in T'an's interest against Yuan Shih-k'ai's monarchical coup and against outside attempts to invade Hunan. After the anti-Yuan campaign of 1916, Ch'eng Ch'ien (q.v.), who had been away in Japan with Sun Yat-sen and in Yunnan with Ts'ai O and Li Lieh-chun, returned to Changsha to command the Hunan National Protection Army. Chao Heng-t'i and other local leaders, however, invited T'an Yen-k'ai, the former governor, to return to Hunan and assume control. In 1918

a military force sent into Hunan by the northern government at Peking effectively blocked Hunanese control. This resulted in the installation of Chang Ching-yao, a Peiyang general of the Anhwei faction, as provincial governor.

After the downfall of Chang Ching-yao in 1920, Chao Heng-t'i in that winter became acting governor of Hunan. In April 1921 the provincial congress elected him governor. During the 1920's Chao became known as an active promoter of the lien-sheng tzu-chih, or federal government, movement in China. The application of the system to China had been suggested by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (q.v.) about the turn of the century. The proponents of this idea held that the vast geographical extent of China and the wide differences among the provinces provided the framework for a system of federal government similar to that in France or the United States. The situation in China during the 1920's gave rise to renewed discussion of the prospects for federalism. If each province were to have the power to make its own constitution and to manage its domestic affairs, the argument ran, regional autonomy could prevent the abuse of power by the central government and internecine wars among the provinces.

In Hunan the federal government movement had been initiated by T'an Yen-k'ai in July 1920. When he assumed control of the provincial government at Changsha, Chao Heng-t'i lost no time in making Hunan the spearhead of the movement. A draft constitution for the province, prepared by a committee of 13 experts, was then reexamined and revised by a meeting of 150 delegates elected from the various districts of the province. After other procedures, the provincial constitution of Hunan was promulgated on 1 January 1922. The constitution set forth a clear distinction between the rights of central and local government and provided for election of the provincial governor by popular vote of the citizens of the province, who were also to enjoy the rights of initiative, referendum, and impeachment. Influenced by Hunan's example, other provinces, including Chekiang, Kiangsu, Shensi, Kiangsi, Szechwan, Kwangtung, and Fukien, announced their intention to prepare constitutions. Some generals, notably Ch'en Chiung-ming and T'ang Chi-yao (qq.v.), supported the movement, as did a number of scholars and political figures, notably Chang T'ai-yen, Hsiung Hsi-ling, Liang Shih-i, and

T'ang Shao-yi (qq.v.). In fact, however, Hunan was the sole province to enact or implement its own constitution.

Chao Heng-t'i's original interest in the federal government movement had been essentially practical, since he hoped that it would strengthen his position against invasion. Chao also hoped that the system would allay concern over the dangers of over-concentration of power in the hands of the national government, as had been the case under Yuan Shih-k'ai's regime. In fact, however, the results of the Hunan experiment were not gratifying. The people were not prepared to enjoy the rights and privileges provided by the constitution, and it had to be revised on 1 October 1924 to give more power to the governor. Nor was peace maintained in Hunan under Chao Heng-t'i's jurisdiction. Externally, the geographical position of Hunan made it impossible for Chao to keep that province divorced from the political and military conflict between north and south. The southern regime, based at Canton wished to control Hunan as a channel to the Wuhan cities and the middle Yangtze valley; the northern generals coveted the province for use as a passage toward Kwangtung and Kwangsi in the south and Szechwan in the west.

Despite his own affiliation with the Kuomintang, Chao Heng-t'i was obliged to turn for support to Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.) in order to block the return of the forces of T'an Yen-k'ai and Ch'eng Ch'ien from Canton to their native Hunan. War between Chao Heng-t'i and T'an Yen-k'ai broke out in the summer of 1923, and, after sporadic fighting, Chao abandoned the capital, Changsha, on 1 September. After Wu P'ei-fu's supporting troops advanced from the north, Chao Heng-t'i emerged victorious and remained as provincial governor after the hostilities ended in November. T'ang Sheng-chih (q.v.) figured prominently in the 1923 operations, and Chao promoted him from brigade to divisional commander. In 1924 Chao was drawn into the situation in Hupeh province, where he committed some of his Hunanese troops to an attempt to stabilize the situation. Taking advantage of that move, Wu P'ei-fu consolidated his foothold at Yochow, the gateway to Hunan, and forced Chao into a new alliance with him. Late in 1924, however, Wu P'ei-fu's position as the dominant military figure in north China was shattered as a result of the coup led by Wu's erstwhile subordinate, Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.),

and in March 1925 Chao invited Wu to take refuge at Yochow.

In Hunan itself, Chao Heng-t'i and his subordinate, T'ang Sheng-chih, came into conflict between 1924 and 1926. In March 1926 Chao was finally forced to yield his position as provincial governor to T'ang, who then played a key role in the ensuing campaigns of the Northern Expedition. Chao retired to live in Shanghai. The political program represented by the slogan, lien-sheng tzu-chih [federation of autonomous provinces], had helped him to remain master of Hunan province for five years, but the federal government movement had no lasting results. Chao Heng-t'i's rule in Hunan coincided with the notable growth of Communist activity and labor agitation in Hunan. Indeed, aspects of Chao's political rule have been recorded in the present official Communist versions of that party's history, notably because his repressive measures forced Mao Tse-tung, then an active Communist organizer, to flee Hunan twice, in April 1923 and again in June 1925.

Although Chao Heng-t'i's position as an active military figure ended in 1926, he remained prominent in Hunanese politics. In 1946, following the Japanese surrender, Chao emerged from retirement to be elected president of the Hunan provincial political council at Changsha. In 1949, after the breakdown of Kuomintang-Communist peace talks and the massive Nationalist defeat in the Hwai-Hai battle, Chao left Shanghai for Hong Kong. Although never close to Chiang Kai-shek, he later went to Taiwan, where he lived quietly in straitened circumstances.

Chao Heng-t'i's younger brother, Chao Chün-mai, attended Tsinghua College and continued his studies in the United States after graduation. He later served as mayor of Hengyang in his native Hunan province and, after the Japanese surrender in 1945, as mayor of Changchun in the northeast. He then directed the fisheries management bureau in Shanghai. Chao Heng-t'i had four sons: one went to live in Taiwan, two on the mainland of China, and one in the United States.

Chao Shih-yen

Alt. Shih Ying

趙世炎
施英

Chao Shih-yen (1900?-1927), one of the founders and secretary of the Young Chinese

Communist League in France. After studying in Moscow he became a leading labor organizer and agitator, first in north China, then in Shanghai. He was arrested and executed in 1927.

Little is known of Chao Shih-yen's family background and early education. After the May Fourth Movement, during which he reportedly was a student leader in Szechwan, he went to Peking and enrolled in the middle school that was attached to Peking Higher Normal College. Attracted by the work-and-study program, he went to France in the summer of 1920. There he studied French, worked in a factory, and became a Marxist. He was a member of the group that cooperated with Ts'ai Ho-sen and Hsiang Ching-yu (qq.v.) in organizing the Young Chinese Communist League in France and became first secretary of the new organization. Chao Shih-yen's importance in the leadership of the Chinese Communist group in France grew after Ts'ai Ho-sen was deported from France late in 1921 for radical political activities. While some other Chinese Communists emphasized work among students, Chao Shih-yen from the beginning was especially active in organizing the Chinese workers in France. He was closely associated in this period with Chou En-lai and Ch'en Yen-nien.

In the winter of 1922, when news of the opening of the Communist University for Toilers of the East reached them, Chao Shih-yen and several of his comrades, including Ch'en Yen-nien and Wang Jo-fei, left Paris for Moscow. There Chao conferred with Ch'en Tu-hsiu (q.v.), the father of Ch'en Yen-nien and the general secretary of the Chinese Communist party, who then was attending the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. As a result of this meeting, the Young Chinese Communist League was reorganized as the French branch of the Chinese Communist party.

Chao studied at the Communist University for about 18 months, distinguishing himself among his fellow students as a leader in group discussions on Marxism. In the summer of 1924 the Chinese Communist party ordered Chao to return to China. He became a member of the north China regional committee of the party and was given the responsibility for organization and propaganda. Li Ta-chao (q.v.) was the top Communist leader in the area. Chao Shih-yen, working under him, concentrated his efforts on

developing the Communist-led labor movement in the northern provinces and on influencing students in Peking and Tientsin. In addition, he was editor of the magazine *Cheng-chih sheng-huo* [political life], which was influential among the radical youth and which published many of Li Ta-chao's essays.

In 1926, when the launching of the Northern Expedition was imminent, Shanghai became increasingly important for the Communists. The party then assigned Chao to Shanghai as second secretary of the Kiangsu-Chekiang regional committee and, concurrently, as head of the workers' department of the regional committee. He worked with Chou En-lai, then head of the departments of organization and military affairs, in expanding Communist party organizations in the Shanghai factories and in making plans to arm the workers. By May 1926, on the first anniversary of the May Thirtieth Incident, the Communists had sufficient labor support in Shanghai to call a mass demonstration. Chao Shih-yen continued to direct strikes in Shanghai that year.

At the beginning of 1927 the Communists, in anticipation of the arrival of the Northern Expedition forces, led two preparatory uprisings in Shanghai. In March 1927, the Communist-directed general strike called by Chao's superior, Lo I-nung, did facilitate the seizure of Shanghai by the National Revolutionary Army. During these months Chao Shih-yen was known to the Shanghai workers as Shih Ying. Under that name he also reported and reviewed each uprising in the party journals to emphasize the important role which the Kiangsu-Chekiang regional committee had played in expanding the Communist base of power in China.

When Chiang Kai-shek launched the anti-Communist coup in Shanghai in April 1927, the Communist party called Lo I-nung to its headquarters in Wuhan and sent Ch'en Yen-nien to head the Kiangsu-Chekiang regional committee. Although they were too involved in coping with the emergency in Shanghai to attend the Communist party's Fifth National Congress, which was held in Wuhan in May 1927, both Chao Shih-yen and Ch'en Yen-nien were elected to the Central Committee *in absentia*. After the shattering blow suffered by Communist operations in Shanghai, Chao and Ch'en began to rebuild the party organization and the Communist-sponsored labor unions which had gone underground. After the arrest and execution

of Wang Shou-hua, Chao Shih-yen, in addition to his other posts, became chairman of the party-sponsored Shanghai general labor union.

In June 1927, after a meeting at which the Kiangsu-Chekiang regional committee was reorganized into the Kiangsu provincial committee of the Communist party, Ch'en Yen-nien was arrested. During the next month Chao Shih-yen was one of the small group of Communist leaders in Shanghai in charge of the affairs both of the party and of the remnants of the Communist-sponsored labor organizations. In July he was arrested, imprisoned, and executed at the age of 27.

In 1925, while working in Peking, Chao Shih-yen had met and married Hsia Chih-hsu (1907-), a young Communist from Haining, Chekiang, who had originally been attracted to radicalism through the influence of Tung Pi-wu (q.v.) while she was a student at Wuchang about 1922. After her husband's execution, Hsia and her two children spent two years in Moscow. On her return to China, she was arrested and imprisoned for most of the period from 1931 to 1937. Released after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, she returned to work as an active Communist, and held important posts in the People's Republic after 1949. In 1960 she became vice minister of light industry at Peking.

Chao Shu-li

趙樹理

Chao Shu-li (1903-), writer and newspaperman, was known for his short stories and novels, which embodied the May 1942 literary directives set forth at Yenan by Mao Tse-tung. He edited the *Hsin ta-chung* [the new masses], later known as the *Kung-jen pao* [the workers' paper].

Chinshui, Shansi, was the birthplace of Chao Shu-li. His father was a countryman, who farmed and who worked at such diverse village arts as straw weaving and geomancy. As a child, Chao attended the village school, herded cattle, and carried charcoal. Later, he entered the junior middle department of the Ch'angchih provincial Fourth Normal School. As he grew older he turned his hand to anything that offered a living in the harsh conditions of the rural areas. He joined one of the local folk music recreation

groups, called the pa-yin-hui, and learned to recite ballads as well as to play the gongs and drum. In 1926 he took part in the anti-warlord movement sponsored by Shansi students and as a result was imprisoned for a short time in 1927.

In the early 1930's Chao studied for a period in the provincial capital, Taiyuan, where he wrote articles for local newspapers to support himself. In 1939 he joined the Communist Eighth Route Army and was assigned to special cultural work in the T'aihang mountains. This mountain stronghold north of Ch'angchih developed into a major wartime base for the Communists and served also as the field headquarters for the Eighth Route Army. There Chao Shu-li joined a group publishing a small newspaper, *Hsin ta-chung* [the new masses], on which he served as both reporter and editor. In 1942 a small mimeographed journal, *Lao-paihsing* [the common people], was circulated in the Communist areas of southeast Shansi. This was a one-man effort; Chao wrote the editorials and features, drew the illustrations, and set the type. That year Chao spoke at a Communist-sponsored forum on literature and art in the T'aihang area and advocated the writing of more colloquial literature for the peasants. This statement echoed the May 1942 literary directives laid down by Mao Tse-tung at Yenan.

In May 1943 Chao Shu-li's short story *Hsiao-erh-hei chieh-hun*, usually translated *Blackie Gets Married*, appeared. This was a simple sentimental tale, discrediting village superstitions and asserting the right to freedom of choice in marriage. The story was earthy, direct, and human despite its propaganda message. Six months later Chao published *The Rhymes of Li Yu-ts'ai*, which concerns a village ballad performer. This character's witty rhymes about prevailing rural conditions were designed to promote the new order. Both these tales were meant to be read aloud to country people, and the latter embodied the actual rhyming technique of the traditional performer.

Blackie Gets Married was highly praised by Peng Te-huai, then deputy commander in chief of the Communist forces, and 30 to 40 thousand copies were sold in Shansi alone. A dramatic adaptation was performed in all the Communist areas, and later the tale was made into a film. Chao sprang into fame overnight as a leading

Communist author. His reputation soared when Chou Yang (q.v.) hailed him as an artist whose language and subject matter embodied the literary principles laid down at Yenan in 1942.

Following these first successes, Chao Shu-li wrote a novel, *T'ieh-so*, later translated into English as *Changes in Li Village*. It described the fortunes of a Shansi village from 1928 to 1946. Written in direct narrative style, the book achieves a certain quality of sincerity and readability although it does not maintain its freshness throughout. An English version of this novel was published by the Foreign Language Press at Peking in 1953.

By 1947 Chao Shu-li's literary standing in the Communist areas of China had become such that other writers were urged to emulate him. When the Communists came to power in 1949, Chao moved to Peking with his paper, the title of which was changed from *Hsin ta-chung* to *Kung-jen pao* [the workers' paper]. In the summer of 1949 he took a prominent part in the meetings convened to establish the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, of which he became a member. In 1951 Chao returned to Ch'angchih, Shansi, where some of the first experiments in agricultural production co-operatives were being made. Chao Shu-li lived with the villagers for two years and made use of his experiences in writing *Sanliwan Village*, which he began in 1953 and finished in the spring of 1955. It was serialised in *Jen-min wen-hsueh* [people's literature], from January to April of 1955, and afterwards published in book form. The novel was written to glorify the advantages of collective farming. Against a background of village romances and family intrigues, it tells of dissenters who finally are converted to the system. It was published to coincide with Mao Tse-tung's 1955 call for national conversion of arable land into agricultural cooperatives. In 1952 the *Chao Shu-li hsüan-chi* [selected works of Chao Shu-li] was published in Shanghai.

Of peasant stock himself, Chao Shu-li fully understood the story-telling qualities that appealed to his Chinese readers and achieved a simple but forceful characterization by his direct use of the colloquial language. His intimate knowledge of the background enabled him to interpret village rights and wrongs in a convincing manner, but the uncompromising standards of the Communist party line damaged the literary integrity of his work.

Chao Tzu-ch'en
West. T. C. Chao

趙紫宸

Chao Tzu-ch'en (14 February 1888–), known as T. C. Chao, Protestant theologian, was dean of the school of religion at Yenching University for more than 20 years.

A native of Tech'ing, Chekiang, T. C. Chao received his early education along traditional Chinese lines. Many of his contemporaries who became Protestant leaders had been reared in the Christian faith, but he did not encounter Christianity and become a Christian until he was an undergraduate at Soochow University, shortly before 1911. His conversion marked the beginning of a long career as a vigorous and persuasive interpreter of the Christian view of life. His goal was broad: the adaptation of Christianity to the special environment and needs of modern China and construction of the foundations for an indigenous Chinese Christian church.

T. C. Chao was graduated from Soochow University in 1913. In 1914 he was a lay delegate of the China Mission Conference to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. In later years he became closely associated with many Western churchmen through international conferences, deputations, and lectureships. In the autumn of 1914, after the Methodist conference, Chao began graduate study at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, which led to the M.A. degree in 1916 and the B.D. in 1917. At Vanderbilt, as at Soochow University in China, he was a classmate of Lu Chih-wei (q.v.), later chancellor of Yenching University.

Returning to China in 1917, T. C. Chao began his career as Christian educator. He served as professor of sociology and religion at Soochow University. In 1922–23 he became the first dean of the college of arts and chairman of the faculty at that institution. Invited by Dr. J. Leighton Stuart to Yenching University in 1925, Chao left Soochow University and moved in 1926 to Yenching to teach philosophy. Two years later, in 1928, T. C. Chao became dean of Yenching's school of religion, succeeding Timothy T. Lew (Liu T'ing-fang, q.v.). Except for brief trips to the United States and Europe,

including a year's study at Oxford in 1932, Chao continued to head the school of religion and to teach the philosophy of religion at Yenching for more than 20 years.

In 1939-40 T. C. Chao spent a sabbatical year at Kunming, devoting much of his time to the chaplaincy of the Sheng Kung Hui [Episcopalian] church which served the students at the refugee institutions of Peking University, Tsinghua, and Nankai, known collectively as the Southwest Associated University. Through this experience, a growing allegiance to the Episcopal Church came to fruition, and he was ordained in the Sheng Kung Hui while in Hong Kong in 1940.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Chao was imprisoned by the Japanese for six months because of his outspoken loyalties and convictions; he devoted this period to writing poems, hymns, and a book. Although he was under surveillance after his release, he was able to engage actively in the work of the Sheng Kung Hui in China. When Yenching University reopened in Peiping in December 1945, T. C. Chao resumed his duties as dean of the school of religion.

T. C. Chao was active in national Protestant groups in China. He was appointed to the National Christian Council when it was organized in Shanghai in 1922, and he served for many years as member of the national committee of the YMCA in China. He was a delegate from China to the meetings of the International Missionary Council in Jerusalem (1928), in Madras, India (1938), and in Whitby, Canada (1947). His international prominence as a Protestant leader was affirmed in 1948 when the first general assembly of the World Council of Churches, meeting at Amsterdam, elected him one of its six vice presidents. In 1949 Chao remained in China and welcomed the new Communist government. In April 1951, when the World Council of Churches approved the military action undertaken by the United Nations forces in Korea, T. C. Chao severed his connection with that organization.

T. C. Chao was known for his creative and penetrating inquiries into Christian theology. At first, his religion was primarily a social concern with strategy and tactics to be employed in improving the human situation in China. Over the years, this initial humanitarian impulse matured into a more profound and

theologically more conservative faith. The very small group of Protestant leaders in China exerted an influence far out of proportion to its size. Chao's influence was personal as well as intellectual, and much of his impact upon the thought of contemporary young China was made through sermons and lectures. Among Christian groups in the United States and Europe, he was known as a notably effective speaker. Student groups and religious conferences constantly called for his participation, and he gained renown through his ability to speak cogently and lucidly on complex religious subjects without using texts or notes. T. C. Chao's tall, spare figure and his personal qualities of dignity and humility created an impressive presence in all situations.

A prolific writer, in both Chinese and English, of books, articles, poems, hymns, and translations, T. C. Chao was one of the most widely read Chinese Christian leaders of these years. The range of his publications indicates his broad interest in the Christian philosophy of life and in the relevance of Christianity to the life of modern China.

Chao Yuen-ren

T. Hsüan-chung
West. Y. R. Chao

趙元任
宣重

Chao Yuen-ren (1892-), known as Y. R. Chao, internationally known linguist. Originally concentrating on phonology, he made the first detailed recordings of major dialect areas in China, establishing the research framework for such studies. In the United States, his work covered a wide range of linguistic topics, including the application of modern linguistic methods to Chinese language teaching; he prepared the *Mandarin Primer* and the *Cantonese Primer*. Chao also translated *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* into Chinese.

Although his ancestral home was in the Wu-chin (Ch'angchou) district of Kiangsu province, Y. R. Chao was born at Tientsin in north China. His family had a scholarly tradition: one of Chao's ancestors was Chao Yi (1727-1814), the author of the *Nien-erh-shih cha-chi* [notes on the 22 histories]. In the last years of the Ch'ing dynasty, his grandfather held official posts in north China. In his childhood, Chao lived with

his family at Peking, Paoting, and other places in Chihli (Hopei) province, and he spoke the northern dialect. When he was five, his family invited a teacher from Kiangsu to supervise his formal education, and he thus learned to recite the traditional Four Books of the Confucian canon in the Ch'angchou dialect. At the same time, he learned from an aunt to speak the Ch'angshu southern dialect. In this way, Chao first became aware of the dialectical differences in the spoken Chinese language. Chao also studied Chinese music, since both his parents were well-known amateur performers in the type of Chinese theater known as k'un-ch'ü.

In 1900 Chao returned with his family to Ch'angchou, where his parents both died in 1904. The following year he went to live with a relative's family at Soochow, where he continued his education under the supervision of a tutor. With his entry into the Hsi-shan Primary School at Ch'angchou in 1906, Chao began to receive a new-style education. From 1907 to 1910 he took the preparatory course of the Kiangnan Higher School at Nanking.

In 1910 Chao passed the Tsinghua government examination for study in the United States, placing second in the national ranking. In America he enrolled at Cornell University in the autumn of 1910, entering in the same class with Hu Shih (q.v.). During their undergraduate days at Ithaca, Y. R. Chao and Hu Shih established a lasting friendship. Hu Shih majored in philosophy; Chao, in mathematics and physics. Chao also began to study Western music. At Cornell, Chao roomed with M. T. Hu, one of the early Western-trained Chinese mathematicians, who later received his Ph.D. at Harvard. Both Y. R. Chao and Hu Shih received their B.A. degrees at Cornell in June 1914, after which they remained at Ithaca for a year of graduate study in philosophy. During his Cornell days, Y. R. Chao was active in organizing the Science Society of China, which was founded in 1914 with the goals of introducing Western scientific knowledge to China and of promoting scientific research. Two other Chinese students at Cornell were active in that endeavor: H. C. Zen (Jen Hung-chün, q.v.), who was studying chemistry, and Yang Ch'üan (q.v.), who was studying mechanical engineering. This group also established a journal, *K'o-hsueh (Science)*, in 1915. For several years, *Science* was edited in the United States, first at

Ithaca and later at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and was printed in Shanghai. It was one of the longest-lived Chinese journals devoted to the advancement of science—it did not cease publication until 1950.

In 1915 Y. R. Chao and Hu Shih both left Cornell. Hu Shih went to Columbia University to study philosophy under John Dewey. Chao moved to Harvard, where, in addition to physics, he studied philosophy and musical composition. After receiving his Ph.D. in physics in 1918, he spent a year on a Sheldon Traveling Fellowship studying at Chicago and at Berkeley. He then returned to Ithaca, where he was instructor of physics during the academic year 1919–20. In the six years after his graduation from Cornell in 1914, Chao's papers, including many which appeared in Chinese in *Science*, were in the field of mathematics and physics, though he did publish a series of articles in *The Chinese Students Monthly* on the phonetic transcription of the Chinese language. He also began to compose music.

In 1920, after ten years of study abroad, Y. R. Chao returned to China and taught mathematics at Tsinghua University, entering the intellectual life of Peking in the heady period after the May Fourth Movement. John Dewey was then in China, and Hu Shih, as one of Dewey's leading Chinese disciples, acted as interpreter for his former teacher's lectures at Peking and elsewhere. When Bertrand Russell arrived in China in October 1920, Y. R. Chao was asked to assist him in the same manner. The intelligence and articulateness of the two young Chinese interpreters who accompanied Dewey and Russell greatly impressed Chinese audiences. Russell's philosophy and personality left a deep impression on many Chinese intellectuals of the period, and his visit also had the unforeseen result of leading his interpreter to a new professional career. When accompanying Russell on his tour of China during the winter of 1920, Chao interpreted his lectures into various Chinese dialects with great fluency and accuracy. His linguistic flair established, Y. R. Chao, with the encouragement of friends, decided to concentrate his future studies in the field of linguistics.

The following summer, Chao assumed family responsibilities, when on 1 June 1921 he married Buwei Yang (Yang Pu-wei) in a simple ceremony at Peking attended only by two close friends, Hu Shih and Chu Chun-kuo. Chao and

his bride affixed their signatures to a wedding certificate which they had written themselves. Chao's wife came from a prominent family of southern Anhwei. Her grandfather, Yang Wen-hui (1837-1911; T. Jen-shan), had been known for his promotion of Buddhist studies and for his role as founder of the famous center for the circulation of Buddhist scriptures at Nanking. Although Buwei Yang came from a conservative background and had received a traditional education in her childhood, she had then gone to study in Japan, where she gained her degree in medicine. She and Chao met at Peking, where she was practicing medicine.

Shortly after their marriage, Y. R. Chao and his wife left for the United States, where Chao became instructor of Chinese at Harvard in the autumn of 1921. Although instruction in Chinese had been offered at Harvard as early as 1879, that early experiment had failed. After a lapse of 40 years, Chinese was again made part of the curriculum, and Chao came from China to teach it. Since then, Chinese has been taught continuously at Harvard. Aside from language teaching, Chao did research in phonology and musicology. Leaving Harvard in 1924, he went to Europe for a year of study and travel. In Sweden he met Bernhard Karlgren, the pioneer Western scholar of Chinese phonology, and discussed with him the possibility of translating his monumental work, *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise*, which had been appearing since 1915.

In 1925 Y. R. Chao returned to the faculty of Tsinghua University at Peking. In the United States he had begun making recordings of the Chinese language, and in 1925 the Commercial Press at Shanghai issued his "Phonograph Course in the Chinese National Language." During the early 1920's, Chao's professional writings were concentrated in the field of phonology. His chief concerns were the standard pronunciation of the national language, the phoneticization of Chinese ideographs, initial experiments with romanizing Chinese, and research on the problem of tones in the spoken Chinese language. In 1929 Chao also assumed the responsibility of directing the phonology division of the institute of history and philology of the Academia Sinica, and in the years before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937 he was a dominant figure in scholarly research on the Chinese language.

In 1926 Chao began the investigation of

modern Wu dialects spoken in the lower Yangtze valley. Ten years earlier, Karlgren had systematically recorded dialects in north China. Strictly speaking, however, Karlgren had recorded pronunciation only; he had not made a detailed study of intonation. Chao followed Karlgren's path, but his research on the Wu dialects covered the pronunciation and intonation of individual words and word groups. As a result, his work was the first detailed recording of a major dialect area in China. In 1928-29 Chao proceeded to work with the Yueh (Cantonese) dialect spoken in Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces. In 1934, working together with Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (q.v.), he conducted an investigation of the Hui-chou dialect spoken in southern Anhwei.

In 1935 Y. R. Chao changed the framework of his research on Chinese dialects. He set out to record as many dialects as possible, attempting to make the material on each dialect as precise as possible with a view to distinguishing the basic characteristics of particular dialects. He hoped, under this revised plan, to complete preliminary investigations on the distribution of the various Chinese dialects within a reasonably short period of time. Chao himself conducted the investigations of the Kiangsi and Hunan dialects in 1935 and of the Hupeh dialects the following year. In addition to his fellow linguist Li Fang-kuei, several assistants trained by Chao participated in this field work. The investigation of dialects in a province usually was completed within one month. The research framework established by Y. R. Chao and his associates during the 1930's set the essential intellectual pattern that guided the later work of the Academia Sinica in that field. The general investigation of dialects throughout China even after 1949 under Communist auspices has been pursued according to the methods established by Chao.

In addition to extensive investigations, Y. R. Chao also encouraged detailed recording and focused research on individual dialects, supplemented by recordings. The method is exemplified in his study, *Chung-hsiang fang-yan chi* [record of the chung-hsiang dialect], which appeared in 1939. In addition to recording Chinese dialects, he made phonetic transcriptions of the Tibetan language and songs in the Yao dialect, work set forth in his *Love Songs of the Sixth Dalai Lama* and *Phonetics of Yao Folksongs*,

both of which appeared in 1929. While engaged in these studies, Chao carefully established archives of recordings at the Academia Sinica.

Bernhard Karlgren's *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise* is generally regarded as being the foundation of modern scientific research on the Chinese language. The value of that monumental study did not become clear in China, however, until the appearance of the translation and revision of the work undertaken by Y. R. Chao, Li Fang-kuei, and Lo Ch'ang-p'ei. That translation embodied precision and deep knowledge, and its scholarly value was enhanced by the additional material.

Y. R. Chao also produced many professional papers on a variety of linguistic topics. His inquiries ranged from problems of phonetic transcription of the Chinese language, Chinese dialects, and the Chinese national language to comparative studies of Chinese and English and problems in the field of general linguistic analysis. Chao's pioneer effort to provide intonation symbols offered an important tool to scholars of Chinese and of other tonal languages. His essay entitled "The Non-Uniqueness of Phonetic Solutions of Phonetic Systems" is an important contribution to modern theoretical linguistics. In addition to professional research, Chao served as adviser to the language education program conducted by the ministry of education of the National Government and assisted early efforts in China to use radio in language teaching.

Y. R. Chao's unusual versatility was particularly obvious in the years before the outbreak of the Japanese war. The period was his most creative as a composer: his *Songs of Contemporary Chinese Poems* appeared in 1928, and his *Children's Festival Songs*, in 1934. Virtually all Chinese music students know Chao's songs. His chapter on music in the *Symposium on Chinese Culture* (1931), edited by Sophia H. Zen (Ch'en Heng-che, q.v.), is an excellent general survey of traditional Chinese musicology. Also, Chao's keen linguistic sense found expression in translating. An early effort was his Chinese rendering of A. A. Milne's one-act comedy, *The Camberley Triangle*, which appeared in 1925. But it was in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* that Chao found a work truly worthy of his talents. In the Chinese version, which appeared in January 1922, the style and whimsical wit of the translator reportedly match those of Lewis Carroll himself. Chao also completed a Chinese trans-

lation of *Through the Looking Glass*, but the manuscript was lost during the war.

In the autumn of 1938, Chao left China to accept a teaching post at the University of Hawaii. From 1939 to 1941 he taught at Yale University. In 1941 he went to Harvard, where he worked on the Chinese-English dictionary project of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. Chao later directed the Chinese language program of the School for Overseas Administration which was established at Harvard during the Second World War. Through his work at Harvard Chao had a major influence on the teaching of Chinese in the United States and helped to lay the foundations for the rapid expansion since 1945 of the study of that language. His most important contribution lay in the application of modern linguistic methods to Chinese language teaching. Chao's *Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese*, prepared in collaboration with Yang Lien-sheng of the department of Far Eastern languages at Harvard, was published by the Harvard University Press in 1947, as was his *Cantonese Primer*. In 1948, Harvard published his *Mandarin Primer: an Intensive Course in Spoken Chinese*, which has received wide acceptance both in the United States and abroad.

Despite its brevity, the introductory section in the *Mandarin Primer* is a thorough, technical introduction to modern Chinese linguistics and a significant step forward in the analysis of the grammar of modern Chinese. Previous grammatical studies of both classical and modern Chinese had been based upon written language materials. Chao, in contrast, discussed the grammar of the Chinese language spoken in everyday life in China. Furthermore, most grammarians before Chao had explained Chinese grammar by using Western grammatical rules, some of them merely borrowing concepts used by Otto Jespersen. In his *Mandarin Primer*, Chao systematically applied the principles and methods of modern descriptive linguistics to the Chinese language. In addition, the notes appended to the lesson materials offer penetrating explanations of many grammatical phenomena.

Chao's major contributions were recognized in 1945, when he was elected president of the Linguistic Society of America. He received an honorary D.Litt. degree from Princeton at its bicentennial celebration in 1946; and in 1947 he was elected to membership in the Academia

Sinica. That year he left Cambridge for the University of California at Berkeley, where he became a professor of Oriental languages and linguistics. He became Agassiz Professor in 1952 and held that chair until his retirement from the faculty in 1960. He was president of the American Oriental Society and was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1962 he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of California.

Although he lived abroad after 1938, Y. R. Chao continued to serve China. From 1945 to 1947 he served as Chinese representative to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The work on linguistics of the institute of history and philology of the Academia Sinica continued to be conducted under his intellectual guidance. Chao went to Taiwan as a Fulbright research scholar in January 1959 to lecture on general linguistics at National Taiwan University and to chair a series of professional discussions on Chinese grammar. The visit of Chao and his wife was a major social and intellectual event in Taipei, and their activities during the three months they spent on the island were fully reported in the local press. Chao's lectures at Taiwan University were widely acclaimed. They were later edited and published in book form in 1960 as *Yü-yen wen t'i* [problems in linguistics]. This was the first book on general linguistic theory to be written in Chinese. After leaving Taiwan, Chao visited Japan, where he lectured at Kyoto University on the phonetics and grammar of the Chinese language.

After the Second World War, Chao's professional papers were devoted to general discussions of the Chinese language, methods for investigating Chinese dialects, and other aspects of the relationships of language, thought, and logic. He continued to carry out some research on Chinese dialects, notably the Toishan (T'aisan) dialect spoken by most of the overseas Chinese from Kwangtung who emigrated to the United States. In accordance with his earlier methods, Chao's study of the Toishan dialect emphasized the phonetic description of phrases and word groups. In 1962, on the occasion of the death of Hu Shih, his friend of 50 years, Chao wrote an essay on Hu's native dialect, that of the Chi-hsi district of southeastern Anhwei province.

After the early 1950's, however, Y. R. Chao's principal work was the preparation of a basic

study of the grammar of the standard Chinese language. The development of Chinese language study in the United States in recent years has emphasized the need for a systematic, theoretical explanation of the structure of the colloquial language. From the standpoint of the development of Chinese linguistics, a detailed analysis of the sentence structure of the modern Chinese language would provide a new, and much needed, base for future research on the sentence structure of dialects and of the archaic language. In the general field of scientific linguistics, Chao's work is the first attempt to apply advanced theories and methodology to the study of Chinese. *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese* was issued in preliminary form by the University of California Press in 1965.

Since 1947, Y. R. Chao and his ebullient wife have played a distinctive personal role in the important community of Chinese scholars centered in the Berkeley area.

In 1961, during a ceremony held by the institute of history and philology of Academia Sinica in Taipei to mark the publication of a commemorative volume of essays in honor of Y. R. Chao's sixty-fifth birthday, Li Chi (q.v.), director of the institute and an old friend of the Chao family, paid tribute to the couple on their fortieth wedding anniversary. In good Chinese fashion, Li Chi compared Y. R. Chao's pursuit of learning to that of the seventh-century Buddhist pilgrim, Hsuan-chuang (Hsuan-tsang), who made the arduous trip from China to India by way of Central Asia, recorded in his famous *Hsi-yü chi* (*Record of the Western Regions*). "The success of Hsuan-chuang," he stated, "was due largely to assistance and protection from his Bodhisattva. And Mrs. Chao is Chao Yuen-ren's Bodhisattva." Her *Autobiography of a Chinese Woman*, written originally in Chinese, was translated into English by Y. R. Chao and published in the United States in 1947. She also wrote *How to Cook and Eat in Chinese*.

Chen, Eugene: see CH'EN, EUGENE.

Ch'en Ch'eng
T. Tz'u-hsiu

陳誠
辭修

Ch'en Ch'eng (4 January 1897–5 March 1965), a senior Nationalist general and second in

command to Chiang Kai-shek in both the Kuomintang and the National Government. He was governor of Taiwan in 1949 when the Nationalists evacuated from the mainland. In 1954, Ch'en was elected vice president of the Republic of China. He also served as president of the Executive Yuan 1950-54, 1958-63.

The village of Kaoshih in Ch'ingt'ien hsien, Chekiang province, was the birthplace of Ch'en Ch'eng. His family owned some land, but was not wealthy. Ch'en Ch'eng had two younger brothers and two sisters. His father, Ch'en Hsi-wen, was a scholar who taught school in the village.

In 1913 Ch'en enrolled in the Eleventh Normal School at Lishui. After being graduated in 1917, he entered the Hangchow provincial school of physical education. Although his schooling was periodically jeopardized by family financial difficulties, he was graduated from the Hangchow school in 1918. In 1919 he enrolled in the eighth class of the Paoting Military Academy, artillery division. There he met Lo Cho-ying (1896-1961), a Kwangtung man, with whom he formed a lasting friendship.

The Chihli-Anhwei war of July 1920 disrupted classes at the academy, and Ch'en went to eastern Kwangtung to serve in the 3rd Regiment of the 1st (Kwangtung) Division. In 1920 he joined the Kuomintang. Classes at Paoting were resumed in 1921. Ch'en then returned to his studies, and in June 1922 he was graduated with the eighth class. He was assigned to the 3rd Company, 6th Regiment, of the 2nd Division, which was stationed in his native Chekiang province. After completing initial field service, he went to Kwangtung in February 1923 and became an adjutant with the rank of first lieutenant in the National Construction Kwangtung Army. In April he was promoted to the rank of captain and given command of a company. He fought in the North River and West River campaigns. He was wounded and, after convalescence, was given command of the headquarters company.

The Whampoa Military Academy was founded in June 1924, and in September Ch'en Ch'eng became an artillery instructor there. Thus began an enduring relationship with Chiang Kai-shek and a competitive one with Ho Ying-ch'in (q.v.), who was then commandant of the cadet corps at the Academy. In

January 1925, Ch'en was assigned to command the 1st Company of the 2nd Artillery Battalion of the (Kuomintang) Party Army; Lo Cho-ying commanded another company of the same unit. Both men participated in the two eastern expeditions of that year against the forces of Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.) and won favorable recognition of their effective action in the decisive battle of Waichow. Ch'en was promoted to the rank of major and was given command of the artillery battalion.

In January 1926, Ch'en Ch'eng was appointed commander of the Whampoa Specialist Corps. When the Northern Expedition was launched in July of that year, Ch'en first served as a staff officer, with the rank of lieutenant colonel, in the headquarters of the commander in chief. He then was given command of the 3rd Regiment of the 1st Replacement Division, and in December 1926 he received command of its 63rd Regiment. The division was attached to the Eastern Route Army commanded by Ho Ying-ch'in and charged with the capture of Shanghai and Nanking from the forces of Sun Ch'u-an-fang. The Nationalist objectives were attained in February-March 1927. In April, Ch'en was promoted to the rank of brigadier general and was made deputy commander of the 21st Division, retaining command of the 63rd Regiment. In July, he was given command of the division.

Chiang Kai-shek had established his opposition National Government at Nanking in April, and Ch'en had been appointed garrison commander there. After Chiang's temporary retirement from power in August, Ch'en Ch'eng fought in the critical battle of Lungtan at the end of the month to help repulse Sun Ch'u-an-fang's counter-offensive. In October he was transferred to command the 3rd Division, but he did not take up that post. Instead, he became deputy chief of the military administration office of the Military Affairs Commission and director of its Shanghai administrative office. In December, when Chiang Kai-shek returned to the political scene, Ch'en became acting chief of the military administration office. Chiang resumed full powers in January 1928, and Ch'en was assigned the post of chief of the office of military education in March.

The Northern Expedition resumed in April 1928, with Ch'en Ch'eng acting as guards commander at Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters and

as commander of the artillery corps. In the military reorganization that followed the victory over Peking, Ch'en in July was made deputy commander of the 11th Division. In October he was given command of the 31st Brigade of that division. In June 1929 he received full command of the 11th Division, and in the autumn of that year he acted as deputy commander of the Second Army in the fighting with the Kuominchün of Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.) in the Honan sector. In November, his forces scored a notable victory at Hsiangyang in northern Hupeh, after which Ch'en led them into southern Honan to defeat the forces of T'ang Sheng-chih (q.v.) at Chueh-shan, on the Peiping-Hankow rail line, in January 1930.

The National Government's struggle against the Kuominchün continued into 1930, when a northern coalition against Chiang Kai-shek began to take form. In March, Ch'en was assigned garrison duties at Pengpu. The northern coalition headed by Feng Yü-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan openly defied Nanking's authority in May, and Ch'en's forces fought later that month in northeastern Honan, where they occupied Kweiteh. In July 1930 they fought at Chüfu, in Shantung, which had been beleaguered by the Shansi forces of Fu Tso-yi. Then, in September, Ch'en's unit participated in the recovery of Chengchow, and the northern threat to Chiang Kai-shek's power was ended.

Ch'en Ch'eng and other officers associated with Chiang Kai-shek then went to Japan in November to observe military maneuvers. While there, Ch'en also visited Japanese military schools and local Chinese communities. He thus obtained his first, somewhat mixed, impression of China's powerful neighbor. In December 1930, after his return home, Ch'en was given command of the Eighteenth Army. A month later, in January 1931, he also was given command of the 14th Division. The deputy commander of that unit was Chou Chih-jou (q.v.), a Chekiang man and Paoting classmate who had previously served under Ch'en in the 11th Division.

Ho Ying-ch'in had failed to eliminate the Communist threat in Nanking's first so-called bandit-suppression campaign of 1930, and, in February 1931, Ch'en led the 11th and 14th Divisions of his army into Kiangsi, and a second campaign began. In June, Chiang Kai-shek took personal command of a third campaign,

and Ch'en Ch'eng became commander of the Second Route Army for operations against the Communists. Then, after the Mukden Incident of September 1931 and the beginning of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, the National Government's third anti-Communist campaign was halted.

In October 1931, Ch'en was given the additional appointment of commander of the 52nd Division. But, with the lull in domestic military action in China, there came a change in Ch'en's private life. T'an Yen-k'ai (q.v.), first president of the Executive Yuan of the National Government, before his death in September 1930 had charged Chiang Kai-shek with the duty of finding a suitable husband for his third daughter, T'an Hsiang. Ch'en Ch'eng divorced his first wife, and Chiang Kai-shek introduced him to T'an Hsiang. They were married on 1 January 1932.

After his return to active duty in Kiangsi, Ch'en succeeded in ending the Communist siege of Kanchow in March 1932. The Communists, however, had grown stronger. In December 1932, in preparation for a fourth anti-Communist campaign, Ch'en Ch'eng was appointed to command a new offensive on the Fuchow front, in central Kiangsi. In February, he was transferred to command of the central route of the Nationalist forces on the Kiangsi-Kwangtung-Fukien border, in which position he commanded eleven divisions. In July, when that campaign had already entered its desultory, indecisive final stage, Ch'en was removed from field command and placed in charge of the newly established Officers Training Corps at Lushan, in northern Kiangsi. In September he was appointed commander in chief of the Third Route Army, with concurrent command of the fifth column. The Communist hold on Kiangsi was finally broken in October 1934.

In the meantime, in May 1934, Ch'en Ch'eng had been appointed deputy commander of the Army Officers Training Corps established under the jurisdiction of the Military Affairs Commission. In December of that year, Ch'en was assigned to direct operations against the remaining Communist units in Kiangsi. One result of the Kiangsi operations was the preparation, under Ch'en Ch'eng's direction, of a compendium of captured Chinese Communist documents. Entitled *Ch'ih-fei fan-tung wen-chien hui-pien* [a collection of subversive documents

of the Red bandits], the collection was published in 1935 and was reprinted in six volumes in Taiwan in 1960. This work gives a detailed account of the history, organization, and operations of the Chinese Red Army as of early 1935 and quotes extensively from Communist documents captured during the so-called extermination campaigns.

In March 1935, Chiang Kai-shek established an Army Reorganization Office as part of his Wuchang headquarters and named Ch'en Ch'eng as its director. That organ was charged with the massive task of reorganizing the Chinese army. In June, Chiang Kai-shek ordered that the cavalry, artillery, and engineering units throughout China be placed under Ch'en's supervision. Since some of the strongest cavalry and artillery units were then under the control of semi-independent military men, that order had special significance. An artillery training center and a training base for engineering units were established in Kiangsi province. Lo Cho-ying was charged with supervision of both of those specialized branches. Ch'en Ch'eng, concerned primarily with training officers at the Lushan center in Kiangsi, was also charged with creation of a training corps at Omei, Szechwan, which was to be a base for supervision of military training in Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan. The program reflected Nanking's drive to consolidate effective control over the whole country.

Those tasks completed, the jurisdiction of the Army Reorganization Office was reduced in September, and the Wuchang headquarters was dissolved in October. On 10 November 1935 the Generalissimo's Ichang headquarters was organized, with Ch'en Ch'eng as its chief of staff. He continued to act concurrently as head of the Army Reorganization Office, which was moved to Ichang. Chiang Kai-shek merged the two organs into the Generalissimo's headquarters in January, and in February 1936 the new organ moved back to Wuchang. In the meantime, in the autumn of 1935, Ch'en had been elected a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

In late February of 1936 the Communists, who had taken refuge in northern Shensi, invaded Shansi province to the east. Yen Hsi-shan, the governor of Shansi, called for aid, and Chiang Kai-shek promptly sent Ch'en Ch'eng to the front. Yen Hsi-shan gave Ch'en command

of the First Route Army. After the Communist attack was repulsed in May, Ch'en was appointed commander in chief of the Nationalist forces assigned to curb the Communists in the Shensi-Shansi-Suiyuan-Ningsia border region, a step which marked the strengthening of the National Government's control, particularly over Shansi.

In the meantime, the Kwangtung-Kwangsi coalition against Chiang Kai-shek had become active again in south China. As chief of staff of the Generalissimo's headquarters, Ch'en Ch'eng moved large forces into Hunan in June of 1936. Ho Chien, the governor of that province, had adopted an equivocal attitude, but Ch'en's prompt occupation of the strategic city of Hengyang in southern Hunan caused Ho to shift definitely to the government side. Ch'en was also in contact with Yü Han-mou (q.v.) in the Kwangtung camp; and Yü's turnover, for a consideration, to the National Government's side on 8 July 1936 shattered the Kwangtung military machine and broke the southerners' revolt.

Chiang Kai-shek seized the opportunity for a showdown with the Kwangsi generals and deployed forces in Kwangtung itself against the Kwangsi position. Ch'en Ch'eng was appointed commander in chief of the Third Route Army; Lo Cho-ying was designated its front-line commander. Chiang Kai-shek himself was already in Canton, and political discussions with the Kwangsi leaders were in progress. In early September, as a result of combined military and political pressures, terms were reached under which the Kwangsi generals submitted, at least nominally, to Nanking's authority. Ch'en Ch'eng was then appointed director of the Canton branch of the Central Military Academy; in September, he was given the additional post of chief of staff of the Generalissimo's Canton headquarters. His chief task was the rehabilitation of Kwangtung-Kwangsi affairs.

In the meantime, Nanking had undertaken two tasks: to recover territory held by the Japanese-supported Mongols of Suiyuan, and to annihilate the Communist forces in the northwest. In November 1936, Ch'en Ch'eng was transferred back to the Wuchang headquarters to act as that organ's deputy director and chief of staff. Fighting began in Suiyuan in early November. The combined Shansi-Suiyuan forces took Pailingmiao from the Mongol forces

of Te Wang (Demchukdonggrub, q.v.), and soon Ch'en Ch'eng visited Taiyuan and Kweisui to discuss with Yen Hsi-shan and Fu Tso-yi, respectively, a proposed advance on Shangtu, in Chahar province. After having worked out an accord, Ch'en flew to Sian on 4 December to obtain the approval of Chiang Kai-shek, who had gone to Shensi to direct a new campaign against the Communists.

In the coup of 12 December 1936 by Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng (qq.v.), Ch'en Ch'eng was detained, with other senior political and military leaders, until after Chiang Kai-shek was flown out of Sian to Nanking. In that hectic December, Ch'en had been appointed administrative vice minister of war at Nanking. His concern with the Sian affair was not yet ended, however. On 4 January 1937 he was appointed commander in chief of the Fourth Group Army. He was charged with two missions: supporting T'ang En-po's army in connection with the Suiyuan operations and breaking up the combination of still-rebellious forces of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng before they could join with the Communists and extend Communist strength in Shensi and Kansu. Ch'en proceeded to the Wei River front, and undertook a combination of political and military measures. His work had been facilitated by the fact that Chang Hsueh-liang had accompanied the Generalissimo back to Nanking—to imprisonment. Ch'en succeeded in arranging the defection of Feng Ch'in-tsai from Yang Hu-ch'eng's camp. The 36th Division occupied Sian on 9 February 1937, and began the progressive elimination, by transfer, dispersal, and amalgamation through so-called reorganization, of the once-powerful Northeastern and Northwest armies.

After work in the northwest was completed, Ch'en Ch'eng was appointed dean of the Lushan Officers Training Corps in June 1937. High Nationalist officers assembled at that mountain retreat for the summer training course—and for important political and military discussions related to the agreements of December 1936 under which Chiang Kai-shek had been released at Sian. The Sian negotiations had brought a change both in Nationalist strategy toward Japan and in Japanese decisions regarding China. The result was the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war on 7 July 1937, just as the conferences at Lushan were getting under way.

When fighting began on the Shanghai-Woosung front in August 1937, Ch'en Ch'eng was sent there to inspect defenses. In September he was appointed commander in chief of the Fifteenth Group Army on that front. He soon was given the additional post of deputy commanding officer of the Fourth Reserve Army. In November he became field commander in chief of the Third War Area, with supreme command over all Chinese armies fighting in the Shanghai-Woosung-Hangchow sector.

After a notable defense that lasted three months, the Nationalist forces were forced to withdraw from that area in mid-November. In December, Ch'en became deputy commanding officer of the Seventh War Area, under Liu Hsiang (q.v.), at Hankow. After the fall of Nanking, Wuhan temporarily became an important military and political center. Chiang Kai-shek organized a Wuhan area headquarters and appointed Ch'en defense commander in chief. He officially assumed that post on 11 January 1938.

Ch'en was also charged with organization of the political department of the Military Affairs Commission, and he became its director when it was inaugurated in February 1938. Huang Ch'i-hsiang and Chou En-lai were its deputy directors, and Kuo Mo-jo (q.v.) headed the section in charge of literary propaganda. In March, Ch'en Ch'eng presided over a national conference called at Wuchang to determine directives to political workers for the war tasks. In the same month, he resumed the post of dean of the Officers Training Corps, then located at Lo-chia-shan.

Ch'en's wartime responsibilities rapidly increased. In April, he was made a member of the National Aviation Commission. In May, he became a member of the Central Training Corps, deputy commander of the cadre training corps of the Military Affairs Commission, and a member of that commission. After the organization of the Ninth War Area, he was appointed in June as its commanding officer. On 14 June 1938, Ch'en was given an additional post, that of governor of Hupeh province. When the San Min Chu I Youth Corps was organized in early July, with Chiang Kai-shek as its nominal head, Ch'en was named secretary general of that organization. In the same month, he became dean of the Central Training Corps.

Meanwhile, the Japanese had been conducting active military campaigns. In August 1938, moving up the Yangtze river, they began to probe the outer defenses of the Wuhan area. Command of the Wuhan headquarters was transferred to Lo Cho-ying in September, thus relieving Ch'en of one of his many responsibilities so that he could coordinate military actions in the Ninth War Area as a whole. The Nationalists evacuated Wuhan at the end of October 1938, and the offices and officials of the National Government moved westward to Chungking.

After the military conference of 25 November 1938 at Nanyueh, Szechwan, at which Chiang Kai-shek presided, Ch'en Ch'eng resigned from all of his posts. His resignation seems not to have been accepted. In January 1939, however, Yen Chung assumed the post of acting governor of Hupeh province, and, in April, Hsueh Yueh (q.v.) became acting commander of the Ninth War Area.

Ch'en Ch'eng's energies for the time being were directed into other fields. In February 1939, he was appointed deputy director of the Guerrilla Training Class. In March, he was made a member of the Party Administration Committee for the War Areas and became head of the training section of the Central Training Corps, of which he was dean. From early 1939 until September of that year, Ch'en was mainly engaged in directing the work of the political department of the Military Affairs Commission at Chungking.

Ch'en had been made a full general in September 1936; in May 1939 he was promoted to the rank of general second grade. In August he was made head of the special party headquarters of the Central Training Corps. In September 1939 he went to the Hunan front to assist Hsueh Yueh in defensive operations in the first battle for Changsha. In October, Ch'en was given command of the Sixth War Area. In February 1940, he led forces into Kwangtung to defend Shaokwan against a Japanese attack.

In June 1940 Japanese forces occupied Ichang. The defense of the Chinese wartime capital of Chungking fell to Ch'en Ch'eng. He resigned his posts as head of the political department of the Military Affairs Commission and secretary general of the Youth Corps to devote his attention exclusively to his duties as commanding officer of the Sixth War Area and as Hupeh

provincial chairman. In those two posts, he undertook to coordinate major administrative and military measures in the Hupeh area. On 1 September 1940 he arrived at Enshih, in southwestern Hupeh, where he established his new headquarters. He re-deployed the military forces under his command and set about the task of making Hupeh province a bastion for the defense of Chungking.

Ch'en Ch'eng's tour of duty at Enshih for some time involved only routine performance of administrative and military duties. In March 1941, Chungking gave him an additional post, that of director of the party administration committee of the Military Affairs Commission. In September 1941, however, as a diversionary action designed to support the Chinese defense in the second battle of Changsha, Ch'en launched an offensive against the Japanese position at Ichang. His forces captured Ichang in September 1941, but promptly lost the city again.

The United States entered the Pacific war in December 1941. There was no major action on the western Hupeh front in China during the entire year of 1942. In January 1943, however, after holding a number of conversations with T. V. Soong (q.v.) and Ch'en Ch'eng at Chungking, Lt. General Joseph W. Stilwell, commanding officer of United States forces in the China-Burma-India Theater and chief of staff (jointly with Ho Ying-ch'in) to Chiang Kai-shek, proposed formation of a so-called Y-Force to be composed of 30 divisions. Ch'en Ch'eng was to be relieved of other duties and put in charge of the joint Sino-American training program. At that time there were three chief rivals in Chiang Kai-shek's top military command: Ho Ying-ch'in, Hu Tsung-nan (q.v.), and Ch'en Ch'eng. By an order of 17 February 1943 Ch'en Ch'eng was given charge of the training program and was made commanding officer of the Expeditionary Army which was to participate in the projected Burma campaign, although Ho Ying-ch'in strongly opposed his appointment. In March, he left his Enshih headquarters and went to Kunming.

Ch'en Ch'eng took up the planning, military reorganization, and training involved in the Y-Force project. His projects were obstructed, however, by the General Headquarters of the Chinese Army, dominated by Ho Ying-ch'in. A new complication arose in May 1943, when

the Japanese staged an attack along the Yangtze in the Sixth War Area. Ch'en Ch'eng was ordered to assume command of the Enshih headquarters again, and he arrived there in mid-May. The Japanese accomplished their limited objective of capturing the river boats that were concentrated in refuge on the Yangtze west of Ichang. Then, at the beginning of June, they withdrew down-river again. Ch'en issued orders to attack. The Chinese troops readily re-occupied points evacuated by the Japanese forces, and a great victory was proclaimed.

Ch'en Ch'eng could have returned at once to his post at Kunming. Instead, he remained at Enshih, interpreting correctly the failure of the general headquarters to provide necessary funds and troops for Y-Force. General Stilwell recommended to Chiang Kai-shek that Yunnan and Kwangsi be merged into one combat area under Ch'en's command and that preparations for the expedition, which had originally been planned for the spring of 1943, be completed by 1 December. Ho Ying-ch'in, supported by Chiang Kai-shek, opposed the plan. Ch'en Ch'eng finally returned to Yunnan, but in November he resigned command of the expeditionary force and went to Chungking. Stilwell in late 1943 advanced from India into northern Burma at the head of the so-called Ledo Force, a joint Chinese-American force. As Stilwell had predicted, the campaign was successful.

In mid-April of 1944, however, the Japanese launched a massive drive, Operation Ichi-Go, against the Chinese positions in Honan province, and the Nationalist forces suffered a disastrous defeat. The Japanese forces continued southward, and, in May, Ch'en Ch'eng was ordered to Sian to survey the situation. He conferred with Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking in June, and then he was appointed commanding officer of the First War Area. He formally assumed the duties of that post on 15 July 1944 and established his headquarters at Hanchung in southern Shensi. Under Ch'en's general jurisdiction there were nine group armies—a total of 23 armies.

The Japanese drive Ichi-Go had continued southward, sweeping through Hunan and penetrating Kwangsi. Ch'en Ch'eng's chief mission in his new position was to contain the Chinese Communist forces based in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia area of northwest China and to counteract their growing influence in north China,

where the Communists had infiltrated the countryside behind the Japanese lines. He also was ordered to supervise Kuomintang administrative offices in Honan and Shensi. When the Japanese overcame Hsueh Yueh's stubborn defense at Hengyang and went on to occupy Kweilin on 10 September 1944, Ch'en Ch'eng again turned his attention to political training—and to political maneuver.

Chiang Kai-shek succeeded in forcing the recall of Stilwell in October. After the arrival in China of Lt. General Albert C. Wedemeyer as Stilwell's replacement, Plan ALPHA was framed to attempt to save Kweichow and Yunnan provinces from the advancing Japanese. Wedemeyer proposed that Ch'en Ch'eng be assigned the task of implementing the plan. Instead, Chiang Kai-shek appointed Ho Ying-ch'in, who, chiefly as a result of United States pressure, finally had been forced from the post of minister of war. On 1 December 1944 Ch'en Ch'eng was appointed to succeed him. Ch'en's primary task as minister of war was to transform the Chinese Army, with the help of American training and equipment, into an effective instrument for use in the postwar period. In line with the National Government's continuing concern for the potential threat offered by the Chinese Communists, Ch'en in January 1945 was given the concurrent post of commander in chief of active service in the rear areas.

In May 1945 Ch'en was reelected to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. In June, he was made deputy director of the National Defense Research Office. After the Japanese surrender, Ch'en flew to Hankow, Peiping, and Nanking on an inspection tour. The Nationalist armies at the end of the war numbered some 4,300,000 men, but the task of reorganization, particularly of the top-heavy command structure dominated by Ho Ying-ch'in, had been only partially completed. In October 1945 Ch'en once more became dean of the Central Training Corps. In December 1945 he was made chairman of the committee in charge of the reorganization of the central military organs. Reorganization of the command structure, following the American pattern, was to be completed by May 1946.

That task was nominally accomplished. Accordingly, a new ministry of national defense was established on 1 June 1946 to take the place of the ministry of war. The new minister was

Pai Ch'ung-hsi (q.v.). Doubtless in anticipation of the change, Ch'en Ch'eng had been appointed minister of the navy in May. In June, again succeeding Ho Ying-ch'in, he was made chief of general staff.

In that position, Ch'en Ch'eng played a key role. As the top-ranking member of the Paoting military clique, he commanded direct access to Chiang Kai-shek while Pai Ch'ung-hsi, a Kwangsi general, could only act through regular Executive Yuan channels. By that time, most of the Japanese armed forces in China had been disarmed and repatriated. But China had reached the end of the war without a solution of its domestic political problems, and the mission of mediation between the Nationalists and Communists begun by General Patrick J. Hurley and continued by General George C. Marshall was being carried on in an atmosphere of increasing hostility. Ch'en Ch'eng had succeeded Chang Chih-chung as the Nationalist representative on the mediation effort's Committee of Three in early April of 1946. But with the expiration on 30 June of the Marshall truce, the Chinese civil war began again. Ch'en Ch'eng was once more fighting his old enemies the Communists. In February 1947 he was promoted to the rank of general first grade.

The civil war increased in intensity, with the chief focus on Manchuria. In an offensive of May and June 1947, the Communists made substantial gains, and, in July, the National Government ordered national mobilization. In August, Ch'en was appointed director of the Generalissimo's Northeast headquarters and director of the political affairs commission of that organ. Ch'en Ch'eng assumed his posts at Mukden on 1 September 1947. His mission was to rehabilitate military, political, and economic conditions, which already had deteriorated. Some achievements were recorded under his direction: adjustments of the disorderly and corrupt administrative apparatus, changes in the high command, and shifts in military plans. But this progress came too late. By the time Ch'en Ch'eng took control in Manchuria, the Communists had already seized the initiative.

On Ch'en's recommendation, Nanking moved an additional 90,000 troops into Manchuria. The Nationalists also stepped up local recruiting to strengthen the fighting forces. The Communists, however, in a campaign begun in January 1948, chopped the Nationalist garrison

into a number of isolated segments and then began to attack the Nationalist line of communications into Manchuria. Ch'en Ch'eng asked to be relieved of his posts, citing the recurrence of an old stomach ailment. (That ailment was genuine, but it had existed since 1943.) On 17 January 1948 he was replaced by General Wei Li-huang (q.v.) as acting director of the Northeastern headquarters and commander in chief for bandit-suppression in the Northeast. Ch'en Ch'eng, still retaining his position of chief of general staff, returned to Nanking.

After the elections of April 1948, the cabinet, including minister of national defense Pai Ch'ung-hsi, resigned in early May. Ch'en Ch'eng then resigned as chief of general staff and was replaced by a Chiang Kai-shek favorite, Ku Chu-t'ung (q.v.).

Ch'en underwent an operation at Shanghai for stomach ulcers. Then, in October, as the Communists were completing the annihilation of the Nationalist military forces in Manchuria, he went to Taiwan. On 29 December 1948, as the Nationalists faced their final crushing defeat in the great Hwai-Hai battle, he was appointed chairman of the Taiwan provincial government. He formally assumed his new post, which had taken on a new significance in the light of the Nationalist defeats on the mainland, on 5 January 1949, at the same time becoming commander in chief of the Taiwan garrison forces. As instructed by Chiang Kai-shek after his retirement from the presidency on 21 January 1949, Ch'en set about making Taiwan a secure base for the Nationalist retreat.

He was still not free of the mainland embroilment, however. As the situation deteriorated, the Executive Yuan on 19 July 1949, appointed Ch'en commanding officer of a new headquarters for southeast China at Taipei. He formally assumed that post on 15 August, and contributed to the successful evacuation of troops and central government offices and personnel to Taiwan.

K. C. Wu (Wu Kuo-chen, q.v.) succeeded Ch'en Ch'eng as chairman of the Taiwan provincial government in December 1949, and Ch'en devoted himself to the task of salvaging assets for the National Government, which had formally departed from its final mainland base at Chengtu on 7 December. On 1 March 1950, Chiang Kai-shek formally assumed leadership of the National Government in its Taiwan

refuge. A few days later, Ch'en Ch'eng became president of the Executive Yuan at Taipei. He also became a member of the Central Reform Committee of the Kuomintang when it was set up in August 1950.

Two years later, he became a member of the standing committee of the Central Committee elected by the Seventh National Congress of the Kuomintang in October 1952. As president of the Executive Yuan, Ch'en, in collaboration with K. C. Wu, the provincial governor, was able to achieve a fundamental land reform in Taiwan which, had it been put into effect on the mainland, might have enabled the Nationalists to remain in power. Ch'en Ch'eng told of that accomplishment, crowned by the passage of enabling legislation in 1953, in a book entitled *Taiwan t'u-ti kai-ko chi-yao* [a summary record of land reform on Taiwan]. His English-language book on the same subject, *Land Reform in Taiwan*, was published at Taipei in 1961.

Ch'en Ch'eng became vice president of the Republic of China in the elections held in Taiwan in March 1954. In November, he was made head of the newly established Planning Committee for Recovery of the Mainland. At the Eighth National Congress of the Kuomintang, held at Taipei in October 1957, Ch'en was elected deputy tsung-ts'ai [leader] of the Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-shek. After four years as premier, Ch'en Ch'eng had been succeeded by O. K. Yui (Yu Hung-chün, q.v.) as president of the Executive Yuan in 1954. However, when Yui resigned that post in June 1958, Ch'en took over the position. In March 1960, he was reelected vice president of the Republic of China, and was confirmed once more by the Legislative Yuan in the position of president of the Executive Yuan.

In July-August 1961, Vice President Ch'en paid an official visit to the United States. He had the particular assignment of effecting a reversal of the American decision to recognize the Mongolian People's Republic, but part of his purpose was to build up good will for his government. He successfully accomplished both missions. In March 1963, following the same general policy line, he visited South Viet Nam and the Philippines. In Taiwan, although Ch'en Ch'eng was first in line of formal succession to Chiang Kai-shek, factional opposition to him remained active. In November 1963, he was again confirmed in the position of deputy

tsung-ts'ai of the Kuomintang. But on 15 December of that year, in the face of a substantial build-up of political power on the part of Chiang Kai-shek's son Chiang Ching-kuo (q.v.), Ch'en Ch'eng resigned the premiership of the government. On 5 March 1965, Ch'en Ch'eng died at Taipei of cancer of the liver. He was survived by his wife, four sons, and two daughters.

In addition to the books on land reform in Taiwan, Ch'en Ch'eng was the author of *Ju-ho shih-hsien keng-che yu ch'i-i-t'ien* [how can the policy of the tiller's owning his land be realized?], *Pa-nien k'ang-chan ching-kuo kai-yao* [summary of the eight years' war of resistance], *Ju-ho tsou-hsiang an-ch'üan ho-p'ing chih-lu* [how to proceed in the direction of security and peace], *Ko-ming te tao-te* [the ethics of revolution], and *Ts'ung-cheng hui-i* [political reminiscences].

Ch'en Chi-t'ang

T. Po-nan

陳濟棠
伯南

Ch'en Chi-t'ang (1890-3 November 1954), Cantonese military officer, became commander of the Fourth Army in 1928 and chief commander in Kwangtung in 1929. He was best known for helping create a state of near-autonomy at Canton as part of a movement against rule by Chiang Kai-shek, and he controlled Kwangtung until 1936.

Fangcheng hsien, the county on the southwestern tip of the Kwangtung coast bordering Indo-China, was the birthplace of Ch'en Chi-t'ang. After completing his elementary education, he enrolled in the Kwangtung military elementary school at Whampoa, then received more advanced training at the short-course military academy at Canton. He began service as a platoon leader.

The year 1922, which marked Ch'en Chi-t'ang's emergence from obscurity, found him a battalion commander in the 4th Regiment, commanded by Ch'en Ming-shu (q.v.), of the Kwangtung Army. In that year Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.) moved against Sun Yat-sen and exerted pressure on all Cantonese units to join his move. Ch'en Ming-shu left his command, and Ch'en Chi-t'ang found himself temporarily in charge of the 4th Regiment. His men were then stationed along the West River, close to

Kwangsi province. When Sun Yat-sen secured the aid of the Yunnan and Kwangsi armies led by Yang Hsi-min and Liu Chen-huan respectively to suppress Ch'en Chiung-ming, Tsou Lu (q.v.), the veteran Kuomintang leader, was sent by Sun to persuade the Cantonese troops in the western and southern sections of Kwangtung to rally to his support. On the strength of that incident Ch'en Chi-t'ang claimed comradeship in the revolutionary cause led by Sun. When Sun Yat-sen reestablished his authority over the Canton base in 1923, Li Chi-shen became overall commander of the Kwangtung forces, and Ch'en Chi-t'ang was assigned to command the 3rd Brigade under Li.

In 1925, when the National Government made plans for the Northern Expedition, all military forces under its control were reorganized and consolidated. The Kwangtung forces were formed into the Fourth Army, with Li Chi-shen in command. That army had four divisions, and Ch'en Chi-t'ang commanded the 11th Division. When the Northern Expedition was finally launched in the summer of 1926, Li Chi-shen remained at Canton to take charge of the rear base, and Ch'en Chi-t'ang and Hsu Ching-t'ang (13th Division) remained with him.

On 1 August 1927, the Communists staged the unsuccessful insurrection at Nanchang, and some of the remnant forces moved toward Kwangtung with the objective of making it their new base. Ch'en Chi-t'ang moved his forces to intercept the Communists in the East River area. Ch'en Chi-t'ang remained loyal to Li Chi-shen in the ensuing struggle for control of Canton between Li and Chang Fa-k'uei (q.v.). In December 1927 the Communists moved to organize the Canton Commune in an attempt to exploit the confused situation. The revolt was quickly suppressed, however, and Chang Fa-k'uei, though not directly responsible for the Communist uprising, nevertheless found it expedient to leave the area.

In 1928 Li Chi-shen reestablished his authority in Kwangtung, taking the title of commander in chief of the Eighth Route Army, and Ch'en Chi-t'ang then became commander of the Fourth Army. Ch'en Ming-shu succeeded Li as the civil governor of Kwangtung toward the end of that year. In 1929 Li Chi-shen was charged with complicity in the revolt against Nanking's authority by the Kwangsi clique led by Li Tsung-jen and Pai Ch'ung-hsi (qq.v.) and

was imprisoned in Nanking. Ch'en Chi-t'ang then took over the chief command in Kwangtung, bypassing Ch'en Ming-shu, who had been his superior officer. A rehabilitation conference in Nanking led to the reduction of the armies, with army units being reorganized as divisions, and divisions as brigades or regiments. Ch'en Chi-t'ang remained in effective command of the Kwangtung area.

Ch'en Chi-t'ang's star was rapidly rising, and in 1930 he was elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. He then appeared to be on good terms with the National Government at Nanking. That cordial relationship proved to be short-lived, however, and in the next few years Ch'en was to become one of the most formidable local authorities to challenge the power of the National Government. In May 1931 the arrest of Hu Han-min (q.v.) at Nanking by Chiang Kai-shek precipitated a major split in the Kuomintang. A number of political leaders opposed to Chiang, including Eugene Ch'en, Sun Fo, T'ang Shao-yi, and Wang Ching-wei (qq.v.), with the military support of Ch'en Chi-t'ang, and later of Li Tsung-jen and Pai Ch'ung-hsi of neighboring Kwangsi, established a secessionist government at Canton. Civil war threatened.

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in September 1931 saved the situation; the Kuomintang leaders united against the Japanese. Nevertheless, though the Canton government was disbanded and some of the secessionists rejoined the National Government at Nanking, a state of autonomy persisted in Canton, and two semi-independent bodies were created, the southwest executive headquarters of the Kuomintang and the Southwest Political Council; they had self-assigned authority over the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. The two organs were supported by Hu Han-min and other Kuomintang veterans in the area, but the strong man was undoubtedly Ch'en Chi-t'ang. Ch'en had now assumed political power in addition to his military strength, and his position was enhanced by the support, nominal at least, of the two Kwangsi leaders Li Tsung-jen and Pai Ch'ung-hsi.

Ch'en Chi-t'ang then began to consolidate his strength and to expand his power. In practical terms, his effective rule embraced Kwangtung province alone, since the Kwangsi leaders were independent of Canton's authority. Ch'en first

expanded his military establishment, building his original three divisions into three full armies and creating independent divisions commanded by trusted Cantonese military men. His elder brother, Ch'en Wei-chou, was placed in command of the revenue guards, consisting of six excellently equipped regiments. Although he had no naval strength, Ch'en Chi-t'ang began to build an air force. This he placed under the command of Huang Kuang-jui (q.v.), and for a time the Cantonese air force was regarded as a significant unit in national terms. Ch'en maintained an aviation academy for the training of his air force personnel and a military academy at Yen-t'ang, a suburb of Canton.

On the surface, relations between Canton and Nanking during the early 1930's remained normal. Nanking discreetly ignored the two semi-independent organs in Canton. Ch'en Chi-t'ang, for his part, continued relations with Nanking. He even received financial subsidies from the National Government. In 1933, when Nanking intensified its campaign against the Communists in Kiangsi, Ch'en Chi-t'ang was appointed deputy commander in chief of the suppression campaign, Chiang Kai-shek being the commander in chief. Later, following a reorganization of the anti-Communist forces, Ch'en was made commander in chief of the southern front. When the Communists embarked on the Long March in the autumn of 1934, he took steps to prevent their entry into Kwangtung territory. Aside from that action, however, he did not contribute energetically to the pursuit of the fleeing Communist forces.

As Ch'en Chi-t'ang's military power expanded, his aspirations grew accordingly. In 1933 he announced a three-year economic development program for Kwangtung, claiming that his measures were in line with Sun Yat-sen's national development plans. In earlier years, under the regimes of Li Chi-shen and Ch'en Ming-shu, much had been achieved toward restoring order in the Kwangtung countryside, and a start had been made in building industrial enterprises. Ch'en Chi-t'ang, with his greater power and resources, was able to achieve more tangible results.

Economic development efforts were concentrated chiefly in the building of a number of sugar mills. The mill equipment was imported from Czechoslovakia. Ch'en also built a modern textile mill and other industrial concerns. The

Kwangtung arsenal at Shihching was renovated and expanded, and a network of provincial roads was gradually developed. At Canton, municipal public utilities were improved, a new bridge across the Pearl River was constructed, and an imposing new campus for Sun Yat-sen University was established in the neighboring suburb of Shekpai (Shihp'ai).

Ch'en Chi-t'ang also turned his attention to social matters. He sponsored a Neo-Confucian movement in south China, calling for the study of the Chinese classics in schools and for the payment of official homage to worthies of old, notably Kuan Yü, of the Three Kingdoms period, and Yueh Fei, the Sung dynasty hero. He also puritanically issued orders forbidding the wearing of short-sleeved gowns by women and took other measures designed to prevent excessive exposure of feminine charms. Ch'en was also credited with placing great faith in such arts as palmistry, physiognomy, and geomancy, and it was said that before deciding on a senior appointment he would have the candidate's physiognomy studied by an expert to see if the man would be reliable. He transferred the remains of his parents for interment at a site in Hua-hsien, Kwangtung, the native place of Hung Hsiu-ch'uan (ECCP, I, 361-67), the Taiping leader, because the chosen locality was considered propitious for the welfare of the descendants of people buried there.

As the aggressive intentions of the Japanese became increasingly obvious, the problem of Canton's autonomy grew intolerable to Nanking. In turn, Ch'en Chi-t'ang, together with his associates Li Tsung-jen and Pai Ch'ung-hsi, attempted to attack Chiang Kai-shek by manipulating the issue of policy toward Japan to their advantage. Gradually, the situation approached a showdown. When Hu Han-min died in early 1936, Nanking decided that the time had come to put an end to Canton's insubordination. Ch'en Chi-t'ang, with the support of Li Tsung-jen, attempted to forestall Nanking's action. He announced the dispatch of an expeditionary force northward, ostensibly to fight the Japanese in Manchuria, since Nanking would not do so. The troops of Kwangtung and Kwangsi did proceed northward and entered Hunan territory by June 1936, marching in the name of the so-called Anti-Japanese National Salvation Forces, of which Ch'en Chi-t'ang was commander in chief.

However, there was no real popular support for Ch'en Chi-t'ang's cause. On 4 July, a group of Canton air force pilots took their planes and defected to the National Government. A decisive blow was dealt Ch'en on 8 July, when Yu Han-mou (q.v.), his ranking subordinate and commander of the First Army of Ch'en's group army, arrived in Nanking on the order of Chiang Kai-shek. Li Han-hun, a former subordinate of Chang Fa-k'uei and now Ch'en's pacification director in the East River area, also declared his loyalty to Nanking. Ch'en Chi-t'ang knew that his cause was lost, and he quietly left Canton aboard a British gunboat. The National Government dismissed Ch'en from all posts, appointed Yu Han-mou his successor, and officially abolished the southwest executive headquarters of the Kuomintang and the Southwest Political Council. The province of Kwangsi returned to the National Government's fold soon afterward, and the semi-independent status of the two Kwang provinces was ended.

After a short stay in Hong Kong, Ch'en Chi-t'ang traveled to Europe, going first to Italy, but visiting many other countries as well. He returned to China after the war with Japan broke out in 1937. It was reported, though not confirmed officially, that he contributed a very large sum of money to the war chest of the government. In any case, the National Government appeared to have pardoned his past activities. On 22 July 1940 he was appointed minister of agriculture and forestry, a newly created position in the National Government at Chungking. He held that post until 1942. In the early war years, Ch'en spent considerable time in Hong Kong. He was there when the Japanese captured it in December 1941, but managed to escape and return to Chungking early in 1942. Ch'en Chi-t'ang then was promoted to membership in the standing committee of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee. He was also appointed to membership on the Supreme National Defense Council.

After the Japanese surrender, Ch'en Chi-t'ang went to live in Canton. There he began to take an active interest in education and, together with some former subordinates, founded Chu-hai University. That institution was later moved to Hong Kong and reorganized as Chu-hai College.

Ch'en was called to the service of his country

again in 1949, when the Chinese Communist armies were rapidly overrunning the mainland. In April 1949 the National Government reorganized the island of Hainan as a special district—its intention was to secure the island as a base for counterattack—and placed Ch'en Chi-t'ang in charge. Although Hainan was one of the least developed and most neglected areas in China, Ch'en set to work energetically to improve conditions, using personal funds to finance the local administration. However, the Nationalist authorities continued to neglect Hainan's requirements, and Chiang Kai-shek hoarded his military and financial assets on Taiwan. Meanwhile, the Communist drive southward moved with impressive speed, and despite Ch'en Chi-t'ang's well-intentioned and vigorous efforts, Hainan was captured in the spring of 1950.

Ch'en then retired to Taiwan. Having lost his military position, he was no longer a power in politics, but was given sinecure posts by Chiang Kai-shek. Ch'en's interest in education continued unabated, however, and he was planning the establishment of a school in Taiwan to commemorate Sun Yat-sen when he became ill late in 1954. He died at Taipei in November.

In the early 1930's, Ch'en Chi-t'ang, because of his absolute authority, was not popular with the people of Kwangtung—he placed a heavy tax burden on them to support his military establishment and his economic development programs. His stern views on morality also attracted criticism. In retrospect, however, it is possible to have a more charitable view of Ch'en Chi-t'ang's seven-year administration of Kwangtung province. Although taxation was heavy, there was relative economic stability, if not great prosperity. The countryside was peaceful, in sharp contrast to the earlier years of the republican period when banditry had been rife. And he did lay some foundations for industrial development, though much of that effort was nullified by the war with Japan. Ch'en's efforts in later years to promote education won the approval of all.

Ch'en Chi-meい
T. Ying-shih

陳其美
英士

Ch'en Chi-meい (1876-18 May 1916), anti-Manchu revolutionary, early patron of Chiang

Kai-shek, and supporter of Sun Yat-sen, recruited men and directed such uprisings as the capture of Shanghai in November 1911. During and after the so-called second revolution he opposed and organized maneuvers against Yuan Shih-k'ai. Yuan had him assassinated in 1916.

A native of Wuhsing, Chekiang, Ch'en Ch'i-mei was born the second of three sons into a family of modest means. His father, a businessman with scholarly interests, planned a commercial career for him. After receiving an early education in his native town, Ch'en Ch'i-mei at the age of 15 sui was apprenticed to a pawn-broker at Shihmen near Wuhsing. Even in this prosaic position, the young Ch'en was exposed to the nationalistic stirrings in China. He was outraged by China's ignominious defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95. About 1900, Ch'en moved from rural Shihmen to Shanghai to work in a silk company. Shanghai was then a major center of anti-Manchu ferment, and he was drawn into political activities. Then in his mid-twenties, Ch'en Ch'i-mei turned to a new career as a revolutionary. About 1905 he visited Changsha in Hunan province, where his younger brother, Ch'en Ch'i-ts'ai (T. Ai-shih), commanded army troops. Ch'en Ch'i-ts'ai, who had studied in Japan and appreciated the importance of modern education, agreed to finance his brother's study in Japan.

Ch'en Ch'i-mei arrived in Tokyo in 1906 shortly after the formation of the T'ung-meng-hui and the establishment of its official journal, the *Min-pao* [people's journal]. He immediately joined the new organization. Ch'en nominally studied police law for a while and then enrolled in a military school; actually, he was more involved in political activities than in formal study. While in Tokyo, Ch'en met a young fellow-provincial from Chekiang, Chiang Kai-shek, who had arrived in Japan about that time to attend military school, and he brought Chiang into the T'ung-meng-hui. The young military cadet became a close friend of Ch'en Ch'i-mei and regarded him as both political mentor and elder brother. Although some Kuomintang sources state that Ch'en Ch'i-mei introduced Chiang Kai-shek to Sun Yat-sen, this story seems to be apocryphal, for Sun had been ordered to leave Japan in the spring of 1908.

When the T'ung-meng-hui continued to press for anti-Manchu uprisings, Ch'en Ch'i-mei

returned to China. He traveled through his native Chekiang and to Peking and Tientsin in north China, recruiting men for the republican cause. He established a secret headquarters in the International Settlement at Shanghai to direct revolutionary activities. In the summer of 1909, Ch'en and his cohorts plotted to strike at Kiangsu and Chekiang, the two important coastal provinces of the lower Yangtze valley. The plans were betrayed to the imperial authorities, however, and Tuan-fang, then governor general of the Liang-kiang provinces, smashed the proposed operation. Undaunted, Ch'en Ch'i-mei continued his efforts. In the spring of 1911, when he was in Hong Kong, news arrived of the Huang-hua-kang uprising at Canton (for this event, see *Huang Hsing*). Hastening to the scene, Ch'en, disguised as a journalist, rescued a number of his comrades. After the failure of the April 27 revolt at Canton, he returned to Shanghai. There, in July of 1911, with Sung Chiao-jen, Chu Cheng (qq.v.), and others, he formally established the central China bureau of the T'ung-meng-hui and, with his associates, turned to the task of organizing and coordinating revolutionary uprisings in the Yangtze region, centering attention upon the Wuhan cities and Nanking.

The Wuchang revolt of October 1911 struck the spark which led to the collapse of Manchu rule in China. In the face of strong military pressure from the imperial authorities, quick response in the central Yangtze provinces was essential. At great personal risk, Ch'en Ch'i-mei directed the capture of Shanghai by the revolutionary forces early in November 1911. That victory had an important psychological effect, and within a few days independence was declared at Soochow and Chinkiang. Ch'en Ch'i-mei became military governor of Shanghai and organized the joint forces which captured Nanking, where Chang Hsun (q.v.) commanded troops loyal to the Manchus. The victories of the revolutionary armies at Shanghai and Nanking made possible the establishment of the new provisional government at Nanking and the election of Sun Yat-sen as provisional president at the end of 1911.

The next four years witnessed a struggle for power in China between Sun Yat-sen and Yuan Shih-k'ai. Ch'en Ch'i-mei, committed to total success in the revolution and aware of Yuan's anti-republican aims, opposed any compromise

with the North. After Yuan's strength grew, however, he forced Ch'en Ch'i-mei to relinquish his military post at Shanghai in August 1912.

During the so-called second revolution (June-September 1913), Ch'en Ch'i-mei commanded the anti-Yuan forces in Shanghai. His position, however, became increasingly precarious, and he was forced to flee in November of 1913 to join Sun Yat-sen in Tokyo. Ch'en remained in Japan for about a year. In this period, defeatism and disaffection, even among veteran comrades and followers of Sun Yat-sen, was widespread. Ch'en Ch'i-mei, however, remained a consistent supporter of Sun, and when the Kuomintang was reorganized into the Chung-hua ko-ming-tang in July 1914, he became the party's director of general affairs.

Ch'en journeyed to Shanghai early in 1915, but was again frustrated in efforts to extend Sun Yat-sen's power into the Yangtze provinces. In the north Yuan Shih-k'ai moved steadily toward establishing a monarchy. After further conferences with Sun Yat-sen in Tokyo in mid-1915, Ch'en Ch'i-mei returned to China to plan anti-Yuan maneuvers. In November 1915, Ch'en Ch'i-mei planned the assassination of Cheng Ju-ch'eng, Yuan Shih-k'ai's garrison commander at Shanghai. The following month, Ch'en engineered an attempt to seize a gunboat, the Chao-ho, stationed at Shanghai. Although the Chao-ho uprising was unsuccessful and Ch'en and his associates were soon overwhelmed by the superior forces of Yuan Shih-k'ai, the incident did have political significance in stirring opinion against Yuan. Later in December 1915, Ts'ai O (q.v.) launched an anti-Yuan drive in Yunnan, and new revolutionary fervor spread through other provinces. Intent on eliminating his antagonist in Shanghai, Yuan Shih-k'ai finally had Ch'en Ch'i-mei assassinated in May 1916. Entering Ch'en's house by a ruse, Yuan's agents shot him. The death of Ch'en, then only 41 sui, was a grave loss for Sun Yat-sen and his political forces.

Ch'en Ch'i-mei was known by his contemporaries as a devoted follower of Sun Yat-sen and an indomitable activist in Sun's cause. Ch'en's early patronage of Chiang Kai-shek in Japan was especially important. Chiang had consistently praised his early benefactor and friend; and several members of Ch'en's personal entourage, including Chang Ch'ün, Huang Fu, Shao Yuan-ch'ung, Wu Chung-hsin, and others,

later became trusted lieutenants of Chiang Kai-shek. Ch'en's nephews, Ch'en Kuo-fu and Ch'en Li-fu (qq.v.), played leading roles in the organizational apparatus of the post-1924 Kuomintang. Ch'en Ch'i-mei's wife, Yao Wening, long survived her husband and died in Taiwan on 9 October 1961 at the age of 83.

Ch'en Chia-keng

陳嘉庚

Alt. Tan Kah Kee

Ch'en Chia-keng (1874-12 August 1961), known as Tan Kah Kee, Singapore rubber and shipping entrepreneur, used his profits to found Amoy University, which he singlehandedly supported for 15 years, and other schools in his native village of Chimei, Fukien. During the Sino-Japanese war, as chairman of the Nanyang Overseas Chinese General Association for the Relief of War Refugees in China, he united Chinese communities throughout Southeast Asia in support of China's war effort. After 1949 he lived in China and supported the Peking regime.

Chimei village, T'ungan hsien, Fukien, was the birthplace of Tan Kah Kee. His father, Tan Ki Pei, left his wife and two sons in the 1880's and went to Singapore to seek his fortune. The success of the venture, even though moderate, was soon reflected in the fact that the boys were able to enter the village school in 1882, when Tan Kah Kee was nine years old.

In the fall of 1890 Tan Kah Kee, then 17 sui, made his first trip to Singapore to help in his father's business, which dealt chiefly with the sale of rice. In 1892 the boy was placed in temporary charge of the business during the absence of the uncle who was its manager. The following year at his mother's request Tan Kah Kee returned to his home in Fukien, to get married. He was then 20, and after the marriage he remained in the village for two years, not making his second trip to Singapore until 1895. On arrival in Singapore, he took over the management of the store from his uncle. In 1897 Tan Kah Kee's mother died, but he was unable to make the trip back to China until 1898 to make funeral arrangements. Tan made his third trip to Singapore in 1899, this time taking along his wife and his younger brother, Tan Keng Yen. In 1900 Tan Kah Kee returned to China again to attend to the final rites

connected with the interment of his mother's remains. Although he had planned to return to Singapore immediately, he was detained in Amoy for about two years, attending to business matters. He did not make the next trip, his fourth, to Singapore until 1903.

In the meantime, partly because of his absence and partly because of the extravagance of his stepmother (the senior Tan had taken a subsidiary wife in Singapore), the family business had deteriorated. Eventually, it went bankrupt. Undaunted by this misfortune, Tan Kah Kee, a young man of 31, raised funds sufficient to build a small pineapple cannery in 1904. He soon added a rice store. The pineapple business developed rapidly, and Tan established his own pineapple plantation to supply fruit for canning.

At that time, the rubber industry was just beginning in Malaya, and its prospects were uncertain. Although Tan Kah Kee was not the first Chinese in the area to take up rubber planting, he was one of the earliest entrants into the business, experimenting initially with some rubber trees on his pineapple plantation. That step launched him in the rubber industry, which was to constitute the foundation of his fortune. By 1906 he had honored the promise to his father's creditors that he would liquidate the debts outstanding at the time of the failure of the business. By this time his father had retired to their home village in Fukien, where he died about 1909.

In the meantime, the revolutionary upsurge of Chinese nationalism had reached the overseas Chinese. The T'ung-meng-hui, established by Sun Yat-sen in Japan in 1905, opened a branch in Singapore in 1907, with most of the Chinese leaders there joining the society. Although Tan Kah Kee did not then take an active part in the revolutionary movement, he did join the T'ung-meng-hui, and in 1909 he and other sympathizers cut off their queues. The Wuchang insurrection of October 1911 was greeted with great enthusiasm by the Chinese abroad. A month later, when Sun Yat-sen passed through Singapore on his way back to Shanghai to assume leadership of the revolution, Tan Kah Kee promised Sun that he would raise S\$50 thousand to support the republican cause. Tan fulfilled his promise. When the Fukien provincial leaders, following the lead of other provinces in China, declared themselves to be in favor of the revolution, Tan Kah Kee also raised S\$200

thousand among fellow Fukien provincials and remitted that amount to the revolutionary leaders in control at Foochow. This contribution from Malaya greatly bolstered the morale as well as the coffers of the revolutionary forces.

The establishment of the republic in 1912 gave Tan Kah Kee, along with most overseas Chinese, hoped that China's difficulties were past and that the beginning of national construction had arrived. Tan's business, especially rubber planting, had prospered. In 1912 he took another trip home to Fukien, and he then decided that he should promote education among the children of his native district. He convinced the elders of Chimei of the need to send all children to school. His argument was particularly convincing because he was prepared to finance the venture. The primary school which Tan started in 1912 was later to develop into what was perhaps the greatest educational effort in China to be financed by one man, culminating in the establishment of Amoy University in 1920.

In 1913, Tan Kah Kee went to Singapore again, this being his fifth trip. Before this time, he had attempted to extend his pineapple planting operations to Siam, but that venture was unsuccessful. In Singapore, however, Tan's firm still dominated the pineapple canning industry. The First World War initially affected Tan Kah Kee adversely, for his pineapple market in Europe was virtually cut off. But losses in that industry were soon to be more than compensated for in other areas.

In 1915 Tan Kah Kee took a bold step and entered the shipping industry, perhaps the most lucrative of wartime undertakings. He chartered two vessels and put them into service on the Indian Ocean, plying between Singapore and Indian and Persian Gulf ports. Since he obtained government contracts for the transportation of supplies, he was protected from operating losses. The same year he entered the rubber manufacturing business, making use of his pineapple cannery workers. In previous years Tan had become an increasingly important rubber planter, and it was a natural step to begin manufacturing rubber goods. Shipping, however, remained the most lucrative of Tan Kah Kee's enterprises during the First World War. His business sense led him to be prepared for the refusals of the owners of the chartered vessels to renew the leases, and he purchased two

ships. Both of these vessels were sunk by the Germans in 1918, but Tan was protected by insurance.

By 1917, the year of his wife's death, Tan Kah Kee had already become a millionaire. He felt that he now had the resources to proceed with his plans to improve education in his home area. He sent his younger brother home to Fukien to establish the Chimei Normal School to train teachers. With the end of the war in 1918, Tan Kah Kee, then worth about SS\$4 million, felt that it was time for him to retire from active business and to devote his efforts to the promotion of education. He summoned his brother back to Singapore to take charge of his interests, and he returned to his home area to supervise the Chimei Primary School and the newly created Chimei Normal School. He also established a school of marine production and navigation.

During this stay in his home district, Tan Kah Kee launched his most ambitious educational venture: the founding and operation of a university intended for the youth not only of Fukien province but of all Southeast Asia. Tan made an initial contribution of SS\$1 million to establish the institution: he named it Amoy University, being careful to avoid glorifying his own name. He had hopes that other Fukien millionaires in the Southeast Asian regions would later, if not immediately, come to support the university, but his hopes in this respect were never fulfilled. Amoy University was officially inaugurated on 6 April 1921. The first board of directors included Huang Yen-p'ei, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, David Yui, and Wang Ching-wei. Tan had offered the presidency of the university to Wang Ching-wei, who declined the honor. He then appointed Teng Ts'ui-ying, who was a counselor in the ministry of education in the Peking government. Teng wished to serve as president of the university without resigning his post at Peking. Greatly disappointed, Tan then turned to his friend Lim Boon Keng (Lin Wen-ch'ing, q.v.). Dr. Lim sacrificed a lucrative medical practice in Singapore to become president of Amoy University. He held that position from 1921 until 1937, when the institution was taken over by the Chinese government.

Because Tan's enterprises in Singapore were faring well, he thought that he could continue to support the university for an indefinite period. In 1922 the brother whom he had left in Singapore to manage the business had to retire because

of poor health. Accordingly, Tan Kah Kee once again left China for Singapore.

Tan was now at the peak of his business career. The postwar boom, especially in the rubber industry, still prevailed. In the three years from 1923 to 1925, Tan made more than SS\$10 million, of which he spent nearly 3 million for Amoy University and the Chimei group of schools. His assets included 15,000 acres of rubber plantations, several raw rubber processing plants, a sawmill, a pineapple cannery, and a rice store. He paid special attention to expanding the market for his own rubber manufactures. By 1926, however, Tan Kah Kee's businesses had begun to decline.

In 1928, after the Tsinan Incident of 3 May, the Chinese in Singapore launched a campaign for the boycott of Japanese goods and organized a relief fund for Chinese war sufferers in Shantung. Tan served as chairman of the fund. The *Nanyang Siang Pau* [Nanyang commercial journal], a newspaper controlled by Tan, published accusations against a prominent Singapore businessman who was continuing to import Japanese products. Tan claimed that the fire which completely destroyed his main rubber-manufacturing plant was a retaliatory act. Even after claiming insurance compensation, Tan suffered a loss of SS\$500 thousand.

Tan Kah Kee's waning economic fortunes were affected further by the world economic depression, which struck Malaya's speculative rubber business in the years from 1929 to 1931. By 1931 Tan's financial position had so deteriorated that his bankers forced him to put all of his properties into the custody of directors appointed by his creditors. Tan retained the position of chief manager of the company, at a respectable monthly salary. He also endeavored to get the corporation to support the Amoy schools. The situation continued to worsen, and by the beginning of 1934 the corporation had to be liquidated. Tan escaped personal bankruptcy because of the transfer of his assets to the company at the time of its formation. The failure of Tan Kah Kee's rubber enterprises in Malaya came to the attention of the National Government at Nanking, where the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission even raised the question of offering government assistance to Tan. Nothing came of the suggestion.

Tan Kah Kee's principal concern was the fate of Amoy University. Even in his greatly

reduced circumstances of the years before 1934, he had not interrupted his support. At the same time he had approached the National Government about taking over the institution. Tan again tried unsuccessfully to win the support of other Chinese millionaires. In 1936, however, he did raise enough to acquire a 400-acre rubber plantation for the university, enabling it to carry on for another year. In 1936 contributions came through the response of Tan's own son-in-law, K. C. Lee (Li Kuang-ch'ien, q.v.), and of Tan Lark Sye, a distant cousin. After protracted negotiations, the ministry of education took over the university in 1937.

The war between China and Japan erupted in the summer of 1937. Although Tan Kah Kee was over 60 and had lost his fortune, his great patriotic contributions to China were yet to be made. In 1938 Tan was elected chairman of the Nanyang Overseas Chinese General Association for the Relief of War Refugees in China. The organization aimed at mobilizing contributions to the war chest of the Chinese government and was a federation of local relief associations organized in 12 basic areas. Four were British territories (Singapore, Malaya, Burma, and North Borneo); and the others were the Philippines, French Indo-China, Siam, Java, Sumatra, Celebes, South Borneo, and Hong Kong. Hong Kong, however, was never an active participant in the program. These areas covered virtually the entire Southeast Asian region. The Chinese living there had normally been restricted to their single territory; and even within a single territory, the Chinese communities were subdivided, usually along provincial lines. Never before had the Chinese in Southeast Asia been united in a single organization for a single objective. Tan's election to the chairmanship of the organization was a notable public expression of the confidence which overseas Chinese in the entire region had in him.

The Nanyang Overseas Chinese Relief Association was officially inaugurated at Singapore on 19 October 1938. Tan Kah Kee's election to the chairmanship had the endorsement of the Kuomintang authorities, who recognized the high respect which Tan commanded in overseas Chinese circles. From 1938 through 1941, the association was an outstanding monument to overseas Chinese patriotism. For many reasons, including the steady devaluation of the Chinese currency and the varying restrictions of the

governments administering the areas involved, it is impossible to determine the total amount of money raised by the overseas Chinese of Southeast Asia for the Chungking war effort. Tan Kah Kee estimated that during the three years from 1939 through 1941, contributions from Southeast Asia averaged China \$7,340,000, or about US\$350,000, monthly. The association also enlisted the services of large numbers of men (an estimated total of over 3,000 during the course of the war) to go to China to assist in motor transport operations.

Late in 1939, with the approval of the Chinese government, Tan Kah Kee organized a comfort mission to visit the homeland. That mission, with Tan as its leader, toured China during 1940. The trip had great effect on Tan's political views. He was greeted with due respect at Chungking, but was disappointed in many of the government leaders he met. Although he had been a member of the T'ung-meng-hui branch at Singapore before 1911, he refused the overtures of ranking Kuomintang leaders who invited him to join the party. A visit to Yenan, the Chinese Communist wartime capital, won over Tan to the support of Mao Tse-tung. Tan was far from being converted to Communism ideologically, but he was impressed by the integrity and efficiency of the Yenan leaders, particularly in comparison with the methods of men holding power at Chungking. Tan then made a tour of the southern provinces, including Fukien. He felt that his native province was the most neglected of all the areas he visited, and soon afterward he launched an active, but ineffective, campaign for the removal of Ch'en Yi (q.v.), the wartime Nationalist governor of Fukien.

Tan Kah Kee returned to Singapore on 31 December 1940. Although he now was openly critical of the National Government, he nevertheless continued to guide the affairs of the Relief Association and to raise funds for the defense of China. Despite his expressed dissatisfaction with the leadership at Chungking, Tan Kah Kee's personal integrity was endorsed by his overseas compatriots in 1941, and he was reelected chairman of the organization. The outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941 ended the existence of the Relief Association, and Tan remitted all money on hand to China.

The situation in Singapore became untenable after the Japanese occupation. On 3 February

1942 Tan Kah Kee had left for Sumatra on the way to Java. Soon the Japanese occupied that area. During the war years Tan Kah Kee, in disguise, lived in several parts of Java. Early in 1944 he began to write his memoirs. While living under cover in Java, Tan drew practical dividends from earlier investments in the Chimei school and Amoy University—the many alumni who were living in Java gave him financial support and protected him from discovery by Japanese agents.

When the war ended in August 1945, Tan Kah Kee came out of hiding and returned to Singapore. On the way, he was given a great farewell at Jakarta on 2 October. Disregarding the advice of friends, Tan spoke frankly at that meeting, stating that although he had received many kindnesses from Chiang Kai-shek during his 1940 trip to China, he nevertheless felt it necessary to distinguish between personal feeling and the public interest. Tan Kah Kee returned to Singapore on 6 October 1945. A celebration was held in his honor on 21 October, at which he repeated much of his criticism of Chungking.

Earlier, on 18 October 1945, a public rally had been held at Chungking to celebrate Tan Kah Kee's return to safety. Most of the ten public organizations which sponsored that meeting in Tan's honor were Communist front groups. Government approval was shown, however—Shao Li-tzu (q.v.), a government official, presided over the rally. Prominent figures at the meeting included Huang Yen-p'ei Liu Ya-tzu, Kuo Mo-jo, and Shen Chün-ju. Mao Tse-tung sent a banner to the rally, and Feng Yü-hsiang composed a couplet to mark the occasion.

Tan Kah Kee turned at once to winding up the affairs of the relief association, and he started an investigation of the losses suffered by overseas Chinese during the war. He also attempted to ease labor-capital tensions which had emerged in Singapore after the war. However, the unprecedented unity of the overseas Chinese caused by the Japanese attack on China and strengthened by Japanese occupation began to disintegrate with the return of peace. For all his success in time of crisis, Tan was unable to reunify and lead the overseas Chinese in time of peace.

Tan saw that the conflict between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists was irrepressible, and he was certain of the latter's victory. Toward the end of 1946 he founded the

newspaper *Nan-ch'iao jih-pao*, which was to become the mouthpiece of the China Democratic League in Malaya. Tan himself became increasingly outspoken in his attacks on the National Government of China.

In September 1946 Tan sent a message to President Harry S. Truman calling for an end to United States aid to the Kuomintang-dominated government, since that aid, in his view, was only serving to prolong the civil war in China. On 25 December 1947 he published an article predicting the failure of the American campaign to aid the Chinese Nationalists. Earlier, on 9 June 1947, Tan had issued a statement condemning the National Government as an inefficient dictatorship. His principal charge was that although China had regained Taiwan, an area of some 30,000 square kilometers, the Chinese government had lost Outer Mongolia, an area of over 1,500,000 square kilometers.

Early in 1949, Tan Kah Kee made another trip to China, this time going to the Communist-occupied areas. He arrived in Peiping in time to participate in the preparations for the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. When that group was formally convened in September 1949, Tan was the ranking overseas Chinese delegate to the meeting. The conference led to the founding of the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949, and Tan was elected a member of the Central People's Government Council. Later in 1949 Tan made a tour of China. When he revisited Fukien, he was given a great ovation in Chimei. In order to wind up his personal and business affairs, he then returned to Singapore by way of Kiangsi, Kwangtung, and Hong Kong, arriving at Singapore on 15 February 1950. At a public meeting to welcome him on 4 March, Tan praised the newly established Communist regime. In May 1950 he published a collection of his writings under the title *Impressions of New China*.

In addition to his membership on the Central People's Government Council in Peking, Tan was appointed to membership on the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission and on the East China Military and Administrative Committee. In 1953 he participated in the committee for the drafting of the constitution of the People's Republic of China, and later he was elected a deputy, representing the overseas Chinese, to the First National People's Congress, which met in 1954 and adopted the constitution. He was

reelected to the Second Congress in 1958, and was on the standing committee of both congresses. In October 1956, Tan helped to found the All-China Federation of Overseas Returned Chinese and was elected chairman of that group.

In his last years Tan divided his time between Peking and his native Fukien province. He was past 80, and his health began to fail. In the early hours of 12 August 1961, Tan Kah Kee died in Peking. One of his sons, Ch'en Kuo-huai was at his bedside. The funeral service was attended by many senior Peking leaders, including Chou En-lai and Chu Teh, and the remains were later taken for burial to Tan's native village of Chimei. The Peking government honored Tan by issuing a handsome illustrated volume, *Ch'en Chia-keng hsien-sheng chi-nien ts'e*, published in 1962, which gave an account of his life and the circumstances of his death. On the anniversaries of his death, special commemoration services have been held in his honor. A memorial hall was constructed on the campus of Chimei Normal School and was dedicated to him.

In 1920, Tan Kah Kee gave his eldest daughter, Alice Tan (Tan Ah Lay), in marriage to K. C. Lee, at the same time that he appointed Lee general manager of the Tan business organization in Singapore. Tan's eldest son, Tan Kok Keng (Ch'en Kuo-ching) was made manager of the Chi Yu Bank in Hong Kong.

Ch'en Chin-t'ao

T. Lan-sheng

陳錦濤

瀾生

Ch'en Chin-t'ao (1870–June 1939) held numerous public finance posts under the Ch'ing government and under both the northern and southern governments of the early republican period, including the positions of financial commissioner in London and minister of finance. He ended his career as minister of finance (1938–39) in the Japanese-sponsored regime at Nanking.

A native of the Nanhai (Namhoi) district of Kwangtung, Ch'en Chin-t'ao, after receiving his early education, went to the British colony of Hong Kong, where he began an English education at Queen's College. After graduation he joined the staff there. In the 1890's he went to Tientsin to teach at Peiyang College, the institution founded by Sheng Hsuan-huai (q.v.).

In 1901 Ch'en Chin-t'ao, with Chinese government assistance, went to the United States for advanced study. He enrolled at Columbia University, where he studied mathematics and received the M.S. degree in 1902. He then went to New Haven, where he entered the graduate school of Yale University to study political economy. Ch'en wrote a dissertation entitled "Societary Circulation" and, in 1906, became one of the first Chinese to receive a Ph.D. from Yale. On his return to China, he took the examinations which the Ch'ing court had established for Chinese students returning from abroad after the abolition of the imperial examination system in 1905. Ch'en took first place in the examination, was awarded the degree of chin-shih and was appointed a Hanlin scholar by the court, although these distinctions were viewed with condescension, if not contempt by the Chinese chin-shih who had taken their degrees in the traditional and more difficult fashion. Because he took first place, Ch'en was sometimes referred to by the Cantonese as the yang chuan-yuan [foreign first scholar].

During the last five years of the Ch'ing dynasty, Ch'en Chin-t'ao served the imperial government in a variety of posts. He was appointed an educational inspector at Canton and then transferred to a similar post in Peking. Subsequent assignments introduced him to the practical problems of public finance. He worked for a time as an inspector for the Ta Ch'ing government bank and then was assigned to the Board of Finance at Peking, serving as head of its budget and statistics bureaus. In 1908, after he had been appointed deputy director of the bureau of printing and engraving, the imperial government sent Ch'en on a mission to investigate the manufacture of postage stamps in the United States, England, France, and Germany to ascertain what production system was least subject to counterfeiting. Ch'en decided that the methods used in the United States were best and invited two American experts to come to serve in the bureau of printing and engraving at Peking. The two were William A. Grant, who was then in charge of the engraving department at the American Bank Note Company in New York, and Lorenzo J. Hatch.

After his brief excursion into the field of philately, Ch'en Chin-t'ao headed the currency reform commission and served as deputy governor of the Ta Ch'ing Bank. By the time of

the Wuchang revolt in October 1911, Ch'en had been named a member of the tzu-cheng-yuan [provisional parliament] which the Manchu court had finally convened. When Yuan Shih-k'ai emerged from retirement in November to head a new government, he offered Ch'en the post of vice president of the Board of Finance, but Ch'en declined the appointment.

When the provisional government of the republic of China was proclaimed at Nanking in January 1912, Sun Yat-sen, respecting Ch'en Chin-t'ao's training and competence, named him minister of finance. After the transfer of the seat of governmental power from Nanking to Peking in March, Ch'en was named vice minister of finance; he did not take up the post. Ch'en was abroad during much of the year 1912, serving as China's delegate to an international conference on bills of exchange at The Hague and to an international meeting of chambers of commerce at Boston. He also attended the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco. He returned to Peking in September 1912 and was appointed director of the central audit office in the government there.

In the early years of the republican period, Ch'en Chin-t'ao continued to hold official positions at Peking under Yuan Shih-k'ai, although he was viewed as being neutral by the generals and politicians then scrambling for power. Late in 1913 he went to Europe to serve as Chinese financial commissioner, with headquarters at London, after which he returned to Peking to serve as a counselor in the President's office. The public criticism of Yuan Shih-k'ai's monarchical attempt in 1916 did not affect Ch'en's reputation.

After the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai in June 1916, Li Yuan-hung (q.v.) succeeded to Yuan's position as president of the Chinese republic. Actually, much of the power formerly held by Yuan passed into the hands of Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.). Tuan named Ch'en Chin-t'ao to the important post of minister of finance in his cabinet. Ch'en also served as interim foreign minister at Peking, from the summer of 1916 until October 1917, when Wu T'ing-fang (q.v.) was appointed.

Because of his education in the United States and his experience as financial commissioner in London, Ch'en was respected by Western diplomats in China. For example, Paul Reinsch, then the United States representative at Peking,

described him as being "one of the few men in Chinese official life familiar with Western finance and banking—a scholarly man, slow and somewhat heavy in speech and manner, studious, and desirous of carrying modern methods of efficiency and careful audit into all branches of the administration," and added that "everyone met him with confidence."

As finance minister, Ch'en also held the post of director general of the salt administration, a rich domain of public revenue which was coveted by Chinese bureaucrats. In May 1917 Ch'en was removed from the finance ministry and charged with embezzlement. That action was reportedly due to the machinations of the so-called communications faction (*see* Liang Shih-i) at Peking. Ch'en was put under arrest, imprisoned, and formally prosecuted. The litigation dragged on for several months, though few facts were revealed to the public. He was finally exonerated in February 1918 by a special presidential mandate issued by Feng Kuo-chang.

In late 1920, the southern military government at Canton, headed by Sun Yat-sen, again appointed Ch'en to be finance minister. However, Ch'en remained in the north to recuperate from his political wounds while T'ang Shao-ji and Wu T'ing-fang took charge of the duties which he had been invited to assume at Canton. Not until 1924 did he return to public life, appearing at the same time that Tuan Ch'i-jui came out from retirement in November 1924 to take over authority as head of the Peking government. Ch'en was again named director general of the salt administration in 1925 and later became minister of finance, when Hsu Shih-ying was appointed premier in Peking.

When the Nationalist forces in south China launched the Northern Expedition in mid-1926, Ch'en Chin-t'ao left the finance ministry in Peking and moved to Shanghai to observe the situation. When the Northern Expedition reached the Yangtze, a serious split developed between the two centers of Kuomintang authority, one at Wuhan, the other at Nanking. In the spring of 1927, the Nanking authorities broke the alliance with the Communists and with the Kuomintang authorities at Wuhan. Ch'en Chin-t'ao was arrested in the Hangchow area in Chekiang and imprisoned for a time, allegedly because Nanking suspected him of collusion with the Wuhan regime.

Ch'en Chin-t'ao returned to north China after his release and turned to scholarly pursuits. In the autumn of 1929 he was appointed professor of economics at Tsinghua University in Peking. He remained at Tsinghua in the early 1930's, and then he temporarily retired to Tientsin. Early in 1935, he was called to public service at Nanking, where Wang Ching-wei was then serving as president of the Executive Yuan and foreign minister. H. H. K'ung (q.v.), who at that time was serving as vice president of the Executive Yuan and minister of finance, invited Ch'en to become chairman of the currency research committee. Although Ch'en went to Nanking to serve the National Government of China, he ended his career by serving the Japanese-sponsored government there. That regime, established at Nanking in March 1938 with jurisdiction over the Japanese-occupied areas of Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Anhwei, was headed by Liang Hung-chih (q.v.). Ch'en Chin-t'ao was persuaded to serve as its minister of finance and he held that post until his death in June 1939.

The motivations underlying Ch'en Chin-t'ao's public actions remain elusive. Generally speaking, he was thought of in China as a scholar rather than as an effective bureaucrat. Ch'en's technical contributions to the bureau of printing and engraving were not insignificant. China's budgetary and currency reform efforts in the early republican period may also be credited to him. And he was one of the few experts in public finance in the Chinese government at Peking before 1928 who was technically competent by Western standards. Unfortunately, the highly partisan politics characteristic of China during much of the republican period brought to waste Ch'en Chin-t'ao's education and frustrated his abilities.

Ch'en Ch'ing-yun 陳慶雲 Alt. Chan Hing-wan

Ch'en Ch'ing-yun (1897-), known as Chan Hing-wan, pioneer aviator, assisted Sun Yat-sen in his military campaigns and trained many Chinese pilots. He became a member of the National Aeronautics Commission (1934) and commandant of the Central Aviation Academy (1936). In 1949 he went to live in the United States.

Because he went to Japan at the age of three with his parents and received his early education in Yokohama, Chan Hing-wan was considered an overseas Chinese. However, he was born in Kwangtung province. Through his family connections in Japan, he became interested in the political movement led by Sun Yat-sen.

In 1916 Sun Yat-sen's followers in the United States gave enthusiastic support to the idea of training a group of pilots in that country. That plan was based largely on a proposal of Lin Sen (q.v.), who at that time was delegated by Sun Yat-sen to direct the activities of their party in the Americas. The first group of Chinese students selected, 20 in all, included Chan Hing-wan. Chan apparently was accepted on the recommendation of the party branch in Japan and doubtless had special endorsement from either Sun Yat-sen or Liao Chung-k'ai. On arrival in the United States, Chan enrolled at the Curtiss Flying School in Buffalo, New York, and completed a training course there.

He returned to China in 1917. Sun Yat-sen was then in Shanghai, and Chan at once associated himself with Sun's cause. When Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.) led his Kwangtung Army into Fukien in 1918, Chan Hing-wan was sent to Japan to purchase aircraft at Osaka. He bought an old Curtiss biplane and flew it to Changchow in Fukien. There, he became head of Ch'en Chiung-ming's air squadron. Sun Yat-sen then decided to establish a new national government at Canton and to use Kwangtung as a military base for a campaign to unify China. He urged Ch'en Chiung-ming to return with his army to Kwangtung and wrest control of that province from the Kwangsi armies. Chan Hing-wan was sent to Hong Kong to enlist support for this campaign; on that trip he purchased an American airplane in Macao. He then flew the plane to Canton and attempted to use it to throw the Kwangsi forces into panic by dropping crude bombs and by buzzing their headquarters. After the temporary consolidation of a base at Canton, Sun Yat-sen established an aviation bureau in his headquarters. Two flying squadrons were formed. One was commanded by Chan Hing-wan; the other, by Chang Hui-ch'ang (1898-), who had been born in the United States.

After the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, Chiang Kai-shek established an aviation academy in Kwangtung under the direction of Chang

Hui-chang. Chan Hing-wan was appointed instructor at the academy, where his students included Mao Pang-ch'u (P. T. Mow, 1904-) and Wang Shu-ming (1904-), both of whom became leading figures in Chinese military aviation. In 1928 the Kwangtung air force, in an attempt to arouse public interest in aviation, sponsored two long-distance flights. Chan Hing-wan was one of the pilots who participated in a flight over the route Canton-Swatow-Foochow-Hangchow-Nanking-Changsha-Wuchow-Canton. (For details of the other flight see Huang Kuang-jui.) At a time when airfields in China were crude and weather reports were non-existent, these long-distance flights were viewed as being spectacular achievements.

In 1929 Chan Hing-wan was named commandant of the Boca Tigris fort near Canton. In 1931 he became a member of the Kwangtung provincial government council and, concurrently, director of the provincial public security bureau. In 1934 Chan left Kwangtung and took up new responsibilities. In that year the National Government at Nanking reorganized the aviation bureau of the ministry of war into the National Aeronautics Commission. Chan was a senior member of the commission. In 1936 he was appointed commandant of the Central Aviation Academy at Hangchow. In the retreat of the government after the Japanese invasion in 1937, Chan moved with the academy to Kunming in Yunnan province. The National Government then made plans to mobilize financial support from overseas Chinese for the purchase of aircraft for the war effort. Chan was named to a senior post in the organization created for that purpose, and in 1938 he left China for a year-long trip to solicit funds from Chinese living in North and South America. On his return he was appointed vice director of the overseas department of the central party headquarters of the Kuomintang. He held that position from 1941 to 1944, and then was named director in 1945. He resigned his position in 1949 and left China to take up residence in the United States.

Chan Hing-wan's career as a Kuomintang official was comparatively uneventful. His rise in that party was due entirely to his early association with Sun Yat-sen. His chief claim to notice rests on his early exploits as a flyer at a time when Chinese aviation was in a most elementary state and when its progress depended

largely on such hardy men as Chan Hing-wan.

Chan married Huang Hsiu-hsia, and he had one son and four daughters, all of whom studied in the United States.

Ch'en Chiung-ming

Orig. Ch'en Chieh
T. Ching-ts'un
Tsan-san

陳 煙 明
陳 捷
競 存
贊 三

Ch'en Chiung-ming (13 January 1878-22 September 1933) was an anti-Manchu revolutionary who became an early republican governor of Kwangtung. After Yuan Shih-k'ai deposed him in 1913, he participated in the anti-Yuan campaigns and then headed the forces of Sun Yat-sen's constitution protection movement. In October 1920 he occupied Canton, and Sun made him governor of Kwangtung and commander in chief of the Kwangtung Army. He withdrew support from Sun, who relieved him of his posts in 1922. Ch'en occupied Canton, was driven out in 1923, and was finally defeated in 1925 by the first and second eastern expeditions.

A native of Haifeng, a coastal hsien in eastern Kwangtung, Ch'en Chiung-ming came from an old gentry family. His father, who died when Ch'en was only three, was a sheng-yuan of 1878, and Ch'en, after receiving an education of the traditional type at a family school, became a sheng-yuan in 1898 at the age of 20. As a youth, Ch'en had been influenced by the ideas generated by the reform movement led by K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (qq.v.), and after the Boxer Uprising of 1900, he and a number of schoolmates formed a group to study modern political and military science. After the government reorganization of the educational system in 1903, Ch'en entered the newly established short-term normal school in Haifeng and in 1906, at the age of 28, enrolled in the Kwangtung Fa-cheng hsueh-t'ang [college of law and government] in Canton, from which he was graduated in 1908.

In these years Ch'en Chiung-ming had developed a growing interest in national affairs, and by early 1908 he had organized a secret revolutionary group in Haifeng. In the same period he began to take an active part in the affairs of his native district. In April 1907 he

led a successful campaign to impeach the prefect of Waichow (Hui-chou) for improper conduct in office. Shortly afterward he and his comrades in Haifeng formed a committee to sponsor local self-government and the suppression of opium smoking. Early in 1909 they also began to publish, under Ch'en's editorship, the Haifeng *Tzu-chih-pao* [self-government gazette], in which they stressed the need for social and political reforms in the area.

In 1909 the imperial government, preparing for the promulgation of a constitution, ordered the creation of *tzu-i-chü* [advisory councils] in each of the provinces. Ch'en Chiung-ming was elected a member of the advisory council of Kwangtung province. When the council met in September, Ch'en campaigned vigorously in the council for the eradication of several abuses in the provincial administration and particularly for the suppression of gambling, which he held to be the major vice of the local populace. At the end of 1909 he was chosen one of the three delegates from Kwangtung to a Shanghai conference of representatives from provincial advisory councils for the purpose of urging the imperial government to accelerate its constitutional government program. While in Shanghai, Ch'en made contact with several revolutionary leaders and formally joined the T'ung-meng-hui.

Early in 1910 Ch'en returned to Canton, and, while continuing his efforts in the advisory council to suppress opium smoking and gambling in the province, he began to participate actively in the revolutionary movement. In March 1911, with the help of Tsou Lu and Chu Chih-hsin (qq.v.), he set up a newspaper, the *K'o-pao*, to promote his anti-gambling campaign as well as to spread revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers of Kwangtung. At the same time he worked with the T'ung-meng-hui leaders in preparing for a large-scale military uprising in Canton, scheduled for April 27 and led by Huang Hsing (q.v.). After taking part in that abortive venture, later to be known as the Huang-hua-kang revolt, he escaped to Hong Kong, where Huang Hsing and Hu Han-min (q.v.) had also taken refuge. One outcome of the uprising was a controversial report on the affair, dictated by the wounded Huang Hsing and written down by Hu Han-min. In the original report, Huang criticized several of the leading participants, including Ch'en Chiung-ming and Hu Han-min's cousin, Hu I-sheng, for

bungling the military operations. However, in transmitting the report, Hu Han-min was said to have made alterations which absolved his cousin and placed the onus on Ch'en Chiung-ming—an act which aroused Ch'en's resentment against Hu and which may have been a factor in Ch'en's subsequent estrangement from the revolutionary party.

Disheartened by their repeated failures at armed revolt, the revolutionaries turned in desperation to a strategy of assassination. During the summer of 1911, Ch'en, with the anarchist Liu Ssu-fu (q.v.) and others in Hong Kong, planned the assassination of several high Manchu officials in Peking and Canton. Before their plans matured, however, the revolt of 10 October 1911 broke out in Wuchang. Hastening back to his native district, Ch'en raised forces and advanced upon Waichow. After the surrender of the imperial troops and the occupation of the city by his forces early in November, Ch'en established himself at the head of a revolutionary army which was composed of units from several districts of the East River region. His success at Waichow directly influenced the military situation throughout the province. Canton quickly fell to the revolutionaries, who declared Kwangtung independent of the empire and chose Hu Han-min *tutuh* [military governor] of the province. On 18 November 1911, Ch'en was chosen deputy governor, and at the end of the month he led his men into Canton. In December, reportedly because of pressures from Ch'en and his followers, Hu Han-min resigned his post and left to join Sun Yat-sen at Nanking. Ch'en thereupon secured his own election by the provisional provincial assembly as acting governor of Kwangtung. Shortly afterward he was elected commander in chief of a local expeditionary force.

As the chief political and military officer in the provincial government, Ch'en Chiung-ming sought to realize his ambition to suppress gambling and opium smoking. He also initiated a plan to rebuild Canton by ordering the demolition of the walls surrounding the old city. However, his tenure in office lasted only until the spring of 1912, when Sun Yat-sen, having turned the provisional presidency over to Yuan Shih-k'ai, left Nanking for Canton in the company of Hu Han-min. Uncertain of his reception by the revolutionary leaders, Ch'en withdrew to Hong Kong, leaving the governorship of the

province to its previous incumbent. On receiving assurances that Hu Han-min bore him no ill will, Ch'en returned to Canton and accepted the new government's invitation to head the Kwangtung Sui-ching-ch'u [pacification bureau], which was in charge of suppressing banditry in the province. In the winter of 1912 Ch'en received an appointment from the president, Yuan Shih-k'ai, as hu-chün-shih [military commissioner] of Kwangtung, with Lung Chi-kuang (q.v.), formerly commander in chief of the imperial forces in Kwangsi province, as his deputy.

In this position Ch'en sought to augment his influence in Kwangtung affairs, frequently at the expense of Hu Han-min. Indeed, according to some sources, Ch'en's appointment as military commissioner had been made by Yuan with the express purpose of encouraging dissension between Ch'en and Hu—a part of Yuan's over-all strategy for undermining the strength of the Kuomintang. In March 1913, the assassination of Sung Chiao-jen (q.v.) marked the beginning of an open contest for power between Yuan and the Kuomintang, culminating in the so-called second revolution of the summer of 1913. On 14 June, Yuan appointed Ch'en Chiung-ming to succeed Hu Han-min as governor of Kwangtung. But, as Yuan began to move his troops southward to attack the Kuomintang in Anhwei and Kiangsi, Ch'en, after some hesitation, decided to throw in his lot with the Kuomintang and other anti-Yuan forces in south China; he declared Kwangtung's independence of the Peking government on 18 July 1913. However, on Yuan's orders, Lung Chi-kuang advanced upon Canton with the military forces under his command, ousted Ch'en, and replaced him as governor of the province. After fleeing Canton on 4 August for Hong Kong, Ch'en soon departed with a few of his comrades for Singapore.

Except for a journey to Paris in 1914, Ch'en Chiung-ming remained in Malaya for more than two years. In Japan during this period, Sun Yat-sen reorganized the revolutionary party into the Chung-hua ko-ming-tang and demanded that all members of the new organization render him a written pledge of loyalty and obedience. Ch'en was among several older members of the party who refused to comply with Sun's demand, and who, ignoring the reorganization, continued to regard themselves

as members of the Kuomintang. In the summer of 1915, when Yuan Shih-k'ai's supporters inaugurated the movement to make him monarch, Ch'en and a number of other dissident Kuomintang leaders then in Singapore, including Li Lieh-chün and Hsiung K'o-wu (q.v.), formed the Shui-li ts'u-ch'eng she [society for the promotion of water conservation], the secret purpose of which was to raise funds among the overseas Chinese to finance an anti-Yuan campaign in China.

At the end of 1915, the revolt in Yunnan led by Ts'ai O (q.v.) signalled the outbreak of a general rebellion against Yuan Shih-k'ai. After hurrying to Hong Kong, Ch'en Chiung-ming went secretly to the East River region and raised a military force to fight against Lung Chi-kuang, who had remained Yuan's chief military supporter in Kwangtung. In the spring of 1916 Ch'en's forces succeeded in occupying Poklo (Polo) on the East River, but failed in several attempts to capture Waichow. In June 1916 the anti-Yuan campaign was brought to an end by the death of Yuan and by orders from his successor in the presidency, Li Yuan-hung (q.v.), to suspend military operations. In Kwangtung, however, hostilities continued against Lung Chi-kuang until his defeat in October, at which time Ch'en turned the command of his troops over to the new governor, Chu Ch'ing-lan, and departed for Peking.

In the republican capital, Ch'en paid his respects to Li Yuan-hung. During the first part of 1917, Ch'en traveled extensively in north China, touring Shansi province and southern Manchuria. In the summer of that year, as he was on his way back to the south, the military governors of the Peiyang clique under the leadership of Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.) staged a revolt which brought about the dissolution of the National Assembly and the resignation of Li Yuan-hung, the president. Putting aside his differences with Sun Yat-sen, Ch'en joined the revolutionary leader in Shanghai and agreed to support a so-called constitution protection movement aimed at forcing Tuan Ch'i-jui's new regime in Peking to restore the provisional constitution of 1912 and the National Assembly. In July, Ch'en set sail for Canton with Sun Yat-sen and Admiral Ch'eng Pi-kuang on one of the latter's gunboats. In Canton Sun became commander in chief of a military government set up in opposition to Tuan's regime in Peking.

At that time, however, the actual military power in Kwangtung was in the hands of the Kwangsi militarists—headed by Lu Jung-t'ing (q.v.), who had played a major part in the anti-Yuan campaign and in ousting Lung Chi-kuang from Canton in 1916. Although Lu Jung-t'ing had at first agreed to support the so-called constitution protection movement, after he had gained his own military objectives in Hunan, he showed little enthusiasm for continuing hostilities against the Peiyang militarists. Determined to carry on the struggle, Sun Yat-sen and his adherents succeeded in persuading the sympathetic civil governor, Chu Ch'ing-lan, to place the 20 battalions of his garrison troops under the command of Ch'en Chiung-ming. After repeated efforts by the Kwangsi militarists to obstruct the appointment, Ch'en finally took command of these troops. In January 1918, he set out at the head of these forces, reorganized as the Yuan-Min Yueh-chün [Kwangtung army to assist Fukien] to carry the so-called constitution protection campaign into the province of Fukien.

Although it had been Sun's intention to extend the war into Fukien, Ch'en Chiung-ming apparently preferred to employ his forces in the establishment of a military base in eastern Kwangtung: on reaching Swatow late in January, he spent several months strengthening his position in that region. Meanwhile, after the reorganization of the military government in Canton under the auspices of the Kwangsi military clique, Sun decided to withdraw from active participation in the regime and left Canton for Shanghai. Stopping at Swatow late in May, he prodded the reluctant Ch'en to resume the offensive. In the following month the Kwangtung Army advanced into Fukien and by the end of August 1918 had occupied Changchow, where Ch'en set up his new military headquarters.

In the two years that he remained in Changchow, Ch'en Chiung-ming embarked upon a program of military consolidation and economic development in the regions under his control in southern Fukien and eastern Kwangtung. He was active as well in the field of education. He set up a number of new schools and arranged for several young students from the area, including the future Communist leader P'eng P'ai (q.v.) to go abroad and continue their studies at schools in Japan, Europe, and America. Ch'en's activities in this and other fields im-

pressed a number of the younger generation of Chinese intellectuals who, stirred to a new sense of national feeling by the May Fourth Movement, began to look upon Ch'en (and the Kwangtung Army) as one of the few progressive forces in China at that time. Ch'en also began to evince an interest in the new political ideas that were being introduced into China in the wake of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. In the spring of 1919 he started a newspaper in Changchow, the *Min-sheng-pao* [voice of the people], in which he expressed agreement with the aims of socialism. One issue of the paper published a message of congratulation to the Soviet Union on the anniversary of the October Revolution. These expressions of sympathetic interest attracted the attention of Russian agents in China, and in April 1920 a Soviet representative secretly visited Changchow with offers of financial assistance. In declining Soviet help, Ch'en addressed a letter to Lenin in which he expressed the view that, because conditions in China were not the same as in Russia, socialism in the two countries would of necessity follow different courses of development.

At Changchow, Ch'en was visited frequently by such members of the revolutionary party as Chu Chih-hsin, Liao Chung-k'ai, and Chiang Kai-shek, through whom he was kept in contact with Sun Yat-sen in Shanghai. After the failure of the so-called constitution protection movement and the deterioration of the military government in Canton, Sun had decided upon another course of action: to set up a new national government in Canton and to use Kwangtung as a military base for a campaign to unify the country. Early in 1920 he dispatched emissaries to Changchow. Through them, he urged Ch'en to return with the army to Kwangtung and wrest control of the province from the Kwangsi militarists. However, it was not until August that Ch'en, was persuaded to withdraw the army from Changchow and lead it back into Kwangtung. After a campaign of more than two months, the Kwangtung Army, with the help of local militia, defeated the Kwangsi armies and occupied Canton on 26 October 1920. On receiving news of the victory, Sun Yat-sen immediately designated Ch'en governor of Kwangtung and prepared for his own return to Canton.

Invested once again with the powers of provincial governor, Ch'en Chiung-ming dedicated

himself to the economic and cultural rehabilitation of his native Kwangtung. Among his first steps were to establish Canton as a municipality, to organize a municipal council, and to appoint as its chairman Sun Fo (q.v.), the American-educated son of Sun Yat-sen. Other measures aimed at reform and reconstruction included the revival of his prohibition against gambling and opium smoking, popular elections of district magistrates, the promotion of local self-government, and the planning of a provincial network of highways. Ch'en was also interested in modernizing the educational system of the province, and for this purpose he created a Kwangtung education committee. To gain this end he appointed as chairman Ch'en Tu-hsiu (q.v.), one of the intellectual leaders of the May Fourth Movement who but a short time previously had founded a Chinese Communist organization in Shanghai. Himself a professed admirer of socialist ideas at that time, Ch'en Chiung-ming gave Ch'en Tu-hsiu free rein in the field of education despite reports that the latter was using his position to establish the Communist movement in Canton. Ch'en Chiung-ming appointed his protégé, P'eng P'ai, to superintend educational affairs in Haifeng and encouraged P'eng's early efforts at land reform and peasant organization in that district.

While Ch'en was thus engaged in administering provincial affairs, Sun Yat-sen had returned to Canton. Early in May 1921, on assuming office as president extraordinary, Sun declared his intention to unify all of China under the new regime. A few weeks later, he announced his plans for a northern expedition and ordered Ch'en Chiung-ming, as commander in chief of the Kwangtung Army, to lead the campaign against the militarists in Kwangsi province headed by Lu Jung-t'ing. Ch'en's forces advanced rapidly through western Kwangtung, captured Wuchow on the Kwangtung border on 26 June 1921, and thereafter won a succession of victories in Kwangsi. By the end of September Lu Jung-t'ing's armies had been completely scattered, and the entire province had been brought under the control of the Canton government. Encouraged by these military successes, Sun decided to carry the campaign northward into Hunan and Hupeh, then dominated by the powerful Chihli military clique under Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.), and to this end he allied

himself with Wu's chief rivals in the north, Chang Tso-lin (q.v.) and Tuan Ch'i-jui.

It was at this point, however, that Ch'en Chiung-ming's personal ambitions came into conflict with Sun's revolutionary aims. For several years a member of the Kuomintang and, in fact, chairman of the party's Kwangtung branch, Ch'en had become governor of Kwangtung in 1920 largely because of his connection with the revolutionary party. Nevertheless, he had never been a close adherent of Sun, nor had he consented to take the written pledge of loyalty and obedience that Sun had demanded from his followers. Moreover, Ch'en long had aspired to become the predominant figure in Kwangtung affairs, and after attaining the governorship he had grown increasingly reluctant to share his authority in the province with Sun and the new revolutionary government in Canton. In particular, he objected to Sun's plans for using Kwangtung as a base to support a military campaign to unify the rest of the country, and on this point he had considerable support from the war-weary people of the province. Although as governor he had demonstrated progressive inclinations, Ch'en had no desire to involve himself in a conflict with the powerful northern militarists, his chief concern being the development of his native province under his own leadership. In opposition to Sun's aim of creating a strong, centralized national government, Ch'en had come to favor a system then being advocated by Chao Heng-t'i (q.v.) of Hunan and other military leaders by which China would become a decentralized federation of provinces, each with an autonomous administration.

Accordingly, when informed of Sun's plans to carry the war into Hunan, Ch'en indicated his unwillingness to take part in the campaign. Sun, however, was determined to continue the war at all costs, and he went to Kwangsi to discuss the matter with Ch'en. Finding that Ch'en was not to be won over, he proposed a practical compromise: he would supervise the Hunan campaign from Kwangsi, and Ch'en would return to Canton, where he would assume responsibility for raising funds to supply the northern expedition, but otherwise would have a free hand in directing the development of the province. Early in November, Ch'en returned to Canton, apparently in agreement with this proposal; but it soon became evident that in

order to consolidate his control over the province of Kwangtung he was preparing to sever his ties with the Kuomintang and join the ranks of the militarists of the Chihli clique. During the winter of 1921-22 he withheld the promised supplies from Sun's expeditionary force, and he secretly arranged with Chao Heng-t'i, the governor of Hunan, and with Wu P'ei-fu to obstruct the progress of the northern expedition in Hunan. Moreover, in March 1922 Teng K'eng (q.v.), the Kwangtung Army chief of staff and one of Sun's staunchest supporters, was assassinated in Canton; and despite vigorous denials on his part, Ch'en was believed to have been responsible for the act.

By that time Sun Yat-sen was thoroughly convinced that Ch'en could be relied upon no longer, and after withdrawing the expeditionary forces from Hunan, he advanced quickly toward Canton. On arriving at Wuchow in mid-April, he ordered Ch'en to appear at his headquarters. While unwilling to heed the summons, Ch'en was equally unprepared to defy Sun openly at that time, since most of his own troops were still in Kwangsi. Thus, instead of proceeding to Wuchow, he submitted his resignation and left Canton for his base at Waichow. Angered by Ch'en's insubordination, Sun relieved him of his posts as governor of Kwangtung and as commander in chief of the Kwangtung Army. Confident that he would encounter no further trouble from Ch'en, he issued orders to resume the northern expedition on 4 May 1922.

No sooner had Sun moved with his forces to Shaokuan in northern Kwangtung than Ch'en's troops, led by his subordinate Yeh Chü (b. 1882; T. Jo-ch'ing), returned from Kwangsi and occupied Canton. Disregarding orders from Sun to join the northern expedition in Kiangsi, Yeh demanded that Ch'en be restored to his former positions. Sun rejected this demand, but he sought to placate Ch'en by naming him to the newly created post of superintendent of military affairs for Kwangtung and Kwangsi. When Ch'en refused this appointment, Sun hurriedly returned from his headquarters at Shaokuan in an effort to resolve the mounting tension in Canton (1 June). However, his presence in the city served only to embolden Ch'en and his supporters, who believed that the time had come for an open break with the revolutionary leader. Acting in conjunction with the victorious Chihli militarists in the north, a group of Ch'en's

officers, including Yeh Chü and Hung Chao-lin (1872-1925; T. Hsiang-ch'en), on 16 June demanded the resignations of both Sun Yat-sen and Hsu Shih-ch'ang (q.v.), presidents of the rival governments in Canton and Peking, as a step toward unifying the country under the former president, Li Yuan-hung. Later the same day Yeh Chü's troops gathered in the northern part of the city in preparation for an attack upon the presidential headquarters. Warned of the impending coup, Sun escaped to a gunboat in the Pearl River, from which he dispatched orders to the expeditionary armies in Kiangsi to turn back for an attack upon Canton. However, in the following months these troops were repulsed and driven off by Ch'en's forces. On 15 August, after Sun had departed for Shanghai, Ch'en returned from Waichow to Canton and resumed his post as commander in chief of the Kwangtung Army.

Ch'en Chiung-ming's triumph was to be short-lived, however. Units of the defeated northern expeditionary forces under Hsu Ch'ung-chih (q.v.) made their way along the Kwangtung border to Foochow where, on instructions from Sun in Shanghai, they prepared for a renewed attack upon Kwangtung from the east. Meanwhile, Sun had also secured the support of a Yunnanese army under Yang Hsi-min and a new Kwangsi army under Liu Chen-huan. At the end of 1922, these forces, joined by rebellious units of Ch'en's Kwangtung Army, converged upon Canton. Unable to hold the city against this combined assault, Ch'en announced his retirement from public office and on 15 January 1923, after returning briefly to his native Haifeng, proceeded to Hong Kong. In the following month, Sun returned to Canton, reestablished the military government of 1917, and took the title of generalissimo.

Although driven from Canton, Ch'en Chiung-ming remained a figure of considerable military power in Kwangtung for more than two years. Early in 1923 his chief lieutenant, Yeh Chü, had retreated to Waichow with his forces basically intact; in May, troops under Hung Chao-lin and other officers regained control of Swatow and the adjacent areas in eastern Kwangtung. Returning from Hong Kong to Waichow, Ch'en regrouped these forces and in November directed an assault upon Canton which was beaten back by Sun's Yunnan and Kwangsi allies only after it had penetrated into the

outskirts of the city. Throughout the next year Ch'en's armies in the East River region continued to pose a serious threat to Sun's newly reorganized Kuomintang regime in Canton, and in January 1925, after Sun had left on his final journey to Peking, Ch'en began another attack upon Canton. In response, the Kuomintang regime organized an eastern expedition under the command of Hsu Ch'ung-chih. In the following month, the expedition's right flank army, comprised of cadets of the new Whampoa Military Academy and led by its president, Chiang Kai-shek, defeated Ch'en's forces in a series of engagements and by the end of March had occupied Haifeng, Swatow, and most of eastern Kwangtung.

His armies routed, Ch'en departed for Shanghai, but in the summer of 1925, when dissensions broke out within the Kuomintang leadership at Canton, units of his scattered forces were able to regain control of most of the areas that had fallen to the eastern expedition. In September Ch'en returned to Hong Kong for another attempt to dislodge the Kuomintang from Canton, with the help of gunboats provided by Wu P'ei-fu, and in concert with rebellious Kuomintang troops under Hsiung K'o-wu (q.v.). However, early in October the Canton government organized a second eastern expedition, which was led by Chiang Kai-shek. On 15 October 1925 Ch'en's stronghold at Waichow fell to Chiang's troops, and by early November the eastern expedition had swept away the last remnants of Ch'en's forces in the province.

After losing his military power, Ch'en Chiung-ming made his home in Hong Kong, where he sought to continue his feud with the Kuomintang by political means. He was elected chairman of the Chung-kuo Chih-kung-tang, a society of overseas Chinese in America that had its origins in the secret Hung-men society of earlier years. He organized a Chih-kung Club in February 1926, and set up branches in Macao, Kwang-chou-wan, Amoy, and several centers in Malaya. The following year he issued a public statement to the nation outlining his suggestions for the unification of China, published in 1928 with a preface by Chang Ping-lin as *Chung-kuo t'ung-i ch'u-i* [proposal for the unification of China], which included proposals for the abolition of the military regime in the north and of the party regime in the south. It also proposed a unification of the country based on the prin-

ciple of a federal government. However, his views attracted little attention, for within a month of their publication Peking fell to the National Revolutionary Army, and the country was unified, in name at least, under the Kuomintang. In the winter of 1928, and again in the winter of 1931, Ch'en Chiung-ming visited north China to attend conferences with Tuan Ch'i-jui and other defeated militarists of the Peiyang clique who, in opposition to the Kuomintang, organized a kung-ho ta-t'ung-meng [league for the republic]. In October 1931 Ch'en organized a central headquarters in Hong Kong for the Chung-kuo Chih-kung-tang and drew up a platform which in vague and general terms set forth the party's socialist goals. Because he was no longer in control of a territorial military base, Ch'en was able to exert little influence upon the course of events in China, and his attempts after 1925 to organize political opposition to the Kuomintang attracted a few of his personal followers and a small number of sympathizers.

In August 1933, Ch'en was hospitalized with an inflammation of the intestine, and on 22 September, he died at the age of 55. In April 1935, his remains were taken from Hong Kong and were interred at Waichow, which had for many years been his chief military base in Kwangtung.

Ch'en was married in 1899 to a local girl of the Huang family. He had eight children, the three youngest of whom were sons, Ting-hsia (1917-), Ting-hung (1923-), and Ting-ping (1925-).

In the modern history of China, Ch'en Chiung-ming is remembered chiefly for his revolt against Sun Yat-sen in 1922 and for his subsequent opposition to the Kuomintang. For these actions he has never been forgiven by Kuomintang historians, who in depicting him as a deserter of the revolutionary cause, have tended to slight his earlier contributions to the success of their party and the significance of his role as military leader and governor of Kwangtung. Before his defection, Ch'en Chiung-ming's achievements as head of the Kwangtung Army were a major factor in enabling the Kuomintang to regain Kwangtung as a revolutionary military base. Moreover, as governor in 1921-22, Ch'en introduced a number of administrative and educational reforms and, through his patronage of such politically progressive intellectuals as Ch'en Tu-hsiu and

P'eng P'ai, provided an environment favorable to the growth of the Chinese Communist movement in the province.

Ch'en, Eugene

Chinese. Ch'en Yu-jen 陳友仁

Eugene Ch'en (1878–20 November 1944), anti-imperialist, publicist, lawyer, and government official, was a protégé of Sun Yat-sen. He was particularly well known as the editor of journals and the author of political manifestoes.

San Fernando on the island of Trinidad in the British West Indies was the birthplace of Eugene Ch'en. His father, Ch'en Kan-ch'uan, a native of Shunte hsien, Kwangtung province, is said to have served in the army of the Taiping rebels; most certainly he had been forced to flee to the West Indies when that revolt failed. Making his living as a barber, the elder Ch'en, known as Achan, went first to Jamaica and then to Martinique. In Martinique he married a woman of mixed blood who belonged to a family of Cantonese immigrants. The couple moved to Trinidad, where they raised a family of six children, five boys and a girl. Eugene Ch'en was the eldest child.

Then known as Eugene Bernard Achan, Eugene Ch'en attended the San Fernando borough school, then went to the Roman Catholic College of St. Mary's in Port-of-Spain. After leaving college he worked in a solicitor's office in Trinidad. He also began contributing articles to the local press. In time he qualified as a solicitor, conveyancer, and notary public in the supreme court of Trinidad and Tobago and opened his own office. Later he also qualified as a barrister and practiced law until 1911, when he left the colony. Reputedly his success had aroused the jealousy of his fellow practitioners, and he was consequently the victim of racial discrimination.

In 1911 Eugene Ch'en traveled to London, where he practiced briefly as a barrister. Toward the end of that year he met Sun Yat-sen, who had received news of the Wuchang revolt and was returning to China from the United States by way of England and France to become the acknowledged leader of the revolution. Sun Yat-sen was impressed by Ch'en's grasp of legal matters and succeeded in persuading him to

go to China and employ his talents for the benefit of his motherland. Thus, early in 1912 Eugene Ch'en arrived in Peking. In September, he was appointed legal adviser to the ministry of communications. He held the post until 1913, when the Kuomintang's so-called second revolution against Yuan Shih-k'ai was defeated and Sun and most of his followers had to flee the country.

Eugene Ch'en, however, remained in Peking, where he became editor of an English-language journal, the *Peking Gazette*. At first he supported Yuan Shih-k'ai's efforts to unify China. However, when Yuan advanced his monarchical plan late in 1915, Eugene Ch'en opposed it. He published in his paper an essay written by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (q.v.) entitled "Strange, This So-Called Question of the Form of State." After Yuan's death in 1916, Ch'en continued his editorial policy of outspoken criticism of the government. On 18 May 1917 he published an article called "Selling China," which reported the secret negotiations that Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.), the premier, had carried on with Japan to give Japan control over China's armed forces. The next day Ch'en was arrested and was thrown into prison. Allegedly he claimed British citizenship and tried unsuccessfully to get the British legation at Peking to intervene on his behalf. Li Yuan-hung (q.v.), the president, ordered his release shortly afterward, but the *Peking Gazette* remained closed.

Meanwhile, under pressure from the northern warlords, Li Yuan-hung dissolved the Parliament. Sun Yat-sen then launched the "constitution protection movement." With the support of the navy, he brought a number of the members of the Parliament to Canton, where a rump session was held. This move led to the formation of a new military government in the south with Sun as its head. Eugene Ch'en joined Sun at Canton. In the summer of 1918, together with Quo T'ai-ch'i and C. T. Wang, Ch'en went to the United States to secure American support for the southern government at Canton, but with no success.

In 1919 Ch'en was in France, serving as a technical expert on the southern group, headed by C. C. Wu (Wu Ch'ao-shu, q.v.), of the Chinese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. He prepared several documents for the delegation; the most noteworthy was China's demand for abrogation of all treaties derived from Japan's

Twenty-one Demands of 1915. Ch'en visited London and other European cities, not returning to China until the summer of 1920. He then went to Shanghai and established the *Shanghai Gazette*, which more or less continued the editorial policies of the *Peking Gazette*.

In 1922, Eugene Ch'en rejoined Sun Yat-sen as his foreign affairs adviser and attended the meetings in Shanghai between Sun and Adolph Joffe, a Soviet envoy, in the winter of 1922. The Sun-Joffe declaration of January 1923 marked a pronounced political shift to the left on Ch'en's part and the appearance of the anti-imperialist nationalism that was to characterize Ch'en's political attitude for the next several years.

In February 1923 Sun returned to Canton after his loyal troops had ousted Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.) from the city and adjacent areas. Sun revived the old military government and re-assumed the title of generalissimo. Eugene Ch'en soon returned to serve as Sun's foreign affairs adviser. In August 1924 the Canton Merchants Corps attempted to stage a revolt, but the government halted the supply of arms to them. The British authorities sought to intervene and threatened to use British naval forces against Sun. On 1 September 1924 Sun Yat-sen issued a declaration to the world and also sent a note to British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald lodging a strong protest against the "bloody imperialism" of the British. These documents were drafted by Eugene Ch'en. Later in October, the Merchant Corps again attempted to revolt. Sun then organized a special committee, which he headed, to deal with the situation. In addition to Eugene Ch'en, membership included Hsu Ch'ung-chih, Liao Chung-k'ai, Wang Ching-wei, Chiang Kai-shek, and T'an P'ing-shan. The Merchants Corps staged an armed uprising on 15 October, but it was suppressed quickly.

Late in October 1924 Sun Yat-sen accepted the invitation of Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.) and Tuan Ch'i-ju to visit Peking for discussions. Eugene Ch'en was a member of Sun's entourage, acting as his English secretary. Wang Ching-wei was senior Chinese secretary. Sun was taken ill in Peking, and when he grew worse in the latter part of February 1925, two wills, one political and the other personal, were prepared by Wang and approved by Sun. On 11 March 1925, the day before his death, Sun signed these documents in the presence of a group of his

intimate associates. Eugene Ch'en wrote Sun's farewell message to the Soviet Union, which reaffirmed the Kuomintang's policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union in its struggle to liberate China from Western imperialism. Sun Yat-sen signed this document after T. V. Soong had read it. This message was later the subject of great controversy among Kuomintang members, some claiming that Sun Yat-sen, since he was on his deathbed, had not been able to study its contents adequately.

After Sun's death, Ch'en remained in Peking to edit the bilingual Kuomintang newspaper *Min Pao* [people's journal]. In August the paper carried a false report of the death of Chang Tso-lin (q.v.), whom Ch'en had previously described as a "butcher." Ch'en was arrested, taken to Tientsin, and thrown into prison. In December 1925 Feng Yü-hsiang's forces occupied Tientsin, and Ch'en regained his freedom. He returned to Canton, where the new National Government had been inaugurated in July 1925.

At the Second National Congress of the Kuomintang, held in January 1926, Eugene Ch'en was elected to the Central Executive Committee. In May 1926 Hu Han-min, foreign minister of the Canton government, left Canton for Shanghai, and Eugene Ch'en was appointed foreign minister. In June 1926 he was named to membership on a three-man delegation, with T. V. Soong and Ch'en Kung-po (q.v.), to discuss with the Hong Kong authorities a settlement of the anti-British strike which had begun in 1925. The strike ended in September 1926. In his capacity as foreign minister, Eugene Ch'en also protested to the American consul at Canton against a projected tariff conference in Peking.

Meanwhile, the Northern Expedition under the over-all command of Chiang Kai-shek had been launched from Canton in July 1926. By October, Hankow had come under the control of the Nationalists. In mid-November the Canton government sent a five-man committee to Wuhan to investigate the matter of moving the government there. Its members were Eugene Ch'en, T. V. Soong, Sun Fo (q.v.), Hsu Ch'ien, and Borodin. On 13 December 1926 the leaders who had arrived at Wuhan organized a joint council of the Kuomintang and the National Government to act as the interim authority pending reestablishment of central control. Hsu Ch'ien was made chairman, and the members

included Madame Sun Yat-sen, as well as Ch'en and the other members of the advance group from Canton. This council was the nucleus of the National Government that began to function officially at Wuhan on 1 January 1927.

Eugene Ch'en gave fuller scope to his policy of anti-imperialism. In December 1926, acting in the name of the National Government, he lodged a protest with the British government because 14 Kuomintang members in the British concession in Tientsin had been arrested and handed over to Fengtien army authorities. In no uncertain words he said that the British would be held responsible for the consequences. Sir Miles Lampson, the new British minister to China, was visiting Wuhan on an inspection tour about this time, and Ch'en met with him on 11 December 1926. In the course of the interview Ch'en presented to the British minister a demand that the National Government have access to a share of the customs surplus. On 31 December, Ch'en sent a message to United States Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg voicing his government's opposition to the British implementation of the decision made at the Washington Conference on the imposition of surcharges to the customs duty and the handing over of these sums to the authorities at the port of collection.

At the beginning of January 1927 a demonstration by workers at Hankow led to a clash with marines guarding the British concession. The Nationalists forcibly took over the concession, and a committee composed of Eugene Ch'en, Sun Fo, and T. V. Soong assumed responsibility for its administration. A few days later a similar mass action brought the British concession at Kiukiang into Chinese hands. The Japanese and French consuls at Hankow asked Ch'en for information as to any intended changes in the Japanese and French concessions; they were told that the concessions must be handed over unconditionally. By mid-January foreign warships had begun to concentrate at Shanghai.

By that time, Owen St. Clair O'Malley, the acting counselor of the British legation at Peking, had taken over the negotiations from the British consul at Hankow. The Ch'en-O'Malley notes of 19 February and 2 March 1927 confirmed the retrocession to China of the two concessions in question. Ch'en's diplomatic triumph seemed complete, and it appeared that he had begun a

new era of revolutionary diplomacy for China. The March 1927 incident at Nanking, in which a number of foreign nationals were killed or injured and foreign property was destroyed, reflected the same anti-imperialism. Foreign enterprises, particularly in the industrial center of Hankow, were forced to close their doors, and foreign citizens began to leave the Yangtze valley.

Countervailing forces were also at work, however. The foreign powers had concentrated effective military forces at Shanghai, and several of them had intervened to protect their nationals at Nanking by naval bombardment. When Chinese demonstrators attacked the Japanese concession at Hankow on 3 April 1927, they were mowed down by the machine gun fire of Japanese marines. Ch'en's so-called revolutionary foreign policy clearly was arousing powerful opposition. In view of the difficulties being experienced by the Nationalist regime in its relations with the foreign powers, Ch'en was prepared to soften his policies, but, by then, a change of policy was not feasible. Chang Tso-lin's raid on the Soviet embassy at Peking in April 1927 led Ch'en to extend "profound regrets" to the Soviet commissar for foreign affairs; and he denounced the Peking diplomatic corps for connivance in the affair. But the incident at Peking was only the first of a series of domestic counterblows at the radicalism of the Wuhan regime. A few days later Chiang Kai-shek established a rival National Government at Nanking. Ch'en was now compelled to compete with the moderate Nanking foreign minister, C. C. Wu. In May he called on the National Revolutionary Army to differentiate between anti-imperialism and anti-foreignism, a distinction that had not been clearly drawn before that time.

In April 1927 Wang Ching-wei returned from Europe to head the Wuhan regime. During the next few weeks Wang, himself a moderate, grew disturbed about the increasingly radical policies urged by the Communists and the left-Kuomintang members of his government, and in July he began a purge of these elements. Eugene Ch'en, Madame Sun Yat-sen, Borodin, and others, departed for the Soviet Union.

From Moscow, Ch'en went to Western Europe, where he remained for some three years. When the Wuhan-Nanking *rapprochement* along conservative lines was made official in February

1928, Ch'en was elected to both the central Executive Committee and the Central Political Council of the Kuomintang, but the appointments were merely *pro forma*. It was only in February 1931 that he returned to the British colony of Hong Kong. In March 1931 Chiang Kai-shek's arrest of Hu Han-min at Nanking precipitated a new anti-Chiang coalition at Canton, with the participation of Wang Ching-wei, Sun Fo, C. C. Wu, T'ang Shao-yi, and the support of the military leaders of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, Ch'en Chi-t'ang and Li Tsung-jen. An opposition government was set up at Canton in May 1931, and Eugene Ch'en became its foreign minister. In July he went to Japan to get arms and military advisers for Canton. This move was rationalized as being in accord with Sun Yat-sen's Pan-Asian principle, but it was hardly consonant with Ch'en's earlier anti-imperialism. Moreover, the mission was undertaken at a time of bloody clashes between Japanese and Chinese in both Korea and Manchuria, with the result that Ch'en received popular condemnation.

Threatened civil war between Canton and Nanking was averted by the Japanese attack at Mukden in September 1931, and the Canton dissident regime was dissolved. On 29 December Sun Fo was appointed president of the Executive Yuan at Nanking, and Eugene Ch'en was made foreign minister in that cabinet. On 24 January 1932, less than a month after taking office, Eugene Ch'en resigned because the policies he advocated found no support among the government leaders. Sun Fo himself resigned the next day.

Ch'en lived for a time in Shanghai after leaving Nanking. In May 1932 he demanded the reorganization of the Kuomintang, and he predicted eventual war between Japan and the United States. In March 1933 he urged American intervention in the Sino-Japanese conflict as a means of avoiding the larger war he had predicted. Meanwhile, some of the southern leaders had established the Southwest Political Council, which maintained virtual autonomy in the local administration of the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Although actually controlled by the military leaders of the two provinces, the council had the support of some veteran political leaders, including Hu Han-min and T'ang Shao-yi. Eugene Ch'en was appointed a member of the council in May 1933.

In November 1933, with military support provided by the famous Nineteenth Route Army commanded by Chiang Kuang-nai and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai (qq.v.) and with the cooperation of Li Chi-shen (q.v.), Ch'en Ming-shu (q.v.) launched the Fukien revolt. The movement began with the formation of a so-called people's revolutionary government at Foochow. Eugene Ch'en and his Wuhan colleague Hsu Ch'ien were among the prominent participants, and Ch'en became the foreign minister of the insurgent regime. The rebellion was short-lived, and it was easily suppressed by Chiang Kai-shek at the beginning of 1934. For his part in it, Eugene Ch'en was expelled by the Kuomintang, and he retired to Europe.

At the time of the Sino-Japanese war in July 1937 Ch'en was in Paris. He was invited by T. V. Soong and Wang Ch'ung-hui to return to China, and he arrived in Hong Kong in October 1938. Although reinstated in the Kuomintang, he declined to participate in China's wartime government and issued a statement from Hong Kong demanding that Chiang Kai-shek turn over the leadership of the government to a five-man commission. When war broke out in Europe in 1939, he advocated that China issue a declaration favoring France and England. He condemned the Hitler-Stalin pact of August 1939 and the Soviet invasion of Finland in November.

After the outbreak of war in the Pacific in December 1941 and the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, Ch'en was detained for some time and then was taken to Shanghai in the spring of 1942. There he resisted all efforts by the Japanese to persuade him to join the Japanese-sponsored regime of Wang Ching-wei in Nanking. Even while in enemy-occupied territory, Ch'en remained characteristically outspoken. He denounced the peace policy of Wang's government as a "puppet peace," and on one occasion in 1943 he was said to have referred to members of the Japanese War Office as "a pack of liars" for circulating a report that he had joined the Nanking regime. He remained in Shanghai until his death on 20 May 1944, at the age of 66.

Ch'en Heng-che

West. Sophia H. Chen Zen

陳衡哲

Ch'en Heng-che (12 July 1890–), China's first female professor, taught Western history at

National Peking and National Southeastern universities. An early associate of Hu Shih, she wrote short stories and poems in the vernacular. In addition to writing essays for many magazines, she founded the *Tu-li p'ing-lun* [independent critic]. She married H. C. Zen (Jen Hung-chun, q.v.). After 1949, they lived in Shanghai.

Although her family had originally come from Hengshan, Hunan, Ch'en Heng-che was born in Ch'angchou, Kiangsu. Her grandfather, Ch'en Chung-ying (T. Huai-t'ing), and her father, Ch'en Tao (T. Chih-lueh), both were magistrates and well-known scholars and poets. Ch'en Tao's mother and his wife, Chuang Yao-fu (T. Ts'ai-shih), were both accomplished painters. Ch'en Heng-che thus grew up in an atmosphere of scholarship and culture. She had two brothers and five sisters.

Ch'en Heng-che left home for the first time in 1903 at the age of 13 and received her basic Chinese education during the next eleven years. Her maternal uncle, Chuang Ssu-chien, exerted great influence on her. The Chuang family, one of the four prominent families of Ch'angchou, had a long tradition of scholarship and public service. Chuang Ssu-chien was well versed in Chinese classical studies, and his inquiring mind led him to explore aspects of Western science and culture, which he greatly admired. He held up as examples to his niece the educated and independent Western women who left their homelands for service in China, in contrast to subservient Chinese women. One of Chuang Ssu-chien's theories was that there are three types of people: those who create their own future, those who are content with what fate has given them, and those who are resentful of their lot, but helpless. He predicted that Ch'en Heng-che would be among those in the first category, but he also told her that to be a free agent one required knowledge, not only knowledge handed down from China's past but also Western knowledge to be gained from going to modern schools. The younger generation, he emphasized, should strive to know more about the world than its elders had known. From listening to her uncle, Ch'en Heng-che developed a desire for learning and independence.

When her father was appointed to an official post in southwest China before 1911, her parents, knowing of Ch'en Heng-che's ambition to gain a modern education, agreed to let her

live with Chuang Ssu-chien's family at Canton. Unfortunately she was too young to enter the only modern school open to women, a medical college. Her uncle then undertook to teach her himself with the help of newspapers, magazines, and modern textbooks; and he engaged a tutor to teach her arithmetic. She also learned much from her uncle's conversations, which covered a wide range of topics from science to moral precepts. Chuang Ssu-chien was later transferred to Lienchou in southern Kwangtung as an officer of the New Army. Although he was busy, he never neglected his niece's lessons. Home instruction, however, could be only a temporary expedient. Therefore, when Chuang's wife returned home to visit her parents in Kiangsu, she took Ch'en Heng-che along to enroll her at a school at Shanghai. The school they had selected was the Ai-kuo hsueh-she, founded by Chuang's friend Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei (q.v.). Unfortunately Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei was no longer in Shanghai, and the school, a pioneer institution in the development of women's education, was closed. Ch'en Heng-che entered another newly opened school for girls at Shanghai and studied there for three years. The school proved to be mediocre, however; she learned some English, but little else.

Ch'en Heng-che had reached the age at which it was customary for a girl to be married, and her father had chosen a young man for her. After receiving the news, she went through a great personal crisis. Her thirst for knowledge and for an independent life clashed painfully with her sense of duty to her father. She finally obtained her father's consent for withdrawal from the marriage agreement. In 1912, while she was still unhappy about her act of rebellion against her father, financial difficulties and dissatisfaction with her schooling in Shanghai prompted her to leave that city to stay with her eldest paternal aunt in a small town near Soochow. Her aunt, older than Ch'en Heng-che's father by some 20 years, was a remarkable woman. Sturdy and energetic, she studied at night, after a full day of housework, until three o'clock in the morning and arose at six to serve her parents-in-law. She was a good calligrapher, an efficient manager of a large household, an excellent cook, and was well versed in Chinese poetry, history, and traditional medicine. Her family life was made unhappy, however, by a husband and sons who smoked opium.

Ch'en Heng-che was her favorite, and her strength sustained her niece during a period of despondency. In the spring of 1914, she obtained a teaching position for Ch'en Heng-che in the family school of one of her friends.

In the summer of 1914 Tsinghua College, then a preparatory school for students who were going to the United States for higher education on government grants provided by the Boxer Indemnity Fund, held an examination in Shanghai. For the first time women candidates were permitted to compete. With the encouragement of her aunt, Ch'en Heng-che took and passed the examination. Chuang Ssu-chien, who was then in Peking, saw the announcement in the newspapers and was so delighted that he wrote her a congratulatory letter expressing his confidence and pride before she had time to write him.

Ch'en Heng-che sailed from China for the United States in 1914. That year she studied at Putnam Hall, a girls school at Poughkeepsie, New York, preparing to enter Vassar College. In the autumn of 1915 she entered the freshman class at Vassar under the name Sophia Hung-che Chen; she was one of two Chinese girls admitted that year. Adjusting happily and well to college life, she made rapid progress in her studies. She soon decided to major in history and studied under the able guidance of Lucy M. Salmon, chairman of the history department, and of Eloise Ellery, professor of European history.

In the summer of 1916 she spent her vacation at Ithaca, New York. There she first met her future husband, H. C. Zen (Jen Hung-chun, q.v.), who had just graduated from Cornell University and was about to begin graduate study in chemistry at Columbia. After that meeting, the two corresponded frequently. H. C. Zen and Hu Shih (q.v.), another Chinese student, were then editing the *Chinese Students Quarterly* (*Liu-Mei hsueh-sheng chi-pao*), and Ch'en Heng-che was asked to be a contributor. In letters the three frequently discussed Hu Shih's idea of using vernacular Chinese as a medium of literary expression. Ch'en Heng-che was sympathetic to the idea, and her first attempt at fiction, a lively account of college life entitled "One Day," was written in semi-vernacular prose and was published in the *Quarterly*. Thereafter she wrote a number of short stories and poems in *pai-hua* [the vernacular] for *Hsin ch'ing-nien* [new youth], the journal which was advocating the modernization of Chinese literature.

In 1919, the year of her graduation, Ch'en Heng-che was elected to Phi Beta Kappa and was awarded a Vassar Fellowship for graduate study at the University of Chicago. There she received her M.A. degree in 1920. She was, however, critical of Chicago for emphasizing classroom lectures rather than independent research.

Ch'en returned to China in the autumn of 1920 and was offered a professorship in Western history at National Peking University, where Hu Shih was then professor of philosophy. She was the first woman in the history of modern Chinese education to be so honored. It was a heady period for the Chinese intellectuals: the May Fourth Movement of 1919 had shaken many old ways of thinking, and a rising flood of periodicals was introducing Chinese readers to new social, political, and literary theories from the West. Ch'en Heng-che wrote for such magazines as *Hsin ch'ing-nien*, *Nu-li chou-pao* [endeavor], *Tung-fang tsa-chih* [the eastern miscellany], *Hsiao-shuo yueh-pao* [short story magazine], and *Hsien-tai p'ing-lun* [contemporary review], as well as for the literary supplements of leading newspapers.

In 1920 she married H. C. Zen. Two years later she resigned from Peking University to move with her husband to Shanghai, where he had joined the editorial staff of the Commercial Press. From 1924 to 1925 she taught Western history at National Southeastern University in Nanking, where Zen had been appointed vice chancellor. After that she gave up teaching to devote herself to her family and to her writing, although she did return to Peking University in 1930 to teach Western history for one year.

Prior to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, Ch'en Hung-che was anxious about the manifold social and political problems that were left unsolved by the National Government. She commented incisively and often angrily on such topics as education, youth, and the position of women. Her essays appeared frequently in *Tu-li p'ing-lun* [independent critic], a highly regarded magazine of liberal opinion of which she was a co-founder and editor. She also wrote a book on Western history for Chinese readers and another on the Renaissance. Reviewers praised her ability to recreate the story of Western civilization in terms meaningful to her people. Her *Hsi-yang shih* [Western

history] was published in 1926, and a new edition appeared in 1932; both went through several printings.

Ch'en Heng-che also proved to be an able interpreter of China to the Western world. On behalf of the China Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations (I.P.R.), she attended several international conferences of the I.P.R.—at Honolulu, Hawaii, in 1927, at Kyoto, Japan, in 1929, at Hangchow in 1931, and at Banff, Canada, in 1933. During the 1929 I.P.R. conference in Japan the Chinese delegates made plans to publish a book designed to promote better understanding of contemporary Chinese culture in the West. The *Symposium on Chinese Culture* was edited by Ch'en Heng-che and was published at Shanghai in 1931 by the China Council of the I.P.R. In the chapter which she wrote for the volume, Ch'en Heng-che advocated a rational and selective approach to the modernization of Chinese culture. Although she recognized the imperative need for basic political, social, and economic reform in China, she hoped that these changes would be effected through intelligent and responsible leadership which would minimize the social cost involved.

After the Canada conference of the I.P.R. in 1933, she revisited the United States for the first time since 1920. She was touched by the welcome which both faculty and students at Vassar extended to her, and she was astonished by the changes in American life which had been wrought by the advent of the automobile age. Altogether, she spent three months in Canada and the United States, returning to China at the end of October.

In 1935 H. C. Zen was appointed president of National Szechwan University. The family arrived at Chengtu in December of that year, with the exception of the eldest daughter, who was attending school in Peking. It was a dismal winter. The weather was chilly and damp, and the house was drafty. Ch'en Heng-che became ill. She was shocked by the poverty and social backwardness of Szechwan, which had been under the domination of local warlords since the establishment of the republic. In a series of articles written for *Tu-li p'ing-lun* she made devastating, though well-intentioned, criticisms of the local political and social situation. These articles aroused a storm of personal attacks upon her by the provincial press. In July 1936 she left the inhospitable atmosphere of Chengtu for

Peiping, which had been her home for many years, leaving her husband in Szechwan. Although her decision to go had been made prior to the outburst of journalistic indignation, the timing of her departure might have been influenced by it.

After returning to Peiping in 1936, she remained there until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in the following summer. In July 1937 she took her children out of Japanese-occupied territory to Shanghai, where her husband joined them. From 1939 to 1941 she resided in Kunming, where H. C. Zen was secretary general of the Academia Sinica. In November 1941 Ch'en Heng-che took their two younger children to Hong Kong, where she planned to put them in school. Hong Kong was attacked in December by the Japanese, and she was cut off from her husband in Chungking and from her eldest daughter, who had gone to the United States to study. Not until June 1942 was she able to escape from Hong Kong with her other children and make her way overland to west China. She spent the remaining years of the war at Chungking. She was dismayed and angered by the widespread financial corruption, speculation, and hoarding that she saw among the officials and merchants in the areas under the control of the National Government. Her alienation from the Nationalist regime increased during the difficult post-1945 period and culminated in the decision to remain in Shanghai after the Communist victory on the mainland in 1949.

The educated women of Ch'en Heng-che's generation witnessed the drastic changes in China which accompanied the transition from empire to republic and the change in the status of women from a subordinate social position to a larger role of active participation in the social, intellectual, and political life of the nation. She was an outstanding representative of those Chinese women whose achievements enriched the intellectual life of the period. Like most of her contemporaries, she was a nationalist who felt humiliated by China's weakness in the modern world. Her nationalism, however, was tempered by knowledge of world history, which enabled her to view national and international problems with perspective and to suggest rational solutions to these problems.

Living in a period of social change and unrest, she welcomed changes which would free the

Chinese people from the bonds of poverty, ignorance, and authoritarian political and social controls. Together with other liberal intellectuals, she warned the Kuomintang authorities that basic reforms were imperative if violent revolution were to be avoided in China. When her efforts failed and when wartime and postwar experiences convinced her that China required a fundamental break with its traditional social patterns, she accepted the post-1949 order, but thereafter made no public statements.

Ch'en Heng-che wrote little that was neither political nor historical. However, a collection of her short stories entitled *Hsiao yü-tien* [little raindrops] was published in 1928, and a volume of essays, *Heng-che san-wen chi* [the prose writings of Heng-che], appeared in 1938. Her stories reveal a rationalistic and humanitarian approach to life, but are limited by her lack of acquaintance with Chinese life outside of academic circles. Although her natural sympathies are with the poor and weak, her fiction lacks that strength which comes from intimate observation and personal experience. Of the early generation of modern women writers, however, she was unique in that she transcended the confines of autobiographical material to view Chinese society in a larger perspective. And, as an early associate of Hu Shih, she must be considered one of the pioneers of the new literature movement.

Ch'en Hsing-shen

West. S. S. Chern

Shiing-shen Chern

陳省身

Ch'en Hsing-shen (26 October 1911–), known as S. S. Chern, prominent mathematician, specialized in differential geometry and topology. He worked at the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton (1943–46) and directed the institute of mathematics of the Academia Sinica (1945–48). In 1949 he returned to the United States, where he became a professor at the University of Chicago and later at the University of California at Berkeley.

Chihsing (Kashung) hsien in Chekiang province was the birthplace of S. S. Chern. His father, Ch'en Pao-chen, was a government official who, in accordance with the practice of the time, served outside his native province. The

home was supervised by a grandmother who kept young Chern at home, where he began his education under tutors. His father, on one of his visits home, taught him the Arabic numerals and simple arithmetic. There was a copy of an arithmetic manual at home, and the boy began to work the problems, which he solved with ease.

His proficiency in mathematics enabled S. S. Chern to gain admission to the missionary-sponsored Kashung High School in 1920. In the autumn of 1922, the family moved to Tientsin, where Chern's father had been appointed to the local court. There Chern entered the Fulun Middle School, which was operated, principally for the children of railway workers, by the ministry of communications. He was graduated from the school in 1926. A friend of Ch'en Pao-chen, Ch'en Pao-tsung, was then a professor at Nankai University and a noted scholar who specialized in the history of Chinese mathematics. Chern decided to enter Nankai, which he did in the autumn of 1926.

Chern at first considered the study of physics and chemistry. But a few lessons in chemistry, particularly the laboratory experiments, revealed that he had no aptitude for the subject. Mathematics seemed to be the best alternative. Chern later stated that his field seemed to have been decided for him from the start—because he was not proficient in foreign languages or laboratory experiments. The chairman of the mathematics department at Nankai University was Chiang Li-fu. He and Hu Tah (T. Ming-fu) were the only Chinese at that time who had obtained the doctorate in mathematics from Harvard. Chiang Li-fu was on leave the year Chern entered Nankai, and he therefore studied differential and integral calculus with Chien Pao-tsung, his father's friend, who also taught him mechanics. When Chiang returned to Nankai, he was impressed by Chern and he introduced new courses which were at the time still unfamiliar in China, including linear algebra, the theory of functions of a complex variable, and differential geometry. Chern also studied German and French under Tuan Mou-lan and learned enough to read mathematical works in those languages.

Chern was graduated from Nankai with a B.S. degree in 1930, when he was 19. Tsinghua University had begun to establish a graduate program, and Chern began graduate study in

mathematics at Tsinghua. One of Chern's objectives was to study under Sun Tang, who had specialized in projective differential geometry and who had obtained his doctorate from the University of Chicago. Sun was at the time the only Chinese mathematician who wrote post-doctoral papers and published them in Western professional journals. While at Tsinghua, Chern published his first professional paper, "Pairs of Plane Curves with Points in One-to-one Correspondence," in *Tsinghua University Science Reports* (1932).

Because S. S. Chern was the only student seeking advanced instruction in mathematics, the university decided to postpone the inauguration of a graduate department of mathematics. During his first year at Tsinghua, Chern served as an assistant. He did not begin graduate studies until 1931, by which time there were other students in the department. In addition to Sun Tang, the professors included Hiong King-lai (Hsiung Ching-lai), Yang Wu-chih, and Cheng Tung-sun, whose daughter Chern later married. It was in 1931 that Hua Lo-keng (q.v.) first came to Tsinghua to serve as librarian in the department of mathematics. In 1932 Hu Kun-sheng, who had obtained his doctorate at the University of Chicago, came to Tsinghua as a lecturer. A number of distinguished Western professors, including George Birkhoff of Harvard University and Wilhelm Blaschke of the University of Hamburg, also visited China at that time. Impressed by a series of lectures on differential geometry given by Blaschke, Chern resolved to go to Hamburg for advanced work in mathematics.

Chern was at Tsinghua for four years, from 1930 to 1934. Mathematical studies were then developing rapidly in China, and Chinese work was beginning to gain international recognition. Chinese students were returning after study abroad, and a number of Chinese universities, notably Peking University, Chekiang University, Wuhan University, and Sun Yat-sen University at Canton, were making important strides forward in mathematics. The China Mathematical Society was formed in 1935, and the first issue of its journal appeared in 1936.

While at Tsinghua, S. S. Chern selected differential geometry as his field of specialization. The application of differential and integral calculus to geometry had long been studied, and after Einstein's enunciation of his theory of

relativity, many geometers had attempted to discover in geometry the prototypes of physics. After receiving his M.S. degree from Tsinghua in the summer of 1934, Chern received a fellowship for two years of study abroad. While the Tsinghua fellowships normally provided for study in the United States, Chern, because of his specialized interests, received permission to go to Germany. Still only in his early twenties, he had two papers dealing with problems of linear congruences accepted for publication in the Japanese *Tohoku Mathematical Journal*; they appeared in 1935.

Although created after the First World War, the mathematics faculty at Hamburg had rapidly gained a world reputation. In addition to Wilhelm Blaschke, there were two other distinguished professors, Emil Artin and Erich Hecke. Artin, who had gained a full professorship while in his twenties, was regarded as one of the creators of modern abstract algebra, though his interests covered virtually all fields of mathematics. On arrival at Hamburg, Chern first attracted attention by discovering a loop-hole in a recent paper of Blaschke's. Blaschke was pleased and told Chern to correct the error, which he did. Since Blaschke was frequently away from the university, Chern had more contact with Dr. E. Kaehler. Kaehler was then an assistant to Blaschke and had just completed the important paper dealing with Kaehler space. He had also written a book expounding the theories of the French mathematician Elie Cartan on differential equations, and discussions of this book at Hamburg led Chern to recognize the genius of Cartan. Indeed, his own doctoral dissertation dealt with "The Application of the Cartan Method to Differential Geometry." He completed the thesis in the autumn of 1935 but did not receive his D.Sc. degree until early 1936, when Blaschke returned to Germany.

Although Chern was invited to return to China to teach in 1936, he delayed his return for one year to work with Professor Cartan at Paris, aided by a fellowship from the China Foundation. The year at Paris was a critical one in the development of Chern's mathematical thinking, for Cartan was both an excellent teacher and an amiable counselor. Chern then prepared to return to Tsinghua in the summer of 1937. Before he left Paris, however, the Sino-Japanese war broke out. He revised his travel plans and went to Changsha and later to

Kunming, where he became professor of mathematics at Southwest Associated University and held that position for six years.

In 1943 Chern received an invitation to go to the United States to work at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. It was one of the major decisions of his life, since travel conditions were hazardous and his future was indefinite. Chern decided to accept the invitation and made the long journey by American military aircraft in July 1943, taking seven days to fly from Kunming to Miami, Florida, by way of India, Africa, and South America. Chern spent the remaining war years at Princeton. His work, which immediately attracted attention, was a new proof and generalization of the famous Gauss-Bonnet theorem. During the next few years he published a series of significant papers on differential geometry.

Earlier, in 1941, the Academia Sinica, China's principal center of advanced scholarly research, had decided to establish an institute of mathematics. Chiang Li-fu was named to undertake preliminary preparations. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, the institute was given temporary housing at Shanghai, and in the spring of 1946, S. S. Chern returned from the United States to take over its directorship. In July 1947 the institute of mathematics was formally established at Nanking. In March 1948 Chern was elected to membership in the Academia Sinica, one of 81 prominent Chinese scientists and scholars then so honored. The newly elected members held their first meeting at Nanking in September 1948 and appointed 32 men, including S. S. Chern, to the council of Academia Sinica, the executive group responsible for formulating national research policies and planning advanced research. In the following year, the deterioration of the military situation on the mainland led to a complete split in the work of the Academia Sinica. Only two of its constituent units, the institute of mathematics and the institute of history and philology (*see* Li Chi) were able to transport their equipment and libraries to Taiwan when the National Government moved to that island.

In the years between 1937 and 1948, S. S. Chern's work at the Southwest Associated University and at the institute of mathematics of the Academia Sinica had begun to leave its mark on the younger generation of Chinese mathematicians. With the advent of Commun-

nist control on the mainland, S. S. Chern made the difficult decision to leave China for the United States. In July 1949 he became professor of mathematics at the University of Chicago. Chern held that position for over a decade, during which time he consolidated his reputation as a leading figure in the field of pure mathematics. While a member of the faculty at Chicago, Chern lectured in the United States, Canada, Europe, and Latin America. During the academic year 1959-60 he was in Europe, where he spent most of his time in Paris. In July 1960 he became professor of mathematics at the University of California at Berkeley.

Chern's research in mathematics covered many fields: differential geometry, topology, algebraic geometry, and functions of several complex variables. He published notable articles in the *Journal of the Chinese Mathematical Society* in 1940 and in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* in the United States in 1943 extending the application of Cartan's methods. Thanks primarily to Chern's leadership, the methods of Cartan came to be widely used in differential geometry. There are certain so-called characteristic classes which have been a dominant theme in many recent investigations in differential geometry and topology. These classes are called the Chern characteristic classes. They were first discovered by Chern for the case of a complex analytic manifold in his 1946 paper in the *Annals of Mathematics*. The integral formula which he obtained in that paper is regarded as a milestone in differential geometry. The distinguished mathematician Heinz Hopf, commenting on Chern's contributions there, stated that they had created a new era in the field of geometry. Chern's unusual geometric insight was later demonstrated in important published papers that generalized, extended, and reformulated key topological concepts.

Chern's world reputation was indicated by the fact that he was twice invited to speak to the International Congress of Mathematicians (1950 and 1958). In 1960 he became the first Chinese to deliver the annual American Mathematical Society Colloquium Lectures. In April 1961, immediately after his naturalization as a United States citizen, he was elected to membership in the National Academy of Sciences. At various times he has served as editor of the *Proceedings of the American Mathematical Society* (1956), the *Transactions of the American Mathematical Society*

(1957-59), the *Illinois Journal of Mathematics* (1960-), and as associate editor of the *Annals of Mathematics*, the *American Journal of Mathematics*, the *Journal of Mathematics and Mechanics*, and the *Duke Mathematical Journal*. He was elected to membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1963 and served as a vice president of the American Mathematical Society in 1963-64. A full bibliography of S. S. Chern's professional papers through the year 1960 is to be found in the *Bibliography of Chinese Mathematics, 1918-1960*, prepared by Yuan T'ung-li (q.v.) and published in 1963.

While in Kunming during the war, Chern married Cheng Shih-ning on 28 July 1939. They had two children, a son and a daughter, whose English names were Paul and May.

Ch'en, K. P.: see CH'EN KUANG-FU.

Ch'en Keng

陳 廣

Ch'en Keng (1903-16 March 1961), Communist military commander, reportedly saved the life of Chiang Kai-shek at Waichow in 1925. He participated in the 1927 Nanchang uprising and in the Fourth Front Army campaigns against the Nationalists. During the Sino-Japanese war he commanded a brigade in the Eighth Route Army. From 1949 to 1955, in addition to holding high military posts, he was governor of Yunnan. In 1954 he became a vice minister of national defense and a deputy chief of staff.

A native of Hsianghsiang hsien, Hunan province, Ch'en Keng was born into a landlord family. Hsianghsiang was the native district of the renowned Tseng Kuo-fan (ECCP, II, 751-56), and because of his example the locality produced an unusually large number of military men. Ch'en Keng was reported to have begun classical studies at an early age. Nevertheless, at the age of 12 he left home to join the army, and for five years he served as a private in the army commanded by Lu Ti-p'ing (q.v.) in Hunan.

Ch'en left the army in 1921, and it appears that he came into contact with the leftist elements of the day. In 1922 he joined the Chinese Communist party. In 1924 he went to Canton and, after studying briefly in the Kwangtung Military School, enrolled in the Whampoa

Military Academy, and he was graduated with the first class. Both Chou En-lai and Nieh Jung-chen (qq.v.), at the time, respectively, political training chief and instructor at the academy, took a fancy to the youth, but this was probably because he was a member of the Communist party. He remained at Whampoa as a company commander, or junior instructor, of the fourth class of cadets. Early in 1925, Chiang Kai-shek personally led the cadet army in the eastern expedition against Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.). At one point during the attack on Ch'en Chiung-ming's stronghold of Waichow, Chiang was surrounded by enemy troops, and it was then that Ch'en Keng's alleged rescue of the academy president took place.

In 1926 Ch'en Keng was sent by the Canton government to the Soviet Union for a short period of study. He returned to China toward the end of the year. By that time the Northern Expedition was marching toward Wuhan, and the Hunan army of T'ang Sheng-chih (q.v.) had thrown in its lot with the revolutionaries to become the Eighth Army. Ch'en Keng joined this army as commander of a special service battalion.

Ch'en then went to Nanchang because Communist elements were assembling there in the summer of 1927. On 1 August 1927 he participated in the Nanchang uprising. The rebels, unable to hold Nanchang, marched southward with the aim of taking Canton. Ch'en Keng was seriously wounded in the leg while marching with his troops in the Chaochow-Swatow area in Kwangtung. In October, he succeeded after much difficulty in reaching Shanghai by way of Swatow and Hong Kong. He then established contact with the Communist party organization in Shanghai, which sent him for treatment to the orthopedic hospital headed by Dr. Niu Hui-lin, a brother of Niu Hui-sheng (q.v.). The wound in his left leg took several months to heal.

Ch'en Keng then remained in Shanghai for over three years, working as an underground agent under the assumed name of Wang. There he waged relentless war against the secret service men of the Kuomintang and against defectors from the Communist party.

In 1931 the Communist party sent Ch'en Keng to the newly created Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei soviet area, which was under the political control of Chang Kuo-t'ao (q.v.) and the military control of Hsu Hsiang-ch'i'en (q.v.). Ch'en became commander of the 12th Division of Hsu

Hsiang-ch'ien's Fourth Front Army. As the Communist forces in the region grew in strength, the National Government intensified its attacks against the soviet areas, and Ch'en and his comrades fought many battles against the government forces. Finally, in the fall of 1932, the National Government unleashed an offensive against the Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei area, and by October of that year the Communists had been forced to withdraw. The Fourth Front Army marched westward, eventually reaching Szechwan.

Ch'en took part in the early stage of this march and accompanied the retreating force as far as Nanyang in Honan. He had been wounded again, and his injury grew increasingly serious. It was decided that he should leave the troops and proceed to Shanghai for medical attention. He had to make full use of his ingenuity and resourcefulness in getting through the check posts established by the government, but he finally arrived in Shanghai and once more entered the hospital of Dr. Niu. His wound soon healed.

By this time the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party had moved from Shanghai to the central soviet area in Kiangsi, and a Shanghai bureau was organized to direct party affairs in the Shanghai area. The bureau decided that Ch'en should hide for a time and assigned him quarters at the home of K'ang Sheng (q.v.). In March 1933 it was decided that Ch'en Keng should proceed to the central soviet area in Kiangsi. On the eve of his planned departure from Shanghai, 24 March 1933, Ch'en Keng was arrested by the police of the Shanghai International Settlement. On 31 March, Ch'en Keng and four others arrested at about the same time, one of them being Liao Ch'eng-chih (q.v.), were handed over to the Chinese government authorities.

It was at this point that Chiang Kai-shek reportedly remembered that Ch'en Keng had saved his life a decade before. Ch'en was moved from Shanghai to Nanking and then sent to Nanchang, where Chiang had his headquarters for directing the campaigns against the Communists in the countryside. Ch'en Keng was brought before Chiang Kai-shek, who attempted to persuade the former Whampoa cadet to defect to the government side, promising him command of a division. Ch'en rejected the offer and was taken back to prison in Nanking. Toward the end of May 1933 he succeeded in

escaping, made his way to Shanghai, and then immediately proceeded to the central soviet area in Kiangsi.

On arrival at Juichin, Ch'en Keng was named president of the Red Army Academy. He served in that post until the Communists withdrew from Kiangsi and retreated on the Long March. During the march, Ch'en Keng commanded the unit made up of cadets of the Juichin Academy. At the Chin-sha river in Szechwan, Ch'en and his cadets held an important bridge for five days until the main forces of the Red Army arrived and drove off the Nationalists. On arrival in Shensi Ch'en was given the command of the 1st Division of the Red Army, and Lin Piao (q.v.) took over the presidency of the military academy.

Following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, the Red Army was reorganized into the Eighth Route Army under the National Government (later the official designation was changed to the Eighteenth Group Army, but the earlier name was better known). Ch'en Keng became the commander of the 386th Brigade of the 129th Division, which was under the command of Liu Po-ch'eng (q.v.). From 1944 to 1947 he was also commander of the Taiyueh military area, which formed a part of the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan border area, where the 129th Division operated during the war with Japan.

During the Kuomintang-Communist peace negotiations in 1946, Ch'en Keng served as the Communist representative on the Taiyuan field team under the Peiping Executive Headquarters. The peace negotiations failed, and civil war broke out on all fronts in the latter part of 1946. Liu Po-ch'eng's forces were designated as the Central Plain Field Army, and Ch'en Keng became the commander of the 4th column of this army. The field army was later renamed the Second Field Army, and Ch'en Keng's column became the Fourth Army Group.

In the sweeping victories of the Chinese Communists in 1949, the Second Field Army joined the Third Field Army commanded by Ch'en Yi (q.v.) in the conquest of the provinces of east China. The Second Field Army then joined the Fourth Field Army commanded by Lin Piao in the conquest of the southern regions. Finally, the Second Field Army took part in the conquest of the southwest. After the occupation of Yunnan, Ch'en Keng was appointed governor

of that province, a post he held till 1955. He was also deputy commander of the Southwest military district.

When the Chinese Communists entered the war in Korea in 1950 with the despatch of the so-called people's volunteers, Ch'en Keng was made deputy commander of the volunteers. That appointment was generally interpreted as marking recognition of Ch'en's military abilities by the highest authorities at Peking.

In 1954, on the reorganization of the Peking government after the adoption of its constitution, Ch'en Keng became a member of the National Defense Council. He was also appointed to be a vice minister of national defense and a deputy chief of staff. He held the rank of senior general in the army, the highest rank below that of marshal. In 1955, Ch'en was among those who received all military awards issued by the Peking government at that time.

At the Eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist party in 1956, Ch'en Keng was elected a full member of the Central Committee. From the spring of 1956 to early 1957, he served as acting chief of the general staff during the temporary incapacity of the incumbent Su Yu (q.v.). Ch'en Keng died at Shanghai on 16 March 1961 of a heart ailment. He was survived by his wife and several children.

Ch'en Keng's appearance was reported by the American writer Edgar Snow, who met him in the northwest in 1936. Ch'en then reportedly had a boyish manner, red cheeks, and a ready smile; he was good-looking by Western standards, with large eyes and an un-Chinese, upturned nose. He was regarded as being an able military officer. An activist by temperament, he enjoyed military operations in the field, but had little interest in theoretical studies. Certainly he had a sustained and virtually continuous record of active service in all major military campaigns undertaken by the Chinese Communist forces. Of all the leading figures in the Chinese Communist military forces, Ch'en Keng was perhaps the man least involved in political or party affairs.

Ch'en Kuang-fu

T. Hui-te
West. K. P. Chen

陳光甫
輝德

Ch'en Kuang-fu (1880-), known as K. P. Ch'en,

banker, founded and developed the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank, using modern Western methods. He played an important role as representative of the National Government in negotiations with the United States regarding silver purchases (1936) and economic aid to China. He was a member of the wartime Currency Stabilization Board (1941-43).

Although born into a business family in the Chinkiang district of Kiangsu province, K. P. Ch'en did not have a formal education. Financial reverses forced his father to leave Chinkiang for Hankow, where he found employment in a customs brokerage firm. The young K. P. Ch'en, apprenticed in the same firm at the age of twelve sui, spent the next seven years working in the company, where he obtained his initial experience in Chinese business and trading procedures. In the evening, he studied the English language in a private school. By the time he was 19 sui, he had become reasonably fluent in English. He then passed the examinations for the Chinese postal service and worked for a year and a half as a postal clerk. He resigned that position to become an interpreter at the Hanyang Arsenal.

K. P. Ch'en made his first trip to the United States in 1904, when he served as an attaché with the Hupeh provincial delegation to the International Exposition held at St. Louis. Instead of returning to China with the delegation, he chose to remain in the United States to study. From 1904 until 1906 he attended Simpson College at Indianola, Iowa, and Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio. In 1906 he went to Philadelphia, where he entered the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania. After being graduated with a business degree in 1910, he returned to China. At that time, the Nanyang Industrial Exposition was being held under the sponsorship of the governor general for the Liang-kiang provinces, and Ch'en worked at the exhibition for a time. He was then employed in the office of the governor general as foreign affairs secretary.

In December 1911 K. P. Ch'en was appointed general manager of the Kiangsu Bank, and was charged with the task of rehabilitating that bank—which had been mismanaged for some time. He held the position for about two years, applying the modern banking theories which he

had learned at Wharton. He introduced several innovations in the operation of the Kiangsu Bank. It had been customary for the provincial bank to be located at the seat of the provincial government, but K. P. Ch'en moved the bank's head office to Shanghai, China's financial and trading center. Instead of emphasizing note issue as a principal source of the bank's profit and working capital, he concentrated on attracting deposits. Moreover, he stipulated that the bank should cease to be the instrument of the provincial government, which had been able to make excessive demand on its resources, and that loans should be granted only in accordance with sound credit procedures and policies. The first bank in China to extend commercial credit on commodities and to establish its own warehouse facilities for such lending operations, the Kiangsu Bank also pioneered in inviting Western accountants to audit its books regularly. Nonetheless, the position of the Kiangsu Bank as a provincial institution rendered it vulnerable to the pressure of politics, and when the new governor of Kiangsu gave evidence of obstructing his banking policies, K. P. Ch'en resigned his position in March 1914.

That experience convinced Ch'en of the difficulty of maintaining either stability or integrity in a financial enterprise with government connections in China. He therefore resolved to start a private bank and, with the support of a few friends, founded the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank (*Shanghai shang-yeh ch'u-hsü yin-hang*). Among these supporters were fellow students in the United States and some senior members of the staffs of the customs, postal, and salt gabelle services in China, men who shared K. P. Ch'en's vision and were prepared to sacrifice their well paid and secure jobs in these foreign-controlled services to work for the development of the new enterprise.

The new bank opened in June 1915. With a paid-up capital of only CN\$50 thousand, it was then the smallest bank in Shanghai. It faced competition from the large foreign banks in China; from the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications, both of which had government connections and were authorized to issue bank notes; from ten or more private commercial banks; and from scores of native banks. Despite these inauspicious beginnings, K. P. Ch'en's bank soon proved to be a successful

enterprise. In the years between 1915 and the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, the bank's capital rose from CN\$50 thousand to CN\$5 million, and its deposits increased from CN\$340 thousand to CN\$196 million. By 1937 the Bank employed a staff of some 1,700 people; its branches and sub-offices, totaling more than 80, scattered throughout China, were exceeded in number only by those of the Bank of China and those of the Bank of Communications. By the mid-1930's, the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank was known as the most progressive commercial bank in China. K. P. Ch'en served as general manager of the bank for about 30 years, from 1915 until 1944 when he became chairman of its board of directors. During those years, his concern with public service and his progressive policies opened new frontiers for modern banking in China.

Because contemporary Chinese banking practices offered little incentive for individual saving, K. P. Ch'en paid special attention to the development of the savings bank phase of the business. He encouraged individual savings deposits through a policy of permitting savings accounts to be opened with as little as CN\$1. That measure attracted a large number of small depositors, who initially were interested in the novelty of the system, but who soon developed the habit of regular saving. The success of the measure led other banks, which previously had been reluctant to accept small accounts, to create and develop savings departments. K. P. Ch'en also took the lead in introducing various new types of savings programs. These included deposit by installment and withdrawal in a lump sum, or the reverse, educational savings, and savings for home-building. Mechanization of the accounting and other procedures was effected as far as was practical.

As the bank's resources grew, K. P. Ch'en devoted special attention to developing credit operations, which were generally neglected by Chinese banks of that period. He built special warehouse facilities for the storage of goods held by the bank as security against loans. The Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank was also the first in China to extend credit for financing inventories of factories, either raw materials or manufactured goods, on the condition that the borrowing company open its books for examination by the bank's representatives. The bank was also a pioneer in extending

credit on goods in transit. As early as 1917, the bank opened special offices near the railroad stations at Shanghai and Nanking to handle loans against bills of lading on goods consigned for rail shipment. Later, these operations were extended to other rail centers in China.

Because of unsettled conditions in the rural areas, most Chinese banks of that period concentrated their business in the foreign concessions of a few major cities. K. P. Ch'en not only recognized the desirability of extending operations into the interior, where modern banking facilities were urgently needed, but also took practical steps to meet that need. He began by opening branches in commercial centers in Kiangsu province and gradually extended operations to other provinces, including Chekiang, Anhwei, Kiangsi, Hupeh, Hunan, Honan, Shantung, and Hopei. By 1934 the loans granted through these branches amounted to more than half of the total credit extended by the bank, and these operations did much to reduce interest rates in rural areas. K. P. Ch'en, however, avoided establishing branches in the Northeastern provinces, despite the fact that many prominent figures in that region were personal friends. Even after the nominal extension of Nationalist political control into Manchuria, he anticipated the troubles which lay ahead there and avoided the region. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, the bank did open new branches in Kwangsi, Szechwan, and Yunnan.

Although it was a commercial bank, the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank began in 1931 to operate in the field of agricultural credit. Two years later, its head office at Shanghai established a rural cooperative credit department, renamed the agricultural department in 1934. Working through agricultural cooperatives, the bank extended loans in rural communities for financing the production, marketing, and storage of agricultural produce. By 1934, loans issued by that department totaled CN\$4.4 million. Prior to the Sino-Japanese war, the agricultural sections of the bank's branches at Nanking, Chengchow, Changsha, Peng-p'u, Tsinan, Sian, Hankow, and Canton played an active role in assisting rural cooperatives, encouraging improvement in farm production methods, and improving transportation and marketing of agricultural products.

The Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank was one of the first modern private banks in China to engage in foreign exchange operations, which had previously been dominated by the foreign banks. K. P. Ch'en recognized the importance of ending that domination in order to assist the more rational development of China's foreign trade. A foreign exchange department was established in the bank's head office at Shanghai in 1918, and selected personnel were sent to correspondent banks in the United States and England to study foreign exchange practices. When the business expanded, K. P. Ch'en opened a branch in Hong Kong in 1933 to handle foreign exchange, particularly remittances from overseas Chinese to various parts of China, all using Hong Kong as the clearing house.

K. P. Ch'en's attention was directed to other fields closely related to commercial banking. In 1931 his bank opened a trust department, began the renting of safety deposit boxes, and later extended activities to include insurance, real estate operations, and the purchase and sale of securities for customers, but not underwriting. Loans were given to students to pay their tuition and to teachers in need of financial help, and sub-offices were maintained at some leading universities and schools to handle these operations. In the field of insurance, the bank operated three subsidiaries: the China First Fidelity Insurance Company, which specialized in insurance for commercial credit; the Ta-hua Insurance Company, which handled fire and marine insurance; and the China Assurance (Pao-feng) Company, operated in cooperation with the British firm of Butterfield and Swire.

One of the best-known subsidiaries of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank was its very successful travel department, patterned after such organizations as Thomas Cook and Sons, the American Express Company, and the Japan Tourist Bureau. Established in 1923, the travel department acted as agent for the purchase of railroad and steamship tickets, sold domestic travelers checks, and handled travelers checks issued by foreign banks. In 1927 the department became a subsidiary of the bank and was renamed the China Travel Service (Chung-kuo lü-hsing she). The China Travel Service sponsored organized tours, provided travel assistance to students going abroad and to overseas Chinese returning to China, and

published a travel magazine, the *Lü-hsing tsa-chih* [traveler's magazine]. In 1935 it opened two hotels, the Metropolitan Hotel at Nanking and the Siking Hotel at Sian. Hotels on a more modest scale were later opened at Tsingtao, Hsuchow, Chengchow, Kiukiang, and other centers where branches of the service were located. During the Sino-Japanese war, the service established and operated a series of hostels in southwest China to provide accommodations for wartime refugees. An outstandingly efficient and reliable organization in a period when facilities for travel in China were crowded at best and chaotic at worst, the China Travel Service established an outstanding international reputation.

In addition to these contributions to the modernization of Chinese banking, K. P. Ch'en played an important role as a representative of his country in international financial negotiations both before and during the Sino-Japanese war. His first significant work in this field was in connection with the Chinese currency reform of November 1935, when the National Government abandoned the silver standard in favor of a managed paper currency. That reform required the nationalization of silver, the withdrawal of silver dollars from circulation, and the creation of a foreign exchange reserve for the Chinese currency. The success of the reform depended largely upon the ability of China to convert its silver stocks into foreign exchange, and the only potential purchaser of Chinese silver was the United States. In March 1936, K. P. Ch'en went to Washington as head of the Chinese Silver Mission. After several weeks of negotiation, an agreement was signed on 14 May 1936 under which the United States agreed to purchase from China 75,000,000 ounces of silver. That agreement substantially strengthened the currency reserve of the Chinese government and the confidence of the Chinese public in the new currency. The accumulation in foreign exchange also facilitated the Chinese purchase of arms in the face of the general Japanese aggression beginning in the summer of 1937.

During the first year of the Sino-Japanese war, the United States government took no positive steps to extend economic aid to China. Not until the Japanese invasion engulfed Hankow and Canton in December 1938 and forced the National Government to withdraw to Chung-

king was Washington shocked into a sense of moderate crisis and impelled to go beyond the simple purchase of Chinese silver. In December 1938, following detailed negotiations conducted by K. P. Ch'en in Washington, the United States government agreed to grant a loan of US\$25 million, to be extended by the Export-Import Bank and secured by tung oil shipments from China. The agreement between the Export-Import Bank and the Universal Trading Corporation, a company established in New York by the Chinese government to facilitate the procurement of materials from the United States, was signed on 8 February 1939. The success of the tung oil loan opened the way for K. P. Ch'en to proceed with negotiations to obtain badly needed credits for China. A second agreement was signed on 20 April 1940, providing for an additional credit of US\$20 million to China to be repaid by tin exports from Yunnan province. These two loans spearheaded American wartime assistance to China, and later credits were patterned on these initial agreements negotiated by K. P. Ch'en.

Ch'en returned to Chungking in June 1940 and turned his attention to wartime economic and financial problems in China. From 1938 until 1941 he served as chairman of the newly created foreign trade commission of the ministry of finance, then headed by H. H. K'ung (q.v.). An important organ, the foreign trade commission had primary responsibility at Chungking for supervising the export of tung oil and tin in repayment of the United States loans, as well as for the export of bristles, tea, and other Chinese products. In connection with these duties, K. P. Ch'en served concurrently as chairman of two government trading companies, Foo Hsing (Fu-hsing) and Foo Hua (Fu-hua), and supervised the collection and shipment of these basic export commodities.

In April 1940 the United States Treasury and the British government granted credit to the Central Bank of China amounting to US\$50 million and £5 million, respectively. These credits, together with a loan of US\$20 million to other Chinese government banks, amounted to approximately US\$90 million, which was to be administered by a specially organized Currency Stabilization Board. The purpose of the fund was to purchase excess Chinese notes from the market and to finance imports to foreign concessions in Shanghai and Tientsin,

with a view to slowing down the depreciation of the fapi (legal currency) notes in the market. The membership of the board consisted of three Chinese, one American, and one Englishman. K. P. Ch'en, who was strongly supported by the American Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., was chosen as chairman, with Chi Ch'ao-ting (q.v.) as his alternate. Tsuyee Pei (Pei Tsu-yi, q.v.) of the Bank of China and Hsi Te-mou of the Central Bank were the other two Chinese members.

After the Japanese defeat in 1945, K. P. Ch'en returned to Shanghai. He was called upon to head the foreign exchange stabilization fund committee in 1947 and 1948, was made a member of the State Council in 1947, attended the National Assembly at Nanking which adopted the new constitution of the Republic of China, and was elected a member of the Legislative Yuan. Always an active supporter of modern education for China, he was elected chairman of the board of Nanking University. His major enterprise after his return to Shanghai, however, was the rehabilitation of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank.

The rapid deterioration in the economic situation in China forced Ch'en to concentrate on salvage rather than on development. When the Communist forces occupied north China at the beginning of 1949, Ch'en withdrew with his key staff members and the central records of the bank to Hong Kong. There he began preparations to reorganize the Hong Kong branch of his bank. When Great Britain extended diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China in January 1950, all Chinese banks in Hong Kong which had head offices on the mainland, led by the Bank of China, went over to Peking. The sole exception was the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank. K. P. Ch'en announced that the Hong Kong office of his bank had severed connections with Shanghai. He then reorganized it as a new entity, the Shanghai Commercial Bank, incorporated in Hong Kong under the laws of that British colony. In October 1954, with the special permission of the National Government, the administrative head office of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank, that is, the bank which had had its headquarters at Shanghai, was moved to Taiwan.

The bank in Hong Kong, the Shanghai Commercial Bank, was technically a new and

separate bank. It was operated principally by Ch'en's old associates who accompanied him from Shanghai to Hong Kong in 1949. K. P. Ch'en himself, who reached the age of 80 in 1960, remained active and regularly visited his office at the bank. He served as chairman of the board of both the bank in Hong Kong and that in Taiwan.

Generally regarded as republican China's leading representative of the American type of commercial banking, K. P. Ch'en was unquestionably influenced by his training at Wharton and by his later contacts with American banks and bankers. Yet, his devotion to the American spirit of enterprise was tempered by a realistic recognition of the necessity of molding Western theories to conform with indigenous business traditions and practices. That realism may be partly attributed to his native background, since his home district of Chinkiang has long been one of the centers of native banking in Kiangsu. His youthful experience in customs brokerage in Hankow was later supplemented by broad practical experience in assessing the banking needs of republican China and in dealing with Chinese commercial and fiscal problems.

Ch'en Kung-po

陳公博

Ch'en Kung-po (19 October 1892?–3 June 1946), one of the earliest Communists in China, broke with that party in 1922 and became identified with the left wing of the Kuomintang. After 1926 his career was closely associated with that of Wang Ching-wei, as a member of the "reorganization faction" (1928–31), as minister of industry (1932–35), and as a leading figure in the Japanese-sponsored government at Nanking (1940–45).

The Hakka ancestors of Ch'en Kung-po had moved from Fukien to settle in Juyuan hsien in Kwangtung province near the Hunan border. His father, Ch'en Chih-mei (d. 1912), for his part in the government military campaigns against the Taiping rebels, had been promoted to provincial commander in chief and was serving in Kwangsi when Kung-po, his only son, was born. Unable to obtain a substantive appointment, Ch'en Chih-mei retired to live in Canton. A person of some standing in the anti-Manchu San-ho-hui [triad society], he began to work in

secret with revolutionary groups connected with Sun Yat-sen. In 1907 he returned to Juyuan to organize an uprising of the secret societies in the Kwangtung-Hunan border region, taking his son, then 15, with him as confidential secretary. The venture miscarried, and the elder Ch'en surrendered himself to the authorities, was tried, and was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Until 1907 Ch'en Kung-po had lived in comfortable circumstances, receiving the conventional education in the Chinese classics as well as some military training of the traditional sort. At the time of his father's arrest he escaped to Hong Kong, where he obtained employment as proofreader for a newspaper operated by the revolutionary party. In the following year, after official interest in his father's case had subsided, he returned to Canton. Although his father's imprisonment had left the family in very straitened circumstances, by working part time he was able to attend the Yü-ts'ai Academy, where for three years he studied English and other subjects.

In October 1911, when the revolutionaries in Kwangtung declared the province independent of the Manchu government, Ch'en's father, then over 80, was released from prison, was proclaimed a hero, and was elected to the republican provincial assembly. Ch'en himself, not yet 20 years old, was chosen a member of the hsien council of Juyuan and a staff officer in the local people's army. His father, however, believed him to be too young and inexperienced to hold such posts and ordered him to relinquish them. Early in 1912 the young Ch'en returned to the Yü-ts'ai Academy as an instructor. Two years later he enrolled in the College of Law and Government at Canton, while supporting himself by working as a reporter for a Hong Kong newspaper. He found that he had little interest in law, and after graduation in 1917, he decided to take up the study of philosophy at National Peking University.

At that time Peking University, under its new chancellor, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei (q.v.), was the center of an intellectual ferment aroused by the new culture movement and by the literary renaissance then being advocated by Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Hu Shih (qq.v.), and other members of the faculty in the famous *Hsin ch'ing-nien* [new youth]. Under the influence of these professors, student organizations and magazines sprang up,

and in 1919 the student demonstrations during the May Fourth Movement aroused the youth of the whole country to a new sense of patriotism and political awareness. Stimulated by such professors as Li Ta-chao (q.v.), many students at Peking University began to take interest in the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and in the doctrines of Marx and Lenin. By the summer of 1920 Communist cells had been formed in Shanghai by Ch'en Tu-hsiu and in Peking by Li Ta-chao and others. However, these events appear to have made little impression upon Ch'en Kung-po at that time. He spent most of his time studying, and except for his roommate, T'an P'ing-shan (q.v.), and a few other Cantonese friends, he had little to do with his fellow students at Peking University.

After graduation in the summer of 1920, Ch'en Kung-po left with T'an P'ing-shan for Canton, where they took up teaching positions, Ch'en at the School of Law and Government, and T'an at the Higher Normal College. They also established a newspaper, the *Ch'ün-pao* [the masses], which later was subsidized indirectly by Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.), the new governor of Kwangtung. Ch'en Kung-po and members of the newspaper staff were approached by two Russian agents of the Communist International, who had come from Ch'en Tu-hsiu in Shanghai with the proposal that a Communist organization be set up in Canton. Discouraged by the existing political chaos in China and impressed by the achievements of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, Ch'en and T'an P'ing-shan were won over to the Communist cause and agreed to take part in the organization of a Communist party nucleus and a socialist youth corps in Canton. As teachers and journalists, they were able to attract a number of young intellectuals to the new organization. In the winter of 1920, their efforts were aided by Ch'en Tu-hsiu, who had come to Canton at the invitation of Ch'en Chiung-ming to head the Kwangtung education commission. Ch'en Tu-hsiu set up a provincial publicity bureau and appointed Ch'en Kung-po as its director, with a view to using the new bureau to further Communist propaganda and organizational activities in the Canton area.

In July 1921, Ch'en Kung-po was sent to Shanghai by Ch'en Tu-hsiu to attend the First Congress of the Chinese Communist party as one of the delegates from the Communist group in

Canton. He was unfavorably impressed by the congress, and before the final meeting was held, he and his new bride, who had accompanied him to Shanghai, left for Hangchow.

After the formal establishment of the Chinese Communist party in July 1921, Ch'en returned to Canton, and as director of the organization department of the Kwangtung branch, which T'an P'ing-shan headed, was successful in increasing the membership of the party and the Socialist Youth Corps and in extending the party's influence among the working classes in Canton.

In the following months, Ch'en was disturbed by growing doubts about the validity of Communist ideas. Because he thought that his knowledge of the democratic system was inadequate, he decided, with Ch'en Tu-hsiu's approval, to go to the United States for further study. However, his departure was delayed by Ch'en Chiung-ming's coup of June 1922 in Canton. Some weeks after the coup, the Chinese Communist leaders, at a special plenum of the Central Committee at Hangchow, adopted a resolution calling for collaboration with Sun Yat-sen in his struggles against Ch'en Chiung-ming and other militarists. Because of Ch'en Kung-po's connections with the *Chün-pao* in Canton, the Communist party leadership suspected him of supporting Ch'en Chiung-ming against Sun Yat-sen and summoned him to party headquarters in Shanghai to question him about his alleged breach of party discipline. These suspicions and what he regarded as the party's interference with his plans to study abroad angered Ch'en Kung-po; he wrote a letter to Ch'en Tu-hsiu in Shanghai denying his alleged association with Ch'en Chiung-ming. On the following day, he announced his withdrawal from the party to his comrades in Canton, and early in November he sailed for Japan on the way to the United States.

In January 1923, while Ch'en Kung-po was stopping over in Japan, he had several meetings with Sun Yat-sen's lieutenant, Liao Chung-k'ai (q.v.), who was then in Japan to discuss with the Russian diplomat Adolf Joffe details of cooperation between Soviet Russia and the Kuomintang. Ch'en left Japan in mid-February and arrived in New York soon thereafter. He then enrolled as a graduate student in the department of economics of Columbia University. While supporting himself by teaching in Chinese schools in New York's Chinatown,

he earned an M.A. degree in 1924 after writing a thesis entitled "The Communist Movement in China," in which he described the background and early history of the party. Apart from his course work, which was largely in the field of economics, Ch'en studied the writings of Marx and Engels. He found their theories of the class struggle and of surplus value to be at odds with the facts of American economic life. At the same time, he dismissed as untenable the doctrines of Adam Smith and the British school of liberalism. Perhaps as a result of his earlier discussions with Liao Chung-k'ai in Japan, he came to the conclusion that Sun Yat-sen's principle of the people's livelihood was the doctrine most suitable for China's economic and social reconstruction.

Ch'en Kung-po left Columbia in February 1925 before completing his doctorate to accept an invitation from Liao Chung-k'ai in Canton to teach at National Kwangtung University. Arriving in Canton shortly after the death of Sun Yat-sen, Ch'en became professor at Kwangtung University and for a time served as its acting chancellor. Backed by Liao Chung-k'ai, he also became a member of the reorganized Kuomintang and rose quickly in the party and in the government. After the establishment of the National Government at Canton in July 1925, the Kwangtung provincial government was reorganized with Liao Chung-k'ai as governor and with Ch'en Kung-po as head of the department of workers and peasants. After Liao's assassination in August, Ch'en became chief of the Kuomintang peasant department and also served as head of the political training department of the Military Council of the National Government. At that time the Military Council was under the chairmanship of Wang Ching-wei (q.v.).

In January 1926 Ch'en's position within the Kuomintang was further advanced by his election to the Central Executive Committee at the Second National Congress in Canton. During his rapid rise in the party hierarchy, however, he came under attack both from the Communists in the Canton regime, who regarded him as a renegade, and from some of the older, non-Communist members of the Kuomintang, who suspected him of still being a Communist. Because of Communist pressure, Ch'en was replaced as head of the political training department by the leftist Teng Yen-ta (q.v.), but in

June 1926, with the launching of the Northern Expedition under Chiang Kai-shek (q.v.), he was appointed head of the bureau of political affairs in the general headquarters of the National Revolutionary Army. Following the capture of the Wuhan cities in October by the Nationalist forces, Ch'en was named commissioner of finance in the new Hupeh provincial government. He also served as interim commissioner of foreign affairs in Hupeh until the foreign minister, Eugene Ch'en (q.v.), and his party arrived in Hankow. Three months later, after the occupation of Kiangsi by the National Revolutionary Army, he was transferred to Nanchang as head of the Kiangsi political council, the top post in that provincial government.

When the National Government moved from Canton to Wuhan at the beginning of 1927, a conflict arose in the Kuomintang between the left-wing and Communist elements who controlled the new regime in Wuhan, and a new right-wing faction, centered about Chiang Kai-shek, who favored Nanchang, and later Nanking, as the seat of the National Government. When the breach between the two factions widened, Ch'en Kung-po joined the leftist regime in Wuhan, in which he soon became a prominent figure. He was elected a member of the standing committee of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee and was named director of the party's department of workers in March 1927.

To offset the growing military power of Chiang Kai-shek, the Wuhan government called for the return to leadership of Wang Ching-wei, then absent in Europe. After Wang's arrival at Hankow in April 1927, Ch'en Kung-po became one of his most consistent supporters, both in Wang's opposition to the Nanking regime and in his efforts to curb the rising power of the Communists in the Wuhan area. In June, he stood behind Wang in the latter's decision to dissolve the alliance with the Communists and to expel them from the Kuomintang. Late in the summer of 1927 he took part in Wang's efforts to heal the breach between the Wuhan and Nanking regimes, and when Wang broke off further negotiations and angrily left Nanking, Ch'en also withdrew. In October, Ch'en went to Canton as Wang's representative to cooperate with general Chang Fa-k'uei (q.v.) in setting up a new regime in opposition to Nanking. Ch'en was placed in charge of civil affairs in Kwang-

tung province and held office until the Canton Commune took place in December 1927. Although the Communists were crushed almost immediately by Chang Fa-k'uei's troops, Ch'en was forced to resign under sharp criticism from his political enemies in the Kuomintang right wing, who held him responsible for failing to prevent the uprising.

In December 1927 Wang Ching-wei departed for Europe. In his absence Ch'en Kung-po became the leading spokesman for the kai-ts'u p'ai [reorganization faction], a leftist group within the Kuomintang which opposed the increasing power of Chiang Kai-shek. Early in 1928 Ch'en left Canton for Shanghai and in May began to publish the *Ko-ming p'ing-lun* [revolutionary critique], a weekly magazine which reflected the political views of this group. In the magazine Ch'en engaged in a heated war of words with Wu Chih-hui (q.v.), one of the Kuomintang old guard in Nanking who had made a bitter attack upon Wang Ching-wei. Before it was suppressed by order of the Nanking government in September, the *Ko-ming p'ing-lun* had gained a wide circulation, and through his articles Ch'en had begun to exert a broad influence among students, workers, and the younger members of the Kuomintang. During this period he also took part in founding Ta-lu University in Shanghai, which in May 1929 was closed by the National Government.

Meanwhile, in the winter of 1928, Ch'en Kung-po and other members of the Kuomintang left wing in Shanghai organized the Kuomintang kai-ts'u t'ung-chih hui [society of comrades for Kuomintang reorganization]. In the spring, Ch'en, Ku Meng-yu (q.v.), and others of the reorganization faction began publication of the *Min-hsin chou-k'an* [public opinion weekly], in which they called upon the Kuomintang to return to the spirit and ideals of the 1924 reorganization, when the party had drawn its strength from the peasants, the workers, and the bourgeoisie. In a move against the reorganization clique and other dissident elements in the party, the Kuomintang headquarters in Nanking planned a third party congress, from which most of the left-wing delegates were to be excluded. On 12 March 1929, three days before the congress was scheduled to open, Ch'en joined Wang Ching-wei and a dozen other party leaders in a manifesto which denounced the meeting as being illegal. In response, the congress, dominated by

supporters of Chiang Kai-shek, permanently dismissed Ch'en from the Kuomintang and threatened similar action against Wang and other members of his group.

Following his expulsion, Ch'en Kung-po was active in a number of attempts by the reorganization faction to overthrow the Nanking regime. In February 1930, Wang Ching-wei, joined Feng Yü-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan (qq.v.), two of the leading military opponents of Chiang Kai-shek, with a view to establishing a rival government and a party organization in north China. In March, Ch'en went to Tientsin and as Wang's representative played an important part in preparations for a so-called enlarged congress of the Kuomintang, which was held in Peiping in August. A national government was established in Peiping under Yen Hsi-shan, and a new Kuomintang organization, in opposition to the one in Nanking, was set up under Wang Ching-wei. Ch'en Kung-po was a member of its organization department. After the defeat of the anti-Chiang coalition in September 1930, Ch'en fled with remnants of the enlarged congress to Taiyuan, the capital of Yen Hsi-shan's stronghold in Shansi. When the enlarged congress finally dispersed in November, Ch'en left Taiyuan for Hong Kong and soon afterward sailed for Europe.

Ch'en remained abroad until the Japanese invaded Manchuria in September 1931. That crisis caused many of the factions in the Kuomintang to set aside their differences in the interests of national unity. After returning to China, Ch'en joined Wang Ching-wei in making peace with the Nanking regime. In October 1931 the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang reinstated Ch'en and other members who had been expelled for political reasons. At the Fourth National Congress, held in the following month, Wang Ching-wei, Ch'en Kung-po, and others of the reorganization faction were restored to membership on the Central Executive Committee. With the reorganization of the National Government in the winter of 1931-32, Wang emerged as president of the Executive Yuan, and Ch'en became minister of industry.

Ch'en Kung-po remained as minister in the National Government for the duration of the Wang-Chiang coalition at Nanking. That period of uneasy collaboration came to an end with the attempted assassination of Wang early

in November 1935 and with his withdrawal from the government the following month. At that time Ch'en also resigned and soon after departed for Europe, where for the next ten months he traveled through Germany and Italy. Returning to China in 1937, after the outbreak of the war with Japan, he and Wang Ching-wei rejoined the National Government. Ch'en was given the relatively unimportant post of chairman of the government committee on cooperative enterprises and also served as head of the people's training department of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee.

During the first year of the war, Wang Ching-wei became increasingly discouraged over the eventual outcome and proposed to the National Government that it negotiate a peaceful settlement with Japan. Strongly rebuffed by Chiang Kai-shek and other Kuomintang leaders, Wang suddenly left the wartime capital of Chungking in December 1938 and flew to Hanoi. Although Ch'en Kung-po shared Wang's pessimism about the war, he was said to have disagreed with Wang's plans to desert the National Government and to have joined Wang at Hanoi with the intention of persuading him to reconsider his decision. That attempt proved unsuccessful. Reluctant to return to Chungking, but as yet unwilling to take part in Wang's activities, Ch'en spent several months of indecision in Hong Kong. During the winter of 1939 he continued to attempt to dissuade his friend from collaboration with the Japanese. Wang, however, was not to be deterred, and finally, on the strength of their long and close association, Ch'en reluctantly decided to support Wang in a Japanese-sponsored regime at Nanking.

With the inauguration of the puppet national government on 30 March 1940, Ch'en Kung-po became president of its legislative yuan and the ranking official in the regime after Wang Ching-wei. He also held the post of vice chairman of the government's military committee, and in November 1940 he became mayor of Shanghai. It was in August 1943, while he was still serving in this latter position, that the International Settlement and the French concession of Shanghai were returned to China by international agreement, and as mayor, Ch'en also became head of the eighth municipal district, formerly the French concession. Although he held high rank in the Wang regime, Ch'en's political influence was completely overshadowed by that

of his colleague Chou Fo-hai (q.v.), Wang's minister of finance. Ch'en, moreover, was said to have had little enthusiasm for his role in the puppet government and to have maintained throughout a detached, negative attitude. Nevertheless, when the ailing Wang Ching-wei left for medical treatment in Japan in March 1944, Ch'en agreed to serve during his absence as acting chairman of the regime. After Wang's death in Japan, he assumed the leadership of the Nanking government on 20 November 1944.

In August 1945, after the surrender of Japan to the allies, Ch'en Kung-po flew to Japan to escape possible violence from the anti-Japanese underground in the Nanking area. As head of the puppet regime, he was brought back to Nanking early in October to be tried for conspiring with the enemy against his country. During the winter of 1945-46, while under detention at Nanking, Ch'en composed a memoir of the preceding eight years of his life entitled *Pa-nien-lai ti hui-i* [reminiscences of the last eight years], in which he analyzed with remarkable objectivity his relationship with Wang Ching-wei and his personal reasons for serving in the puppet government. In the spring of 1946 he was transferred to Soochow with other leading figures in the puppet government. There, on 5 April, he was sentenced to death by the Soochow (Kiangsu provincial) Higher Court and on 3 June 1946 was executed by a firing squad.

In his personal life, Ch'en Kung-po was known, and often censured by his colleagues, for his dapper appearance, his apparent lack of seriousness, and his extramarital adventures. Yet, his unswerving personal loyalty to Wang Ching-wei, and the unruffled dignity with which he met his death, commanded the respect of his detractors. His writings revealed an independence of mind and an intelligence which, if not unusually profound, was brilliant and original. Most of his political writings are scattered in various magazines and newspapers of the time. Among his other works was the brief but noteworthy *Chung-kuo li-shih-shang ti ko-ming* [revolutions in Chinese history]. Published in 1928, it was one of the earlier Chinese attempts at an economic interpretation of the great popular uprisings in the history of China. In a political memoir, *Ssu-nien ts'ung-cheng lu* [four years in government service], published in Shanghai in 1936, he described his work as minister of industry in the National Government. His

Han-feng-chi [the cold wind], published in 1944, a collection of essays, contains much information on his life and personal attitudes from childhood through his final years as an official in the puppet government. The essays were written between 1933 and 1943.

Ch'en Kung-po was survived by his wife, Li Li-chuang, whom he had married in 1921, and a son who was studying engineering in the United States at the time of his father's death. Both subsequently took up residence in the United States.

Ch'en Kuo-fu

Orig. Ch'en Tsu-t'ao

陳果夫
陳祖肅

Ch'en Kuo-fu (27 October 1892-25 August 1951) directed the organization department of the Kuomintang (1926-32; 1944) and created a closely knit organizational structure for the party. He was acting head of the Control Yuan (1928-32), governor of Kiangsu (1933-37), and he directed the department that selected personnel for the government (1939-45). In 1945 he became chairman of the Kuomintang Central Financial Committee. He and his brother, Ch'en Li-fu (q.v.), were known as the leaders of the right-wing CC clique.

A native of Wuhsing, Chekiang, Ch'en Kuo-fu was born to a gentry family that had lived in Wuhsing for generations. Family fortunes had suffered a setback during the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-nineteenth century, but his grandfather, Ch'en Chuang-ts'ang (d. 1892, T. Yen-yu), had bettered the family's financial position through commercial activity. Ch'en Kuo-fu's father, Ch'en Ch'i-yeh (T. Ch'in-shih), was a scholar and a prominent citizen of Wuhsing. Ch'en Ch'i-yeh had two younger brothers: Ch'en Ch'i-me (q.v.), who became a supporter of Sun Yat-sen and played an important role in the revolution of 1911, and Ch'en Ch'i-ts'ai (T. Ai-shih), an officer trained at the Shikan Gakkō [military academy]. Ch'en Kuo-fu's later entry into political activities in China was influenced by his family background and connections.

Ch'en Kuo-fu received his early education at home from tutors, most of them members of his family. In 1905, on the urging of Ch'en Ch'i-ts'ai, who was then in Hunan commanding a

unit of the army which had been established as part of the Ch'ing government's military modernization program, he went to Changsha. There he entered the Ming-te School, whose principal was Hu Yuan-t'an. His uncle was transferred away from Hunan province in 1906, however, and Ch'en Kuo-fu returned home at his father's order.

After studying briefly at Nanking in the spring of 1907, Ch'en Kuo-fu returned to Chekiang to enroll in the military primary school at Hangchow, where he studied military science for the next four years. During this time he was much influenced by Ch'en Ch'i-meи. In the spring of 1911, Ch'en Kuo-fu formally joined the revolutionary T'ung-meng-hui. After graduation from the Hangchow school that spring, Ch'en enrolled at the Fourth Army Middle School at Nanking. While there he distributed revolutionary pamphlets and performed other tasks for his uncle. After the outbreak of the Wuchang revolt in October 1911, Ch'en hastened there to enlist in the revolutionary forces.

Ch'en Ch'i-meи played a key role in directing the military coup which led to the capture of Shanghai by the revolutionary armies, and Ch'en Kuo-fu soon went to Shanghai to serve as aide to his uncle, who had become the military governor. He was assigned to recruit former schoolmates from Hangchow and Nanking to join the republican cause, and it was in the course of that work that he first met Chiang Kai-shek, who was also a protégé of Ch'en Ch'i-meи. Although still young, Ch'en Kuo-fu had already begun to show signs of a frail constitution. He had planned to go to France in the autumn of 1912 under the work-study program, but he developed tuberculosis and was hospitalized at the Peking Union Medical College for two weeks. He returned to Shanghai to rest and then went to Japan in March 1913 to seek additional medical advice. When the so-called second revolution broke out in June of that year, he returned to Shanghai at the behest of Ch'en Ch'i-meи and played a minor role in the movement to dislodge Yuan Shih-k'ai from power. After the failure of that attempt, Ch'en was hospitalized in Shanghai for two months in the autumn of 1913. Most of the revolutionary leaders took refuge in Japan, but Ch'en Kuo-fu remained in Shanghai, where he learned German and undertook the study of coopera-

tives. In the spring of 1914 he married Chu Ming.

In 1914 Sun Yat-sen, with the assistance of Ch'en Ch'i-meи, reorganized the revolutionary party into the Chung-hua ko-ming-tang, with headquarters in Japan. Sponsored by Ch'en Ch'i-ts'ai, Ch'en Kuo-fu joined the group. When Ch'en Ch'i-meи returned to China in 1915 to plan moves against Yuan Shih-k'ai, he established his base in the French concession of Shanghai. On 5 December 1915 Ch'en Ch'i-meи staged the spectacular but abortive Chao-ho gunboat affair in a bid to recapture Shanghai. Ch'en Kuo-fu participated in that effort and played a key role in alerting the conspirators of the approach of the French concession police. Ch'en's warning enabled Ch'en Ch'i-meи, Chiang Kai-shek, Wu Chung-hsin (q.v.), and others to escape from the French concession. The murder of Ch'en Ch'i-meи in May 1916 came as a great personal blow to both Ch'en Kuo-fu and Chiang Kai-shek, who had regarded him as mentor, benefactor, and political leader. In June 1916, Ch'en Kuo-fu returned to Wuhsing. There he devoted himself to the study of local history and to such avocations as the study of Chinese medicine, telepathy, and public speaking. In 1917 he became engrossed with the problem of the existence of ghosts and wrote an article on the subject.

During the next few years, Ch'en Kuo-fu spent most of his time in Shanghai, where he turned to commercial pursuits for both personal and political reasons. In March 1918, through the introduction of his father, he took the unusual step of becoming an over-age apprentice in an exchange company in Shanghai to learn native banking. This position also served as cover for his political activities. Then, in the autumn of 1920, a group of Sun Yat-sen's supporters in Shanghai established a stock and commodity exchange to raise funds for Sun's revolutionary enterprises in Kwangtung. Chang Jen-chieh (q.v.), noted for his business acumen, directed the exchange. He was assisted by Ch'en Kuo-fu, Chiang Kai-shek, Tai Chi-t'ao (q.v.), and others. Ch'en Kuo-fu first specialized in handling cotton stocks and later became assistant manager of a brokerage firm dealing with cotton yarn, gold, and silver. These speculative operations in Shanghai, designed partly to raise funds for political activities, were highly successful for a time, but a business recession in the spring of

1922 wiped out most of the financial gains. However, Ch'en Kuo-fu's business successes did enable him to supply his younger brother, Ch'en Li-fu, with funds to go to the United States for a modern education.

After the reorganization of the Kuomintang at Canton in 1924, Chiang Kai-shek was appointed by Sun Yat-sen to head the newly established Whampoa Military Academy. New cadets for the academy had to be recruited, and Chiang Kai-shek believed that there was no more convenient place for such recruitment than Shanghai and no more logical friend to handle the responsibility than Ch'en Kuo-fu. Recruitment was necessarily an operation which involved considerable personal risk. Ch'en Kuo-fu undertook the task with energy and determination. He and his associates succeeded in recruiting some 4,000 cadets from the three provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Anhwei. They were sent to Canton by ship, and, after their training at Whampoa, they formed the core of the first two Whampoa regiments, which unified Kwangtung province. He later recruited an additional 3,000 cadets from central and north China, and most of that group was enrolled in the third and fourth classes at Whampoa. Ch'en also handled the procurement of military supplies at Shanghai for the military forces at Canton.

In 1926, Ch'en Kuo-fu was elected a member of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang. From this time, the beginning of his formal participation in the reorganized party, he regularly used the name Ch'en Kuo-fu; previously, he had been known by his original name, Ch'en Tsu-t'ao. In the struggle for succession at Canton that followed the death of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek steadily strengthened his political position, which had been based primarily upon his military role at Whampoa. This development was accompanied by a split between the right and left wings of the Kuomintang, a conflict that was aggravated by the growth of Communist influence within the Kuomintang. The second plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang on 17 May 1926 adopted a resolution, proposed by Chiang Kai-shek, barring Communist members of the Kuomintang from holding senior posts in the party. In the ensuing reorganization, Chang Jen-chieh became head of the Central Executive Committee, and Chiang Kai-shek replaced T'an P'ing-shan (q.v.) as head of the organization

department. Ch'en Kuo-fu was named secretary of that key department. Two months later, after Chiang Kai-shek had been named commander in chief of the National Revolutionary Army, Ch'en Kuo-fu, on Chiang's recommendation, was appointed acting director of the organization department.

During the critical period between July and December 1926 Ch'en Kuo-fu worked closely with Chang Jen-chieh in the organization department of the Kuomintang. In the summer of 1926 he set about reorganizing the Kwangtung provincial headquarters of the Kuomintang in an attempt to limit Communist influence. He was given concurrent membership on the central organization and financial committees of the Kuomintang as well as the position of secretary of the Central Political Council. And he was named to head the newly organized Political Training Institute, which was designed to train party workers. By the autumn of 1925, Borodin, the principal Russian adviser at Canton, had identified Ch'en and Chang Jen-chieh as members of the so-called new right wing of the Kuomintang. There was no doubt that Ch'en's presence considerably strengthened the conservative members of the party, who viewed the alliance with the Communists with disfavor.

In December 1926 Ch'en Kuo-fu left Canton on a secret trip to Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters at Nanchang in Kiangsi. There he undertook the reorganization of the Kiangsi provincial headquarters of the Kuomintang, which previously had been dominated by the Communist Fang Chih-min (q.v.). In March 1927 Ch'en Kuo-fu went to Hankow, where the left wing of the party, in collaboration with the Communists, dominated both party and National Government posts. Because he was unable to influence the situation, Ch'en left Hankow on 22 March for Shanghai. There he joined with other conservative members of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang, including Wu Chih-hui, Chang Jen-chieh, Li Shih-tseng, and Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, to lay plans to counter the leftist offensive against their seniority and power in the Kuomintang. The so-called party purification movement, a purge of leftists and Communists, was launched at Shanghai in April.

The same month, Chiang Kai-shek organized an opposition national government at Nanking, and Ch'en Kuo-fu continued to support Chiang. In July he became a member of the Central

Political Council and acting head of the organization department of the Kuomintang. With Tai Chi-t'ao, Ting Wei-fen, and Yeh Ch'u-ts'ang, he took part in preparations for the founding of a Central Political Institute to train party members for positions in the National Government. That institute was officially inaugurated on 8 August 1927, with Chiang Kai-shek as its president and Ch'en Kuo-fu as director of general affairs. Shortly thereafter, when Chiang Kai-shek was forced to retire from the political scene, Ch'en accompanied him to Shanghai. In the autumn of that year, when the Nanking and Wuhan factions of the Kuomintang undertook to repair the breach between them so that the Northern Expedition could be resumed, Chiang Kai-shek, with the aid of Ch'en and other supporters, resumed direction of affairs at Nanking.

In March 1928 Ch'en Kuo-fu was again named acting head of the organization department of the Kuomintang, since Chiang Kai-shek, its nominal head, was occupied with the second phase of the Northern Expedition. In view of the growing prospects of attaining national unification, central planning was required to prepare the Kuomintang for its greatly expanded functions. At Ch'en Kuo-fu's direction, the central headquarters of the Kuomintang reduced its organs to four units: organization, training, propaganda, and mass movement. Previously there had been nine units: organization, propaganda, peasants, workers, youth, women, overseas affairs, merchants, and military personnel. The organization of lower echelon party headquarters also was simplified to conform to the central pattern. Under Ch'en's direction, cadres were assigned to all local organizations of the party, and a comprehensive registration of party members was conducted. For the first time, the Kuomintang established a closely knit organizational structure. Although Communists were excluded, the structure was based on the Leninist model.

When the new National Government was inaugurated at Nanking on 10 October 1928, Ch'en Kuo-fu was elected vice president of the Control Yuan. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, who had been elected president of the Control Yuan, decided not to take the position, and his successor, Chao Tai-wen, soon left Nanking to return to his native Shansi. Left in effective charge of the Control Yuan, Ch'en Kuo-fu resigned his post

as acting head of the organization department of the party. He held the Control Yuan position until 1932 and was largely responsible for organizing and directing its operations during its formative period. In March 1929, when the Third National Congress met at Nanking, thanks to careful planning and organization by Ch'en Kuo-fu, it was packed with supporters of Chiang Kai-shek. Ch'en again was elected to serve as acting director of the party's organization department. In that capacity, he made a special trip to Peiping and other parts of north China to inspect Kuomintang affairs. In the summer of 1929, working together with Hu Han-min, Tai Chi-t'ao, and Yeh Ch'u-ts'ang, Ch'en co-authored an important document on party principles and party virtues that was officially adopted by the central authorities of the Kuomintang.

The political organization developed at Nanking by Ch'en Kuo-fu and Ch'en Li-fu after 1928 did not fail to attract attention and soon became known as the CC clique. The initials, according to some observers, were originally used to designate the Central Club at Nanking, not the first letters of the Ch'en brothers' surname. Ch'en Kuo-fu himself firmly denied the existence of such an organization, stating that a man of his background would hardly employ the Western alphabet to label a Chinese group. However, the epithet was widely used in China, normally with the implication that the Ch'en brothers exercised undue personal authority in the central apparatus of the Kuomintang. In later years, the term CC clique was often employed by the Chinese Communists, the Japanese, and Western observers in criticizing the Kuomintang and the National Government. While it is doubtful that any formal organization existed, it is certain that Ch'en Kuo-fu and Ch'en Li-fu, as veteran party organization men close to Chiang Kai-shek, built up a sizeable personal following during the years after 1928.

Ch'en Kuo-fu's next assignment was as governor of Kiangsu province, where he served from October 1933 until November 1937. During his four years in that post, Ch'en made a number of significant contributions to the provincial administration. Banditry was curbed; public finance was improved by revamping the tax system and by strengthening the provincial banks; political control was tightened; and progress was made in education, public health,

communications, and in suppressing the use of opium. Long interested in the value of native medicine, partly because of his frail constitution, Ch'en founded a new medical administration academy in Kiangsu in October 1934. While serving as governor of Kiangsu, Ch'en Kuo-fu also served as deputy chairman of the Hwai River Conservancy Commission. He encouraged river conservation work and the construction of dams to prevent floods and to facilitate shipping. Ch'en took pride in the development of Kiangsu during his governorship. He later wrote a full account of his experiences entitled *Su-cheng hui-i* [reminiscences of Kiangsu administration], published in Taiwan in 1951. While serving in Kiangsu, Ch'en retained his position as a senior figure in the Kuomintang. At the Fifth National Congress in December 1935, he was elected a member of the Central Executive Committee and of its standing committee.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in the summer of 1937, Kiangsu became an important military theater. In November of that year, the invading Japanese forces made a westward thrust along the Shanghai-Nanking railway. When the Japanese threatened Chin-kiang, the seat of the Kiangsu provincial government, Ch'en Kuo-fu moved his offices to Yangchow. At the end of November, the National Government, in accordance with its wartime policy of assigning military commanders as governors in front-line provinces, named Ku Chu-t'ung (q.v.) to replace Ch'en. Ch'en went to Changsha, following the westward trek of the National Government.

In January 1938 Ch'en was named dean of the Central Political Institute, which had moved to Chihchiang in western Hunan. In March he went to Hankow for the Extraordinary Conference of the Kuomintang that amended the party constitution to make Chiang Kai-shek tsung-ts'ai [party leader]. Ch'en then made the difficult overland trip to Chungking with the staff of the Central Political Institute. He resigned from his position as dean in March 1939, but continued to control the institution and to direct its programs.

In addition to his responsibilities at the Central Political Institute, Ch'en Kuo-fu took on new duties at Chungking in the summer of 1939. At that time he became director of the third department of Chiang Kai-shek's attendance office.

Since that department was concerned with the selection of personnel for the government, Ch'en, acting directly under Chiang Kai-shek, was able to wield personal influence that could hardly be matched by any other official in the wartime capital. Ch'en held that key position for six years, until it was abolished in August 1945. He also served as a member of the Supreme National Defense Council, the highest organ of the National Government during the war. For a few months in 1944, he was responsible for the activities of the organization department of the Kuomintang.

Ch'en Kuo-fu suffered increasingly from tuberculosis. In 1943 and 1945 he underwent two major chest operations. During the early war years he was also afflicted with bouts of malaria and attacks of boils. At his initiative, a research center was established in the clinic of the Central Political Institute which successfully cured malaria with native medicines when quinine was in short supply.

Ch'en Kuo-fu engaged in many activities in Chungking. He had long been interested in the expansion of cooperatives as a method of easing China's economic problems. He was elected honorary president of the Chinese Cooperative Association when it was established in 1940 and helped indirectly to further the development of consumer cooperatives. He wrote cogently and frequently on this subject. In 1941 he completed a movie script entitled *I-feng i-su* [changing traditions and customs]. Because its purpose was to encourage the development of orthodox virtue in China, it placed greater emphasis on moralizing than on entertaining.

Ch'en Kuo-fu's sustained service to Chiang Kai-shek and to the Kuomintang again was rewarded in May 1945, when the party held its Sixth National Congress at Chungking. Ch'en was elected once more to membership on its Central Executive Committee and on its standing committee. At the Sixth Congress, the Kuomintang decided that, under the projected constitutional government, the party, instead of being supported by the state, should be made financially independent. Ch'en Kuo-fu was elected chairman of the party's Central Financial Committee and was assigned responsibility for developing financial resources to sustain and operate the Kuomintang. In the autumn of 1945 he was named chairman of the board of the Farmers Bank of China, an appointment

designed to enable him to utilize the resources of that bank to assist the rural economy and the welfare of the peasantry in accordance with the economic principles set forth by Sun Yat-sen. To assist the Kuomintang financial development program, the party established or took control of a number of commercial enterprises, including newspapers, publishing houses, motion picture studios, and radio stations. In November 1946, Ch'en Kuo-fu was named chairman of the Central Cooperatives Bank, which essentially was a financial organ of the Kuomintang. Since Ch'en Kuo-fu's activities in the post-1945 period shifted from party organization to party financing, there was considerable speculation about whether he and Ch'en Li-fu were accumulating personal fortunes through their privileged positions. The situation was a natural target for Communist attack, and Ch'en Po-ta (q.v.), in his 1949 book *Chung-kuo ssu-ta chia-tsü* [China's four big families], linked the Ch'en brothers not only with Chiang Kai-shek but also with Chiang's relatives by marriage, the financial magnates H. H. K'ung and T. V. Soong.

Actually, Ch'en Kuo-fu had ceased to be a major political figure in China after the Sino-Japanese war. In December 1946 he was a member of the presidium of the National Assembly which adopted the new national constitution. Ch'en was also the moving spirit behind the founding at Nanking in July 1947 of a research institute for native Chinese medicine. But his physical condition was getting worse, and in September 1947 he underwent a third lung operation. His health deteriorated drastically in the summer of 1948, and in December of that year he left the mainland to go to Taiwan, where Chiang Kai-shek had already begun to organize a new base. It was a depressing period, and many of Ch'en Kuo-fu's old associates had died. Ch'en Pu-lei had committed suicide at Nanking in November 1948. Tai Chi-t'ao took the same course at Canton in February 1949. In 1950, as Ch'en's tuberculosis steadily worsened in Taiwan, Chang Jen-chieh, Kuomintang veteran and personal mentor of both Ch'en Kuo-fu and Chiang Kai-shek, died in New York in September. In August 1950 Ch'en Li-fu left Taiwan for Europe and the United States. Ch'en Kuo-fu gave up all political activities and moved his home from Taichung to Taipei to secure better medical care. He died there on 25 August 1951 at the age of 60 sui. On 15

September, Chiang Kai-shek issued an official eulogy paying tribute to Ch'en's long and devoted service to the Kuomintang cause. He was buried in Taiwan on 4 November 1951. His father, Ch'en Ch'i-yeh, outlived his eldest son by a decade; he died at Taipei on 15 March 1961.

During the two decades from 1925 to 1945, Ch'en Kuo-fu exerted a major influence upon the theory and practice of government in Nationalist China. His most notable contribution to the Kuomintang was made through its organization department, which was directed through much of this period by Ch'en Kuo-fu, Ch'en Li-fu, and Chu Chia-hua (q.v.). Ch'en Kuo-fu was generally regarded as being more astute and more influential in the Kuomintang than Ch'en Li-fu. Over the years, Ch'en Kuo-fu wrote extensively on various subjects, notably on the cooperative movement. He also wrote short stories and plays and composed songs; a collection of 44 of his songs was published in 1943. His collected works were published posthumously in 1952 in Taiwan under the title, *Ch'en Kuo-fu hsien-sheng ch'u'an-chi* [the complete works of Ch'en Kuo-fu].

Ch'en Li-fu

Orig. Ch'en Tsu-yen

陳立夫
陳祖燕

Ch'en Li-fu (1900-) directed the investigation division of the Kuomintang for about a decade after 1928. He served as secretary general of the Kuomintang central headquarters (1929-31), head of the organization department (1932-36; 1938-39; 1944-48), and minister of education (1938-44). He and his brother, Ch'en Kuo-fu, were known as the leaders of the so-called CC clique. In 1948 he became vice president of the Legislative Yuan and then minister without portfolio. In 1950 he left China and later went to live in the United States.

Wuhsing hsien, Chekiang province, was the birthplace of Ch'en Li-fu. He was a nephew of Ch'en Ch'i-mei (q.v.), an early supporter of Sun Yat-sen who became military governor of Shanghai after the 1911 revolution, and he was the younger brother of Ch'en Kuo-fu. He received his early education in the traditional curriculum in Wuhsing and then attended the Nan-ying lu-k'uang School in Shanghai. At

that time Ch'en Kuo-fu was in Shanghai and was associated with Ch'en Ch'i-mei, Chiang Kai-shek, and others in political activities directed against Yuan Shih-k'ai.

In 1917 Ch'en Li-fu went to north China to enter Peiyang College at Tientsin, where he studied mining engineering. Ch'en Kuo-fu provided funds to enable him to gain a modern education. Ch'en Li-fu graduated from Peiyang College in 1923 and then went to the United States for advanced study. He was admitted to the University of Pittsburgh, where he received a B.S. degree in 1924 and an M.S. degree in mining engineering in 1925. To gain practical experience, he then worked as a coal miner in Pittsburgh and Scranton and joined the United Mine Workers. An observant and conscientious student, Ch'en Li-fu during his student years in China and the United States, focused his attention upon scientific and technological development as the key to the modernization of China. When he returned to China in the winter of 1925, he was offered a position in the Chung-hsing Coal Mines in Shantung province. That offer came from the Shanghai banker and industrialist Ch'en Yung-ming (q.v.), also a native of Wuhsing, who had interests in the mines and who had heard of the abilities and training of the young mining engineer. However, Ch'en Kuo-fu by then was involved in recruiting cadets for the Whampoa Military Academy, and he persuaded Ch'en Li-fu to abandon his engineering career to devote himself to the Nationalist revolution.

At Canton, Chiang Kai-shek became commander in chief of the National Revolutionary Army in the summer of 1926. Ch'en Li-fu, through his brother's introduction, entered Chiang's service as a confidential secretary. His immediate superior was Shao Li-tzu (q.v.), then chief secretary of the Whampoa Military Academy. Ch'en Li-fu served in Chiang Kai-shek's personal entourage during the Northern Expedition, which moved Nationalist power to the Yangtze valley. The young aide quickly won Chiang's confidence by his devotion to duty and his competence in handling correspondence and in coding and decoding important messages.

In 1928, Ch'en Li-fu was assigned as director of the investigation division of the central headquarters of the reorganized Kuomintang at Nanking. He also became head of the confidential section of the National Military Council and

secretary general of the National Reconstruction Commission. The investigation division of the Kuomintang department of organization was responsible for identifying and removing from the Kuomintang Communists or persons suspected of Communist sympathies or connections. During the decade after 1928 when the division was headed by Ch'en Li-fu, it was composed of three sections devoted to confidential investigations of civilian personnel, military personnel, and other matters. These sections were headed, respectively by Hsü En-tseng, Tai Li (q.v.), and Ting Mo-ts'un. That division was the primary organ of the Kuomintang responsible for internal security and for extirpating Communists in the National Government and the military forces, as well as in the party. Its director was criticized not only by the Communists but also by other Chinese who distrusted the tactics and the privileged political position of the department.

Ch'en Li-fu's control of the investigation apparatus enabled him to gain a powerful position in the inner core of the Kuomintang after 1928. In March 1929, when the Third National Congress convened at Nanking, the meeting, thanks to the careful preparatory work of Ch'en Kuo-fu, was dominated by supporters of Chiang Kai-shek. Ch'en Li-fu, known to enjoy the complete personal confidence of Chiang, was elected to membership on the Central Executive Committee, a position he held until 1950. From 1929 to 1931 Ch'en Li-fu was secretary general of the central headquarters of the Kuomintang at Nanking. In December 1931 he was named deputy director of the organization department of the party.

In 1932, when Ch'en Kuo-fu was named acting chairman of the Hwai River Conservation Commission, Ch'en Li-fu succeeded him as director of the organization department of the Kuomintang. His primary political mission was to consolidate and strengthen the political position of Chiang Kai-shek. At that time, such men as Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei (qq.v.) possessed greater prestige in the Kuomintang than did Chiang. Ch'en Li-fu handled his task with notable industry and conspicuous success. Until 1935 the major organs of the Kuomintang, the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee, were self-perpetuating groups in which many critics and opponents of Chiang Kai-shek had position

and influence. At the Fifth National Congress in 1935, through judicious control of the party machine and of the methods of nomination, Ch'en Li-fu succeeded in expanding the membership of these committees to ensure substantial majority support for Chiang Kai-shek. Ch'en Li-fu's personal prestige was enhanced in 1935, when he was elected to the nine-man standing committee of the Central Executive Committee.

The political organization developed at Nanking through the efforts of Ch'en Kuo-fu and Ch'en Li-fu attracted attention both for its consistent loyalty to Chiang Kai-shek and for its stubborn opposition to the Communists. Essentially, the so-called CC clique of the Kuomintang (*see Ch'en Kuo-fu*) was a close-knit, if informal, group of conservatives who were regarded as being influential in the administration of party affairs.

Ch'en Li-fu founded and edited the *Ching Pao* [capital newspaper], a daily paper published at Nanking. He also directed the publication of the *Shih-shih yueh-pao* [current events monthly], which was modeled on the American magazine *Current History*. He was also founder of the National Cultural Reconstruction Association, an organization devoted to study and implementation of the principles set forth by Sun Yat-sen, and was one of the promoters of the New Life Movement, launched by the Kuomintang to combat Communism. He was the founder and director general of the Cheng-chung Book Company, a publishing enterprise established by the Kuomintang to produce books incorporating the official Kuomintang interpretation of political doctrine and current events. Ch'en outlined his personal program in an article in the *Tung-fang tsa-chih* [eastern miscellany] in 1935. As stated in the article, his aims were: to make the youth of China appreciate the past glories of Chinese culture and gain a new spirit of national self-confidence; to popularize scientific developments which would enable China to catch up with the Western countries; to spur the development of such communications devices as a Chinese typewriter, telegraph decoding machine and type-setting machine; and to encourage the study of the doctrines of Sun Yat-sen. Through this program Ch'en hoped to bring about a renaissance in China.

Ch'en Li-fu's philosophical views were incorporated in a book entitled *Wei-sheng lun*, which propounded his theory of vitalism.

Vitalism, allegedly based on the ancient Chinese *I-ching* [book of changes], attempted to recapture the essence of China's cultural tradition and to provide a philosophical basis for the political and social theories of Sun Yat-sen. In effect, the *Wei-sheng lun* argued that Ch'en's neo-orthodox interpretation of Sun's views was superior to the imported doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. The book was translated into English by Jen T'ai and was published in New York in 1948 as *Philosophy of Life*, with a foreword by Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School.

As a confidential and trusted supporter of Chiang Kai-shek, Ch'en Li-fu played an important role in national and international politics. In 1935, as Japan's pressure on north China increased, Ch'en took up with Soviet Ambassador Bogmolov the question of Russian military aid to China in the event of war between China and Japan and explored the possibility of negotiating a Sino-Soviet nonaggression pact. Bogmolov reportedly suggested that personal discussions between Ch'en Li-fu and Stalin might be in order. Ch'en thus left for Europe on 25 December 1935, traveling under the name of Li Yung-ch'ing. He sailed on the same ship with Ch'eng T'ien-fang, who had just been appointed China's envoy to Germany, but the two refrained from public meetings on the voyage in order not to betray Ch'en Li-fu's identity. Ch'en Li-fu remained in Berlin for some weeks awaiting further communications from Moscow. No message came from Stalin, however, and in April 1936 Ch'en returned to China.

During 1936 Chiang Kai-shek, despite the Japanese threat, made renewed plans to launch an offensive against the Chinese Communists, who by then had retreated from Kiangsi to northwest China. The Communists, on the basis of the united-front strategy which had been outlined at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in the summer of 1935, were pressing for a cessation of the civil war in China and for the development of a program of unified national resistance against Japan. In December 1936 Chiang Kai-shek was seized by Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng (qq.v.) at Sian and was confronted with demands that reflected the Communist program. Ch'en Li-fu, who was in Nanking when the Sian Incident took place, was aware of the direct Communist interest in the affair. He therefore made contact

with the Communist P'an Han-nien at Shanghai with the aim of prevailing upon the Communists to exercise a moderating influence on the rebellious Kuomintang generals. When Chou En-lai went to Sian, he did counsel moderation. Ch'en Li-fu was to have accompanied T. V. Soong on his trip to Sian to conclude the negotiations, but was prevented from going by illness. Chiang Kai-shek was released on 25 December.

The Sian Incident, as Ch'en Li-fu himself later observed, greatly affected the course of recent Chinese history and led to the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities in the summer of 1937. The National Government and the Kuomintang soon were reorganized on a wartime basis, and Ch'en Li-fu was named to a senior post on the National Military Council. In January 1938, he was appointed minister of education, succeeding Wang Shih-chieh (q.v.). In the spring of 1938, the Extraordinary Conference of the Kuomintang, meeting at Hankow, elected Chiang Kai-shek to the post of tsung-ts'ai [party leader], the top-ranking position in the Kuomintang to which Chiang had long aspired and which only Sun Yat-sen had held before him. Chiang's election reflected Ch'en Li-fu's assiduous organizational planning during the pre-war years. He resumed direction of the organization department of the Kuomintang in January 1938, succeeding Chang Li-sheng, and remained in that position until the end of December 1939, when he was succeeded by Chu Chia-hua. Ch'en then assumed direction of the social affairs department of the Kuomintang, a new unit in the central party structure.

Ch'en Li-fu's 1938 appointment as minister of education in the National Government was intended as a tribute not only to his organizational skills but also to his personal concern with the doctrinal training and political behavior of China's youth. Ch'en's term of office lasted for nearly seven years during a difficult period in the evolution of modern Chinese education. Ch'en himself took considerable pride in his service as minister of education, though his administration of that post evoked stormy controversy. His principal aides were Ku Yu-hsiu, former dean of Tsinghua University, and Lai Lien, former president of Northwest University. Ch'en gave his undivided attention to his administrative tasks and made frequent visits to universities and other institutions to speak on his personal philosophy of vitalism, on broader

aspects of the cultural tradition of China, or on the principles of Sun Yat-sen. Ch'en Li-fu viewed the tasks of education within the framework of his desire to inculcate proper political principles and to combat the intellectual and psychological appeals of Communism to the youth of the nation. In theory, his aim was to counter these deleterious trends by providing appropriate leadership and government assistance to education. In practice, his zealous anti-Communism tended to antagonize many Chinese students and professors. Ch'en Li-fu was also known in wartime Chungking as the founder and vice president of the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations. Its head was H. H. K'ung (q.v.), vice president of the Executive Yuan.

In November 1944, Chu Chia-hua became minister of education and Ch'en resumed the direction of the organization department of the Kuomintang. His primary mission was to make preparations for the party's Sixth National Congress, scheduled for May 1945. The Sixth Congress, the last held by the Kuomintang on the mainland of China, adopted a party platform in preparation for the introduction of constitutional government and set the framework for Kuomintang operations. It elected a total of 460 members to the two central committees of the Kuomintang, some 200 more than the previous congress had elected, in a meeting which again left the central apparatus of the party controlled by partisans of Chiang Kai-shek.

The Japanese surrender in 1945 found the basic political differences between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists unresolved. In the autumn of that year, Mao Tse-tung, the chairman of the Chinese Communist party, arrived at Chungking to discuss matters of state with Chiang Kai-shek. While there, Mao called on Ch'en Li-fu. In that memorable encounter, the sole meeting between Mao and one of the Kuomintang's most dedicated anti-Communists, Ch'en stated that only the Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen offered China a path to national salvation and informed Mao that, if the Nationalist cause won, China would become strong and independent, while the success of Mao's cause would make China a vassal of the Kremlin. In January 1946 Ch'en Li-fu was a member of the Kuomintang delegation sent to the Political Consultative Conference at Chungking to discuss the postwar political order in

China. The meeting was inconclusive, and that faction of the Kuomintang which opposed compromise with the Communists soon adopted decisions in March 1946 which vitiated the preliminary agreements. After the appointment of J. Leighton Stuart as American ambassador to China in July 1946, Ch'en Li-fu on two occasions called on Stuart to express his point of view regarding "the Communist and related problems." Ch'en held that there was no middle road possible between Communism and anti-Communism. But China was weary of war, and strong sentiment existed in favor of ending the single-party dictatorship of the Kuomintang and of settling the Communist problem through political compromise. The Kuomintang, having resolved to settle the issue by force, thus had an initial political disadvantage. The stubborn insistence of Ch'en Li-fu and others on strict Kuomintang orthodoxy alienated many moderates. In his final appraisal of his mission, the American mediator, General George C. Marshall, held the Kuomintang "reactionaries" and the Communists equally responsible for the failure of his efforts.

During the postwar years, Ch'en Li-fu and his associates were discouraged by the increasing deterioration of the military, political, and economic situation in China. In November 1946 Ch'en attended the National Assembly at Nanking. The Kuomintang dominated that meeting, since both the Communists and the China Democratic League boycotted the gathering, and the new national constitution adopted there reflected the political predilections of the top party command around Chiang Kai-shek. Ch'en Li-fu resigned from the directorship of the organization department of the Kuomintang in 1948. For more than 20 years that key post in the party structure had been held by only four men, Ch'en Kuo-fu, Chang Li-sheng, Chu Chia-hua, and Ch'en Li-fu. During 1947 and 1948 Ch'en Li-fu was secretary general of the Central Political Committee of the Kuomintang.

In the elections for president and vice president held in the spring of 1948 to inaugurate constitutional government in China, Ch'en gave his support to the officially approved candidacies of Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Fo (q.v.). Official plans were upset when Li Tsung-jen (q.v.) defeated Sun Fo for the vice presidency. Sun Fo then was elected president of the Legislative Yuan, and Ch'en Li-fu was elected its vice president.

In June 1948 Ch'en Li-fu accepted an invitation from the Moral Rearmament Movement to attend a conference in the United States. The Chinese civil war was going badly for the Nationalists, and they counted heavily on an increase in American military assistance. It was a presidential election year in the United States, and many top Kuomintang officials at Nanking hoped that the Republicans, whose victory was anticipated, would aid their cause against the Communists. While in the United States, Ch'en delivered a personal letter from Chiang Kai-shek to Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican presidential candidate. On his return to China in September, he was quoted as stating that Dewey, if elected, would take special measures to grant new military aid to the Nationalists. However, Dewey lost the American election in November 1948—at the same time that the Nationalist armies lost all Manchuria to the Communists.

At the end of 1948, when Sun Fo was named president of the Executive Yuan, Ch'en Li-fu was named minister without portfolio in his cabinet. The steady accumulation of Nationalist military and political setbacks forced Chiang Kai-shek to retire from the office of President in January 1949. After unsuccessful peace negotiations with the Communists, Sun Fo resigned. Ho Ying-ch'in (q.v.) succeeded him as president of the Executive Yuan, and Ch'en remained in the cabinet as minister without portfolio. He moved with the National Government to Canton after the fall of Nanking in April 1949. An officer of the American embassy reported that Ch'en still believed that the Kuomintang would be able to unify national resistance and gather support, pending further external assistance. When Yen Hsi-shan (q.v.) organized a new cabinet in June, Ch'en remained in his post. In September he went with the National Government to Chungking. The situation in Szechwan province soon became untenable, and on 8 December 1949 Ch'en Li-fu, Yen Hsi-shan, and other senior officials of the Kuomintang left Chengtu and flew to Taiwan.

Chiang Kai-shek also arrived in Taiwan in December 1949 and began the work of building a new political base. He re-assumed the presidency in March 1950. In July of that year the standing committee of the Kuomintang, meeting in Taipei to rehabilitate the party structure, established a new 16-member Central Reform Committee. Ch'en Li-fu, who for more than

two decades had been intimately identified with the central nucleus of the Kuomintang, was not a member of the new body. In August 1950, he and his family left Taiwan for Europe, where he attended another conference of the Moral Rearmament Movement. From Europe, they went to the United States.

Ch'en settled down to a quiet life of farming in Lakewood, New Jersey. He did not attend the funeral of Ch'en Kuo-fu in Taiwan in November 1951. Ten years later, Chiang Kai-shek summoned Ch'en Li-fu to Taiwan because of the critical illness of his father, Ch'en Ch'ieh. His father died in March 1961, and Ch'en Li-fu went to Taiwan to attend his funeral. More than 1,000 personal friends and former colleagues greeted him at the Taipei airport. Despite the welcome, Ch'en left Taiwan promptly after the funeral rites and returned to his adopted home in New Jersey.

Ch'en Li-fu was married at Shanghai in the winter of 1926. His wife was Sun Lu-ch'ing, a talented artist from his native district of Wuhsing. They had three sons, all of whom received their advanced education in the United States, and one daughter.

During his active career in China, Ch'en Li-fu was as controversial as he was influential. He was respected by many who worked with him in the Kuomintang, execrated by the Communists, and regarded by some as the most dangerous man in China. All observers agreed that his political influence was considerable; many paid tribute to his shrewdness, diligence, and zealous devotion to what he considered his duty; probably none could offer an adequate summary of his philosophy of vitalism. Ch'en Li-fu was incorruptibly loyal to his party and his leader and was relentless in his opposition to Communism. Ironically, many of the political techniques that he employed within the Kuomintang were similar to those advocated by Lenin and brought to China by Soviet advisers in the 1920's.

Ch'en Lu

T. Jen-hsien
West. Tcheng Loh

陳 簡

任 先

Ch'en Lu (24 April 1876–19 February 1939) was known as the chief Chinese negotiator of the 1915 Treaty of Kiakhta, which defined the

international status of Outer Mongolia. From 1915 to 1917 he was Chinese high commissioner at Urga (Ulan Bator). From 1920 to 1927 he was Chinese minister to France. In 1939 he served as foreign minister in the Japanese-sponsored government at Nanking. He was assassinated.

A native of Minhou, Fukien, Ch'en Lu was born into an educated family of modest means. His early education followed traditional classical lines. In 1891, when he was 15, he began the study of Western languages and studied for the next three years at the Foochow Shipyard School, where his instruction consisted mainly of courses in French. In 1894 Ch'en Lu's father sent him to Wuchang, where he continued his language studies. From 1894 to 1897 he studied English at a school attached to the Salt Administration, and from 1898 to 1901 he studied French at the Tzu-ch'iang Academy, established at Wuchang in accordance with the ideas of Chang Chih-tung (ECCP, I, 27–32). At the Tzu-ch'iang Academy, Ch'en ranked first in his class. He was graduated in 1901, at the age of 25, and was invited to teach French there. His decision to remain in Hupeh despite other teaching offers reportedly attracted the favorable attention of Chang Chih-tung.

During the years 1902–3 Ch'en became greatly interested in the ideas of the political reformer Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Ch'en's father was disturbed by his son's enthusiasm and enjoined him to be more restrained in political outlook.

While in Wuchang, Ch'en Lu was selected by the imperial government to go abroad to study in Europe. He traveled first to Berlin with a group of Chinese students and then went alone to Paris, where he arrived in the spring of 1903. There he began legal studies at the University of Paris and served as a part time attaché in the Chinese legation. Thus, his law studies were supplemented by practical diplomatic experience. In 1905 he was assigned as interpreter to accompany the special mission sent by the empress dowager to Europe and the United States to investigate foreign governmental systems. After resuming his studies, Ch'en was graduated from the faculty of law of the University of Paris in 1907. In the same year, with the title of secretary of legation, he accompanied Chinese delegate Lu Cheng-hsiang (q.v.) to the Second Peace Conference held at The Hague.

Ch'en Lu returned from Europe to his home in Fukien in December 1907. In 1908 Tai Hung-tz'u (*see Hsu Shih-ch'ang*), who had been one of the leaders of the 1905 Chinese mission to study foreign constitutional systems, summoned him to Peking. There Ch'en held various positions concerned with legal and constitutional reforms and the post of counselor in the Board of Foreign Affairs. He made a brief trip home to Fukien at the time of his father's death in 1909, and then returned to the capital to become a compiler of the Hanlin Academy. In 1910-11 he was director of political affairs in the Board of Foreign Affairs.

The revolution of 1911-12 had little apparent effect upon Ch'en Lu's position at Peking. After the reorganization of the Board of Foreign Affairs into the ministry of foreign affairs, Ch'en remained as head of its political affairs section. In December 1913 he was appointed the first Chinese minister to Mexico; previously, a consulate had handled all Chinese affairs there. Ch'en Lu, who had been increasingly disturbed by the confused political situation in China, was glad to have the opportunity to visit the West again. However, when Ch'en was winding up his affairs and preparing to leave Peking, Sun Pao-ch'i, then foreign minister, requested that Ch'en defer his departure for Mexico and go instead to the Sino-Russian-Mongolian conference which was scheduled to be held at Kiakhta in Siberia.

Ch'en Lu, not without protest, took up his new assignment and became the chief Chinese negotiator at the Kiakhta conference, which met from September 1914 to June 1915. Ch'en attempted to press for maximum extension of Chinese authority in Outer Mongolia, but his bargaining position was undermined by Russian and Mongol opposition, by the general domestic debility of China, and by the heavy Japanese pressure on the government at Peking as manifested in the Twenty-one Demands. The Kiakhta conference did mark a new stage in the delineation of the international position of Outer Mongolia. The tripartite Treaty of Kiakhta, which was signed on 7 June 1915 by republican China, Tsarist Russia, and Outer Mongolia, incorporated Outer Mongolia's acknowledgment of Chinese suzerainty and also included agreement between China and Russia that Outer Mongolia should enjoy autonomy in its internal affairs.

On his return to Peking in the summer of 1915, Ch'en Lu was informed by the ministry of foreign affairs that he was to go to Outer Mongolia and serve as Chinese high commissioner at Urga (Ulan Bator). Ch'en demurred, but his protests were smothered by official praise for his patriotic service at Kiakhta. In the end he had no alternative but to go to Urga. He reached the capital of Outer Mongolia in September 1915 and set about the task of implementing the rights and duties granted under the Kiakhta agreement. In July 1916 he was successful in obtaining Mongol acceptance of the ts'e-feng [formal investiture] by which the Mongols acknowledged the suzerainty of republican China. However, this ceremonial increase of Chinese prestige was not accompanied by any significant growth of Chinese power in the area, and Ch'en failed in his attempt to obtain approval from the government at Urga for the establishment of a Chinese bank in Outer Mongolia. After almost a year of correspondence with Peking regarding his desire to be relieved of the Urga assignment, he finally left that post and returned to Peking in May 1917.

In the spring of 1918 Ch'en Lu became vice minister of foreign affairs under Lu Cheng-hsiang, whom he had first served a decade earlier at the Second Hague Conference. Concurrently, Ch'en held the position of chief of the frontier defense affairs office, which had jurisdiction over Mongolian and borderland affairs. Late in 1918 Ch'en took charge of the ministry when Lu Cheng-hsiang went to France as China's chief delegate to the Paris Peace Conference. As a result of pressures brought upon the ministry during the May Fourth outburst, Lu Cheng-hsiang was relieved of his post in June 1919, and Ch'en Lu formally succeeded to the position for a brief period. Three months later, however, Lu was restored to office, and Ch'en Lu again became vice minister.

In September 1920 Ch'en Lu was appointed Chinese minister to France, where he remained head of the Chinese diplomatic mission until 1927. As the accredited representative of the Peking government in Paris, Ch'en Lu encountered there the animosity of some Chinese students studying in France with whom the policies of the Peking government were unpopular. One evening in March 1922, as he was returning to the Chinese legation from a private dinner party, Ch'en was fired on, but

not hit, by a Chinese student who apparently was a leftist. On two other occasions, once in June 1925, and again in March 1927, groups of Chinese students forcibly entered the Chinese legation in Paris to register their protests against foreign interference in China's affairs.

During Ch'en's residence in Paris he served in 1923 and again in 1927 as the Chinese delegate to the League of Nations. In 1928, before returning to China, he acted as president of the Council of the League of Nations and attended the International Labour Conference in Geneva.

The new National Government was established at Nanking in 1928, and Ch'en Lu's effective diplomatic career came to an end. After his return to China he lived for a period in retirement in Peiping and then practiced law in Shanghai. Early in 1934 he was appointed adviser to the ministry of foreign affairs at Nanking, and in mid-1936 he was made vice chairman of the treaty commission of the ministry, under Chang Ch'ün (q.v.).

Following the capture of Nanking late in 1937, the Japanese instituted a so-called reformed government of the republic of China in March 1938 under the nominal leadership of Liang Hung-chih (q.v.). Because of his status as former Chinese minister to Paris and delegate to the League of Nations, Ch'en was called upon to serve as foreign minister in this regime. Beginning in 1938 a band of patriotic Chinese terrorists, the so-called Iron and Blood Army, undertook the assassination of various prominent Chinese who were collaborating with the Japanese. On 18 February 1939 Ch'en, accompanied by a heavy bodyguard, traveled from Nanking to Shanghai to be with his family for the Chinese New Year celebrations. The following day, as he sat at the head of the family dinner table, he was shot by a band of gunmen who broke into his home on Yu Yuan Road in Shanghai; he died on the way to the hospital.

Ch'en Lu kept a personal record of some of his travels abroad, thus continuing a practice that had been observed by many of his predecessors during the Ch'ing dynasty. Ch'en's journal of his experiences during the negotiations of 1914-15 at Kiakhta was entitled *Ch'ia-k'o-t'u i-yueh jih-chi*; and in the *Feng-shih k'u-lun jih-chi* he described his life from 1915 to 1917 while he was Chinese high commissioner in Urga. These works were published together in 1917 by the Commercial Press under the title *Chih-shih pi-chi*.

Ch'en Ming-shu

T. Chen-ju

陳 銘 樞
眞 如

Ch'en Ming-shu (1890-15 May 1965), prominent Kwangtung military man, commanded the Eleventh Army, was civil governor of Kwangtung from 1929 to 1931, and in 1931 took command of the Nineteenth Route Army. He was best known for leading the Fukien revolt in November 1933. In 1949 he joined the Peking government, but came under Communist censure as a rightist in 1957.

A native of Kwangtung, Ch'en Ming-shu was born in Hop'u hsien, a district in the southwest of the province noted as the birthplace of several local military leaders. He came from a family of fair means and received a basic education. Like many other ambitious young men of that period, he decided on a military career and enrolled in the Kwangtung military elementary school. At the age of 18 he was promoted to the Nanking Military Middle School. There he was exposed to republican revolutionary propaganda, and he became a member of the local branch of the T'ung-meng-hui. After the Wuchang revolt of 10 October 1911, Ch'en left to follow Sung Chiao-jen (q.v.) and other revolutionary leaders to Wuchang. In the following month he joined the army of the local Cantonese military leader Yao Yü-p'ing, which then constituted part of the revolutionary forces that were besieging the imperial garrison under Chang Hsün (q.v.) at Nanking. After the fall of Nanking on 2 December, Ch'en accompanied Yao's troops in pursuing Chang Hsün as far as Hsuchow.

After the establishment of the republic, Ch'en Ming-shu continued his military training at the Paoting Military Academy. In 1915, when the monarchical aspirations of Yuan Shih-k'ai became apparent, Ch'en returned to Kwangtung, and he took part in a plot to bomb Yuan's henchman Lung Chi-kuang (q.v.), who was then governor of the province. The plot was discovered, however, and Ch'en was thrown into jail. He escaped and went to Japan. There he took up the study of political economy.

Little is known about Ch'en's movements during the next five years. He reportedly spent much of this period in Japan, although one source indicates that in 1917 he returned to

Kwangtung, where the Kwangsi militarists then held power, and set himself up as head of an independent battalion in the Yang-chiang area of the southern coast of the province. Late in 1920 when Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.) regained control of Canton for the Kuomintang, his chief of staff, Teng K'eng (q.v.), organized the 1st Division of the Kwangtung Army. Ch'en Ming-shu was assigned to command the division's 4th Regiment. In 1921 he participated in the successful campaign against the Kwangsi generals. In 1922, when Ch'en Chiung-ming broke with Sun Yat-sen, Ch'en Ming-shu was faced with a conflict of loyalties and left his troops. The 4th Regiment, then controlled by Ch'en Chiung-ming, came under the command of his subordinate Ch'en Chi-t'ang (q.v.).

After the Kuomintang reorganization in early 1924, Ch'en Ming-shu returned to active military service as commander of the First Brigade of the Kwangtung Army's First Division, under Li Chi-shen (q.v.), and in 1925 he took part in the final phase of the eastern expedition against Ch'en Chiung-ming. In that campaign Ch'en Ming-shu was responsible for suppressing the forces of Teng Pan-yin, which were harassing the Haifeng area of eastern Kwangtung. After the formation of the National Government at Canton in 1925, a general reorganization of the military forces under the regime was carried out. The former Kwangtung Army was reorganized as the Fourth Army, with Li Chi-shen as commander, and Ch'en Ming-shu was assigned to command the 10th Division in Li Chi-shen's army. Early in 1926 on the eve of the launching of the Northern Expedition, Ch'en Ming-shu and Pai Ch'ung-hsi (q.v.) were sent on a mission to Hunan to persuade T'ang Sheng-chih (q.v.) to ally himself with the Nationalist cause. That mission was successful, and T'ang Sheng-chih's support enabled the forces of the National Revolutionary Army to make a decisive start on their move northward.

At the beginning of the Northern Expedition in the summer of 1926, Li Chi-shen, commanding the Fourth Army, remained behind to cover the rear base at Canton. However, as deputy commander of the Fourth Army and commander of its 10th Division, Ch'en Ming-shu was ordered to advance northward into Hunan with the 12th Division of Chang Fa-k'uei (q.v.). In August these two units gained nation-wide attention for their part in the Nationalist victory

over the forces of Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.) at Ting-ssu-ch'iao in southern Hupeh.

In September when Chiang Kai-shek, commander in chief of the National Revolutionary Army, transferred the First Army from the Hunan front to Kiangsi, he ordered Ch'en Ming-shu to assume charge of the siege of Wuchang. In October, Ch'en's forces, which included the Fourth Army's 10th and 12th divisions and two regiments of T'ang Sheng-chih's army, captured Wuchang. After the three Wuhan cities had been occupied by Nationalist troops, Ch'en Ming-shu was named garrison commander of the area and head of the training department of the general political department, then under the over-all direction of Teng Yen-ta (q.v.). With the continuing success of the Northern Expedition, the National Revolutionary Army was considerably expanded. The Fourth Army's 10th Division was enlarged to form a new Eleventh Army, with Ch'en Ming-shu as its commander.

As garrison commander at Wuhan, Ch'en Ming-shu acted as a curb to the rising political ambitions of T'ang Sheng-chih in Hunan and Hupeh. Early in 1927, after Wuhan had become the temporary seat of the National Government, increasing friction arose between the two military leaders. As tension also mounted between the Wuhan regime and Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters at Nanchang, T'ang Sheng-chih allied himself with the Communist and Kuomintang leftist elements at Wuhan. In March 1927, with their political support, he succeeded in driving Ch'en Ming-shu from the area.

Meanwhile, Chiang Kai-shek's forces had advanced from Nanchang to Nanking and Shanghai. When the differences with the Wuhan regime became insurmountable, Chiang established a rival government at Nanking. At about that time the Eleventh Army, then under Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai (q.v.) and under the over-all command of Chang Fa-k'uei, moved into Kiangsi province and was in the Nanchang area when the Communist leaders Ho Lung and Yeh T'ing (qq.v.) led the Nanchang insurrection of 1 August 1927. After the failure of that uprising, Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai was forced to join the Communist forces on their march from Nanchang southward to Kwangtung, but he succeeded in extricating himself and led units of the Eleventh Army into Fukien. At the urgent request of Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, Ch'en

Ming-shu proceeded immediately to Fukien and resumed his former command.

By this time the Communist-led forces from Nanchang had been routed in Kwangtung. Chang Fa-k'uei, who had moved his army back to Kwangtung, then staged a coup at Canton with the objective of ousting Li Chi-shen. Acting on Li Chi-shen's order, Ch'en Ming-shu moved his troops southward, defeated Chang Fa-k'uei's forces in the East River area, and helped to restore Li Chi-shen to power at Canton. In 1928 the military units in Kwangtung were organized as the Eighth Route Army, with Li Chi-shen named commander in chief. Ch'en Ming-shu's authority expanded, and his military power was confirmed when he was continued as commander of the Eleventh Army. He was also made a member of the Canton branch of the Central Political Council and a member of the Kwangtung provincial government council.

Late in 1928, when Li Chi-shen relinquished his position as chairman of the Kwangtung provincial government, Ch'en Ming-shu was appointed to that post. In 1929 Ch'en was also elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. Early in 1929 Li Chi-shen encountered political difficulties with the central authorities and was imprisoned at Nanking. At this juncture Ch'en Chi-t'ang took over the chief military command in Kwangtung as commander in chief of the Eighth Route Army, bypassing Ch'en Ming-shu, who had been his superior officer. Ch'en Ming-shu, however, remained chairman of the Kwangtung provincial government. He formulated plans for the economic development of the province, and though his achievements were limited, he did lay the foundations for a network of modern roads in Kwangtung. Ch'en Ming-shu's Eleventh Army was reduced to two divisions, commanded by Chiang Kuang-nai (q.v.) and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, and transferred to Kiangsi to participate in the campaigns against the Communists. These divisions were soon reorganized into the Nineteenth Route Army.

In May 1931 the detention of the elder statesman Hu Han-min (q.v.) by Chiang Kai-shek precipitated a major split in the Kuomintang. A number of political and military leaders opposed to Chiang Kai-shek met at Canton and decided to establish a rival government there. Ch'en Ming-shu refused to participate in the southern revolt, resigned his chairmanship of the

Kwangtung provincial government, and left Canton for Hong Kong. In Hong Kong a fire broke out in Ch'en's hotel, and he jumped from the window, injuring his legs. Ch'en thereafter walked with a limp.

Nanking rewarded Ch'en's loyalty by naming him commander in chief of the anti-Communist forces in Kiangsi, an appointment which, in effect, restored him to direct control of the Nineteenth Route Army.

The threat of civil war between Canton and Nanking was averted by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in September 1931. Ch'en Ming-shu then accompanied the veteran Kuomintang leaders Chang Chi and Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei (qq.v.) to Canton to initiate peace talks, which proved successful. When the reorganized National Government was formed at Nanking in December 1931 with Sun Fo as president of the Executive Yuan, Ch'en Ming-shu was named vice president of the Executive Yuan and, concurrently, minister of communications. Earlier, in November 1931, he had been appointed garrison commander of the metropolitan Shanghai area, where the Nineteenth Route Army had been transferred for garrison duty.

In January 1932 the Nineteenth Route Army gained international attention through its stubborn fight against the Japanese at Shanghai. While the heroes of the day were Chiang Kuang-nai, Tai Chi, and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, who were in direct command of the combat operations, Ch'en Ming-shu shared in the glory because he was the over-all chief of the force. Unfortunately, the public acclaim given the Nineteenth Route Army for its patriotic stand was not shared by the jealous top authorities at Nanking. The Nineteenth Route Army was soon transferred to Fukien province.

Meanwhile, during his years as civil governor of Kwangtung and particularly during his stay at Shanghai, Ch'en Ming-shu had nursed personal political ambitions. During 1931 and 1932 he organized a small Social Democratic party at Shanghai which included a number of intellectuals referred to in China as armchair socialists. He also financed the establishment of a publishing house, the Shen-chou kuo-kuang-she, which issued magazines and books on socialism. Some reports allege that Ch'en Ming-shu had been influenced by the views held by Teng Yen-ta, director of the general political department of the National Revolutionary

Army at Wuhan, with whom Ch'en had been associated in 1927. Teng had become one of the leaders of the Third party, which opposed the Nanking government; he was arrested and executed by Nanking in November 1931—about the time that Ch'en Ming-shu began to organize his small socialist movement. As minister of communications in the National Government in the early part of 1932, Ch'en Ming-shu found himself implicated in cases of corruption in the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company and in the telecommunications service, both under the jurisdiction of his ministry. These problems, combined with the suspicions aroused by the exploits of the Nineteenth Route Army, forced Ch'en to give up his government post. He left on a trip to Europe.

On his return to China early in 1933, Ch'en Ming-shu, urged on by the members of his Social Democratic party, decided to proceed with making definite plans for a move against Nanking's authority. The Nineteenth Route Army retained its popular aura of patriotic valor. Moreover, as Ch'en assessed the general political situation in China, he found many elements opposed to Chiang Kai-shek's growing authority and power. Ch'en Ming-shu's estimate was that, once he took a decisive lead, support for a genuine anti-Nanking coalition would rapidly appear from many quarters.

Preliminary contacts with his expected allies were satisfactory, and Ch'en Ming-shu made his move in November 1933. The Fukien revolt against Nanking was launched on 20 November 1933, followed the next day by the establishment of a people's government at Foochow, with Li Chi-shen as chairman. The Fukien rebels publicly denounced the authority of Chiang Kai-shek and adopted a platform calling for resistance to Japanese aggression and for democratic government in China. Through the slogan of resistance to Japan, Ch'en Ming-shu and his associates expected to gain popular support for their movement against the Nanking government, which was then following the unpopular course of peaceful negotiation with Japan. Li Chi-shen was essentially a figurehead in the Foochow regime, and Ch'en Ming-shu was the key organizer and policy planner. The leaders of the Nineteenth Route Army did lend support, though some, notably Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, did so with evident reluctance. The Fukien revolt attracted a few Kuomintang dissidents

such as Eugene Ch'en and Hsu Ch'ien (qq.v.), as well as some leaders of the Third party, notably Chang Po-chün (q.v.) and Huang Ch'i-hsiang. However, Ch'en Ming-shu's aspirations were greater than his base of power; the new regime at Foochow failed to attract significant outside support. In fact, with its repudiation of the Three People's Principles and the removal of the portrait of Sun Yat-sen from public view, the Fukien regime blocked the possibility of cooperation from anti-Nanking forces at Canton and, instead, drew their denunciation. Nanking moved at once to suppress the Fukien revolt, and the government at Foochow disintegrated in mid-January 1934, less than two months after its establishment.

Ch'en Ming-shu, together with almost all leaders of the Fukien venture, fled to Hong Kong, where he lived for the next three years. In 1935 Ch'en participated in Li Chi-shen's plans for the formation of a new political organization known as the People's Revolutionary League, which again advocated resistance to Japanese aggression.

In 1936 Ch'en took another trip to Europe. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in the summer of 1937, Ch'en Ming-shu was among the dissident Nationalist leaders to return to China. The Kuomintang had ordered the restoration of party membership to all who had been expelled for political reasons, and the National Government offered political amnesty to former opponents. Ch'en, however, was not forgiven for his leading role in the Fukien misadventure and was never given any substantive assignment during the war. Most of his erstwhile colleagues, including Li Chi-shen and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, were entrusted with responsible front-line duties during at least part of the wartime period.

Ch'en Ming-shu's enforced inactivity during the long years of the Japanese war sharpened his dissatisfaction with the ruling circles of the National Government. In 1944, together with the ex-Communist and former Third party leader T'an P'ing-shan (q.v.), he began to mobilize a group of dissidents within the Kuomintang. The group, formally organized at Chungking in 1945 as the San Min Chu I Comrades Association, advocated the restoration of the platform advocated by Sun Yat-sen at the First National Congress of the Kuomintang. After the Japanese surrender, Ch'en Ming-shu

lived at Nanking, where he operated a poultry farm, and at Shanghai, where he served as personal representative of Li Chi-shen.

In the autumn of 1949 Ch'en Ming-shu attended the new Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference convened by the Chinese Communists to form a new government. He participated in the September 1949 meetings as a representative of the San Min Chu I Comrades Association, but was subordinate to T'an P'ing-shan in the delegation from that group. Ch'en was elected a member of the Central People's Government Council in October 1949. He was also a member, and later a vice chairman, of the central-south military and administrative committee and became director of its communications department; he was a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. When the San Min Chu I Comrades Association was incorporated into the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee headed by Li Chi-shen, Ch'en was elected to the standing committee of the organization.

During the early period of the new regime, Ch'en Ming-shu was also an active figure in Buddhist circles and in the preparations for the establishment of the Chinese Buddhist Association. Like many other Chinese, he had had a long-standing interest in Buddhism, and it was notable that his chosen courtesy name, Chen-ju, was a Buddhist term meaning "reality." Ch'en had sought refuge in the study of Buddhism during interludes of inactivity, notably at Chungking during the Japanese war, where he reportedly had been under the tutelage of the prominent Buddhist scholar Ou-yang Ching-wu (q.v.). Following the establishment of the Chinese Buddhist Association at Peking, however, Ch'en played no active role in the development of its activities.

Ch'en's lot under the new dispensation did not prove to be a happy one. In contrast to his former associates Chiang Kuang-nai and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, Ch'en Ming-shu had political interests and ambitions. In 1957, during the course of the anti-rightist campaign, he became a major target of public criticism and was condemned for activities which allegedly were detrimental to the interests of the Communist party, socialism, and the Chinese people. At a meeting of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee on 14 July 1957, for example, he was severely

criticized; it was charged that he had made defamatory statements regarding Mao Tse-tung. Among his most severe critics at that time were his former close associates, including Li Chi-shen and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai. On 15 July 1957, at the fourth session of the First National People's Congress, Ch'en Ming-shu, then approaching the age of 70, made a full-scale statement of "confession." The designation of rightist was not removed from him until early 1963.

Ch'en Ming-shu died at Peking on 15 May 1965 at the age of 76 sui, according to a brief announcement in the back pages of the official *Jen-min jih-pao* [people's daily]. He was merely identified as having been a member of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference and of the central committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee. His funeral committee was headed by Ho Hsiang-ning and included Chang Chih-chung, Shao Li-tzu, and Wang K'un-lun.

Ch'en Pai-ch'en

陳白塵

Ch'en Pai-ch'en (1908-), a writer and playwright, was active in the modern theater movement of the 1930's. His plays were especially popular during the years of the Sino-Japanese war.

Little is known of Ch'en's early life except that he was a native of Yench'eng, Kiangsu, a student at the South China College of Arts [Nan-kuo i-shu hsueh-yuan], founded by T'ien Han and others in 1928, and a member of the South China Society [Nan-kuo she], which grew out of the South China College. When the South China Society was closed down by the Nationalist authorities in 1930, Ch'en founded the Modern Dramatic Society [Mo-teng chü-she], in collaboration with Tso Ming. Their aim was to present drama suitable for the ordinary people. During that period Ch'en also turned his attention to writing short stories, with some success.

After the Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1937, Ch'en Pai-ch'en was one of 15 dramatists who cooperated in writing a propaganda play entitled *Pao-wei Lu-kou-ch'iao*, based on the Marco Polo Bridge incident. He then organized the Shanghai Stars Troupe [ying-jen chü-t'uan], a dramatic company recruited from film people,

which toured west China giving performances designed to boost wartime morale. After the tour Ch'en became a lecturer at the National Academy of Dramatic Art [Kuo-li hsi-chü hsueh-hsiao] and at Szechwan Provincial College of Dramatic Art [Sheng-li hsi-chü hsueh-hsiao]. From 1944 to 1945 he was editor of the literary supplement of the *West China Evening Post* [Hua-hsi wan-pao] at Chengtu.

From 1949 to 1953 Ch'en was a member of the national committee of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. In October 1953 he became a member of the board of directors of the Union of Chinese Writers. In December 1956 he became secretary to the Union. Other official posts held by Ch'en included membership on the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee after 1957 and on the board of directors of the Sino-Egyptian Friendship Association after 1955.

Ch'en Pai-ch'en was a prolific writer. His plays were rich in satire, and he was one of the livelier dramatists of the pre-1949 theater. He reached the height of his reputation during the Sino-Japanese war when he wrote a group of plays which, although they were designed as propaganda, provided considerable entertainment and diversion for wartime audiences. One of his best known pieces of this period was *Mo-k'u* [devils' cave], which concerned a group of Shanghai collaborators. *Ch'iu-shou* [harvest], also known as *Ta-ti huang-chin* [gold all over the ground], or *Mo-shang ch'iu* [autumn in the field], also enjoyed great popularity. It was listed by the dramatist Hung Shen (q.v.) as one of the ten best representative plays of the wartime period. Its subject was the cooperation of the army with the farmers during harvest time. *Ta-ti hui-ch'un* [spring returns to the land] depicted a manufacturer who at great personal cost moved his factory inland to continue wartime production. The factory was bombed and the owner lost a leg. The play emphasized his unselfish patriotism in contrast to the self-indulgence of his family and typified the sentimental heroics which were characteristic of the period. *S.S. Victory* was a three-act play written by Ch'en during a time of war-weariness among the public. A comedy, it portrayed an assorted group returning home by ship after the war. *Sheng-kuan t'u* [the chart of official promotion], which Ch'en wrote in 1945, was a satire on officialdom and made free use of comic exag-

geration. A play of a different kind was Ch'en's pre-war work *Shih Ta-k'ai te mo-lu* [the last days of Shih Ta-k'ai], an historical drama set in the time of the Taiping Rebellion.

In addition to his plays Ch'en published several collections of short stories. The first was *Man-t'o-lo chi* [the Mandara], which came out as a volume in 1936. In that year he also published a novel entitled *Ni t'ui-tzu* [muddy legs].

Ch'en Pai-ch'en had a varied career as a playwright, a teacher, and a director of dramatic troupes. Although his plays were not great, they fulfilled a contemporary need in China. He was successful in combining convincing characterization with crisp dialogue, in organizing a crowded stage, and in leading his audiences directly to the point. While there was always an obvious moral to his story, he retained a sense of humor.

Ch'en Pi-chün

陳璧君

Ch'en Pi-chün (5 November 1891–17 June 1959), the wife of Wang Ching-wei (q.v.), held together Wang's Japanese-sponsored regime after his death in 1944. In 1946 she was convicted of treason and was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Little is known of Ch'en Pi-chün's childhood. She was a native of Hsinhui (Sunwui), Kwangtung, and was born in Penang, Malaya, into a family which had interests in the rubber business. The extent of the family's wealth has never been ascertained, but it was clearly a family of substantial means. One of Ch'en's elder brothers and a cousin were English-trained barristers.

In 1908 Sun Yat-sen and a group of his close associates, including Hu Han-min (q.v.) and Wang Ching-wei, visited Malaya to promote the anti-Manchu revolutionary cause and to expand the organization of the T'ung-meng-hui, which had been founded two years before in Japan. The young Ch'en Pi-chün, then still in her teens, was attracted both by Sun Yat-sen's cause and by the good looks and personal magnetism of Wang Ching-wei. When Wang returned to Japan, she took some funds, left her family, and accompanied him. Ch'en Pi-chün's father had no active connection with the revolutionaries, and his daughter apparently

left for Japan without his permission. Her mother, however, continued to support Ch'en.

Sun Yat-sen approved Ch'en Pi-chün's participation in the activities of the T'ung-meng-hui and specifically requested that she be assigned quarters in Tokyo. Ch'en provided what financial support she could to the organization, and this assistance was welcome at a time when funds were low and prospects dim. Ch'en Pi-chün, Ho Hsiang-ning (q.v.), and Ch'iü Chin (ECCP, I, 169-71) were the three leading female members of the T'ung-meng-hui. In Japan, Ch'en and Wang Ching-wei became closer in their friendship. In 1910 she accompanied Wang and others to Peking on a secret mission to assassinate the Manchu prince regent. That initial attempt was frustrated by the discovery of the dynamite which the conspirators had hidden. Ch'en Pi-chün then left China and returned to Malaya to raise funds, while Wang Ching-wei and an associate remained in Peking. In March 1910 Wang and his associate carried out another attempt to assassinate the prince regent by placing a bomb under a bridge over which the prince was scheduled to pass. An error on the part of the conspirators upset the plot and aroused the police, who combed Peking and apprehended Wang in April.

When news of Wang Ching-wei's failure was reported, both Ch'en Pi-chün and Hu Han-min were in Malaya. They assumed that Wang would be executed. When it was later reported that Wang had been given a life sentence, the two met with other T'ung-meng-hui comrades at Ch'en Pi-chün's home in Penang to discuss possible ways of rescuing their friend. Ch'en Pi-chün's mother contributed her private savings to the undertaking. Early in 1911 Ch'en Pi-chün and Hu Han-min went to Hong Kong, where they continued their fruitless efforts to save Wang. In April 1911, when the Huang-hua-kang uprising was staged at Canton (*see* Huang Hsing), Ch'en Pi-chün accompanied Hu Han-min and others to participate in that action. When they arrived at Canton, however, they discovered that the insurrection had already been defeated. The party immediately returned to Hong Kong, where Hu and others took refuge in Ch'en Pi-chün's house in Kowloon.

Wang Ching-wei was released by the Peking authorities on 27 October 1911, some two weeks after the Wuchang revolt. Wang then went south to Shanghai, where he met Sun Yat-sen on

Sun's arrival from Europe and Hong Kong on 25 December.

Wang and Ch'en Pi-chün were married in 1912, on the eve of the republic, and Ho Hsiang-ning was matron of honor. It was reported that the wedding was solemnized on 1 January 1912. The couple then left on a wedding trip to Europe. They spent the years of the First World War in France, relatively uninvolved with political maneuverings at home. Returning to China later in 1917, they joined Sun Yat-sen, who was then at Canton leading an organized opposition regime and attempting to rally independent military strength. During the next seven years Wang Ching-wei was a member of Sun's personal entourage, but his wife did not occupy a prominent public role. In 1923 Sun Yat-sen sent Ch'en Pi-chün and her younger brother Ch'en Ch'ang-tsui, an air force officer, to the United States to solicit donations from Chinese residents for the school established at Canton to commemorate the revolutionary martyr Chu Chih-hsin, who had been killed in 1920. In 1924, after the founding of the Whampoa Military Academy, Ch'en Pi-chün reportedly sold her jewelry to contribute to its funds. In November 1924 she was a member of the party which accompanied Sun Yat-sen on his final trip to the north and was present in Peking when Wang Ching-wei drafted Sun's final political testament shortly before Sun's death in March 1925.

After Sun's death, Wang Ching-wei continued to be a political figure of national importance. He later served as president of the Executive Yuan at Nanking from 1932 to 1935. During that period Ch'en Pi-chün was a member of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang. When the Japanese invasion of China began in 1937-38, however, Chiang Kai-shek moved to consolidate his position as leader of the Kuomintang and national leader of China, and Wang Ching-wei's personal power in the National Government became more nominal than real.

The motivations underlying Wang Ching-wei's decision to desert the National Government and to form a separate regime under Japanese sponsorship remain a subject for conjecture. Whatever the reasons, Wang's move to Nanking introduced a new stage in Ch'en Pi-chün's life. During the period of the collaboration, particularly after 1940, Ch'en Pi-chün divided her

time between Nanking and Canton. She held an appointment from the Japanese-sponsored regime as political director of Kwangtung province, and in that capacity was the supreme Chinese authority in the area, with power over the provincial governor. This situation produced little friction within the Wang regime, since the successive governors of Kwangtung were all related by blood or marriage to Ch'en Pi-chün. They were Ch'en Yao-tsü, her brother; Ch'en Chun-pu, a nephew; and, for the last few months before the Japanese surrender in 1945, Ch'u Min-i (q.v.), her brother-in-law. Ch'en Pi-chün's presence at Canton probably made it easier for the Chinese to deal with the Japanese military authorities, who had to give formal deference to her position as the wife of Wang Ching-wei. After the outbreak of the War in the Pacific, Ch'en Pi-chün helped Hu Han-min's widow and daughter and some doctors to leave Hong Kong for the mainland.

Wang Ching-wei, in ailing health from bullet wounds received several years before, was forced to go to Japan for medical treatment in March 1944. He died there on 10 November 1944, with Ch'en Pi-chün and their younger son at his deathbed. By then, the outcome of the war was no longer in doubt, and close personal friends advised Ch'en Pi-chün to retire from politics. Ch'en Chun-pu refused to continue as governor of Kwangtung. Ch'en Pi-chün, however, argued that if the Chinese leaders of the Japanese-sponsored government abandoned their posts, the Japanese, when eventually defeated, on their departure would vent their wrath on the Chinese people living in the occupied areas. She therefore induced Ch'u Min-i to take over the governorship of Kwangtung and returned to Canton herself to take charge. She was in Canton when Japan surrendered in August 1945. Toward the end of August, she and Ch'u Min-i were taken into custody. In November 1945 she was sent to Nanking. Early in 1946 she was transferred to Soochow, where many leading figures of the Japanese-sponsored governments were held.

On 16 April Ch'en Pi-chün was arraigned and tried for treason. The trial attracted great attention in China. In her testimony, Ch'en Pi-chün stressed Wang Ching-wei's sincerity and patriotism in believing that a peaceful accom-

modation with Japan was the only realistic method of preserving Chinese national interests. She refused to admit that Wang had made mistakes or that he was a national traitor, and she argued that Wang's government had no more given up Chinese interests than had the government of Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking. Although her statement aroused sympathy, the authorities were more concerned with retribution than with understanding. On 23 April 1946 she was convicted, sentenced to life imprisonment, and confined at Soochow to serve her sentence.

Three years later, on the eve of the crossing of the Yangtze by the Chinese Communist armies in the spring of 1949, the National Government made a crisis decision which was unusual. All imprisoned Japanese collaborators serving less than life terms were released; those serving life sentences were transferred to the Ward Road Jail at Shanghai. Ch'en Pi-chün was transferred to the Shanghai prison and thus came under Communist jurisdiction in 1949. After the consolidation of control by the new authorities, two of the most prominent women in China attempted to intercede on her behalf. These were Madame Sun Yat-sen (Sung Ch'ing-ling, q.v.) and Madame Liao Chung-k'ai (Ho Hsiang-ning, q.v.). The Communists allegedly demanded a public statement of repentance from Ch'en Pi-chün as the price of release. She rejected the terms and remained in prison. She later became ill and in March 1959 was moved to the prison hospital. There she died in June 1959, nearly 15 years after Wang Ching-wei's death and 14 years after her own arrest and confinement in 1945. Since Ch'en Pi-chün had no family in China, her body was cremated, and the remains were shipped from Shanghai to Canton. Early in 1960, with the permission of the Communist authorities, the ashes were taken to Hong Kong. A memorial service was held there, and the ashes were then cast into the sea.

An impetuous, brusque, and determined woman, Ch'en Pi-chün exerted great influence on her husband during their long married life. Her independent financial resources also played a significant role in the family. She and Wang Ching-wei were survived by five children, two sons and three daughters, one of whom became a Catholic nun. All went to live outside China.

Ch'en Po-ta

陳伯達

Ch'en Po-ta (1905-) was known as one of the Chinese Communist party's leading spokesmen on international Communist affairs and the interpreter of the political thought of Mao Tse-tung in such works as *Mao Tse-tung on the Chinese Revolution*. He drafted many of the editorials in the *Jen-min jih-pao* [people's daily] and edited the *Hung-ch'i* [red flag]. He served as chief of the research section of the Central Committee's department of propaganda (1937-49) and became an alternate member of the Political Bureau in 1956.

A native of Huian hsien, Fukien, Ch'en Po-ta was born into a poor peasant family. When the republic was established in 1912, he was a boy of school age. His family background would scarcely have given him the opportunity for a formal education. However, about that time the overseas Chinese leader Tan Kah Kee (Ch'en Chia-keng, q.v.) decided to expand educational opportunities for the poor children of his native district in Fukien; he established the Chimei Primary School in his native village of Chimei, in Tungan hsien, the mainland opposite Amoy. Although intended primarily for children of Chimei, the institution also opened its doors to some children from neighboring villages. At this school Ch'en Po-ta received his basic education. As time passed, the Chimei school expanded to include a normal school, and the young Ch'en Po-ta apparently continued his studies there.

Since a college education was out of the question, Ch'en joined the local army. He served first as a clerk, but later rose to become secretary in the army of the local warlord, Chang Chen. Because the Changchow area of southern Fukien was used as a base by the Kwangtung Army under Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.) during the 1918-20 period, it is probable that Ch'en Po-ta knew of the social reform measures promoted by Ch'en Chiung-ming. However, there is no information regarding Ch'en Po-ta's activities until the year 1927, when, after the breakdown of the alliance between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists, he was reported to be in the Soviet Union. By that time he had joined the Chinese Communist

party and was studying at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow.

Ch'en Po-ta returned to China in 1930 and secured a position on the faculty of China College at Peiping. The president of that institution was the prominent diplomat C. T. Wang (Wang Cheng-t'ing, (q.v.). China College, which reportedly had the largest number of underground Communist party members of any college or university in Peiping, was an important center of political activity at the time of the patriotic student demonstrations of 9 December 1935. Ch'en Po-ta apparently was involved in the demonstrations, but his role in them is not known. During the months before the outbreak of war with Japan, the Chinese Communist party advocated a united front with the National Government. Ch'en wrote a series of articles in magazines such as *Tu-shu sheng-huo* [intellectual life] and *Hsin shih-chi* [new century] in which he advocated a so-called new enlightenment movement. He stressed the need for all Chinese intellectuals and students to unite against foreign aggression and against the revival of Confucianism.

When the war broke out in the summer of 1937, Ch'en Po-ta went to Yenan, the new base of the Chinese Communists. There he established contact with Mao Tse-tung. From 1937 through 1942 he served as instructor at the Central Party School in Yenan and was chief of the research section in the department of propaganda of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party. Some reports state that Mao was not immediately impressed by Ch'en Po-ta because Ch'en, who was primarily a scholar and writer, was a poor speaker and did not enjoy social activities. Later, however, Mao showed increasing approval of Ch'en's writings. Ch'en was made a political secretary to Mao, and it was generally believed that he helped to draft Mao's speeches and essays.

In 1942 Ch'en Po-ta was sent to Chungking, where he served as an editor of the Chinese Communist newspaper *Hsin-hua jih-pao* and at the Sheng-huo Bookstore. In 1943 he returned to Yenan and resumed his connections with the propaganda department of the Central Committee, which he maintained thereafter. In 1945, at the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist party, held at Yenan, Ch'en Po-ta was elected to the Central Committee as an alternate member. A year later, he was

elevated to full membership after the death of Wang Jo-fei (q.v.).

Victory in the civil war was in sight for the Chinese Communists by 1949, and the Communist authorities, in preparation for the establishment of a new national regime, convened the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference at Peking. Ch'en Po-ta attended that meeting as the senior delegate of the social science workers in the country. Although he was not on the First National Committee of the conference formed at the close of the meeting, he was elected to its Second National Committee in 1954 and remained a National Committee member thereafter.

More significant than Ch'en Po-ta's formal government posts was his position in the central apparatus of the Communist party. In 1949 he became the senior deputy director of the propaganda department of the Central Committee. In 1955-56 he was also a deputy director of the rural work department of the Central Committee, and in that capacity he delivered an important address on agricultural reform in February 1956. He was elected to alternate membership on the Political Bureau of the party in 1956. Ch'en accompanied Mao Tse-tung on Mao's visit to the Soviet Union (December 1949-February 1950) for the negotiations which established the Sino-Soviet alliance. In 1957 he accompanied Mao to Moscow to attend the celebrations marking the fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution.

It is generally believed that Ch'en Po-ta and Hu Ch'iao-mu shared responsibility for drafting most of the important editorials in the *Jen-min jih-pao* [people's daily], the organ of the Central Committee. It is noteworthy that on 1 July 1951, the thirtieth anniversary of the Chinese Communist party, two of the most important articles released from Peking were Ch'en Po-ta's "Mao Tse-tung's Theory of the Chinese Revolution Is the Combination of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese Revolution"; and Hu Ch'iao-mu's "Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China." Both of these essays were openly critical of such men as Chang Wen-t'ien, Ch'en Shao-yü, and Li Li-san (qq.v.), who were members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party. Ch'en Po-ta's article was extremely outspoken in criticism of Ch'en Shao-yü, who was accused of left deviationism in the early 1930's and of right

deviationism at the time of the outbreak of the war against Japan. The importance of Ch'en Po-ta's July 1951 essay, embodying the most extreme criticism of Ch'en Shao-yü published by the Chinese Communists up to that time, was noted by many observers: if relations between Ch'en Po-ta and Mao Tse-tung were in fact close, that essay may be taken to represent Mao's personal views on the subject.

A prolific writer, Ch'en Po-ta produced a variety of works. His series of articles on the so-called new enlightenment movement, which was carried in the magazines *Tu-shu sheng-huo* and *Hsin shih-chi* included the following essays: "Che-hsueh te kuo-fang tung-yuan" [philosophical mobilization for national defense]; "Hsin che-hsueh-che te tzu-chi p'i-p'ing ho kuan-yü hsin-ch'i-meng yun-tung te chien-i" [self-critique of a new philosopher and a proposal concerning the new enlightenment movement]; "Tsai-lun hsin-ch'i-meng yun-tung: ssu-hsiang te tzu-yu yü tzu-yu te ssu-hsiang" [more on the new enlightenment movement: freedom of thought and free thought]; and "Lun hsin-ch'i-meng yun-tung" [on the new enlightenment movement]. All these articles were published in 1936. Ai Ssu-ch'i (q.v.) and Ho Kan-chih, who were both later to become influential Communist publicists, enthusiastically supported Ch'en Po-ta's views at the time. In 1938 he published *Lun nung-min wen-t'i* [on the peasant problem]. The next year he wrote *San-min chu-i kai-lun* [general comment on the Three People's Principles]. At that time the Chinese Communists were professing their acceptance of the Three People's Principles of the Kuomintang, and Ch'en's work was intended to justify this position.

In 1944 the Chinese Communists at Yenan launched a campaign for the study of party history. In connection with that drive Ch'en Po-ta produced two short books. The first, *Kuan-yü shih-nien nei-chan*, was later published in an English version entitled *Notes on Ten Years of Civil War, 1927-1936*, released by the Foreign Language Press at Peking in 1954. The other work, *Tu "Hunan nung-min yun-tung k'ao-ch'a pao-kao,"* was published in English in Peking in 1954 under the title, *Notes on Mao Tse-tung's Report on the Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*.

In 1946 Ch'en Po-ta produced a study of Yuan Shih-k'ai entitled *Ch'ieh-kuo ta-tao Yuan*

Shih-k'ai [Yuan Shihk'-ai, the brigand who stole the nation]. It was published by the Ch'iu-yin Publishing House, probably in one of the Communist-occupied base areas. In 1945-46 he also wrote a book on the land tax in China entitled *Chin-tai Chung-kuo ti-tsui kai-shuo* [general study of land rent in China], which was published in 1947 by the Hsin-hua Book Store and reprinted in Peking in 1949. A revised edition was published by the People's Publishing House in 1953.

In the course of the civil war, Ch'en Po-ta, as one of the major figures in the Chinese Communist propaganda apparatus, produced several polemical works attacking the leaders of the Kuomintang. In 1948 he wrote *Jen-min kung-ti Chiang Chieh-shih* [the people's public enemy Chiang Kai-shek], which was circulated extensively in the Communist-controlled areas of China. The following year, 1949, saw the publication of three other volumes: *P'ing "Chung-kuo chih ming-yun"* [critique of China's Destiny], a harsh review of the book written by Chiang Kai-shek; *Yen Hsi-shan p'i-p'ing* [critique of Yen Hsi-shan], a hostile appraisal of the political and economic policies of Yen Hsi-shan (q.v.) in Shansi province during the war against Japan; and *Chung-kuo ssu-ta chia-tsu* [China's four big families], an attack on Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Soong, H. H. K'ung, Ch'en Kuo-fu, and Ch'en Li-fu (qq.v.). All these were published by the Hsin-hua Book Store in Peking. Another book, *Chung-kuo ching-chi te kai-tsao* [reform of China's economy] also appeared in 1949, published by the Hsin Min-chu Publishing House of Hong Kong.

In 1949, in celebration of Stalin's seventieth birthday, Ch'en Po-ta wrote *Ssu-ta-lin yü Chung-kuo ko-ming* [Stalin and the Chinese revolution], which was published in English in 1953. Later, in 1952, he wrote an article entitled "In Commemoration of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Publication of Comrade Stalin's Great Work, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*." These works led some observers to consider Ch'en the Chinese Communist party's leading spokesman on international Communist affairs.

The claim for Ch'en Po-ta's role as the interpreter of the political thought of Mao Tse-tung is based in part on his articles written on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Chinese Communist party in 1951. In addition to the important essay "Mao Tse-tung's Theory

of the Chinese Revolution Is the Combination of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese Revolution" noted above, Ch'en Po-ta wrote *Lun Mao Tse-tung ssu-hsiang*, which was issued in English under the title *Mao Tse-tung on the Chinese Revolution*, first published by the People's Publishing House in 1951.

Ch'en Po-ta also contributed articles to several important symposia. He contributed to the collection of articles published at Hong Kong in 1947 under the title *Jen-hsing, tang-hsing, ko-hsing* [human nature, party character, and individual character]. In 1950 the Tung-li Bookstore at Shanghai released a symposium on Lu Hsün (Chou Shu-jen, q.v.), with Mao Tse-tung and Ch'en Po-ta among the contributors. In 1960 the San-lien Bookstore symposium, *Hsueh-hsi Mao Tse-tung ssu-hsiang* [study the thought of Mao Tse-tung], contained contributions by Ch'en and others.

Ch'en Po-ta's stature as a top-ranking political theoretician resulted from his personal relations with Mao Tse-tung and from his senior position in the central propaganda apparatus of the Chinese Communist party. In 1958, when the Chinese Communist party established a new theoretical journal, *Hung-ch'i* [red flag], Ch'en Po-ta was named chief editor. *Hung-ch'i* and the *People's Daily* in Peking served as the principal channels through which the top leadership of the Chinese Communist party released its major doctrinal statements in the ensuing bitter conflict with the leadership of the Soviet party.

In the People's Republic of China, Ch'en Po-ta's political influence has been strong in the realm of advanced research, particularly in philosophy and the social sciences. For some years he held the post of vice president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences at Peking. His 1952 *Speech before the Study Group of Research Members of Academia Sinica* was issued by the Foreign Language Press in 1953.

Ch'en Pu-lei

Orig. Ch'en Hsun-en
T. Yen-chi
H. Wei-lei

陳布雷
陳訓恩
彥及
畏壘

Ch'en Pu-lei (26 December 1890-13 November 1948) was best known as Chiang Kai-shek's confidential assistant (1935-48), in which position he phrased the policies of the Kuomintang

and the National Government. Previously, he had served as the editor of the *Shang Pao* and of the *China Times*. In 1939 he became deputy secretary general of the Supreme National Defense Council. In 1948 he committed suicide.

A native of Tz'uhsı, Chekiang, Ch'en Pu-lei received his early education from private tutors. He spent the years from 1906 to 1911 in the Chekiang Higher School at Hangchow, where he began to develop an interest in current political affairs. His school days also led to a nickname, "Bread Boy," given him by a classmate in Hangchow who thought Ch'en's round face resembled a loaf of bread. Ch'en continued to use the name "Pu-lei," the Chinese phonetic rendering of the English word "bread," throughout his later career.

After graduation from school, Ch'en worked briefly in Shanghai as a journalist on the well known magazine *T'ien-to pao*, which then was edited by Tai Chi-t'ao. From 1912 to 1920, he taught intermittently at the Hsiao-shih Middle School at Ningpo. After his father's death in 1914, Ch'en Pu-lei, as the eldest son, abandoned his teaching duties for a time to attend to family responsibilities.

In 1920 he went to Shanghai to serve on the editorial staff of the Commercial Press preparing the Chinese edition of Webster's *Collegiate Dictionary*. After a few months, he again turned to journalism and became chief editor of the *Shang Pao* [commercial journal]. During the next six years, Ch'en Pu-lei, in cooperation with P'an Kung-chan and others, developed the *Shang Pao* into one of the leading newspapers of Shanghai. These were years of great political ferment, and Ch'en Pu-lei's articles, which gave vigorous support to the cause of Chinese nationalism and to the revolutionary forces then centered at Canton, drew much attention. Originally intended as an organ for the Shanghai business community, the *Shang Pao* gained increasing popularity among students and intellectuals because of its close coverage of contemporary events. In a special article, Ch'en Pu-lei mourned the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, while some other newspapers either ignored or ridiculed Sun's passing. Moreover, the *Shang Pao* followed the progress of the Northern Expedition with eagerness and reported the Nationalist capture of Wuhan with enthusiasm.

Late in 1926, at the age of about 36, Ch'en Pu-lei began to participate actively in Chinese politics. With his associate, P'an Kung-chan, Ch'en went to Nanchang, capital of Kiangsi province, to report on the National Revolutionary Army. Chiang Kai-shek, whose temporary headquarters was then at Nanchang, knew of Ch'en Pu-lei's lucid editorials and of the *Shang Pao*'s outspoken sympathy for the Nationalists. He invited Ch'en Pu-lei to remain at Nanchang to assist him in drafting political messages and other statements. Ch'en then joined the Kuomintang.

In the spring of 1927, Ch'en worked briefly in the Chekiang provincial government, then headed by Chang Jen-chieh. In May of that year Ch'en went to Nanking to join the secretariat of the central headquarters of the Kuomintang, the party organ then supervised by Hu Han-min, Ting Wei-fen, and Ch'en Kuo-fu (qq.v.). After the Nanking-Wuhan schism, Ch'en Pu-lei returned to Shanghai early in 1928 to become chief editor of the *Shih-shih hsin-pao* (*China Times*), a post he held for about two years. He continued to render personal assistance to Chiang Kai-shek, accompanying him twice to Peking and drafting state papers for him.

In 1930 Ch'en Pu-lei was appointed vice minister of education in Nanking. In 1931 he was named vice minister of the central propaganda department of the Kuomintang. He served twice during this period as commissioner of education in his native Chekiang, in 1930 and from 1932 to 1934. Ch'en Pu-lei relinquished his post in Chekiang in 1934 to go to Kiangsi, where he entered the personal service of Chiang Kai-shek. He served in Chiang's Nanchang headquarters and in 1935 became director of the second department of the Generalissimo's attendance office, where he served as confidential assistant to Chiang for over a decade.

In retrospect, according to Ch'en Pu-lei's own estimate in his memoir, his most productive period was from 1934 to 1940. During these years his writings presented China's case to the nation and to the world, and served to enhance Chiang Kai-shek's political stature as wartime leader of China. As Sino-Japanese relations deteriorated, Ch'en's responsibilities grew, and Chiang Kai-shek made increasing use of Chen's talent for phrasing the policies of the Kuomintang and the National Government. At the

beginning of 1935, with a view to warning Japan that its expansionist policies would never conquer China, Ch'en Pu-lei composed a long article, "Enemy or Friend?" This statement was published in the periodical *Wai-chiao p'ing-lun* [diplomatic review] under the name of Hsü Tao-lin. (Hsü, then serving on the staff under Ch'en, was the son of Hsü Shu-cheng, a former associate of Tuan Ch'i-jui who was noted for his pro-Japanese sentiments.) The article challenged Japan to make the choice between friendship and enmity, bearing in mind that the National Government of China was more anti-Communist than anti-Japanese and that it would grow stronger in war. The article's argument impressed the civilian government at Tokyo, which favored the idea of dominating but not conquering China through a *rapprochement* based on resistance to Communism and economic co-operation with Japan. However, the article did not please the Japanese militarists, particularly those in Manchuria, who responded by attempting to establish separatist regimes in both north China and Inner Mongolia.

In 1936 Ch'en Pu-lei became deputy secretary general of the Central Political Council, the body which linked the Kuomintang and the National Government, and he bore heavy responsibilities during the period of the Sian Incident in December of that year. He resigned his post in the Central Political Council, and in May 1937 he suffered a nervous breakdown and had to seek release from his official duties to recuperate at Hangchow. After the outbreak of war in July, however, Ch'en resumed his duties with Chiang Kai-shek and, when the National Military Council was expanded at Hankow in 1938, he became deputy to Chang Ch'ün (q.v.), secretary general of the council. Ch'en also played a major role in composing state papers for Chiang Kai-shek and was active in the planning for the San Min Chu I Youth Corps.

Following the evacuation of the National Government to west China in late 1938, Ch'en continued as confidential secretary to Chiang Kai-shek, drafting important policy statements and messages. In 1939, when the Supreme National Defense Council was established in Chungking to coordinate control of military and civil affairs in China, Ch'en became deputy secretary general, serving first under Chang Ch'ün and later under Wang Ch'ung-hui. He

held that position for the duration of the conflict. The demands of the Japanese war period, combined with the deterioration of the Nationalist political position after 1945, drained Ch'en Pu-lei's resources. He was greatly concerned by the expansion of Communist power and by the rising tide of criticism of Chiang Kai-shek, and he increasingly felt that his usefulness was spent. In November 1948 in Nanking he took his own life with an overdose of sleeping drugs, leaving letters of explanation to his family, to Chiang Kai-shek, and to several close friends. He was buried in December 1948 in a scenic spot on the outskirts of Hangchow where he had once planned to live after retiring from political life.

Ch'en Pu-lei's autobiography up to his fiftieth birthday is contained in a volume of memoirs entitled *Ch'en Pu-lei hui-i lu* [reminiscences of Ch'en Pu-lei], published in Shanghai in 1939. The entries, written in the form of a diary and reproduced in his own calligraphy, also contain a wealth of information and opinion about contemporary events, institutions, and personalities.

Ch'en Pu-lei was well known by contemporary Chinese newsmen as a journalist. His interests were in the realm of journalism, and he often functioned as press secretary, as well as aide and confidant, to Chiang Kai-shek.

Ch'en Pu-lei was conservative, patriotic, loyal, and oriented toward the observance and preservation of traditional virtues. He combined great talent in writing Chinese prose with acute perception of the thoughts and aspirations of his superior, the Generalissimo. These traits, as well as his personal integrity, helped to create for Ch'en Pu-lei a distinctive position in modern Chinese politics.

Ch'en San-li

T. Po-yen

San-yuan

H. Shen-chou hsiu-shou jen 神州袖手人

陳三立

伯嚴

散原

Ch'en San-li (1852–15 September 1937) helped to develop reform and modernization programs in Hunan while his father, Ch'en Pao-chen, was governor (1895–98). After the failure of the Hundred Days Reform of 1898, he was banished from government service. He then became a noted poet and essayist.

The Ch'en San-li branch of the Ch'en clan had moved from Fukien to Ining, Kiangsi, five generations before his birth and gradually had established itself as the leading family of the local gentry. Both Ch'en's great-grandfather, Ch'en K'o-sheng, and grandfather, Ch'en Wei-lin, were chien-sheng, students of the Imperial Academy. Ch'en Wei-lin, a follower of the Wang Yang-ming school of Neo-Confucianism, practiced medicine. A public-spirited man, he safeguarded his home district by organizing local militia against the Taiping rebels and promoted education by establishing the Ining Academy.

Ch'en San-li's father, Ch'en Pao-chen (1831-1900; T. Yu-ming), who inherited Ch'en Wei-lin's regard for Wang Yang-ming and was an ardent student of the *I-ching* [book of changes], was known for his progressive views and statesmanship. Ch'en San-li grew up in a home environment which was conducive to the development of an interest in intellectual subjects and public affairs. He was introduced to the intricacies of foreign policy by Kuo Sung-t'ao (ECCP, I, 438-39) and Lo Cheng-i and to the problems of internal administration by Wang Wen-shao (1830-1908), who had helped his father's career.

In 1874 Ch'en San-li married the daughter of Lo Hsing-ssu, then prefect of Yuyang, Szechwan. Ch'en and his wife were a devoted couple. Her death in 1880 when she was only 26, came as a great shock to him. Later, he married the daughter of Yü Tsai-t'ien and found in her an equally devoted and congenial wife.

Ch'en San-li passed the examinations for the chü-jen degree in 1882. In 1886 he obtained the chin-shih degree and was appointed secretary in the Board of Revenue at Peking. In September 1895, on the recommendation of Jung-lu (ECCP, I, 405-9), Ch'en Pao-chen was appointed governor of Hunan. He invited his son to accompany him. Disgusted by the corruption at Peking, Ch'en San-li resigned his position and went to Changsha as his father's aide. China had just been defeated in the first Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95, and the Ch'ens were determined to do their utmost to restore the nation. The opportunity in Hunan appeared to be designed specifically for the realization of their plans.

From 1895 to 1898 Ch'en Po-chen attempted to sponsor a provincial government which would make Hunan the starting point of mod-

ernization and reform for south China. Ch'en San-li played a decisive part in this effort. The father-son relationship was so close that it is difficult to distinguish whose directives were responsible for which aspects of the reform effort in Hunan. It may have been the father who, in cooperation with Chang Chih-tung (ECCP, I, 27-32), pushed the economic development of his province by promoting mining, shipping, telegraphic communications, and reorganization of the salt administration. It may have been the son who formulated the main principles of the Hunan reform and promoted social and educational progress. Ch'en San-li's writings indicate that their view was that durable reform must be based on a general democratization of social attitudes. He conceived of this democratization, however, as a gradual process of organic growth. The specific objectives of the Hunan reform were grouped under four main principles: reform of the social attitudes of the gentry, promotion of general education, control of the military forces, and democratization of the bureaucracy.

The influx of talent into Hunan was impressive, and there was no other center in China where the reform spirit was as vital as in Changsha during the late 1890's. The provincial director of education, Hsu Jen-chu (1863-1900; T. Shih-fu), established the Shih-wu hsueh-t'ang [academy of current affairs], of which Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was made dean. T'an Ssu-t'ung (ECCP, II, 702-5) organized the Nan-hsueh-hui, or South China Reform Association, and edited the *Hsiang-hsueh hsin-pao* [Hunan scholarship new journal], the first newspaper in Hunan, which began publication in April 1897. Huang Tsun-hsien (ECCP, I, 350-51), who had served in the Chinese embassies at London and Tokyo, worked to spread Western ideas and institutions. The Ch'ens shared the enthusiasm of this group, and suggestions coming from its members contributed much to the effectiveness of the Hunan movement. Ch'en San-li's role in Hunan gained him national recognition. His closest friends during the period were T'an Ssu-t'ung; Ting Hui-k'ang, the son of Ting Jih-ch'ang (ECCP, II, 721-23); and Wu Pao-ch'u, the son of Wu Ch'ang-ch'ing (1824-1884). The four were admiringly called the ssu kung-tzu [four young patricians].

However, the Ch'ens were not inordinate in their enthusiasm. When Ch'en Pao-chen

recommended Lin Hsu (1857–1898), Liu Kuang-ti (1859–1898), T'an Ssu-t'ung, and Yang Jui (1857–1898) to the Kuang-hsu emperor at Peking, he praised their youthful talent, but added that they tended to be rash and recommended that they be placed under the guidance of Chang Chih-tung. When court intrigues at Peking caused the Hundred Days Reform to end in disaster, the four were executed. The Ch'en's, father and son, were found guilty by association and banished for life from government service. Thanks to the intervention of Chang Chih-tung and Liu K'un-i (ECCP, I, 523–24), they escaped more severe punishment. Although they were pardoned in 1900, the elder Ch'en did not recover from this blow and died in that year, a broken man. The death of his father brought Ch'en San-li to the brink of despair. He felt that he had pushed his father along a course which was bound to lead to disaster, and he was tortured by self-reproach and remorse.

At the height of the Boxer Uprising, Ch'en San-li's concern for the national good caused him, in cooperation with Chang Chien (q.v.), to persuade Liu K'un-i, the governor general of Liang-kiang, to proclaim neutrality and to maintain it in the face of military advances by the Allied powers, thus ensuring peace in the lower Yangtze valley. That was his final political action. Thereafter, except for two honorary posts, as general manager of the proposed Nanchang-Kiukiang Railway (1907) and as editor in chief of the provincial gazetteer of Kiangsi, he held no government offices. Toward the end of the Ch'ing dynasty, when reform measures were discussed at the court at Peking and his suggestions were requested, he did not respond to the request.

After his father's death, Ch'en led the roaming life of a scholar-poet. Much of the time he resided at Nanking, where he named his abode the San-yuan ching-she, a name from which his pen name was derived. He also spent time in Shanghai, Hangchow, Hsunyang, and on Mount Lu-shan, writing occasional pieces and obituaries for friends and acquaintances, but mainly devoting himself to the writing of poetry. In 1933 Ch'en moved to Peiping. He died there four years later, in the summer of 1937. It is said that he committed suicide, following the example of ancient worthies, by self-imposed starvation. He did so as a protest against the Japanese invaders.

Although Ch'en San-li's poems were distinctive and unmistakable, he never strove for novelty in his verse, but used the traditional forms of Chinese poetry. Thus, his style was closer to that of his friend Cheng Hsiao-hsu (q.v.) than to that of romanticists such as Huang Tsun-hsien and K'ang Yu-wei (q.v.). Some critics have held that his verse is derived from the poetry of the northern Sung period, particularly from the work of Huang T'ing-chien (1045–1105). However, Ch'en also learned from the more sophisticated work of Wang Shih-chen (1634–1711; ECCP, II, 831–33) and others of the early Ch'ing period, and his poems achieved a subtlety and depth which those of earlier periods did not have. Ch'en San-li was highly respected as a poet; Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (q.v.) once stated that none of the poems in the famous T'ang and Sung collections surpassed those of Ch'en San-li.

His poetry is available in several collections. The *San-yuan ching-she shih* [the poems of the San-yuan ching-she] and the *San-yuan ching-she hsü-chi* [more writings of the San-yuan ching-she], both with prefaces by Cheng Hsiao-hsu, were published in 1909 and 1922, respectively, by the Commercial Press. That press also issued a one-volume *San-yuan ching-she shih pieh-chi* in 1931. The *San-yuan ching-she shih chi*, reproducing Ch'en's poetry from 1909 to 1926 in his own calligraphy, was published in Taiwan in 1961.

As a prose writer, Ch'en San-li was as famous as Ma Ch'i-ch'ang (1855–1929; T. T'ung-po), the leading essayist of the traditional T'ung-ch'eng school in the republican period. Some critics linked him with Wang Shu-nan (1851–1936; T. Chin-ch'ing), like Ch'en a chin-shih of 1886, and the pair were commonly referred to as Ch'en of the South and Wang of the North. The collection of Ch'en's prose writings entitled *San-yuan ching-she wen-chi* was published by the Chunghua Book Company at Shanghai in 1949 and was reprinted in Taipei in 1961. The materials in this collection were arranged chronologically, not by genre. Obituary matter in the traditional style makes up about three-fourths of the collection.

Ch'en San-li's second wife died in 1923. He had five sons, of whom the best-known are Ch'en Heng-k'o and Ch'en Yin-k'o (q.v.). A daughter married Yu Ta-wei (q.v.).

Ch'en Heng-k'o (1876–1923; T. Shih-tseng; H. Huai-t'ang, Hsiu-tao-jen) received his training

in the Chinese classics from his grandmother. His main interest, however, was in traditional Chinese painting, which he studied under Wu Ch'ang-shih (1844-1927) and Yao Hua (1876-1936). Later he went to Japan to study at the Tokyo Higher Normal School. On graduation, he returned to China, taught in Kiangsu and Hunan, and finally worked for ten years in the ministry of education at Peking. During that period in Peking he organized a research council of Chinese painting [Chung-kuo hua-hsueh yen-chiu hui] and published a periodical entitled *Hui-hua tsa-chih* [painting magazine]. In 1922 he published an important volume called *Chung-kuo wen-jen hua chih yen-chiu* [a study of paintings of Chinese scholars], which also included an article by Omura Seigai (1868-1927), professor of Oriental art at the Tokyo Fine Arts School. That book was the first attempt to trace systematically the role played by traditional scholar-painters in the development of Chinese painting. He stated that the four factors most important to the achievement of a good painting by a man of letters are personality, scholarship, talent, and positive comprehension. Ch'en Heng-k'o died on 17 September 1923 at Nanking while attending his mother's funeral. Another book of his, *Chung-kuo hui-hua shih* [history of Chinese painting], was published in 1925. His literary works, entitled *Huai-t'ang wen-kao* [the drafts of articles of Huai-t'ang] and *Ch'en Shih-tseng shih-chi* [the poems of Ch'en Shih-tseng], were published in small quantity and are not generally available.

The originality of Ch'en Heng-k'o's contribution to modern Chinese painting has been appreciated more since his death than during his lifetime. Some of his paintings have been reproduced in recent years. Among these, eight landscape paintings, *Ch'en Shih-tseng hua-ts'e* [the paintings of Ch'en Shih-tseng], printed by the famous Jung-pao-chai at Peking in 1955, deserves special mention. Ch'en Heng-k'o was also important as an influential critic of the painting of Ch'i Pai-shih (q.v.).

Ch'en Shao-k'uan

T. Hou-fu

陳紹寬

厚甫

Ch'en Shao-k'uan (1888-), Fukienese naval officer, rose to become minister of the navy (1930-38) and a member of the Supreme

National Defense Council. After 1949 he served the Peking government and became a member of the National Defense Council.

A native of Minhou (Foochow), Fukien, Ch'en Shao-k'uan was born into a scholar-gentry family. Since Fukien was then the major naval training base in China, it was not strange that, after receiving his early education along traditional Chinese lines, Ch'en should be attracted to a naval career. He enrolled in the Mawei Naval Academy near Foochow, and after graduation in 1907, he entered on active duty in the navy, eventually becoming a captain.

In 1916 Ch'en was assigned to the Chinese legation at London as a military attaché. He took advantage of his assignment there during the First World War to study British naval operations. At the end of the war he served as the naval representative on the Chinese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. The same year, he represented China at the International Waterways Conference in London.

After returning to China from England in 1920, Ch'en resumed active duty in the navy and was given charge of the training program for naval cadets. From 1920 to 1923 he commanded the training ship Tung-chi, and then the training cruiser Ying-sui. In 1925 he was promoted to the rank of vice admiral, and from 1926 to 1929 he was commander of the 2nd Squadron of the Chinese Navy.

Meanwhile, in 1927, the Nationalist Northern Expedition reached Nanking, and the National Government was established there. Ch'en took his squadron to join the new government, in which he became a member of the Military Council. In the autumn of 1927 the Nanking government sent an expedition against T'ang Sheng-chih (q.v.), who was in control of the Wuhan area, and Ch'en Shao-k'uan moved his naval squadron to participate in the campaign. After the suppression of the revolt, the Wuhan branch of the Central Political Council was organized in the spring of 1928 under the chairmanship of Li Tsung-jen (q.v.), and Ch'en Shao-k'uan was named a member of this branch political council. In 1929 Ch'en gave up the command of the 2nd Squadron to become political vice minister of the navy. In 1930 he became minister of the navy at Nanking. In 1935, at the Fifth National Congress of the Kuomintang, Ch'en Shao-k'uan was elected

to the Central Executive Committee, and the next year he became a member of the standing committee of the Military Council.

In April 1937 Ch'en Shao-k'uan was appointed deputy envoy—the Chinese envoy being H. H. K'ung (q.v.)—to attend the coronation of King George VI in London. After the outbreak of hostilities between China and Japan in July of that year, Ch'en hastened back to China. The Yangtze was blockaded at Kiangyin, between Shanghai and Nanking. On 22 September 1937, however, the Japanese air force struck and virtually demolished the entire Chinese fleet at one blow. Ch'en Shao-k'uan withdrew to Wuhan with the senior officials of the National Government. Attempts to delay the westward movement of Japanese naval craft in the China theater then had to rely principally on the laying of mines, which at best could only delay the progress of the Japanese advance. After the loss of Wuhan in 1938, the Chinese navy had no usable ships. The ministry of the navy was abolished, and in its place a nominal headquarters of the naval forces was established with Ch'en Shao-k'uan as its head. When the Chinese capital was moved to Chungking, the advance of the Japanese navy was held up at Ichang because the upper reaches of the Yangtze could not be navigated. The men of the Chinese naval forces then were used on land for harassing actions, and guns were mounted on the river banks about Ichang. In addition to serving as commander in chief of the navy, Ch'en Shao-k'uan was a member of the Supreme National Defense Council during the war. These positions, however, were little more than titular.

In June 1946, after the National Government had returned to Nanking, its wartime military organs were disbanded. The ministry of national defense was then established under the Executive Yuan to handle all military matters, including the army, the navy, and the air force. Ch'en Shao-k'uan retired and returned to his native Fukien. The post of commander in chief of the Chinese naval forces was taken over by Kuei Yung-ch'ing, previously an army officer, who, coincidentally, had been the Chinese army representative on the delegation which visited London in 1937 for the coronation of King George VI.

During the postwar interlude, Ch'en Shao-k'uan remained in retirement and did not

publicly sympathize with the Communist cause. Nevertheless, from 1950 to 1954 he was a member of the regional government in east China. He was elected a deputy to the First National People's Congress in 1954 and was reelected to the Second Congress in 1959. He also served as a vice chairman of the Fukien provincial government after 1954. In 1959 he was appointed a member of the National Defense Council, and in the same year he was elected a vice chairman of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, the group into which all former Kuomintang dissident groups were merged after they defected and joined the new regime in 1949.

Ch'en Shao-pai

Orig. Ch'en Wen-shao
H. K'uei-shih

陳少白
陳聞韶
夔石

Ch'en Shao-pai (1869–1934), anti-Manchu revolutionary, fellow-student and close associate of Sun Yat-sen, was best known for establishing and editing (1899–1905) the *Chung-kuo jih-pao* [China daily], the first Chinese newspaper to advocate open revolution and the overthrow of the Ch'ing dynasty.

Weihai, Ch'en Shao-pai's native village, is one of the most productive and populous areas in Hsinhui (Sunwui) hsien, Kwangtung province, and at the time of his birth it was dominated by the many branches of the Ch'en family. His father, Ch'en Tzu-ch'iao, was a gentry-scholar who was interested in new ideas. As a boy, Ch'en Shao-pai demonstrated literary brilliance and was prepared in the conventional manner for the imperial examinations and career as a government official.

The boy's uncle, Ch'en Meng-nan, had been converted to Christianity in Canton, and he brought home many translations of Western books for his nephew. From them, Ch'en Shao-pai first gained some understanding of the world outside the Chinese empire, and he gradually developed nationalistic ideas. He therefore abandoned the study of the traditional literary pieces required by the Chinese curriculum and turned to the pursuit of knowledge of a modern and practical nature. Later in his life he gave full credit to his uncle for having initiated this basic change in his ideas.

About this time an American missionary, the Reverend Andrew P. Happer, M.D., had raised funds for the purpose of establishing an institution of higher education at Canton. After arriving in China and visiting several areas, Happer decided to consider having the school located at Shanghai rather than at Canton. Then, a group of prominent and reputable personages in Kwangtung, none of them Christian, sent a joint petition to the mission authorities urging them to adhere to the original plan of making Canton the seat of the institution. Ch'en Shao-pai's father, Ch'en Tzu-ch'iao, was a leader of this group. As a result of this petition, which Dr. Happer viewed as unique in the history of Protestant missions in China, Canton Christian College was established.

The entrance examinations drew 80 candidates, and 30 of the most promising were admitted when classes started on 28 March 1888. The first student enrolled was Ch'en Shao-pai, who had applied for admission on the prompting of his father. (Years later, when Canton Christian College was reorganized as Lingnan University in 1917, Ch'en wrote an account of its beginnings and sent it to the university authorities.) While studying at the college, Ch'en became acquainted with the Chinese pastor Ou Feng-ch'ih, who was known for his interest in young people and who had been the mentor of Sun Yat-sen. On a visit to Hong Kong, with an introduction provided by Ou Feng-ch'ih, Ch'en Shao-pai called on Sun Yat-sen, who was then studying at the College of Medicine which had been opened for Chinese students in the colony by Dr. James Cantlie in 1887. The two immediately became friends, and Ch'en thereupon dropped out of the Canton college and enrolled in the medical college at Hong Kong.

The mutual interests of Sun Yat-sen and Ch'en Shao-pai included their concern with China's political dilemmas and their anti-Manchu leanings. These interests, which developed while Sun Yat-sen was a medical student in Canton and Hong Kong, continued and strengthened after his graduation in June 1892. Ch'en was so impressed with the importance of overthrowing the Manchus that he left the medical school without completing his course. Meeting secretly in Hong Kong in 1893, a small group, including Sun Yat-sen, Ch'en Shao-pai, Cheng Shih-liang, and Lu Hao-tung,

discussed various possibilities for China's regeneration, including the possibility of overthrowing the Manchu rulers.

During the autumn and winter of 1894, when Sun Yat-sen was in Honolulu, he organized the Hsing-Chung-hui [revive China society]. With funds subscribed by the overseas Chinese community in Hawaii, Sun then returned to Hong Kong to lay plans for a revolt against the Manchu dynasty and for the establishment of a republican government in China. This move led to plans for an uprising in 1895 at Canton, and Ch'en Shao-pai took an active part in the planning. The plot was discovered by the authorities, however, and several of the conspirators, including Lu Hao-tung, were arrested and executed. Both Sun Yat-sen and Ch'en Shao-pai had to seek refuge in Japan, after which Sun returned to Honolulu to attempt to recruit new members and to obtain financial support. In 1897 Ch'en Shao-pai went to Taiwan, which was then under Japanese control, and there he organized a branch of the Hsing-Chung-hui and worked to recruit comrades for the anti-Manchu enterprise.

In 1899, on orders from Sun Yat-sen, Ch'en Shao-pai returned to Hong Kong to establish the *Chung-kuo jih-pao* [China daily], the first Chinese newspaper to advocate open revolution and the overthrow of the Manchu rulers of China. After the establishment of the paper, Ch'en began a vigorous editorial war against the *Shang Pao* [commercial journal], the Hong Kong organ of the group which advocated constitutional monarchy for China.

Ch'en also played a leading role in planning a new series of uprisings to be conducted in conjunction with such secret societies as the Ko-lao-hui in the Yangtze area and the Triad Society in south China. During 1899 and 1900 the revolutionaries concentrated on preparations for a strike at Waichow (Huichou) in Kwangtung. The uprising, which took place in the autumn of 1900, at a time when north China was in turmoil as a result of the Boxer disturbances, failed.

In addition to his writings in the *Chung-kuo jih-pao*, Ch'en Shao-pai also attempted to spread propaganda for the anti-Manchu cause through the performances of an amateur dramatic troupe which he organized and directed. One of his plays told of Hsiung Fei, a native of the Tung-kuan district of Kwangtung, who had led an army to resist the Mongol invaders when the Southern Sung dynasty was crumbling.

In 1903, when Sun Yat-sen went to Annam to attempt to extend the membership of the Hsing-Chung-hui, Ch'en Shao-pai was summoned there to assist with plans. In 1905, when the Hong Kong branch of the T'ung-meng-hui was organized, Ch'en was elected president of the branch and turned over the editorship of the *Chung-kuo jih-pao* to Feng Tzu-yu (q.v.).

Ch'en Shao-pai then became less active politically for a few years. When the Wuchang revolt of 10 October 1911 finally took place and Hu Han-min (q.v.) became Kwangtung tutuh [military governor], Ch'en was made director of the foreign affairs department of the military government at Canton. He held the post for only a few months, however, and then resigned, stating that he would no longer seek public office. He organized the Kwangtung Navigation Company, planning to regain the shipping interests which had fallen into foreign hands. In 1921, after Sun Yat-sen was elected president extraordinary of the government at Canton, Ch'en served for a time as personal adviser to Sun. Believing that he was not suited for official life, however, he completely retired. He returned to his native district in Hsinhui and spent his last years in literary pursuits. He also worked for the modernization of his native village, particularly supporting the building of roads and the banning of gambling and opium smoking, and he promoted public welfare and the building of schools.

During the days of the Hsing-Chung-hui, Ch'en Shao-pai had maintained a very close personal relationship with Sun Yat-sen. He had a large collection of Sun's letters, which represented valuable historical data bearing on the Chinese revolution. In 1923, however, when Yunnanese troops were riding roughshod over Canton, Ch'en took refuge in Hong Kong. In the midst of the confusion, the valuable collection was lost.

In 1934 Ch'en Shao-pai's health began to fail. He went to Peiping for a rest, and died there that year at the age of 65.

general secretary of the Chinese Communist party (1931-32), Chinese representative to the Comintern (1932-37), and a member of the Comintern's Executive Committee. In 1937 he returned to China. His disagreements with Mao Tse-tung caused Mao to launch the cheng-feng [rectification] movement in 1942. Ch'en's policies were condemned and thereafter he was a target of Communist criticism.

A native of Liuan, Anhwei province, Ch'en Shao-yü was the son of a well-to-do farmer. He attended middle school in Wuhan, where he was attracted to the activities of the Socialist Youth League. Accordingly, he went to Shanghai and enrolled at Shanghai University, an institution established to train cadres for political work. Several Communists, including Ch'u Ch'iupai, Teng Chung-hsia, and Yun Tai-ying (qq.v.) were instructors there, and Ch'en became a member of the Chinese Communist party in 1925, when he was not yet 20.

Late in 1925 Ch'en was selected by the Chinese Communist party to go to Russia for study at Sun Yat-sen University, which had been established specifically to train Chinese cadres. After his arrival in Moscow in November 1925, Ch'en began to study Russian and Marxism-Leninism. In January 1927 he was sent back to China on a special mission, the details of which were unknown at the time even to his fellow Chinese students in Moscow. That trip took him to Wuhan, where he served as interpreter for Pavel Mif at the Fifth National Congress of the Chinese Communist party, held in the spring of 1927. Ch'en remained at Wuhan to perform liaison tasks for Borodin during the summer. After the break between the Kuomintang and the Communists, he returned to Moscow in August 1927. Because he had witnessed the developments in China during the critical months of 1927, Ch'en Shao-yü was able to become a leader of the Chinese students at Sun Yat-sen University. His rise was assisted by the fact that his mentor, Pavel Mif, replaced Karl Radek as head of Sun Yat-sen University at that time. Ch'en soon became secretary of the Moscow branch of the Chinese Communist Youth League. He had another opportunity to observe Communist party politics in Moscow in the summer of 1928, when he served as interpreter at both the Sixth National Congress of the Chinese Communist party and the Sixth Congress of the

Ch'en Shao-yü 陳紹禹
Orig. Ch'en Shan-t'ai 陳山泰
Alt. Wang Ming 王明

Ch'en Shao-yü (1907-), leader of the protégés of Pavel Mif known as the 28 Bolsheviks, was

Comintern. A group of Mif's favorite Chinese students in Moscow were regarded as such firm supporters of Stalin's China policy that they became known as the 28 Bolsheviks. In addition to Ch'en Shao-yü, that group included Chang Wen-t'ien, Ch'in Pang-hsien, Shen Tse-min, Wang Chia-hsiang (qq.v.), and others.

In the summer of 1930, when Pavel Mif was made Comintern delegate to China, his young Chinese protégés accompanied him from Moscow to Shanghai. Ch'en Shao-yü, the leader of the group, served as Mif's interpreter and was associated with Mif in the ensuing intra-party struggle at Shanghai against the leadership of Li Li-san (q.v.). Previously, Ch'en Shao-yü's writings on revolutionary strategy had been similar to what was later referred to as the Li Li-san line. Ch'en had supported the conventional view that the Communist program in China should emphasize the early use of military action to seize urban centers and to establish contact with the urban proletariat. Nonetheless, Ch'en and his comrades benefitted from the fact that Li Li-san was made the scapegoat for the abortive Chinese Communist military actions in 1930 and was removed from the Political Bureau of the party in November. At the fourth plenum of the Sixth Central Committee, held at Shanghai in January 1931, the group associated with Mif gained control of the central party organs in an action that has been called the last identifiable instance of direct Soviet interference in the internal affairs of the Chinese Communist party.

After the execution of Hsiang Chung-fa (q.v.), who had been titular head of the party from 1928 to 1931, Ch'en Shao-yü became its general secretary at the age of 24. His most significant political action was to staff the Political Bureau at Shanghai with other members of the Russian-trained group, such as Chang Wen-t'ien, Ch'in Pang-hsien and Shen Tse-min. A year later, in the autumn of 1932, Ch'en Shao-yü returned to Moscow as Chinese representative to the Comintern, and Ch'in Pang-hsien succeeded him as general secretary of the Chinese Communist party.

Ch'en Shao-yü's move to the Soviet Union in 1932 was more an exile than a promotion, though he soon gained an international reputation as an orthodox interpreter of the Chinese revolution. He was elected to membership on the Executive Committee of the Comintern in

1933, and he began to write authoritative articles in official Communist journals in Moscow. Ch'en's view of political strategy doubtless was colored by the fact that, as viewed from Moscow, the major threat confronting the international Communist movement after 1933 was the rise of Nazi Germany. In response to that development, the Soviet leadership, in an attempt to secure new allies, abandoned its hard, leftist line in world politics. In 1935, the Seventh Congress of the Comintern was called to announce the new policy.

As part of the Comintern strategy, the Communist parties in the so-called colonial areas of the world were assigned the task of renewing their collaboration with bourgeois nationalist movements. The principal spokesman for the new policy as it affected the underdeveloped areas was Ch'en Shao-yü. Soon after the Seventh Comintern Congress opened, Ch'en delivered a major report on 7 August 1935 discussing the situation in China. Using the pseudonym Wang Ming, he wrote a revised and expanded version of that report entitled *The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonial Countries*, which was published in New York in 1935. The essence of the new line was that the Communists in China should attempt to unite four classes (the proletariat, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie) in an anti-imperialist struggle against Japan. Ch'en Shao-yü's statement was praised in Moscow as a major theoretical analysis of the so-called anti-Japanese people's front in China, and he was reelected to membership on the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

In January 1936 Ch'en Shao-yü tried to force Chiang Ching-kuo (q.v.) to write a letter to his mother condemning Chiang Kai-shek, refusing to return to China, and expressing his dedication to the Communist cause. Chiang Ching-kuo finally complied, but he complained to the general director of the NKVD about it. After conferring with Ch'en Shao-yü, the director suggested that the letter be destroyed. However, it had already been published in China.

Ch'en returned to China in 1937, traveling by way of Sinkiang with Ch'en Yun and K'ang Sheng (qq.v.). While in Moscow, he had acquired a reputation as a theorist and the favor of Stalin. After his arrival at Yenan, Ch'en, as a member of the Central Committee of the party, set forth a political strategy that differed in

emphasis from the ten-point program that had been offered by Mao Tse-tung in August 1937. Ch'en advocated a doctrinaire imitation of the basic Stalinist united-front strategy that had been evolved in Moscow. Thus, he favored close collaboration with Chiang Kai-shek. He apparently did not believe that the Chinese Communist party, weak as it was after the Long March, could lead the war of resistance against the well-trained Japanese infantry units in China. He therefore proposed close cooperation with the Kuomintang through integrating the Communist military units into the Nationalist forces to achieve unity in command, organization, planning, and operations. These ideas were presented in his December 1937 statement entitled "The Key to Saving the Present Situation."

In 1938, Ch'en Shao-yü, who then directed the united-front department of the Central Committee, was sent to Hankow as a member of the Chinese Communist liaison group and secretary of the Ch'ang-chiang (Yangtze) regional bureau of the party. While at Hankow, he reportedly made statements without having obtained the sanction of the Chinese Communist top command at Yenan, and he may have exceeded his instructions. After his return to Shensi, he was criticized at a meeting of the Political Bureau held at Lo-ch'uan on 25 August 1938 and at the sixth plenum of the Central Committee in October. Ch'en Shao-yü's dispute with Mao Tse-tung over current strategy later developed into a controversy over party history. In the summer of 1941, Ch'en Shao-yü, apparently attempting to invoke the political authority gained through his years in Moscow, republished his 1931 pamphlet, *Liang-tiao lu-hsien* [the two lines], in which he condemned Mao Tse-tung's view of the revolutionary capacities of the Chinese peasantry as being non-Marxist and called for a struggle for the more complete Bolshevikization of the Chinese Communist party.

Ch'en Shao-yü remained a member of the Central Committee and retained his command of the orthodox canon of Marxism-Leninism, but he had lost touch with the real sources of political and military power in the Communist movement in China. His clash with Mao Tse-tung at Yenan came to affect the entire party membership when Mao and his adherents launched the so-called cheng-feng [rectification]

movement in 1942. Before that campaign had concluded, Mao had confirmed his authority over the party and the essential political correctness of his own political line, while Ch'en Shao-yü's claim to act as an authoritative Chinese Communist spokesman had been demolished. The cheng-feng campaign was not a blood purge on the Stalinist model; it was aimed at men in the party elite whom Mao Tse-tung viewed as Moscow-trained dogmatists. In Mao's view, these men, notably Ch'en Shao-yü, lacked sufficient experience in practical political work in China to balance their theoretical knowledge gained in the Soviet Union.

The official Maoist critique of Ch'en Shao-yü was set forth in a resolution on party history adopted on 20 April 1945 immediately before the opening of the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist party. That document identified three leftist lines that had gained temporary ascendancy in the Chinese Communist party in opposition to the policies advocated by Mao Tse-tung and his adherents. The first two were associated with Ch'u Ch'iupai and Li Li-san. The third, and most damaging, had been that sponsored by Ch'en Shao-yü and Ch'in Pang-hsien (Po Ku) between 1931 and 1934. Ch'en's policies were condemned for having caused the loss of more Communist comrades than enemies.

Ch'en Shao-yü was elected to membership on the Central Committee of the party at its Seventh National Congress in 1945, but it was evident by then that Mao Tse-tung had established himself as the sole orthodox theorist of the Chinese Communist revolution and as the party leader. Ch'en Shao-yü had few responsibilities during the postwar period, though he was identified in 1947 as head of the research department of the Central Committee of the Communist party. When the Central People's Government was established at Peking in October 1949, no substantive responsibilities were assigned Ch'en. He was appointed chairman of the government's commission for legislative affairs and one of four deputy directors of the committee on political and legal affairs of the Government Administration Council. He later was given other marginal posts at Peking.

Ch'en's past record again received sharp official criticism at Peking in July 1951, on the thirtieth anniversary of the Chinese Communist

party. In the long essay written on that occasion by Ch'en Po-ta (q.v.), Ch'en Shao-yü was criticized as having been a left deviationist in the early 1930's and a right deviationist in the late 1930's. At the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist party held in September 1956, Ch'en was elected to the new Central Committee, although his political position was indicated by the fact that he was ranked 97th on that 97-man body. After 1956 he was generally inactive, and official propagandists at Peking appeared to have *carte blanche* in castigating him and his policy lines.

In 1929, Ch'en Shao-yü married Meng Ch'ing-shu, who was born at Wuhu in Anhwei province. She joined the Communist Youth League in 1926 and went to Moscow to study at Sun Yat-sen University in 1927. She and Ch'en were married in Moscow. When Ch'en Shao-yü became general secretary of the Chinese Communist party after their return to China, his wife became head of the women's department of the Central Committee at Shanghai. She was again in the Soviet Union with Ch'en from 1932 to 1937. After their return to China, she headed the Yenan Girls College during the greater part of the Japanese war period.

Ch'en Shu-jen

陳樹人

Ch'en Shu-jen (1883-4 October 1948), anti-Manchu revolutionary, served Sun Yat-sen and his cause as director of party affairs in Canada and the United States (1916-22). In 1923 he became director of the general affairs department of the Kuomintang. He held various posts in the Kwangtung provincial government until 1927. From 1932 to 1948 he was head of the Kuomintang's overseas Chinese affairs commission.

A native of P'anyü, Kwangtung, Ch'en Shu-jen came from an affluent literary family. He received a classical education and showed promise as a poet, essayist, and artist. He was a favorite pupil of Chü Lien (1828-1904), one of the most famous Cantonese artists at the end of the Ch'ing dynasty. Ch'en later married Chü's daughter, Jo-ming.

After the Boxer Uprising of 1900 Ch'en began to move in revolutionary circles. He was politically inarticulate, but supported the anti-

Manchu cause. During 1903-4 he worked with Cheng Kuan-kung (see Cheng T'ien-hsi) on his revolutionary newspaper, the *Kwangtung jih-pao* [Kwangtung daily news], published in Hong Kong. In 1906 he was invited to join the staff of another anti-Manchu newspaper, the *Tung-fang jih-pao* [eastern daily news], published in Hong Kong by Liu Ssu-fu (q.v.) and Hsieh Ying-po. He was induced to join the T'ung-meng-hui in 1905 through his friendship with Feng Tzu-yu (q.v.), but apparently he had no personal contact with Sun Yat-sen.

Although already an accomplished painter in the Chinese style, Ch'en Shu-jen went to Japan before 1911 to study art. He made a brief trip to China after the Wuchang revolt in 1911, but soon returned to Japan with his family. He remained in Japan until 1916, studying at Rikkyo University, an American missionary institution in Tokyo, and teaching at a Chinese school in Yokohama. Feng Tzu-yu, with whom Ch'en had formed a lasting friendship, was then in the United States to raise funds for Sun Yat-sen's cause and was the editor of *Min-kuo tsa-chih* [republican magazine] in San Francisco, the official party organ for the overseas Chinese communities of North America. Because of Feng's many activities, he invited Ch'en Shu-jen to edit the journal from Tokyo in 1915. Ch'en did so in 1915-16; his editorials were written under the name Hsia-wai-che.

Throughout the decade between the organization of the Chung-hua ko-ming-tang in 1914 and Sun Yat-sen's establishment of a territorial base in Kwangtung in 1923, Sun placed considerable emphasis on the development of party affairs in overseas Chinese communities, notably in North America. In 1916, on the recommendation of Feng Tzu-yu, Sun appointed Ch'en Shu-jen director of party affairs in Canada. For six years Ch'en was active in party work among the overseas Chinese of Canada and the United States, raising funds and conducting propaganda and public relations work for Sun Yat-sen's cause. In 1917 he became editor of the *Hsin min-kuo pao* [new republican journal] of Victoria, British Columbia.

Ch'en returned to China in 1922 and was appointed to a nine-member committee in Shanghai charged with drafting a plan for the reorganization of Sun Yat-sen's party. Among the other committee members were Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Ting Wei-fen and Mao Tzu-ch'uan. Ch'en

Shu-jen's official party post at Shanghai was that of deputy director of the general affairs department. In the January 1923 reshuffle he was promoted to director of the department. After the party was reorganized in January 1924 and collaboration with the Chinese Communist party began, other men became dominant, and Ch'en was relegated to a subordinate role in party affairs. At Canton in 1924 he became friendly with Wang Ching-wei (q.v.), and the two remained close friends until Wang's political break with the party in 1939. Between 1923 and 1927 Ch'en Shu-jen served in the Kwangtung provincial government at Canton, four times as commissioner of civil affairs and twice as acting provincial governor. He also served as chief secretary of the National Government. Ch'en favorably impressed contemporaries with his clean and honest administration at Canton.

Ch'en Shu-jen's career in Canton ended when the Communists seized control in December 1927 and launched the brief and abortive Canton Commune. From 1928 to 1931 his friendship with Wang Ching-wei and his association with Wang's faction of the Kuomintang made Ch'en *persona non grata* to the Nanking government under Chiang Kai-shek. In 1930 Ch'en attended the so-called enlarged conference of the Kuomintang held at Peiping when Wang Ching-wei joined the military coalition of Feng Yü-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan (qq.v.) in open defiance of Nanking. In December 1931 Ch'en was elected an alternate member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, and in 1932 he was named head of the party's overseas Chinese affairs commission, a post he retained until his death. As a Cantonese, Ch'en Shu-jen generally was associated during the early 1930's with the southwest group in the Kuomintang and was identified with such leaders as Hu Han-min and Ch'en Chi-tang.

When Wang Ching-wei left Chungking and broke with Chiang Kai-shek in 1939, Ch'en Shu-jen was among the small number of Wang's personal associates who refused to support him and who remained with the wartime government at Chungking. Ch'en's post as head of the party's overseas commission gave him some prestige but no real power.

While a nominal official of the Kuomintang, Ch'en composed many patriotic poems at Chungking during the war years. The poems were later published privately as a collection

entitled *Chuan-ai chi* [dedicated love] or *Chanch'en chi* [dust of war]. Ch'en's poems sang praise for the gallant Chinese soldiers fighting the Japanese invaders and expressed his nostalgia for the areas of China then under Japanese occupation. Some Chinese literati saw a lingering affection for Wang Ching-wei in the verses.

Presumably as a reward for his loyalty to Chungking, Ch'en was elected to membership on the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang at its Sixth National Congress in 1945. He returned to Nanking with the National Government in 1945. Ch'en, by temperament apolitical, withdrew from politics in the postwar period and devoted much of his time to painting. He planned to retire to a studio in a scenic spot near Canton, but he died suddenly in October 1948.

During the 1920's at Canton it had been fashionable for Kuomintang officials to send their sons to the Soviet Union for higher education. Thus, Ch'en's son, Ch'en Fu, had studied at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow. He was arrested and executed as a Communist after his return to Canton.

Ch'en Ta

T. T'ung-fu

陳達
通夫

Ch'en Ta (1892-), sociologist and demographer, taught at Tsinghua University (1923-51) and published studies of Chinese labor, migration, and population. From 1938 to 1948 he directed the Institute of Census Research, developed a census program, and made demographic investigations of the Kunming area. After 1958, Ch'en came under Communist censure temporarily because of his proposals for population control.

The rural country seat of Yühang hsien, a few miles west of Hangchow in Chekiang province was the birthplace of Ch'en Ta. He had a younger brother and a sister. He received a traditional education until 1905. Then he studied at the Yühang district primary school for two years, and from 1908 to 1910 he attended the Hangchow Middle School. These institutions had been established a few years earlier under the educational reform program. At both Yühang and Hangchow, Ch'en distinguished himself as a student of exceptional promise.

Ch'en gained admittance to Tsinghua College, which was opened in 1911 to prepare Chinese students for study in the United States colleges on Boxer Indemnity Scholarships. However, Tsinghua was closed in November 1911 following the republican revolution, and Ch'en probably did not begin studying there until the institution was reopened in May 1912. He was graduated from Tsinghua in 1916 and shortly thereafter left China to begin his studies in the United States.

Ch'en attended the University of Washington for a short time and then transferred to Reed College, where he received a B.A. in 1919. In 1918 a young professor named William F. Ogburn left the University of Washington for Reed. The two met soon after Ogburn's arrival at Reed and began a lifelong friendship and professional association. Both men later moved to Columbia University, where Ch'en received his M.A. in 1920 and Ph.D. in 1923 in sociology. At Columbia he also studied under F. H. Giddings and R. E. Chaddock. His reputation as an outstanding young scholar gained him the acquaintance of such noted sociologists as Frank Lorimer, Stuart Rice, and Warren Thompson.

Ch'en Ta was absent from China during the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and other Chinese student demonstrations of that period. Perhaps that is why he never developed the nationalistic zeal characteristic of so many of his contemporaries. As an observer and analyst, however, Ch'en did keep abreast of events in China. He served as editor in 1919-20 of *The Chinese Students Quarterly*, published in the United States by the Chinese Students Alliance, and he was associated with the Chinese delegation to the Washington Disarmament Conference of 1921-22. The professional detachment which marked his later work in sociology and demography already was apparent in his writings of this period. While in New York, Ch'en met the most articulate American advocate of birth control, Margaret Sanger, whom he briefed on China before her visit to Japan and China in 1922.

Ch'en Ta's primary interest during his graduate student days was overseas Chinese labor, a problem which had become of increasing concern in the United States during the early years of the century. Shortly after the first outbursts of racial feeling against Orientals on the West Coast, the Congress of the United

States had passed the immigration laws of 1904, permanently excluding Chinese labor from the United States. The Chinese had retaliated in 1905 by boycotting American trade for five months. Overt expression of discrimination against Orientals in the United States culminated in 1923 in the passage of the Johnson Act, which prohibited admission of all aliens ineligible for American citizenship. Against this background, the United States Department of Labor became increasingly sensitive after the First World War to labor problems of overseas Chinese as they affected Sino-American relations. In 1920 United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics Ethelbert Stewart accepted an article by Ch'en Ta on the labor situation in China for publication in the *Monthly Labor Review*, issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That article was the first of a ten-year series of articles by Ch'en on labor conditions in China and other parts of the Far East. Stewart was also instrumental in having Ch'en's Ph.D. thesis published by the United States government. *Chinese Migrations with Special Reference to Labor Conditions* appeared in 1923 as Bulletin No. 340 of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

After he returned to China in 1923, Ch'en Ta became a professor of sociology, probably the first, at Tsinghua College in Peking. The conversion in 1925 of Tsinghua into a university designed to train Chinese students in China rather than to prepare them for study in United States colleges raised Ch'en's standing in the Chinese academic world. He continued to work on current Chinese labor problems. His surveys of Chinese labor in the 1920's were of considerable value, since the impotent, short-lived Peking governments of the pre-1928 period lacked facilities for even rudimentary statistical coverage of employment and wages. Ch'en summarized the results of his investigations of Chinese labor in *Chung-kuo lao-tung wen-t'i* [Chinese labor problems], published in 1929. He accepted the post of chief of the department of statistics in the ministry of interior in the new National Government at Nanking, but he soon resigned because he was unable to reconcile himself to the working habits of the Nanking bureaucracy. Taking advantage of a sabbatical leave, he left China to teach at the University of Hawaii during 1929-30.

In the remaining years before the outbreak of war with Japan, Ch'en produced two significant

works. The first, published in 1934, was *Jen-k'ou wen-t'i* [population problems], a textbook based on Ch'en's lectures at Tsinghua. A second book resulted from research undertaken at the suggestion of William L. Holland of the Institute of Pacific Relations and conducted on a trip from south China through the Netherlands East Indies, the Malay peninsula, Siam, and French Indo-China in late 1934 and 1935. This book, in part an expansion and updating of Ch'en's doctoral dissertation on Chinese migrations, was published in 1938 as *Nan-yang hua-ch'iao yü Min Yueh she-hui* [overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia and Fukienese and Kwangtung society]. An English version of that book was edited by Bruno Lasker and was published in 1940 by the Institute of Pacific Relations as *Emigrant Communities in South China: a Study of Overseas Migration and Its Influence on Standards of Social Change*.

Ch'en traveled frequently in the period before the war: after his seven-year residence in the United States from 1916 to 1923, he visited Hawaii in 1925 to attend the first Institute of Pacific Relations conference at Honolulu. He visited Japan in 1925 and again in 1930, when he returned to China from Hawaii by way of Korea. Following his research on overseas Chinese in 1934-35, he studied labor conditions in the Soviet Union, Germany, and Italy in 1935-36.

The outbreak of war with Japan in 1937 disrupted academic life at Peiping. The decision was made to evacuate Peking, Nankai, and Tsinghua universities to areas in west China held by Nationalist armies. Ch'en fled Peiping in mid-November, at times moving just ahead of advancing Japanese units, and finally arrived in Changsha, the capital of Hunan province. There the consolidated university of 1,200 students began classes in early December of 1937. These were disbanded, however, when Japanese army units advanced up the Yangtze. Teachers and students moved westward again, this time to Kunming in Yunnan province, where they reunited to form Southwest Associated University. Ch'en left Changsha in the latter part of 1937 and reached Kunming in mid-February.

Later in 1938, after the refugee university had started classes, the Tsinghua authorities decided to establish several research organizations, among them the Institute of Census

Research, in order to mobilize faculty ability for the war effort and for postwar planning. Ch'en accepted the post of director of the Institute.

In the remaining seven years of the war Ch'en Ta, supported by the resources of the Institute, was able to initiate and carry out several censuses and registrations of births and deaths. In 1939 the Institute planned and directed a population census of Ch'eng-kung hsien. In 1942 the ministry of interior, the Yunnan provincial government, the economic council of Yunnan, and the Institute, in response to a proposal by Ch'en, jointly undertook a population census of the remaining hsien around Kunming Lake, including the city of Kunming.

At the first decennial conference of the National Government's directorate of budgets, accounts, and statistics in February 1941, Ch'en presented a census program for postwar reconstruction. The conference passed a resolution that population census work should begin at local government levels in 1941-43 to prepare for a national census in 1947. In support of this resolution, the ministry of interior organized a training school in the autumn of 1941 to teach local officials the essentials of modern census-taking. Ch'en Ta was invited to lecture at the school. In March 1942 the directorate of budgets, accounts, and statistics and the Szechuan provincial government took a census of three hsien in the Chengtu plain.

Ch'en Ta summarized the result of these experimental wartime censuses and other pre-war population surveys in a study entitled *Population in Modern China*. Ch'en prepared the manuscript in the late months of 1944 and sent it to William F. Ogburn in January 1945. It was published as an article in the *American Journal of Sociology* in July 1946 and then as a book by the University of Chicago Press. Ch'en later summarized additional research done on the Kunming Lake region population in a paper, "Internal Migration and Social Change in China during the War," prepared for the January 1949 Institute of Pacific Relations conference at Hot Springs, Virginia.

Ch'en Ta's work in the Kunming area during the war was the most ambitious and successful demographic investigation conducted in China up to that time, with the possible exception of a vital statistics experiment conducted in part of a hsien in Kiangsu province in the early 1930's by Warren Thompson and others. Most of the

field work was carried out by school teachers with the assistance of local officials. Since he made no provisions for a field check of completeness of enumeration, Ch'en had no means of assessing the quality of the work apart from personal observations regarding the indifference of the local officials and certain obvious errors in the data. The greater part of *Population in Modern China* is devoted to comparing the results of the Kunming investigations with data from earlier experimental hsien censuses.

Despite its inadequacies, Ch'en Ta's work in the Kunming Lake region between 1939 and 1944 represented an important advance in demographic field research in China. After the Japanese surrender, he participated in plans for a national census of China. However, unstable political conditions and the recurrence of civil war ended any possibility of the census being taken at that time. Ch'en Ta reviewed his wartime experiences in a volume, *Lang-chi shih-nien* [ten years of wandering], published in 1946. He visited the United States to attend the Bicentennial Conference on Far Eastern Culture and Society held at Princeton University in April 1947, after which he went to England to attend an international conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. In recognition of his achievements in sociological research, Ch'en was elected a member of Academia Sinica in 1948.

During the early years of Communist rule, the name of Ch'en Ta was hardly to be found in the news from China. Never interested in politics, he was excluded from the official work of the new governmental system and from teaching at Tsinghua. He lost his position in 1951, after nearly 30 years as a faculty member. Conventional courses in sociology disappeared from university curricula the following year. Ch'en did not take part in the nation-wide census carried out under Communist direction in 1953, although he did analyze some of the data collected in the census. Reportedly, he spent most of his time on employment data that he had collected during the years before 1945.

At the beginning of 1957, however, Ch'en Ta took part in an important symposium on population research at Peking, the first known meeting of its kind in China after 1949. At that meeting he presented the principal paper, entitled "New China's Population Census of 1953 and Its Relation to National Reconstruction and Demographic Research." He advocated birth

control through contraception and delayed marriage to achieve a lowering of the birth rate. Ch'en's paper was sent to the August 1957 session of the International Statistical Institute held in Stockholm, Sweden.

Ch'en continued to make notable public statements in 1957. In March, speaking in the capacity of a member of the National Committee of the Second Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, he joined Wu Ching-ch'ao and other academicians in urging the organization of a population research institute and the restoration of the subject of demography to the college curriculum. In the May 1957 issue of the magazine *Hsin chien-she* [new construction] and in several speeches, he again advocated delayed marriage and contraception as means of curbing the population expansion. The Chinese Communists, in the wake of the Hungarian revolt of late 1956, were inviting and cajoling Chinese intellectuals to criticize past policies and acts of the regime, and Ch'en Ta continued to speak out on the topic of population. He stated that the accuracy of the 1953 census could not be assessed, since independent checks on field work and basic- and intermediate-level tabulations had not been made. In June 1957, he was named a member of the enlarged Scientific Planning Commission of the State Council at Peking.

During the rectification drive in the autumn and winter of 1957, Communist party stalwarts heaped abuse on Ch'en Ta, Fei Hsiao-t'ung (q.v.), Wu Ching-ch'ao, and other sociologists who were said to be rightists associated in an alleged plot against the Communist regime; their supposed leaders were Chang Po-chün and Lo Lung-chi (qq.v.). These attacks led to Ch'en's expulsion from the Scientific Planning Commission in March 1958. Despite his uncertain status, Ch'en was named a member of the National Committee of the Third People's Political Consultative Conference in April 1959. His classification as a rightist was rescinded in 1961.

In 1916, the year of his graduation from Tsinghua College, Ch'en Ta married a daughter of one of his primary school teachers, whose surname was Yao. She bore Ch'en three sons, one of whom died in infancy, and one daughter. His elder son, Ch'en Hsu-jen, graduated from Nankai University in 1942. His younger son, Ch'en Hsu-tu, after graduation from Reed College, did graduate work and taught at

Stanford University. In 1962 Ch'en Ta was reported to be living in Peking with his daughter and her husband.

Ch'en T'an-ch'iu

陳潭秋

Ch'en T'an-ch'iu (1889-27 September 1943) helped to establish the Communist nucleus in Wuhan (1920) and organized the Hupeh branch of the Chinese Communist party. He became the senior Chinese Communist official in Sinkiang in 1939. Sheng Shih-ts'ai (q.v.) had him arrested (1942) and executed (1943).

Little is known of the first 30 years of Ch'en T'an-ch'iu's life except that he was born in Hupeh. He was reportedly a member of the T'ung-meng-hui in Hupeh, and he supported Sun Yat-sen's cause after 1911.

In late 1920 Li Han-chun (q.v.), representing Ch'en Tu-hsiu (q.v.) and the Shanghai Communist nucleus, went to Wuhan to talk with Tung Pi-wu (q.v.) and other intellectuals. Ch'en T'an-ch'iu was a member of that group. With the assistance of Gregory Voitinsky's secretary, Ch'en and Tung Pi-wu formed a Communist group at Wuhan in the winter of 1920-21. Similar groups were organized about the same time by Li Ta-chao at Peking and by Mao Tse-tung at Changsha. The various nuclei were brought together at the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China, which met at Shanghai in July 1921. Ch'en T'an-ch'iu and Tung Pi-wu represented Wuhan at the congress. In his "Reminiscences of the First Congress of the Communist Party of China," written under the name Chen Pan-tsui, Ch'en T'an-ch'iu provided one of the few available accounts of that historic gathering; the article appeared in the New York edition of the *Communist International* in October 1936.

After the First Congress, Ch'en returned to Hupeh where, with Tung Pi-wu and a few other comrades, he established the Hupeh branch of the Chinese Communist party and began the arduous work of building an organizational structure. Hupeh was an area of major importance to the Communists. One of the most intensively cultivated areas of central China, it was also one of the leading industrial provinces of the country. Its mines produced iron and coal; the Wuhan area was one of the few centers of

heavy industry in China; and the province controlled a key section of the railroad line linking Hankow with Peking in the north. Because some of the early Communists in Hupeh during the 1920's, notably Ch'en T'an-ch'iu and Tung Pi-wu, were scholars and educators, they were able to bring some of their former students into the movement. Cadres were sent into the countryside, and by 1924 an organizational network had been established in the Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei area. Beginning in 1925, peasant associations and peasant self-defense corps were organized in northeastern Hupeh. These forces worked to prepare the way for the National Revolutionary Army as it approached from the south through Hunan during 1926, and they contributed to the Nationalist victory over the forces of Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.). In the post-1927 period, these forces formed the nuclei of the Communist-organized guerrilla bands which fought Nationalist authority in that area.

After the collapse of the Kuomintang-Communist alliance in 1927, Ch'en T'an-ch'iu, like all other Communists in China, became a hunted man. He hid in Shanghai, reportedly serving as head of the underground organization department of the party's central apparatus. He was elected *in absentia* to the Chinese Communist party's Central Committee at the Sixth Congress, which was held in Moscow in the summer of 1928. As Kuomintang controls tightened in Shanghai, Ch'en T'an-ch'iu was forced to flee to the Chinese Communist base in southern Kiangsi. There he served as minister of food in the government of the so-called Chinese soviet republic established at Juichin in November 1931. Ch'en's wife, Hsu Ch'ien-chih, remained behind in Shanghai; later, she was arrested and executed at Nanking.

Later, possibly in the final military actions of 1934 before the Communists undertook their Long March, Ch'en received a head wound and was sent to the Soviet Union for medical treatment. Reports state that he studied in the Soviet Union, and the available evidence suggests that the references must be to this period in the mid-1930's. Ch'en's residence in Moscow may also be inferred from his 1936 article in the *Communist International*.

In 1939 Ch'en T'an-ch'iu left the Soviet Union to return to the Chinese Communist wartime capital at Yenan. When he arrived in Sinkiang, the top command at Yenan instructed

him to halt his journey at Urumchi to replace Teng Fa (q.v.) as the senior Chinese Communist official in Sinkiang. Ch'en T'an-ch'iu, using the alias Hsu Chieh, thus became the Urumchi representative of the (Communist) Eighth Route Army and of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party, the dual position previously held by Teng Fa. Among the Communist cadres then working in Sinkiang under him were Mao Tse-min (q.v.), the younger brother of Mao Tse-tung, and Lin Chi-lu, then dean of Sinkiang College.

In early 1942, military developments on the European front caused Sheng Shih-ts'ai (q.v.) to question the desirability of maintaining his close alignment with the Soviet Union. Because he doubted Sheng's political reliability, Ch'en T'an-ch'iu, acting on instructions from Yenan, requested that the Chinese Communists cadres in the province be permitted to return to Yenan. Sheng refused. Ch'en then asked that they be permitted to go to Moscow. Sheng rejected the request and placed the entire group under house arrest. Ch'en T'an-ch'iu, Mao Tse-min, and Lin Chi-lu later were imprisoned on charges that they had planned to stage large-scale disorders as part of an international Communist plot to overthrow Sheng Shih-ts'ai's regime in Sinkiang. The alleged conspiracy was publicly announced in December 1942 (by which time Sheng Shih-ts'ai had made a deal with Chungking), but the details of Sheng's treatment of the imprisoned Chinese Communists remained obscure.

In the autumn of 1963 Peking published its official version of the events in Sinkiang. According to this account, Ch'en T'an-ch'iu and virtually all Chinese Communists in Sinkiang were arrested in the autumn of 1942. Ch'en T'an-ch'iu was interrogated for more than 70 days and was tortured. Ch'en, Mao Tse-min, and Lin Chi-lu were executed on 27 September 1943. Some accounts say that Ch'en first was subjected to slow suffocation with wet joss paper and then was strangled with a cord.

In the spring of 1945, when the Chinese Communist party convened its Seventh National Congress at Yenan, the party leaders did not know of this execution, although they were certainly aware of the arrest and disappearance of the cadres in Sinkiang. Ch'en T'an-ch'iu was elected to membership on the Central Committee of the party in June 1945. It seems certain that Yenan had definite confirmation of the deaths

by 1946, however. As a result of the peace talks held between the Nationalist authorities in Sinkiang represented by Chang Chih-chung (q.v.) and the Ili rebels, the Communist prisoners in Sinkiang who had not been executed were released and repatriated to Yenan in 1946, arriving there in August. They must have been fully aware of the fate of Ch'en T'an-ch'iu, Mao Tse-min, and the others, but by that time the matter was of historical interest only. The Peking *People's Daily* first announced Ch'en's death in January 1950. However, a full account did not become available until the publication of an authoritative article by Saifudin (q.v.) published at Peking in September 1963 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the death of Ch'en T'an-ch'iu and his associates.

Ch'en Tu-hsiu

Orig.	Ch'en Ch'ien-sheng	陳獨秀
T.	Chung-fu	乾生
H.	Shih-an	仲甫
Pseud.	Chung(-tzu)	實庵 仲(子)

Ch'en Tu-hsiu (8 October 1879–27 May 1942), as editor of the *Hsin ch'ing-nien* [new youth] and dean of the college of letters of Peking University, was a leader of the literary and cultural revolution that culminated in the May Fourth Movement of 1919. He became a Communist, organized the Shanghai nucleus, and headed the Chinese Communist party from 1921 to 1927. After his expulsion from the Communist party in 1930, he headed a Trotskyite opposition group until his arrest and imprisonment in 1932. After his release in 1937, he devoted most of his time to political and personal writing and to studying the ancient Chinese language.

The youngest of four children in a wealthy family, Ch'en Tu-hsiu was born in Huaining. His father, who had served as a military official in Manchuria, died shortly after Ch'en was born. Ch'en Tu-hsiu spent his childhood and youth at the family home in Huaining, where he received his education in the Chinese classics and traditional literature from an irascible, opium-smoking grandfather and then from an indulgent elder brother, Ch'en Meng-chi (d. 1909). In 1896 Ch'en became a sheng-yuan, but he failed the examinations for the chü-jen degree in the following year. Under the influence

of the reformers K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (qq.v.), he sought a modern education, attending the famous Ch'iu-shih Academy at Hangchow, where he studied French, English, and naval architecture. About the turn of the century he went to Japan, where he attended an English language school and completed an accelerated program of studies at the Tokyo Higher Normal School. Returning to China in 1903, he assisted Chang Chi, Chang Shih-chao (qq.v.), and other friends he had made in Japan in establishing a revolutionary newspaper, the *Kuo-min jih-jih pao* [national daily news], in Shanghai, which was closed by the authorities within a few months. The next year he set up a vernacular magazine, the *An-hui su-hua pao* [Anhwei vernacular paper], in Wuhu; later, he was associated with another vernacular publication, the *Wu-hsi pai-hua pao* [Wusih colloquial newspaper], in Wusih. In 1906 he left for Japan to study at Waseda University in Tokyo, but returned to his native province in the same year to teach at a high school in Wuhu. At some time between 1907 and 1910 (Ch'en was in Manchuria in the autumn of 1909 to make the arrangements for his brother's funeral) he studied in France and became an enthusiastic admirer of French culture, which he regarded as being the epitome of Western civilization. After his return to China he taught at the Army Elementary School in Hangchow and served as dean of studies at the Anhwei Higher Normal School.

While in Japan, Ch'en Tu-hsiu had met several young revolutionaries who were members of the T'ung-meng-hui, headed by Sun Yat-sen. But he objected to what he considered to be the narrowly racist bias of the organization and refused to join. Nevertheless, he appears to have been sympathetic to the republican cause, and after the revolution of October 1911 he became secretary to Po Wen-wei (1875-1947; T. Lieh-wu), the commander of the revolutionary military forces in Anhwei province. After Po's appointment as the military governor of Anhwei in July 1912, Ch'en became head of the department of education in the provincial government, a post he held until the outbreak of the so-called second revolution in the summer of 1913, when Po Wen-wei was ousted by the Peiyang divisions of Yuan Shih-k'ai. After fleeing with Po to Japan, Ch'en came in contact with many other political fugitives from Yuan's

regime, among them his former associate, Chang Shih-chao. In the summer of 1914, Ch'en became the junior editor of Chang's magazine, the *Chia-yin tsa-chih* [tiger magazine], a liberal publication which opposed the monarchical schemes of Yuan Shih-k'ai. After the suppression of this periodical by the Japanese authorities, Ch'en left Japan for the foreign concession of Shanghai in the summer of 1915 and in September began to publish a magazine of his own, the *Ch'ing-nien tsa-chih* [youth magazine], soon to become one of the most celebrated and influential periodicals of modern China.

Through his associations with members of the revolutionary party, Ch'en Tu-hsiu had become actively involved in the political struggle against Yuan Shih-k'ai. But Ch'en was less interested in political reform than in China's social and cultural regeneration. In the early issues of the *Ch'ing-nien tsa-chih* he launched a campaign with the double purpose of destroying traditional Confucian social morality and of arousing China's youth to an awareness and critical acceptance of new and useful ideas from the West. In his articles of 1915 and 1916, he praised modern Western civilization for its concern with such values as individualism and economic and social equality of both men and women—values which, he maintained, were suppressed or discouraged by Confucian moral teachings. The magazine was an immediate success and established Ch'en, up to then a relatively obscure figure, as one of the champions of a new intellectual revolution in China. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei (q.v.), the chancellor of the National University of Peking, invited him in 1917 to serve as dean of the College of Letters of the university.

Although his connection with Peking University was to last only two years (1917-19), Ch'en Tu-hsiu began to exert a profound influence upon the young intellectuals and students in Peking, and he came to be regarded as one of the leaders of China's intellectual *avant garde*. Ch'en gave his full support to Hu Shih and Ch'en Hsuan-t'ung (qq.v.), both professors at Peking University, in advocating the use of *pai-hua* [the vernacular] in place of the classical language as the medium of modern Chinese literature; his magazine, by then renamed *Hsin ch'ing-nien* [new youth], became one of the principal organs of the movement known as the Chinese literary renaissance. Ch'en

continued to propagate his own rather crudely formed ideas of modern Western culture, which in general reflected the liberal humanitarianism and naive faith in material progress which had been current in mid-nineteenth-century England. These ideas he popularized by creating the characters "Mr. Democracy" and "Mr. Science." He utilized them in his unrelenting attacks on Confucian morality and on China's traditional social system. It was through writings in this vein that Ch'en and other contributors to the *Hsin ch'ing-nien* stimulated the rise of the new culture movement and the student movement.

Early in 1918 the *Hsin ch'ing-nien* was placed under an editorial committee consisting of Ch'en, Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung, Hu Shih, Li Ta-chao, Liu Fu, and other professors at Peking University. All of its members agreed to an editorial policy that would avoid involvement in practical politics. However, under the autocratic regime of premier Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.) and his adherents of the Anhwei military clique in Peking, Ch'en became increasingly disturbed over the political situation in China, and in December he and Li Ta-chao founded a new periodical, the *Mei-chou p'ing-lun* [weekly critic], in which they published articles commenting critically upon the internal and foreign policies of the government in Peking. The appearance of this magazine marked the beginning of a split in the *Hsin ch'ing-nien* group between the political activists such as Ch'en and Li Ta-chao, and the liberal intellectuals such as Hu Shih, who remained reluctant to become involved in contemporary political affairs. Through their articles in the *Mei-chou p'ing-lun* Ch'en and Li aroused their student readers to a new and patriotic concern over the policies of the national government. Thus, they were instrumental in laying the groundwork for the celebrated May Fourth Movement of 1919.

During the early months of 1919, public attention in China was focused upon the Paris Peace Conference, and particularly upon the problem of the disposition of former German concessions in Shantung province. When it was revealed late in April that the Western powers at the peace conference had awarded the German concessions to Japan and, furthermore, that Tuan Ch'i-jui's pro-Japanese regime had been conducting secret loan negotiations with Japan, a tide of public indignation swept China. That

indignation resulted in a series of patriotic anti-Japanese and anti-government demonstrations among the students in Peking on 4 May 1919, and in other cities soon afterward. Although Ch'en Tu-hsiu was recognized as one of the principal figures behind the May Fourth Movement, he was inclined to restrain the students' anti-Japanese enthusiasm. Nevertheless, as the movement reached its climax in Peking late in May and early in June, he was swept along by its momentum and joined the students in distributing leaflets denouncing the pro-Japanese officials in the Peking government. For his part in these activities he was arrested by the Peking authorities on 11 June and was held in jail for almost three months. Following his release, Ch'en resigned his position at Peking University and departed for Shanghai.

In the following year, Ch'en's political attitudes underwent a significant transformation. As early as 1918, a few of his associates in Peking, such as Li Ta-chao, had begun to study the doctrines of Marxism and Leninism; and before Ch'en's departure for Shanghai, several articles on Marxism had already appeared in the *Hsin ch'ing-nien* and the *Mei-chou p'ing-lun*. Although he had studied the course of events in Russia with considerable interest, Ch'en had continued to believe that the solution to China's problems was to be found in democracy and science; and though his faith in the West was shaken by the decisions of the Paris Peace Conference, his disenchantment with Western democratic institutions was checked for the time being by the influence of the American philosopher John Dewey, who had visited and lectured in Peking in 1919.

As one of the leaders of the student movement in Peking, Ch'en was esteemed highly by the younger generation, and after his arrival in Shanghai in the autumn of 1919, he quickly became the center of a group of young intellectuals which included anarchists, socialists, and students of Marxism. Within a few months, Ch'en had revealed a quickening interest in Marxist doctrines, and by the summer of 1920 he had come to the conclusion that China, in the course of its modernization, should advance directly into socialism without passing through the intermediate stage of capitalism. While retaining certain reservations, he accepted the major assumptions of Marxism and Leninism and decided that as a first step in implementing

these doctrines a Communist party should be established in China.

Undoubtedly influencing this decision was the presence in Shanghai of Gregory Voitinsky, an agent of the Communist International who in the spring of 1920 had been sent from Peking by Li Ta-chao to visit Ch'en Tu-hsiu. After several discussions with Voitinsky in the summer of 1920, Ch'en organized a small group of his acquaintances into a Communist nucleus, which included Li Ta (q.v.), later to become one of China's foremost interpreters of Marxism, as well as Shao Li-tzu and Tai Chi-t'ao (qq.v.), two Marxist-oriented members of Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang. To Ch'en, the immediate tasks of the new group were to establish similar Communist nuclei in other major cities of China and to promote the study of Marxist principles among the students and the working classes, thus paving the way for the formal establishment of a Communist party in China.

In the latter part of 1920, Ch'en was in touch with many of his former colleagues and students in other parts of the country. With his encouragement, Communist nuclei were set up in Peking by Li Ta-chao, in Changsha by Mao Tse-tung, in Wuhan by Tung Pi-wu (q.v.), and in other urban centers. In Shanghai, Ch'en and his associates turned their attention to the organization and indoctrination of students and labor groups. In August they organized the Chung-kuo she-hui ch'ing-nien-t'u'an (Socialist Youth League) as a training unit for future party workers, and branches were soon established in other cities. To prepare members of the Youth League for further training in the Soviet Union, they set up a school of foreign languages. In the winter of 1920-21 its first group of Russian-language students, including Jen Pi-shih and Liu Shao-ch'i (qq.v.), were sent to Moscow for further study. Early in September, Ch'en transferred the *Hsin ch'ing-nien* from Peking to Shanghai and began to publish the periodical as an organ of the Communist group. At the same time he set up a weekly propaganda magazine, *Lao-tung-che* [the laborer], to spread Marxist ideas among the urban working classes. In November the Shanghai group also began to publish a theoretical journal, the *Kung-ch'an-tang yueh-k'an* [the Communist party monthly], under the editorship of Li Ta, to educate party workers in the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism.

In December 1920 Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.), the new governor of Kwangtung, invited Ch'en Tu-hsiu to serve as head of the education department of the provincial government. Eager to establish the Communist movement in south China, Ch'en accepted the post. In January 1921, shortly after his arrival in Canton, he began to organize a small group of young Cantonese intellectuals, including two of his former students at Peking University, Ch'en Kung-po and T'an P'ing-shan (qq.v.), into a new Communist nucleus. Under his direction the group set up a branch of the Socialist Youth League and began to publish a weekly propaganda magazine, *Lao-tung sheng* [the voice of labor]. Meanwhile, Communist leaders in Shanghai and elsewhere, through correspondence with Ch'en in Canton, decided to convene a congress in Shanghai to inaugurate the Communist party. Although Ch'en was unable to attend the meeting, he sent his proposals regarding party organization and policy for consideration; most of them were subsequently adopted. At the First National Congress, held in July 1921, the Chinese Communist party was formally established, and Ch'en was unanimously elected secretary of the party's Central Committee. One month later he resigned his post in Canton and, leaving the direction of the Canton branch of the party to Ch'en Kung-po and T'an P'ing-shan, returned to Shanghai to assume leadership of the new central party organization.

One of Ch'en's first tasks as head of the Communist party in China was to establish formally the party's relations with the Comintern. After his return to Shanghai in 1921 he began a series of discussions with Comintern representative Maring; it was agreed that the Chinese Communist party would follow the policy directives of the Comintern, while the latter would finance the activities of the Chinese party. Another important question that was soon to arise concerned the relationship of the party to the Kuomintang. Since 1920 Comintern agents in China had been considering cooperation with a number of Chinese political leaders, including Sun Yat-sen. Shortly after the Second National Congress of the Chinese Communist party in Shanghai (July 1922), at which Ch'en was reelected general secretary of the Central Committee, Maring returned from Moscow, and at a special plenum of the Central Committee held at Hangchow in August, informed Ch'en and

other leaders of the Comintern's decision to work with Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang. Sun had indicated that he would cooperate with the Chinese Communists on the condition that they join the Kuomintang as individuals and submit to his personal discipline. To further the Comintern policy of collaboration, Maring proposed at the plenum that the Chinese Communist leaders accept this condition. Ch'en and most of the Central Committee strongly opposed Maring's proposal because they feared that the fledgling Communist party would soon lose its identity as the party of the proletariat if its members were to join the Kuomintang, the party of the bourgeoisie. However, at Maring's insistence, they reluctantly adopted the Comintern decision. Within a few days, according to one source, Ch'en, Li Ta-chao, and other Communist leaders joined the Kuomintang in Shanghai in an informal ceremony at which Sun himself officiated. In September 1922, Ch'en founded a new party organ, the *Hsiang-tao chou-pao* [guide weekly], in which he began to promote the official policy of Communist-Kuomintang collaboration as a means of carrying through a national anti-imperialist revolution in China.

Ch'en's confidence in the wisdom of this policy may have been fortified somewhat by his attendance at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow (November–December 1922), which stressed the necessity of cooperation with nationalist revolutionary elements in industrially undeveloped countries such as China. Furthermore, the bloody suppression of the Peking-Hankow railway strikers by troops under Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.) in February 1923 served to shatter Ch'en's illusions regarding the strength of the Chinese labor movement, convincing him that China had to pass through a bourgeois revolution and a preliminary capitalist stage under the leadership of the Kuomintang before the working class could attain sufficient power to effect a proletarian revolution. Thereafter, Ch'en seems to have accepted the Comintern view that the Communist party in China was still too weak to act by itself and that it should seek to extend its influence among the working class by working within the Kuomintang. In June 1923, at the Third Congress of the Chinese Communist party, held in Canton, Ch'en was said to have cast the deciding vote in support of Maring in opposition to those members of his own party, such as Chang Kuo-t'ao and Ch'u Ch'iu-pai (qq.v.), who objected to the Comintern decision

that Chinese Communists not only should co-operate with the Kuomintang but also should take an active part in reorganizing and strengthening the Kuomintang as the party of the worker and peasant masses.

At the Third National Congress, Ch'en Tu-hsiu was elected general secretary of the Chinese Communist party, a post he was to hold for the next four years. He was responsible for implementing the Comintern policy of Communist participation in the Kuomintang. The aim of this policy was to control the Kuomintang from within. Accordingly, Ch'en and other leading Communists took part in preparations for the reorganization of the Kuomintang late in 1923 and attended its First National Congress held at Canton in January 1924. However, although he complied with the Comintern line, there are indications that Ch'en did so with little real enthusiasm. He was notably less active than Li Ta-chao and other leaders in working within the Kuomintang, and sought as much as possible to ensure the development of the Communist party as a separate political organization maintaining independent control over the working classes. After the death of Sun Yat-sen in March 1925, as the division of the Kuomintang into right and left wings grew more pronounced, Ch'en appears to have become increasingly reluctant to continue the Communist party's symbiotic relationship with the Kuomintang. In October 1925, at an enlarged plenum of the Communist party's Central Committee in Peking, he denounced the anti-Communist stand taken by Tai Chi-t'ao and other leaders of the Kuomintang right wing and proposed that the Communist members withdraw en masse from the Kuomintang—a proposal which he reiterated after the anti-Communist coup of 20 March 1926 in Canton by Chiang Kai-shek, and again at the time of Chiang's purge of the Communists in Shanghai in April 1927. These proposals, however, were consistently overruled by the Comintern. In spite of personal misgivings, Ch'en, as head of the Chinese Communist party, gave his official support to Comintern directives calling for continued collaboration with the Kuomintang.

When the prominent Kuomintang leader Wang Ching-wei (q.v.) arrived back in Shanghai from Europe in the spring of 1927, he conferred with Ch'en Tu-hsiu about relations between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist party. On 5 April 1927 they issued

a joint statement in which they reiterated their intention to maintain the collaboration of the two parties. In the statement, Ch'en reminded his fellow-Communists that their party had accepted the Three People's Principles as the basis of the national revolutionary movement, and he exhorted them to remain faithful to the Sun-Joffe manifesto of January 1923 and to the principles expounded at the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in January 1924.

Ch'en Tu-hsiu found this policy difficult to maintain in the face of Chiang Kai-shek's determined efforts to expel the Communists from the Kuomintang. At the time of Chiang's anti-Communist drive in Shanghai in April, Ch'en was forced to flee the city to Wuhan, where Wang Ching-wei headed a regime that had been created by a coalition of the Communists and the left wing of the Kuomintang.

Confronted not only with the rapidly deteriorating relations with the Kuomintang but also with growing confusion and dissension within the party leadership itself, Ch'en convened the Fifth National Congress on 27 April 1927. There he came under fire from other party leaders for his so-called conciliatory policies toward the Kuomintang in Shanghai—policies which he had followed in compliance with Comintern instructions. These attacks upon Ch'en reflected the mounting dissatisfaction of an opposition group which was led by Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai and other members of the party's former Kwangtung regional committee. In particular, they resented Ch'en's "dictatorial" rule over the party: he had made vital decisions without consulting other members of the Central Committee. Moreover, doctrinal disputes between Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai and Ch'en's secretary, P'eng Shu-chih, reportedly stemming from Ch'ü's jealousy of P'eng's favored position, added to the resentment of Ch'en's leadership. Although reelected general secretary at the Fifth Congress, Ch'en's six-year domination of party affairs was terminated after the expulsion of the Communists from the left-wing Kuomintang regime in Wuhan in July 1927 and the final collapse of the Communist-Kuomintang entente.

The failure of Comintern policy in China was closely related to the power struggle in the Soviet Union between Joseph Stalin and Leon Trotsky. Thus, the reluctance of the Comintern to alter its line of continued cooperation between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang was principally caused by the unwillingness of

the Stalin faction in Moscow to concede its miscalculations to the Trotsky faction, which had for some time maintained that the Chinese Communists should withdraw from the alliance. As events in China forced the Comintern to abandon its policy, the Stalin faction found it expedient to shift the full responsibility for its blunders to the Chinese Communist leadership of Ch'en Tu-hsiu. In this move the Stalinists were abetted by Ch'en's opponents among the Chinese Communists, who accused Ch'en and his supporters of adopting a line identical to that of the Trotsky faction in Russia. In accordance with new directives from the Comintern demanding reforms in the Chinese party leadership, some 20 Communist delegates convened at a secret emergency conference on 7 August 1927. Ch'en was replaced by Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai as head of the party. The new leadership censured Ch'en for his so-called opportunism in following a conciliatory line toward the Kuomintang and called for the organization and training of workers and peasants in preparation for armed uprisings against the Kuomintang regimes at Nanking and Wuhan.

Meanwhile, Ch'en Tu-hsiu made his way from Wuhan to the foreign settlement in Shanghai, where he was to remain for the next five years. Though deposed from the leadership of the Communist party, he continued to enjoy considerable influence in party affairs. He still was consulted by the Central Committee on important questions of policy, and some of his comments were published under the pseudonym Ch'e-weng in the party's official organ, *Pu-erh-sai-wei-k'o* [Bolshevik]. At the time of the Canton Commune (December 1927), Ch'en wrote a letter to the Central Committee advising that the party avoid military conflict with the foreign "imperialists" in Hong Kong, and that it co-operate with the Kuomintang left wing and the Third party group led by T'an P'ing-shan (q.v.). The second proposal brought renewed charges of opportunism from the new party leadership, and the Central Committee avoided further contact with Ch'en. At the Sixth National Congress, held in Moscow between July and September 1928, he was formally condemned for his earlier policies.

Ch'en's final break with the Communist party resulted from the stand he took concerning the attempted seizure of the largely Russian-controlled Chinese Eastern Railway by the Manchurian militarist Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.) in

the summer of 1929. Following the Comintern line, the Chinese Communist leadership denounced the seizure as an imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union. In a letter to the Central Committee, Ch'en pointed out that the committee's stand made it appear that the Chinese Communist party was placing the interests of the Soviet Union above those of China, thereby providing the Kuomintang regime with effective anti-Communist propaganda. By way of reply the Central Committee, then under the domination of Li Li-san (q.v.), issued a scathing censure of the letter, which, in turn, elicited further criticisms from Ch'en. On 15 November 1929 the Central Committee circulated a resolution expelling Ch'en from the party (the resolution was not formally adopted until 11 June 1930).

In the meantime, Ch'en Tu-hsiu had begun to form a secret group of his followers with the purpose of winning back control of the central party organization. In Shanghai he had come in contact with a number of students who early in 1929 had returned from Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow strongly influenced by Trotsky's writings. They had formed a small Trotskyite organization and published a mimeographed paper, *Wo-men ti hua* [our words]. Through translations published in this paper Ch'en had been introduced to Trotsky's views regarding the revolution in China, which he found to be similar to his own in many respects.

Encouraged, perhaps, by these Communist dissidents, Ch'en decided to strike openly at his enemies in the Central Committee. On 10 December 1929 he sent an open letter to all members of the party, in which he denounced the policies of the Comintern and those of the Chinese Communist leadership. He repudiated their charges which held him responsible for the debacle of 1927. Five days later, he and his followers joined with the Trotskyites in Shanghai to publish a *Wo-men ti cheng-chih i-chien shu* [statement of our political opinions]. The statement bitterly attacked the Stalin leadership and the Comintern for their earlier disastrous policy of alliance with the Kuomintang and criticized the current line of the Chinese party leaders which, in spite of repeated failures, still called for armed uprisings and the immediate establishment of a workers' and peasants' dictatorship; it favored Trotsky's view of a continuously advancing world revolutionary process. In

response, the Central Committee denounced the statement as an attempt to liquidate the progress of China's revolution, and thereafter disparagingly referred to Ch'en and his Trotskyite associates as the *ch'ü-hsiao p'ai* [liquidation faction]. Rejecting an invitation from the Comintern (February 1930) to attend a meeting in Moscow to review his expulsion from the party, Ch'en organized a pro-Trotsky Communist opposition group, the *Wu-ch'an-che she* [proletarian society] and began to publish a propaganda magazine, *Wu-ch'an che* [the proletariat], in which he continued his attacks on the Comintern and expounded on Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution—of a steadily rising world revolutionary tide that advanced, without troughs or pauses or limitations to a single country, to a culmination in the seizure of power by the proletariat.

Ch'en's sudden turn to Trotskyism may well have been due to genuine intellectual conversion. There is, however, a strong possibility that he was also influenced by considerations of political expediency. His organization was sorely in need of funds. Moreover, he and his followers were obliged to defend themselves against verbal attacks from the central party organization, from the *Wo-men ti hua* group, and from two lesser Trotskyite societies, the *Chan-tou-she* [combat society] and the *Shih-yueh-she* [October society]. In the hope of securing political recognition and financial support from abroad, Ch'en sought to establish contact with Trotsky himself, who was then living in exile in Istanbul. Communications from Trotsky to the warring opposition groups in Shanghai chastised them separately for their squabbling among themselves and urged them to unite into a single organization. In accordance with this advice, and reportedly with the help of funds from Trotskyist organizations in Europe, the rival groups held a joint conference and in May 1931 combined to form the Chinese Communist Party Left Opposition Faction (*Chung-kuo kung-ch'an-tang tso-p'ai fan-tui-p'ai*), also known as the Trotsky-Ch'en party (*T'o Ch'en p'ai*).

The new party organization was dominated by Ch'en's *Wu-ch'an-che she*. Ch'en himself became the general secretary of its central committee, while his trusted secretary, Peng Shu-chih, and several of his personal following became members of the standing committee.

Through the Opposition party's propaganda publications, *Huo-hua* [the spark] and *Hsiao-nei sheng-huo* [school life], Ch'en continued his efforts to win the main body of the Communist party over to the Trotskyist point of view. However, his influence over the regular Communist membership had dwindled to almost nothing. Furthermore, during its brief existence, the new organization was rent within by bitter dissensions and weakened by defections. Its members were constantly harried by the concession police. Under these demoralizing conditions, Ch'en was reported to have sought, without success, a reconciliation with the central party organization, and thereby to have lost whatever confidence the hard-core Trotskyists had placed in him. For practical purposes, his political career had come to an end.

While brooding over his political and personal misfortunes—two of his sons had been executed as Communists in 1927–28, and his wife was estranged from him—Ch'en was arrested on 15 October 1932 on charges of endangering the republic. Extradited to Nanking, he was tried before the Kiangsu High Court in the spring of 1933. Throughout the widely publicized trial, at which he was defended by his old friend Chang Shih-chao, Ch'en remained defiantly critical of the Kuomintang-controlled National Government. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison. There, he was frequently visited by officials high in the Kuomintang, such as Ch'en Li-fu and Tai Chi-ta'o, who hoped to enlist his public support for the Nationalist Government. However, their efforts appear to have been fruitless, and Ch'en, abandoning his interest in politics, turned his attention to the study of the ancient Chinese language.

After the outbreak of the war with Japan, the National Government declared a general amnesty, and on 19 August 1937, Ch'en was released on parole. Shortly afterward, he announced his support of the national united front against Japan and declared that from that time on he was acting in complete independence of all political groups. Despite his affirmation of political independence, his activities aroused the suspicions of the Communist party. After moving from Nanking to Wuhan, he was supported by a monthly subsidy from the I-wen yen-chiu-hui (*see T'ao Hsi-sheng*), a group with strong anti-Communist leanings. Its leading members, including Chou Fo-hai (q.v.), were

later to participate in the establishment of the Japanese-sponsored regime in Nanking. During the first part of 1938, Ch'en contributed a series of articles to one of this group's publications, *Cheng-lun* [commentaries], in which he called for a strengthening of the war effort against Japan through extensive social and political reforms. Because of his connection with the I-wen yen-chiu-hui, the official Communist party representation in Wuhan issued statements accusing Ch'en of being in the pay of the Japanese. These allegations gave rise to controversy in the Wuhan press.

After the fall of Wuhan to the Japanese in late October 1938, Ch'en lived for a short time in Changsha and then moved to the wartime capital of Chungking, where he taught for a while in a junior high school. Then, because his health was poor he went into retirement in Kiangtsing (Chiangchin), a small town some 45 miles upriver from Chungking. There he remained, a lonely man in poor health, until his death on 27 May 1942, at the age of 63.

During these final years, from 1940 to 1942, Ch'en wrote a number of essays and letters to friends and former political associates, some of which were collected and published in Hong Kong in 1950 under the title *Ch'en Tu-hsiu tsui-hou tui-yü min-chu cheng-chih ti chien-chieh* [Ch'en Tu-hsiu's last opinions on democratic government]. These writings reveal that in the last years of his life he had reconsidered some of his earlier views regarding Soviet Russia, Communism, and democracy. He asserted that socialism was necessary as a system to insure economic equality, but democracy was necessary to guarantee political rights. He pointed out that an indispensable feature of any type of democracy, whether bourgeois or proletarian, was the parliamentary system, and that in this respect the Soviet Union was more backward than the bourgeois democracies of England or America. He also noted that the substitution of a so-called democratic dictatorship for democracy in Stalinist Russia had inevitably led to the concentration of power into the hands of a small minority which denied economic, political, and intellectual freedom to the masses. From such observations he concluded that "any kind of orthodoxy is as restrictive on the individual as was Confucianism, and therefore must be opposed; any worship of orthodoxy is a form of superstition, and therefore must also be

opposed." Thus, after making a grand detour along the path of Communism, Ch'en finally returned to his faith in science and democracy, but with a deeper appreciation of its implications.

Ch'en's writings about the Chinese political and social scene are scattered through a number of periodicals, the most important being: the *Hsin ch'ing-nien*, during the period of the new culture movement; the *Hsiang-tao chou-pao* [guide weekly], while he was head of the Chinese Communist party; and the *Wu-ch'an-che* [the proletariat] and the *Huo-hua*, during his leadership of the Communist opposition party. A collection of his essays, correspondence and other writings between 1915 and 1921, most of which were taken from *Hsin ch'ing-nien*, was published in Shanghai late in 1922 as the *Tu-hsiu wen-ts'un* [the preserved works of Tu-hsiu]. Although surprisingly little has been written about Ch'en's life, he provided a revealing and wryly humorous account of his early years up to the age of 18 in *Shih-an tzu-chuan*, which appeared serially in the magazine *Yü-chou-feng* in 1937.

Ch'en Tu-hsiu was a serious student of the ancient Chinese language, particularly of philology and phonetics. In the period preceding his involvement in the May Fourth Movement, he had compiled the *Tzu-i lei-li* [sources of the meanings of words], a work dealing with the meanings of words and their classification, which was published in 1925 in Shanghai. After his expulsion from the Communist party and during his imprisonment, Ch'en devoted much of his time to revising the *Tzu-i lei-li* and to preparing a lengthy study of Chinese phonetics which, apparently, was never published. An etymological study, the "Shih-an tzu-shuo" [confessions of Shih-an], and a number of shorter articles on philology and phonetics of ancient texts, appeared in the *Tung-fang tsa-chih* [eastern miscellany] in 1937. After his death, a collection of his scholarly writings entitled *Tu-hsiu ts'ung-chu* was assembled by one of his followers. Although the book was never published, galley proofs of the first volume of this collection were prepared in Shanghai in 1948 and were presented to the Library of Congress in 1950 by Hu Shih.

By nature, Ch'en Tu-hsiu was temperamental, combative, fearlessly individualistic, and impatient of convention or authority of any sort. His writings revealed his penchant for polemic and his taste for violent partisanship. An

interpreter of ideas, whether they concerned traditional Confucianism, Western culture, or Marxist doctrine, his approach was simple, direct, and almost completely devoid of intellectual subtlety. These characteristics probably contributed to the enormous popularity of his writings among the unsophisticated student youth of the May Fourth Movement. While inclined to partisan opinions, Ch'en's outlook always was cosmopolitan, and throughout his life he seems to have been less stirred by the rising tide of Chinese nationalism than by social and political issues. Although he was a most effective propagandist, it was as an initiator and organizer that he made his greatest contribution to the Communist movement in China. Ch'en appears to have been quite unable to grasp the overwhelming complexities of the situation that engulfed him during the debacle of 1927. His subsequent attacks on the Communist leadership and his connection with the Trotskyite opposition earned him the official party opprobrium of "right opportunist"; and for this reason his role as founder of the party, as well as the leading part he played in the May Fourth Movement, has been either obscured or ignored by later Communist historians.

Ch'en's family life was not a happy one. He was said to have abandoned his wife, a girl whom he had married through the traditional family arrangement, and he was later reputed to have had a number of love affairs. He was the father of three sons: Ch'en Sung-men, Ch'en Yen-nien (q.v.) and Ch'en Ch'iao-nien.

Ch'en Wen-k'uan 陳文寬 West. Moon F. Chin

Ch'en Wen-k'uan (13 April 1913-), known as Moon F. Chin, aviator, helped to chart the so-called Hump route to India, and he made a trial flight from Sinkiang to India through the valleys of the Karakoram range. During the Sino-Japanese war he flew Chiang Kai-shek and other senior officials on inspection trips. In 1950 he founded Foshing Airlines in Taiwan.

Little is known of Moon Chin's childhood except that he was born in T'aishan (Toishan), Kwangtung. He went to the United States at an early age and was educated there. In 1932 he was graduated from the Curtiss-Wright

Flying School in Baltimore, Maryland. In 1933 he returned to China and joined the China National Aviation Corporation (CNAC), which had been established in 1929 and reorganized in 1930 as a Sino-American enterprise. Chin joined the company as a co-pilot; only Americans were pilots in those days. After the Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1937, the American personnel began to leave China, and Chin and other Chinese were promoted to full pilot status. He was assistant operations manager of the company during the war, later becoming operations manager and then executive vice president.

In 1942 the military authorities decided to seek an air route for shipping supplies from India to China. CNAC, supported by the United States Air Force, was responsible for charting the celebrated Hump route between Dinjan in Assam and Kunming in Yunnan. That route involved flying at a height of 25,000 feet over hazardous stretches of the Himalayan range. Moon Chin was one of several Chinese and American pilots who took part in this dangerous but vital operation.

When the Hump flights were threatened by Japanese attacks against the India-Burma border in 1942, the need for an alternative air route from India to China arose. The military authorities considered the feasibility of flying from northwest India over the Karakoram range to Sinkiang. In July 1942 the Chinese air force made the first trial flight in a C-54 transport plane piloted by Moon Chin. They took off from Chungking and flew over Lanchow to Urumchi in Sinkiang. From Urumchi they flew by way of Kuldja, Yarkand, and the valleys of the Karakoram range to India. The flight called for precise navigation: in the course of this trip the plane had to fly over the world's second highest peak, Mount Godwin-Austen (K2), 28,250 feet above sea level.

By 1943 a large number of CNAC planes had been destroyed by Japanese bombing. Moon Chin, Lin Ta-kang, and a few other Chinese pilots were then employed to fly high-ranking Chinese officials in the remaining aircraft. Chin regularly flew Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang on inspection trips to northwest and southwest China. Operating in cooperation with American authorities in China, he also flew confidential missions for the United States Office of Strategic Services. In February 1945 Chin

piloted General Tai Li (q.v.) and Rear Admiral Milton E. Miles to a rendezvous with General Fu Tso-yi (q.v.) at Shan-pa, Suiyuan, in Inner Mongolia. Since there was no airfield, Chin landed on a frozen river; after the meeting, he succeeded in getting his passengers safely away before Japanese units in the area could attack.

At the end of 1945 Moon Chin left CNAC to join the Central Air Transportation Corporation (CATC) as assistant general manager. CATC had been reorganized with the assets of the Eurasia Aviation Corporation, a former Sino-German concern, which then had only ten planes. Through Chin's efforts, the company purchased all surplus transport aircraft in the China theater and became one of the largest airlines in Asia. In April 1948 Chin flew 14 Chinese and foreign press correspondents over the Amne Machin range in Tsinghai to prove by his flight altitudes that no peak in the range was higher than 25,000 feet, thus refuting the claim of an American businessman and promoter that the range contained a peak higher than Mount Everest.

When the Communists came to power in 1949, CATC aircraft on the mainland fell into their hands. Moon Chin left for Taiwan with other officials of the company. In 1950 he founded Foshing Airlines to fly between Taiwan and the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu. In 1951 to 1955 he was engaged in air-sea rescue operations in the Taiwan Strait. In March 1955 he landed an amphibious plane in rough seas to rescue six air force men who had bailed out. In the same year he rescued a Chinese Nationalist Air Force fighter pilot who had bailed out near the Swatow coast within range of Communist shore batteries.

Moon Chin was known as an intrepid pilot with a unique record of flights made under adverse circumstances. His skill and adventurous spirit marked him as one of the outstanding Chinese aviators of the pre-jet period.

Ch'en Yen-nien

陳延年

Ch'en Yen-nien (1900-1927), the elder son of Ch'en Tu-hsiu (q.v.), was an important figure in the Communist League in France (1920-23) and edited the first overseas publication of the Chinese Communist party, *Shao-nien* [youth]. He became head of the party's Kwangtung regional

committee (1925) and secretary of the Kiangsu-Chekiang regional committee (1927). In June 1927 he was arrested at Shanghai and executed.

Huaining, Anhwei, was the birthplace of Ch'en Yen-nien. Reportedly a precocious youth, Ch'en accompanied his father, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, to Shanghai, Peking, and Canton and received his early education in these three places. He was influenced by his father's ideas and was exposed to the doctrines of anarchism, socialism, and Marxism. In 1920 Ch'en Yen-nien, with his younger brother, Ch'en Ch'iao-nien, left China for Europe on the work-study program. The Ch'en brothers became actively involved in student politics in France, and it was said that Ch'en Ch'iao-nien worked as a laborer in a factory in Paris to permit Ch'en Yen-nien to devote himself completely to political work.

Ch'en Yen-nien became editor of the *Shao-nien* [youth], a mimeographed periodical of the Chinese Communists. *Shao-nien* was widely circulated to Chinese work-study groups in both France and Belgium and which later was designated by the Chinese Communist party as its first overseas publication. In Paris, the Ch'en brothers reportedly were more closely associated with Chou En-lai, Wang Jo-fei, and Chao Shih-yen than with the prominent group of Hunanese which included Ts'ai Ho-sen, Hsiang Ching-yu, and others from Changsha. After the deportation of Ts'ai Ho-sen by the French police authorities in late 1921, Ch'en Yen-nien and Chao Shih-yen gained increasingly important positions in the leadership of the Communist League in France. Near the end of 1922, Ch'en Yen-nien and Chao Shih-yen went to the Soviet Union, where they conferred with Ch'en Tu-hsiu, then general secretary of the Chinese Communist party, who was attending the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow (November-December 1922). Ch'en Yen-nien remained for about two years in the Soviet Union, where he studied at the University for Toilers of the East in Moscow.

Early in 1925, Ch'en Yen-nien returned to China and went directly to Canton, then the center of radical nationalist activities. He was selected by the Communist party to head its Kwangtung regional committee, which had jurisdiction over the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi and which exerted direct control over Communists working in that critical area.

Disguised as a coolie, Ch'en Yen-nien reportedly worked to organize rickshaw bearers and other laborers throughout Canton. Under his energetic leadership, the Kwangtung regional committee of the Chinese Communist party set up six departments and held training classes for cadres. Its publication *Jen-min chou-k'an* [people's weekly] had substantial influence in south China. When the Canton-Hong Kong strike of 1925-26 broke out, although Su Chao-cheng and Teng Chung-hsia (qq.v.) were the more prominent labor leaders in the strike, Ch'en Yen-nien played an active political role and monitored the moves made by the Communists in the strike.

With the launching of the Northern Expedition in 1926, many Communist cadres from south China left Canton with the military forces. Ch'en Yen-nien, however, remained in Kwangtung until Chiang Kai-shek began his suppression of the Communists in Shanghai (April 1927). At that point the Communist party called Ch'en Yen-nien to Shanghai to replace Lo I-nung, secretary of the Kiangsu-Chekiang regional committee of the party, who was needed at Wuhan. During this dangerous period in Shanghai, Ch'en worked closely with Chao Shih-yen, with whom he had been associated in France. Although he was unable to attend the Fifth National Congress of the Communist party held in Wuhan in April-May 1927, Ch'en was elected to the Central Committee. In June 1927, after presiding over a meeting of the Kiangsu-Chekiang regional committee in Shanghai, he was arrested and subsequently was executed. His brother, Ch'iao-nien, was executed at about the same time in Canton.

In official Chinese Communist history, Ch'en Yen-nien is classed as a martyr and is credited with having opposed the so-called opportunism of his father Ch'en Tu-hsiu. In fact, Ch'en Yen-nien did not play a significant role in the Ch'en Tu-hsiu controversy. His rapid rise in the Chinese Communist party during the 1925-27 period apparently was due to his organizing ability in a period when trained cadres were scarce.

Ch'en Yi

T. Kung-hsia

陳儀
公俠

Ch'en Yi (1883-18 June 1950), governor of Fukien (1934-41) and of Chekiang (1948-49) who, as first Chinese government administrator

in Taiwan after 1945, launched a brutal suppression campaign against the Taiwanese when an island-wide revolt against his administration threatened to break out. He was executed as a Communist conspirator for acting as an intermediary in a Communist attempt to effect the surrender of Shanghai.

Shaohsing hsien, Chekiang, was the native place of Ch'en Yi. Throughout the Ch'ing period his district had been noted as a major source of legal secretaries, men who were employed personally by government officials of all ranks and in all parts of China. Ch'en Yi was one of the few men of the Shaohsing district to choose a military career. He studied in Japan, and he was graduated from the fifth class of the Shikan Gakkō [military academy] in 1907. During his residence in Japan, he married a Japanese woman and became known as a Japanophile. After graduation he immediately returned to China, where he joined the army in his native Chekiang.

When the 1911 revolution broke out, Ch'en Yi was quick to join the revolutionary movement. When Chekiang province declared its independence and organized a provisional government, Ch'en joined it in the capacity of counselor to the tutuh [military governor] and chief of the military affairs branch of the government. After the republic was established in 1912, he returned to active service in the army. By the early 1920's Ch'en Yi had risen to command one of the divisions of the Chekiang provincial army.

In 1924 Sun Ch'u'an-fang (q.v.) entered Chekiang by way of Fukien and ousted the Chekiang governor, Lu Yung-hsiang. Sun's victory was precipitated by the defection of one regiment of the Chekiang army stationed on the Chekiang-Fukien border; and this regiment belonged to Ch'en Yi's division. Ch'en and Hsia Ch'ao, then the senior military figure in Chekiang, had plotted the overthrow of Lu Yung-hsiang. When Sun Ch'u'an-fang assumed complete control of Chekiang, he rewarded Hsia with the governorship of the province. Pursuing his victory further into Kiangsu, with the rich metropolis of Shanghai as the principal objective, Sun Ch'u'an-fang in 1925 went to war with the Fengtien army. Ch'en Yi was placed in command of one of the armies making up the expedition. Sun won decisively; by October

1925, the Fengtien army and its ally, the Shantung army, had been driven far north. On the pretext that Hsuchow was an important strategic center, Sun Ch'u'an-fang appointed Ch'en Yi garrison commander of that city, and Ch'en moved his army from Chekiang to Hsuchow in late 1925 to assume that post. Of course, Sun's basic objective was to separate the various Chekiang provincial units to prevent their joining forces against him.

At this juncture an incident occurred which was to have an indirect bearing on Ch'en Yi's ultimate end. Earlier in 1925 a young Chekiang fellow-provincial who had aspirations toward a military career, T'ang En-po (q.v.), after great difficulty had succeeded in obtaining the necessary recommendation from a Chinese military authority to enable him to apply for admission to the 18th class of the Shikan Gakkō. When making plans for the trip, for which he was not adequately prepared financially, T'ang En-po applied to Ch'en Yi, whom he did not know, for assistance. To T'ang's surprise, Ch'en Yi acceded to the request without hesitation, enabling T'ang to enter the academy. T'ang was profuse in his expression of gratitude to his benefactor. However, Ch'en Yi was finally to pay with his life for a misguided act which he perpetrated on the basis of this early link.

Meanwhile, as Sun Ch'u'an-fang consolidated his position and made himself the supreme commander of the five provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei, Kiangsi and Fukien, the Kuomintang government at Canton made ready to launch its Northern Expedition in 1926. The forces advanced with such speed that by the end of 1926 Sun Ch'u'an-fang was unable to avoid a direct clash with the revolutionaries. His subordinate Chekiang generals showed signs of unrest, and defections appeared likely. Of the Chekiang leaders, Chou Feng-ch'i was the first to go over to the revolutionary camp, and he then took his army in Anhwei back to west Chekiang to fight against Sun Ch'u'an-fang. Hsia Ch'ao, the Chekiang governor, tried to become the chief power in the province under the pretense of declaring it independent. He therefore made overtures to Ch'en Yi urging joint action against Sun Ch'u'an-fang and promised to reward Ch'en with the governorship, which he planned to vacate for a higher position. Ch'en Yi quietly informed Sun Ch'u'an-fang of Hsia's scheme, and Sun forestalled the revolt.

To appease the Chekiang people, who were clamoring for government by a fellow-provincial, and to reward Ch'en Yi for his timely information, Sun Ch'u-an-fang made Ch'en governor of Chekiang. Ch'en assumed this post in October 1926, and in December he moved his army from Hsuchow to Hangchow.

The forces of the National Revolutionary Army, however, were making rapid progress. As they approached the Chekiang provincial capital, Ch'en Yi recognized that it was time to switch alliances. He established contact with Chiang Kai-shek, who on 17 December 1926 appointed Ch'en commander of the Nineteenth Army of the Nationalist forces. Ch'en Yi, however, made no declaration, since he intended to create an autonomous administration for Chekiang and to await further developments. Sun Ch'u-an-fang then took quick action and sent his forces to Hangchow, where they disarmed part of Ch'en Yi's army. Ch'en's remaining troops fled to the Shao-hsing area. Ch'en Yi himself was taken to Nanking, but later was given his freedom and went to Shanghai. On 30 December 1926, the portion of Ch'en Yi's first Chekiang division that had escaped from Sun Ch'u-an-fang was formally reorganized as the Nineteenth Army of the Nationalist forces at Shao-hsing. Although Ch'en Yi was not with his men, he nevertheless was listed as the commander in the announcement of the formation of this new unit.

The Northern Expedition forces continued to make such rapid advances that Sun Ch'u-an-fang realized that he could no longer hold Chekiang. He then decided that it would be more realistic to attempt a stand farther north in Kiangsu. The Nationalists captured Hangchow on 19 February 1927. On 1 March a provisional political council for Chekiang province was formed, with Chang Jen-chieh (q.v.) as chairman.

Ch'en Yi was living quietly in Shanghai when the revolutionary forces captured Nanking in March 1927 and established a new National Government there a month later. His adeptness at adjusting to new situations again came into play, and he offered his services to Chiang Kai-shek, using Ko Ching-en as intermediary. Ko had been Ch'en Yi's colleague at the military academy in Japan, was close to Chiang Kai-shek, and had acted as intermediary in the earlier contacts between Chiang and Ch'en. In

1929 Ch'en Yi prepared to begin a new career in the government administration. He was first appointed director of the arsenals bureau of the ministry of war at Nanking. Later he was promoted to administrative vice minister of war. In 1931 he was promoted to political vice minister of war.

Toward the end of 1933, Ch'en Ming-shu and Li Chi-shen (qq.v.), with the support of the Nineteenth Route Army, launched the Fukien revolt. This move against Nanking's authority was short-lived, and it quickly collapsed in early 1934 under heavy military pressure from the National Government. In the campaign suppressing the Fukien revolt, a major role was played by T'ang En-po, who by then had become a divisional commander in the Nationalist army. After the suppression of the Fukien revolt, Ch'en Yi was appointed governor of Fukien province. Ch'en remained in that post for nearly eight years, until after the occupation of Foochow by the Japanese in 1941. His administration of Fukien province was subject to severe criticism, but Ch'en had the confidence of the supreme authority.

One major feature of Ch'en Yi's governorship of Fukien was his feud with the overseas Chinese leader Tan Kah Kee (Ch'en Chia-keng, q.v.), who had come from Fukien. Tan had gained national recognition for his founding and support of Amoy University. He had also made repeated attempts to interest Fukienese living overseas in investing in the economic development of their native province. When Ch'en Yi first came to Fukien as governor, he had high hopes that overseas Chinese capital would be made available to his administration. By that time, however, Tan's business in Singapore had failed, and he was unsuccessful in interesting his friends in programs for the development of Fukien. Ch'en Yi was disappointed, and on one occasion he reportedly made a statement which was highly derogatory to the Fukien residents abroad. He said that the people of Fukien hoped that their kinsfolk overseas would help in its development, but that evidently the inhabitants of other provinces which did not have overseas residents to look to were faring much better. This statement greatly annoyed Tan Kah Kee.

In 1940 Tan Kah Kee, then chairman of the Overseas Chinese General Association for the Relief of War Refugees in China, led a delegation to visit China on the invitation of the

National Government. He devoted the last part of his stay in China to his native province of Fukien. Ch'en Yi was obliged to treat him with deference, but Tan was outspoken and unsparing in his criticism of conditions in the province. He bluntly told Ch'en Yi that reports of mal-administration had been substantiated by what he had seen. On his return to Southeast Asia, Tan Kah Kee gave full publicity to the situation in Fukien and launched a movement among Fukienese provincials abroad for the dismissal of Ch'en Yi. A request was sent to Chiang Kai-shek, but no action was taken. Tan also appealed to Lin Sen (q.v.), Chairman of the National Government, who came from Fukien, and Lin was stated to have referred the case to Chiang personally. Again, there was no action.

Ch'en Yi continued to enjoy the personal confidence of the supreme authority in Chungking, but other factors now intruded to affect his continued governorship of Fukien. By 1941 the Japanese had occupied the entire coastal area of east China from Kiangsu down to Fukien. Since Ch'en Yi's favorable attitude toward Japan was well known, there were fears that the Japanese-sponsored regime of Wang Ching-wei (q.v.) at Nanking might attempt to exploit Ch'en's position. At the same time the exigencies of war also suggested the desirability of appointing an active military officer to the post. In August 1941 the National Government appointed Liu Chien-hsu governor of Fukien, succeeding Ch'en Yi.

Ch'en Yi did not leave Fukien in disgrace. He was promoted to secretary general of the Executive Yuan, then under the direction of its vice president, H. H. K'ung. In the new post, Ch'en Yi again became involved in a series of incidents which did little to endear him to his colleagues. He relinquished the position about a year later.

By that time the outcome of the war had become clear. During the Second World War, the Chinese leaders on the mainland held the recovery of all Chinese territory taken by Japan to be a prime objective of national policy. The restoration of the island of Taiwan to China was defined as an Allied objective at the Cairo Conference, which was held in November 1943. The Chinese government authorities at Chungking began making plans to take over Taiwan, and a training program was established for personnel to be sent to Taiwan at the appropriate time.

Ch'en Yi was assigned to be the first official Chinese representative to take over the administration of Taiwan from the Japanese. He was considered the most suitable candidate for that post both because of his experience with things Japanese and because of his long governorship of Fukien, the mainland province closest to Taiwan and the original home of most of the Chinese of that island.

After the Japanese surrender in August 1945, Chinese Nationalist forces took control of Taiwan in the early autumn. The National Government appointed Ch'en Yi officer administering the government, a traditional designation pending the organization of a regular provincial government, and garrison commander. His old friend Ko Ching-en was named secretary general of the island administration. Ch'en Yi arrived at Taipei on 25 October 1945, the date now officially observed as Taiwan's Restoration Day, and was given a rousing reception by the people.

Fifty years under Japanese rule had left the Chinese in Taiwan better educated, more modernized, and more prosperous than most mainland Chinese. But they had resented colonial rule and clearly welcomed the prospect of reunification with their homeland. Initial optimism soon faded, however, with the imposition of a harsh military administration in which the Taiwanese had virtually no voice. On the grounds that the special situation in Taiwan resulting from a half-century of Japanese rule required special treatment, Ch'en Yi was given extraordinary powers. Kuomintang officials, welcomed to Taiwan as liberators, soon were found to be unabashed looters, and were more arrogant and less efficient than their Japanese predecessors. Public dissatisfaction grew rapidly and reached a climax on 28 February 1947, when a huge demonstration took place in Taipei. When the military fired on the demonstrators, killing several, an island-wide revolt threatened to break out. Ch'en Yi launched a brutal suppression campaign in the course of which several thousand Taiwanese were massacred, including virtually all of the small group of leaders with modern education, administrative experience, and political maturity. Faced with a major crisis, Chiang Kai-shek at once dismissed Ch'en Yi and dispatched Pai Ch'ung-hsi (q.v.) to Taiwan in an attempt to pacify the public. A regular provincial government was

organized to replace the former special apparatus, and Wei Tao-ming (q.v.) was named governor in April 1947.

Ch'en Yi left Taiwan hastily and went to Shanghai. After a brief period of inactivity, he was ready for a new assignment. In 1948 the governor of Chekiang, Shen Hung-lieh (q.v.), resigned his post because of disagreements with the local Kuomintang leaders. Even the normally cynical political circles in China were surprised in June of that year when Nanking announced the appointment of Ch'en Yi as Chekiang governor.

Ch'en Yi assumed the post of Chekiang provincial governor on 1 July 1948 with his usual aplomb. He immediately gave public notice of his self-confidence by replacing all but ten of the hsien magistrates in the province during his first four months in office. Even Chou Hsiang-hsien, veteran mayor of Hangchow who had served for 20 years under several governors, was replaced. At the same time, Ch'en Yi made numerous new appointments; some of them were politically questionable. A notable case was the new magistrate of Sung-yang appointed in 1948, Chu Keng-sheng. His defection after the Communist crossing of the Yangtze in the spring of 1949 prevented the smooth withdrawal of the Chekiang government from Hangchow.

Meanwhile, in November 1948 the Chinese Communists had captured Hsuchow and Peng'u on the Tientsin-Pukow railroad. As public unrest spread in Chekiang, Ch'en Yi announced that he would take appropriate measures to protect the province and to spare it from the ravages of military conflict. He also announced that he was not proceeding with the construction of defense works on the southern bank of the Ch'ien-t'ang river so that the funds allotted by the National Government for that purpose could be spent on enterprises which would benefit the people of Chekiang. And when Chiang Kai-shek passed through Hangchow on his way to his native district of Fenghua on 22 January 1949, the day after he had announced his retirement, Ch'en Yi entertained Chiang at a special banquet and stressed that the people of Chekiang desired to be spared the ravages of war.

At this juncture T'ang En-po was entrusted with the defense of the Shanghai area against the Communist forces, which were about to launch a concerted drive southward toward

Nanking and Shanghai. Aware of the past relationship between T'ang and Ch'en Yi, Communist agents made contact with Ch'en and, through him, offered an invitation to T'ang to surrender his large forces to the People's Liberation Army. T'ang En-po, however, reported the offer to Chiang Kai-shek. On 11 February 1949 Ch'en Yi was dismissed as governor of Chekiang, and on his arrival at Shanghai he was arrested by T'ang En-po. Ch'en Yi was taken to Taiwan later that year. In the early months of 1950, executions of men suspected of being Communist agents were common. In June, Ch'en Yi was executed as a Communist conspirator.

Ch'en Yi

陳毅

Ch'en Yi (1901-), one of the outstanding military commanders in China in the 1930's and 1940's, joined the Fourth Red Army in 1928 and was an early supporter of Mao Tse-tung. He became acting commander (1941) and then commander (1946) of the New Fourth Army. After 1949 he was mayor of Shanghai and a dominant figure in east China. In 1958 he succeeded Chou En-lai as minister of foreign affairs at Peking.

Lochih, Szechwan province, was the birthplace of Ch'en Yi. His father was an educated man who was a district magistrate during the late Ch'ing period. At the age of five, Ch'en Yi was taken by his parents to Hunan, where his father then was serving. He was about ten at the time of the republican revolution of October 1911, when his father lost his post. The family returned to Szechuan and took up residence at Chengtu. Although his father had been an official, the family financial situation was poor after 1912. However, Ch'en did gain admission to a vocational school in Chengtu, where he received his middle school education and some practical training in the school's machine shop. He was also an agile and aggressive forward on the school soccer team.

In the spring of 1918 Ch'en was attracted to the program sponsored by Li Shih-tseng (q.v.) and other senior republican revolutionaries with European connections to train Chinese students for a combined work-study program in France. Through the influence of Li Shih-tseng

and the governor of Szechwan, a special preparatory school was established at Chengtu to offer a one-year preparatory course for the students of the province. Most of the instruction was devoted to French language lessons. Ch'en Yi was regarded as a clever student, though he was more interested in traditional Chinese history and literature than in modern subjects. He was fond of composing poetry in the classical style. Early in 1919 Ch'en Yi passed the examinations designed to select 30 of the school's 120 students for government scholarships to study in France. The group of Szechwanese students left Chungking in the summer of 1919 and went by river steamer to Shanghai. After arriving there in early July, the group was housed for two months in a middle school while they waited for their ship.

When the group reached France in October 1919, Ch'en Yi went to Paris, where he earned his living loading barges and washing dishes. He studied at a vocational school at St. Germain and attended drawing classes at the Atelier les Chaumi  re. He also worked in the Michelin plant at Clermont-Ferrand and in the Creusot works. Later, he went to Grenoble to study at the Institut Polytechnique. In 1921 he joined the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps, an organization of Chinese students in France. He participated in demonstrations by Chinese students to protest loans which the Chinese envoy Ch'en Lu (q.v.), was negotiating with the French government for which the French would be given railway concessions in southwest China as collateral.

In September 1921 Ch'en Yi joined with a group of 103 Chinese students in a venture that resulted in their deportation from France. The previous year, Li Shih-tseng (q.v.), then keenly interested in Sino-French relations, had established an Institut Franco-Chinois at Lyon, where the French government had donated an abandoned fortress to house the students. The Chinese students then in France had been led to expect that they would be the first to be admitted. When it became apparent that the Chinese sponsors of the Institut Franco-Chinois, in response to political pressures at home, were sending a new group of students from Kwangtung and Kwangsi, the students already in France became indignant. Their leaders proposed that they occupy the premises by force, a plan which gained moral as well as some finan-

cial support from the Chinese legation in Paris. The resulting action became known in Chinese revolutionary lore as the Li-ta yun-tung, the Lyon Institut movement. At dawn on 21 September 1921, a determined group of students, Ch'en Yi among them, forced its way into the Institut at Lyon. There they staged a demonstration until French gendarmes surrounded the fortress and forcibly escorted the Chinese students to jail. Ch'en and the others were confined for several weeks. They were formally expelled from France in October 1921 and were sent home by ship from Marseilles.

Ch'en Yi returned to Szechwan early in 1922, and, perhaps through family connections, became attached to the staff of Yang Sen (q.v.), who then commanded the Second Szechwan Army. Later in the year he left the service of Yang Sen and joined the staff of the *Hsin Shu Pao* [new Szechuan news], a progressive newspaper published at Chungking. In 1923 Ch'en went to Peking. There he joined both the Chinese Communist party and the Kuomintang, which were then allied in the effort to achieve a nationalist revolution in China. Ch'en did not turn at once to political action, however. Rather, he entered the Sino-French University, which had been established at Peking in 1920 by Li Shih-tseng at the same time that its French branch, the Institut Franco-Chinois, had been set up at Lyon. Ch'en Yi studied at the Sino-French University from 1923 until 1925; a number of other Chinese students who had been in France with him enrolled there at the same time.

In 1925, when the Whampoa Military Academy was established to train officers for the proposed Northern Expedition, Ch'en Yi went to Canton. He became an instructor in the academy's political department, where he served under Chou En-lai. When the Northern Expedition was launched in the summer of 1926, Ch'en accompanied it as a political officer in the independent regiment commanded by Yeh T'ing (q.v.). He participated in the action at Nanchang in August 1927 when Yeh T'ing and Ho Lung (q.v.) staged the uprising later designated as the birth of the Chinese Communist military forces. When that move failed, Ch'en Yi marched with the forces of Yeh T'ing and Ho Lung on their retreat southward. The Communists were defeated at Swatow in September 1927, and the remnants of their forces were left

to Chu Teh (q.v.), who fought a rear guard action at Jaoping on the Kwangtung-Fukien border. The small band of survivors then retreated to the southern Kiangsi, where they spent the winter of 1927. Chu Teh commanded the group, with Ch'en Yi as the political commissar.

In the spring of 1928 the group joined Mao Tse-tung in the Ching-kang mountains on the Hunan-Kiangsi border. They combined their forces to form the Fourth Red Army, with Chu Teh as commander, Mao Tse-tung as political commissar, and Ch'en Yi as chief of the political department. The group remained in the Ching-kang mountains through 1928 until the Nationalists forced another retreat. Ch'en Yi then accompanied Mao and Chu Teh across Kiangsi to Juichin, where the Communists established a new base in January 1929. Ch'en assumed command of the 13th Division of the Chinese Communist forces. In 1930, when there was disagreement regarding the appropriate military and political tactics to be used by the Communist party, Ch'en Yi supported Mao Tse-tung at a critical juncture in the party's history. Some members of the Kiangsi provincial committee of the Communist party opposed Mao Tse-tung's policies on the grounds that Mao was not acting in accordance with the policies laid down by the top command of the party at Shanghai. By the end of 1930, Mao felt that his position was sufficiently secure to suppress opposition to his authority. Ch'en Yi was assigned to liquidate the opposition group at Fut'ien, a small town in central Kiangsi. That action, taken on 7 December 1930, was the so-called Fut'ien Incident, one of the most extensive purges in the pre-1949 history of the Chinese Communist party. Tied to Mao Tse-tung by his role in that affair, Ch'en Yi was opposed by the top political command of the party, which later was forced to move from Shanghai to the central soviet area in Kiangsi. Ch'en was elected to membership on the central executive committee of the Chinese soviet government established at Juichin in November 1931, but was not prominent politically during the Kiangsi period. From about 1932 until the Communist retreat from Kiangsi in 1934, he commanded the Twenty-second Army.

In October 1934, when the main Communist forces left Kiangsi to begin the Long March, Ch'en Yi, Hsiang Ying (q.v.), and others re-

mained behind to cover the retreat and to attempt to develop a new base of operations. Their scattered troops were forced to fight savagely to escape annihilation by the Nationalist armies, and by mid-1936 they had been driven eastward to the Kiangsi-Fukien border. After the outbreak of the war against Japan in the summer of 1937, the Nationalists were forced to ease their pressure on the Communists, and the scattered Red guerrilla units gained a new significance. Plans were made to reorganize these Communist troops and incorporate them into the Nationalist forces to operate along the Yangtze in central China. The resulting New Fourth Army was established in January 1938, with its headquarters at Nanchang, Kiangsi. Yeh T'ing, who had been inactive since the Communist defeat at Canton in December 1927, came out of retirement in Hong Kong to assume command of the new unit, with Hsiang Ying as deputy commander and political commissar. Ch'en Yi was assigned to command its 1st column, made up of Communist troops which had been in southern Kiangsi, and was also named a member of the southeast bureau of the Chinese Communist party. Hsiang Ying headed the bureau.

The task of reorganization had been completed by the autumn of 1938, and the New Fourth Army began operations against the Japanese invaders. When the Communists began to enlarge their territorial base, the New Fourth Army reorganized its structure in November 1939 and established two regional commands. The south Yangtze command, headed by Ch'en Yi, was composed of three columns directed by Communist officers with whom he had been associated in the 1934-37 period, notably Su Yu, T'an Chen-lin (qq.v.), and Chang Ting-ch'eng. The north Yangtze command, headed by Chang Yun-i, also included three columns. As these forces began to expand their areas of control, however, they came into increasing conflict with the Nationalist commanders in that part of China. Relations between the Communists and the Nationalists deteriorated during 1940, and by the summer of that year the New Fourth Army troops under Ch'en Yi had been driven from southern Kiangsu into the northern part of that province. There, Ch'en established his headquarters at Yench'eng and began to consolidate control of north Kiangsu east of the Grand Canal. In

January 1941, a sharp battle, known in Chinese Communist literature as the New Fourth Army Incident, took place in southern Anhwei. In that action, Yeh T'ing was captured and Hsiang Ying was killed. Of the leaders of the New Fourth Army, it was the dead Hsiang Ying, rather than Yeh T'ing or Ch'en Yi, who was held responsible for the defeat by the Chinese Communist authorities at Yenan. Ch'en Yi was said to have acted correctly and to have taken effective steps to carry out a series of directives given him on 4 May 1940 by the top command at Yenan.

Although the New Fourth Army Incident dealt a serious blow to the Communist forces in central China, it by no means eliminated them. Mao Tse-tung at once took matters into his own hands and in a telegram of 22 January 1941 named Ch'en Yi acting commander of the New Fourth Army and assigned Liu Shao-ch'i to the post of political commissar. Liu Shao-ch'i and Ch'en Yi immediately organized their forces into seven regular divisions and began to carry out policies similar to those of the Communist Eighth Route Army in north China: the establishment of base areas, the formation of local governments on a united-front basis, and the reduction of rent and interest rates in the countryside. Between 1941 and the Japanese surrender in 1945, the Communist units associated with the New Fourth Army succeeded in carving out and developing seven territorial bases that were to be of key importance to them during the post-1945 civil war with the Nationalists. Ch'en Yi maintained the headquarters of the New Fourth Army in Yench'eng and made that area the most highly developed Communist base in central China.

In 1944, after ten years of intensive and dangerous work in areas nominally under Kuomintang or Japanese jurisdiction, Ch'en Yi made his way to Yenan. He traveled from Kiangsu to Shantung and thence westward through the Communist base area in the T'aihang mountains to northern Shensi. At the Communist wartime headquarters, Ch'en renewed contact with the senior political leaders of the Communist party and doubtless reviewed the potential capabilities of the Communist military forces which he had built up in east China during the war. He also had contact with the United States liaison officers then serving at Yenan. In a letter of 28 August 1944 to Colonel

David D. Barrett, head of the American observation group, Ch'en provided detailed information on the clashes between the Nationalist troops and the New Fourth Army in southern Anhwei and northern Kiangsu during the years from 1939 to 1941. When the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist party met at Yenan in April 1945, Ch'en Yi, in recognition of his wartime services, was named a member of its presidium. When the meeting closed, in June 1945, he was elected for the first time to membership on the Central Committee.

By mid-1945, the troops of the New Fourth Army, the overwhelming majority of them locally recruited and locally supported during the Sino-Japanese war, occupied key areas along the entire stretch of the east China coast from Chekiang to Shantung. After the Japanese surrender, these units were deployed rapidly in several directions toward the Yangtze delta and the Huai River areas into positions where they threatened control of the key north-south railroad line from Tientsin to Pukow, opposite Nanking. Ch'en Yi himself returned to the field in southern Shantung, where he assembled important troop strength and readied his units for combat. When the American mediation effort in China failed and civil war erupted, Ch'en was formally assigned as commander of the New Fourth Army after the death of Yeh T'ing in April 1946. In 1947 these troops, redesignated the East China People's Liberation Army, scored victories in Shantung. Ch'en Yi, who regularly wore a beret in the field, became known among the peasants of that province as a master of quick retreats and unexpected reappearances. During 1947 and 1948, Ch'en Yi's forces, operating in close coordination with the Communist armies of Liu Po-ch'eng (q.v.) to his west, continued to consolidate their position. Their capture of Kaifeng, capital of Honan province, in June 1948, netted large stocks of weapons and demonstrated that the Communist forces possessed the ability to defeat the Nationalist armies in large-scale positional warfare.

In November 1948, in order to create a unified command structure, the Communists established a new general front command. Designed to exercise direct command over military operations, that group was headed by Ch'en Yi and included Liu Po-ch'eng, Su Yu, T'an Chen-lin, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing (qq.v.). The Hwai-Hai engagement, which began on 7 November,

resulted in a crushing defeat for the Nationalists and opened the way for the Communist advance on Nanking and Shanghai. That key engagement took place in the area of northern Kiangsu and northern Anhwei, where Ch'en Yi and the Communist troops under his command unquestionably profited from their familiarity with the terrain and the people. After that decisive victory, Ch'en Yi's troops, now designated the Third Field Army, pressed forward to capture Shanghai and to occupy Chekiang and Fukien.

Between 1949 and 1952, one prominent feature of the pattern of control established by the Communists in China was the creation of several large regional administrations, each composed of several provinces. In general, the jurisdiction of these administrative regions reflected the deployment of Communist forces and the pattern of military control in late 1949. Ch'en's political commissar, Jao Shun-shih (q.v.), headed the political structure in east China, and Ch'en held the top military position in the region and also held top posts in the interlocking political and Communist party structures through which the Communists consolidated control over that large and populous area. He became second secretary of the east China bureau of the Chinese Communist party; a member of the East China regional government apparatus; and commander of the east China military district. The headquarters were at Shanghai, and Ch'en Yi's principal responsibility was to organize firm Communist control over that complex and crime-ridden metropolis. Ch'en Yi became mayor of Shanghai in 1949 and secretary of the Shanghai municipal committee of the Communist party in 1953. Like other senior Communists in China, he also held positions at the national government level during the 1949-54 period: he was a member of the Central People's Government Council and of the People's Revolutionary Military Council.

After the reorganization of the Central People's Government in 1954, Ch'en Yi was named a vice premier of the State Council and a vice chairman of the National Defense Council. He began to spend most of his time at Peking, though he continued to serve as mayor of Shanghai. In 1955 he was one of ten top-ranking Communist military officers who were promoted to the newly created rank of marshal.

At the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist party in September 1956, Ch'en was reelected to the Central Committee of the party and was elected for the first time to the Political Bureau. He was named head of the Scientific Planning Commission at Peking in March 1956 and held that post until May 1957, when he was replaced by Nieh Jung-chen (q.v.).

For nearly ten years after the establishment of the Central People's Government in 1949, Chou En-lai held the demanding posts of premier and foreign minister concurrently. Despite Chou's experience and durability, Peking deemed it advisable to lighten that load. In February 1958, therefore, Ch'en Yi was named foreign minister. Ch'en had headed the Chinese delegation on a ceremonial visit to East Germany in 1954 and had accompanied Chou En-lai to the Bandung Conference in the spring of 1955. However, in contrast to other senior officials of the foreign ministry—notably Chang Wen-t'ien and Wang Chia-hsiang (qq.v.)—he had no significant diplomatic or negotiating experience. Immediately after his appointment, Ch'en accompanied Chou En-lai and Chang Wen-t'ien to North Korea to participate in the discussions that led to the withdrawal of Chinese Communist military forces from that country. In March 1958, when a special office of foreign affairs was created under the State Council at Peking, Ch'en Yi was named to head it. He was replaced as mayor of Shanghai in November 1958, when K'o Ch'ing-shih was named to that post.

Ch'en Yi's tenure in the foreign ministry at Peking coincided with the conflict between the Chinese and Soviet Communist parties over leadership in the international Communist movement and with Peking's growing interest in the export of political doctrine and modest practical support of the developing countries of the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. In 1961 Ch'en Yi led the Chinese delegation to Indonesia which signed the treaty of friendship with that nation, and he traveled to Geneva for the international conference on Laos. In the spring of 1963, he accompanied Liu Shao-ch'i on a trip through Southeast Asia which took their party to Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia, and North Viet Nam. Late in 1963 Ch'en went for the first time to Africa to attend Kenya's independence celebrations. He then flew to Cairo in mid-December, where he joined Chou En-lai.

Their party then left on an extensive trip that took them to ten countries of Africa and did much to establish China's presence in that continent. In October 1964 Ch'en Yi flew to north Africa to attend the tenth anniversary celebrations of the Algerian revolution. In the spring of 1965 he again accompanied Chou En-lai to Jakarta for the celebrations that marked the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference.

Ch'en Yi's career in the Chinese Communist movement was constructed on the foundation of his record as a notably successful and imaginative military commander. After 1949 he was one of the relatively small group of senior military officers with significant political influence at the top level of the party. While Chou En-lai remained Communist China's most experienced diplomatic negotiator, Ch'en Yi during his tenure as foreign minister nevertheless evolved a distinctive personal style: that of the gruff old soldier. With his election to the Political Bureau of the party in 1956, he became one of the ten most influential men in the Chinese Communist party, ranking just below members of the standing committee of the Political Bureau.

Ch'en Yi lost his first wife in Kiangsi in 1934. He later married Chang Chien, who was a member of the executive committee of the National Women's Federation of China. In contrast to the wives of some other senior Communist officials at Peking, Chang Chien made frequent public appearances and often accompanied her husband on official trips both within China and abroad.

Ch'en Yin-k'o 陳寅恪
Alt. Ch'en Yin-ch'üeh

Ch'en Yin-k'o (1890-), internationally known sinologist, produced many important works on early medieval Chinese history and on relations between the Chinese empire and neighboring areas beginning in 420. After long association with Tsinghua University and with the Academia Sinica's institute of history and philology, Ch'en was appointed to the chair of Chinese at Oxford in 1938, but was prevented from teaching there by the war and then by his blindness. After 1948 he taught and did research at Lingnan University in Canton and at Chungshan University.

A native of Ining, Kiangsi, Ch'en Yin-k'o was the grandson of Ch'en Pao-chen (1831-1900; T. Yu-ming), the reformist governor of Hunan province from 1895 to 1898, and the third son of Ch'en San-li, the noted poet and essayist (for information on the family, see Ch'en San-li). Scholarship was a tradition in the Ch'en family, and Ch'en Yin-k'o acquired a solid education in the Chinese classical texts. Then he went to Japan on a government grant for further study. Most of his student life, however, was spent in the United States and Europe, where he studied at Harvard, at Berlin, and at Paris. He took only those courses which interested him and never bothered to obtain an academic degree. An exceptionally talented linguist, Ch'en gained a reading knowledge of some 13 foreign languages, including English, German, French, Latin, Greek, Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, and Arabic. This formidable linguistic foundation was of great value in his later scholarly work on the history of the T'ang period because of the many non-Chinese influences affecting its culture.

After about ten years abroad, Ch'en returned to China in the early 1920's. In 1923 he was appointed adviser to the Tsinghua College research institute of sinological studies at Peking. When Tsinghua became a university in 1925, he was given a joint appointment as professor in the departments of Chinese and history, a position which, with many interruptions, he retained for more than 20 years. During the period before the outbreak of the Japanese war in 1937, Ch'en Yin-k'o was a major figure at Tsinghua in what came to be perhaps the best-balanced history faculty in China, under the chairmanship of T. F. Tsiang (Chiang T'ing-fu, q.v.). Ch'en's teaching and research dealt not only with problems in early medieval Chinese history but also with relations between the Chinese empire and neighboring areas during the centuries from the southern dynasties (420-589) to the Yuan dynasty established in 1279. He helped students in work on original documents written in Mongolian and Manchu. Although he did not publish extensively on Buddhism, his knowledge of that complex field was considerable. For many years before 1937 he offered research courses at Tsinghua on textual criticism and related problems of Chinese Buddhist literature translated from Sanskrit. Of interest to students

of Chinese phonology is his paper entitled "Ssu-sheng san-wen" [three questions concerning the four tones], which appeared in the *Tsinghua Journal* in 1934. In that article, Ch'en argued that the tones of Chinese were based on the pitch accent used by Indians in reciting the Vedas.

In addition to his work at Tsinghua, Ch'en Yin-k'o made important contributions to the research carried on under the auspices of the institute of history and philology of the Academia Sinica. Founded in 1928 and originally located at Canton, the institute was soon moved to Peiping for more convenient access to the Palace archives. Ch'en Yin-k'o then was appointed its first research fellow. In June 1929 the institute was expanded; it established three divisions with Ch'en Yin-k'o, Y. R. Chao (Chao Yuen-ren, q.v.), and Li Chi (q.v.) in charge of history, philology, and archeology, respectively. From 1935 until 1949 Ch'en served as a member of the board of supervisors of the Academia Sinica, and many of his important papers first appeared in the *Bulletin* of its institute of history and philology. He was also a member of the board of compilation of the archives of the grand secretariat of the Ch'ing dynasty, an office supervised by the institute. The first few series of the *Ming-Ch'ing shih-liao* [source material on the history of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties] were edited and published under his personal supervision. He was also a director of the Palace Museum.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war and the death of his father in 1937, Ch'en Yin-k'o left Peiping for the British colony of Hong Kong. There he accepted an invitation to teach at the University of Hong Kong, where he later succeeded Hsu Ti-shan as chairman of the department of Chinese. In 1938 Ch'en was appointed to the chair of Chinese at Oxford University. (On Oxford's records his name appears as Tchen Yin-koh.) Because of the national crisis in China, Ch'en was given leave not to go to Oxford until the hostilities in the Far East were terminated. When the Japanese invaded Hong Kong in December 1941, he made his way to west China.

In the autumn of 1942 he began teaching Chinese history at the refugee campus of Yenching University at Chengtu. He later moved to Kweilin and then to Kunming, where the Southwest Associated University was established. Ch'en's health began to suffer as a result of poor

diet and overwork, and in 1944 he began to lose his eyesight. After the war ended in 1945, Ch'en flew to London to consult specialists and to undergo an eye operation, intending to take up his long-deferred appointment at Oxford if it should prove successful. Unfortunately, the operation left him almost totally blind. He formally resigned his chair at Oxford, on the grounds of ill health, on 21 January 1946. Ch'en's appointment in 1938 and his inability to take up the post during the war years are the reason, little known in England, why the chair of Chinese at Oxford appeared to be unoccupied from the retirement of W. E. Soothill in 1935 until the appointment of H. H. Dubs in 1947. Ch'en was stranded in London after his operation, but assistance provided by the ministry of education of the Chinese government enabled him to return to China in 1946. He visited Nanking in the summer of 1947 and then went on to Peiping, where he rejoined the Tsinghua faculty.

When the Chinese Communists were about to occupy Peiping, Ch'en intended to remain there, but finally was persuaded to leave on one of the last aircraft sent by the National Government in December 1948 to evacuate prominent scholars and political figures from north China. He stayed at Nanking for a while and then went to Canton. There he accepted an appointment to teach Chinese history at Lingnan University, where he led a rather lonely existence during the early 1950's. Because of his distinction and his frail physical condition, Ch'en Yin-k'o escaped the public self-castigation required of virtually all intellectuals in China during the initial period of the new regime. He moved to Chungshan University about 1953, where he was given research facilities and assistants. Ch'en's detailed knowledge of the sources, combined with his photographic memory, enabled him to make maximum use of assistants for clerical work; thus, he compensated for his inability to read. In 1955 he was appointed a committee member of the department of philosophy and social sciences of the Academy of Sciences at Peking.

During the anti-rightist campaign of 1958 the Chinese Communist authorities, graduate students, and others, criticized Ch'en as a leading representative of the bourgeois historians who denied class struggle, exalted the role of the individual in history, and worshiped Western authors. Criticism subsided in 1959, and

Ch'en became a specially invited member of the standing committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. A report from Canton in 1963 stated that Ch'en, then 73, had recently completed, after some 10 years work, a long study of social and political conditions in the late Ming and early Ch'ing periods. The report also noted that a collection of his essays dealing with aspects of Chinese history from the third to the tenth centuries was ready for publication.

Ch'en Yin-k'o was universally respected by serious students of Chinese history for his encyclopedic knowledge of sources, especially those of the rich Sui-T'ang period, and for his thorough and original research. Most of his scholarly articles appeared in the *Bulletin* of the institute of history and philology of the Academia Sinica and in the *Tsinghua Journal*, though some may be found in the *Yenching hsueh-pao* [Yenching journal], the *Ling-nan hsueh-pao* [Ling-nan journal], and the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. Indispensable for research on the T'ang period are his *Sui-T'ang chih-tu yuan-yuan lueh-lun kao* [draft essays on the origins of the institutions of Sui and T'ang], which was published in Chungking in 1943 and *T'ang-tai cheng-chih-shih shu-lun* [draft outline of the political history of the T'ang period], published in Chungking in 1942. The latter is a brilliant work on the political history of the T'ang dynasty. It analyzes the relationship between the Chinese state of that period and the rise and fall of foreign races in Central Asia and assesses the interaction between civil government and national defense within the Chinese empire. Ch'en's major lines of research have encompassed studies of the polyglot ancestry of the T'ang imperial clan; the pluralistic origins of Sui-T'ang institutions and culture; the origin and evolution of the fu-ping [army] system; and the political, institutional, social, and cultural ramifications of the struggle in the T'ang period between the hereditary aristocracy and the new class of officials who owed their success to the examination system.

Ch'en Yin-k'o's interest in history as a significant dimension of literature has been known for many years. In his inquiry into the ancestry of Li Po, which appeared in the *Tsinghua Journal* in January 1935, he demonstrated that one of the greatest Chinese poets, Li Po, was actually a Central Asian who did not come to China until

he was five years old, when his merchant father moved to Szechwan. Ch'en's later study of the poetry of Yuan Chen and Po Chü-i, *Yuan Po shih-chien cheng k'ao* [textual analysis of the poems of Yuan and Po], though in the form of a series of notes and commentaries, is an excellent example of the manner in which research on literary classics may be integrated with and illuminated by intellectual and social history. It was published in Canton in 1950.

Two of Ch'en Yin-k'o's daughters taught at Chungshan University in Canton. Ch'en's younger sister married Yu Ta-wei (q.v.), who became defense minister in Taiwan.

Ch'en Ying-shih: see CH'EN CH'I-MEI.

Ch'en Yu-jen: see CH'EN, EUGENE.

Ch'en Yuan

T. Yuan-an

陳垣
援庵, 圓庵

Ch'en Yuan (1880-), historian, was president of Fu-jen University for many years after 1929. He was known for his studies of the Yuan period and of the history of religion in China. In 1952 he became president of Peking Normal University, which absorbed the facilities of Fu-jen.

Little is known of Ch'en Yuan's childhood except that he was born in Hsinhui (Sunwui), Kwangtung. Ch'en became a chü-jen in 1898, the year of the reform movement led by his fellow provincials K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'aq (qq.v.). In the early years of the republic, he was elected to the Parliament at Peking. From December 1921 to June 1922 he served as vice minister of education in the Peking government. Thereafter he eschewed politics and devoted himself to education. In January 1926, while on the faculty of Yenching University, Ch'en, whose religious affiliation has never been determined, was asked to head the Fu-jen She, a preparatory school founded the previous year in Peking by the Benedictine Order (United States). When Fu-jen became a university in June 1927, Ch'en was made its vice president. In 1928 he was appointed director of the newly established Peiping branch of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. Ch'en's formal connection

with Yenching ended about 1929, when he became president of Fu-jen University. By then his academic reputation was such that he was invited to become a member of the research institute of history of the newly established National Academy of Peiping (*see Li Shuhua*).

During Ch'en Yuan's administration, Fu-jen began a program of physical and academic expansion. In 1929 students of the university could matriculate in one of its three colleges: humanities, natural sciences, and education. They also could receive instruction in pre-medical or fine arts courses. Its faculty included such men as Liu Fu, as dean of studies; Shen Chien-shih, as dean of the college of humanities; Chang Huai, as dean of the college of education; and Ying Ch'ien-li, the son of Ying Lien-chih, as secretary general.

In August 1933 the Vatican transferred the sponsorship of Fu-jen from the Benedictine Order to the Society of the Divine Word when it became clear that the Benedictines, because of the economic depression in the United States, could no longer sustain the financial burden of Fu-jen's expansion. In 1935 a seminary was established in Fu-jen for the advanced training of Chinese priests. In June 1937 permission was granted by the ministry of education for the creation of graduate divisions in the colleges of humanities and natural sciences.

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937 interrupted Fu-jen's steady growth. After Peiping was lost to the Japanese, universities with foreign connections were advised by the ministry of education of the National Government to maintain themselves under enemy occupation for the sake of Chinese youth, to act together in upholding the principles of administrative independence and academic freedom, and to refuse to display the flag of the puppet regime.

As the war continued, the faculty and student body of Fu-jen, led by the deans, Shen Chien-shih and Chang Huai, and by the secretary general, Ying Ch'ien-li, organized an underground resistance group called the Yen-she in the spring of 1939. The aims of the group were to rally the universities of north China to avoid cooperation with the puppet regime and to assist high school and college graduates in escaping to Free China. The Yen-she later succeeded in contacting the National Govern-

ment at Chungking, which gave it financial support; its name was changed to the North China Cultural and Educational Association, with Shen Chien-shih as president and Ying Ch'ien-li as director general. In 1940 Ying Ch'ien-li joined the Kuomintang; he was assigned responsibility for carrying out Kuomintang cultural directives in the Peiping area under the cover of Fu-jen's foreign connections. Ch'en Yuan gave indirect and personal support to the resistance group led by his subordinates, although, under the circumstances, he could not be identified with it.

By 1941 the university administration had realized that a crisis in American-Japanese relations was imminent. It was then decided that American members of the faculty should be withdrawn and replaced by German nationals. When the War in the Pacific began, Fu-jen escaped the fate of Yenching University and of the Peking Union Medical College, which were taken over by the puppet regime. In the summer of 1942 Ying Ch'ien-li was appointed secretary general of the Peiping branch of the Kuomintang. Fu-jen thereby became the Kuomintang headquarters in Peiping and the liaison center for Chungking agents. At the end of 1942 increased enemy pressure forced Shen Chien-shih to flee to Nationalist-controlled west China. Ying Ch'ien-li and a number of professors were incarcerated by the puppet government, but were released in April 1943 for lack of evidence. Fu-jen continued to be a center of anti-Japanese activities.

In March 1944 the Japanese authorities in north China attempted to suppress these anti-Japanese elements. More than 300 teachers and students were arrested in Peiping alone. Although most of them were set free in June, 26 people received prison terms from the Japanese military court. Of these underground leaders, 14 were professors and students at Fu-jen. Ying Ch'ien-li, Chang Huai, and two other Fu-jen members were given the maximum penalty of 15 years imprisonment. In 1945-46 Ch'en Yuan completed his *T'ung-chien Hu-chu piao-wei* [the true meaning of Hu's annotations revealed], a study of the patriotism of Hu San-hsing (1230-1287), a Sung scholar living under Mongol rule who had revealed his opposition to it in seemingly innocuous commentaries on the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*. With moving eloquence, Ch'en dedicated his study to his arrested colleagues.

Fortunately, the Japanese occupation of China was of much shorter duration than the Mongol conquest. After the Japanese defeat in 1945, the National Government publicly commended Fu-jen's role during the war. After peace had been restored, the university again embarked upon a program of expansion. A college of agriculture was founded in the fall of 1946, and plans were made for a medical school. However, civil war between the Kuomintang and the Communists flared up soon after the repatriation of the Japanese troops. By the autumn of 1948 the decision had been reached to evacuate the university to Taiwan, but the rapid Communist victories prevented the scheme from being carried out. Ch'en Yuan remained in Peiping when the Communists took over that city.

In 1952 the Peking Government thoroughly reorganized the educational system of the country. Private educational institutions were no longer permitted to function. Ch'en Yuan, perhaps because of his academic reputation and his ability to adjust to new circumstances, was installed as president of Peking Normal University, which took over Fu-jen's facilities. Ch'en's cooperation with the new government was rewarded in 1954 by his election as a delegate from Kwangtung province to the National People's Congress. In 1955 he was appointed to the policy-making committee of the department of philosophy and social sciences of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. In 1959 he was reelected to the National People's Congress. About this time he joined the Communist party. In the 1950's an article over Ch'en's signature appeared attacking Hu Shih. Many observers, however, doubted that it was written by Ch'en.

Ch'en Yuan was a recognized authority on the history of the Yuan period. As early as 1920 his *Yuan Yeh-li-k'o-wen k'ao* [study of the ärkägün], together with the *K'ai-feng i-it'ü-lo-yeh-chiao k'ao* [Islamism in Kaifeng], identified the term ärkägün as applicable first to Nestorians and later to all types of Christians. His *Yuan Hsi-yü-jen hua-hua k'ao* [sinification of the Western Regions under the Yuan dynasty] was highly commended by the Japanese scholar Kuwabara Jitsuzo as an outstanding product of modern scholarship combined with traditional training. In 1941 there appeared the *Yuan-tien-chang chiao-pu* [textual studies on the *Yuan-tien-chang*]

and the *Yuan-tien-chang chiao-pu shih-li* [illustrations of textual critique in the *Yuan-tien-chang*], as well as the *Yuan-mi-shih i-yin yung tzu k'ao* [Chinese transcriptions of Mongolian in the *Secret History of the Mongols*]. The two works on the *Yuan-tien-chang* were the result of many years of comparative study of two editions, one bearing the date 1321 and discovered in 1925, the other being the 1908 edition of Shen Chia-pen (q.v.). From this study, Ch'en Yuan drew certain conclusions as to how and why errors had been made in the text.

Ch'en was also a specialist in the history of religion. In 1941 he produced the *Nan-Sung ch'u Ho-pei hsin Tao-chiao k'ao* [Neo-Taoism in the northern provinces at the beginning of Southern Sung], a continuation of his *Ming-chi Tien-Ch'ien fo-chiao k'ao* [Buddhism in Yunnan and Kweichow during the Ming dynasty], which discussed the reasons why Buddhism flourished in southwest China, how Buddhist monks served as pioneers in developing that region, and why many officials loyal to the Ming monarch embraced Buddhism. His *Ch'ing-ch'u seng chuan k'ao* [ecclesiastical disputes in early Ch'ing], first printed in the *Fu-jen hsueh-chih* [Fu-jen University journal] in 1939 and reprinted in book form in 1944, described Buddhist activities in other areas of China during the early years of the Ch'ing period. These works were acclaimed as the first serious and successful attempts ever made by a Chinese scholar in the field of religious history.

In 1933 Ch'en Yuan published his *Shih-hui chü-li* [illustrations of word taboos from the dynastic histories]. This book explains the reasons for tabooing imperial names and other words in Chinese writings, and illustrates the different ways in which such taboos were observed throughout Chinese history. The work also provides rules, with annotated examples, for testing the genuineness and dates of Chinese books. These rules make it possible to determine whether or not a book could have been written, or published, during a given period by seeing if it conforms to the taboo procedures prevailing at the time. In 1937 Ch'en published the *Chiu Wu-tai-shih chi-pen fa-fu* [new light on the *Old History of the Five Dynasties*], with the *Hsueh shih chi-pen pi-hui li* [examples of avoidance of taboo names in the old editions of the histories], which is a comparison of the original texts of the *Chiu Wu-tai-shih* as quoted in the *Ts'e-fu yuan-kuei* and

other Sung works with the current texts of the same work as copied from the *Yung-lo ta-tien* by the Ch'ing court historians. Through careful textual analysis Ch'en Yuan found that many alterations had been made deliberately during the Ch'ing period.

Ch'en also produced the *Erh-shih-shih shuo-jun piao* [tables of lunations and intercalary months for the 20 standard histories], with the *Hsi-li Hui-li* [European and Mohammedan calendars], a concordance first published in 1925 and then somewhat expanded into the *Chung-Hsi-Hui shih jih-li* [comparative daily calendar for Chinese, European, and Mohammedan history], which appeared in 1926. His *Shih-shih i-nien-lu* [determination of biographical data for Buddhist monks], published in 1937, lists the names and dates of 2,800 Buddhist monks from the period of the Three Kingdoms to the late years of the Ming dynasty. In 1931 Ch'en published an analytical list of the Tunhuang manuscripts in the national Peking Library entitled *Tun-huang chieh-yü* [record of remaining Tunhuang manuscripts].

Ch'en Yuan made a careful study of the life of Wu Li (1632-1718; ECCP, II, 875-77), who had previously been known in China only as a prominent painter. Ch'en investigated his career as a Catholic priest and, in the course of his research, brought to light new information on Wu's contacts with the early Jesuit missionaries in China. This work, entitled *Wu Yü-shan hsien-sheng nien-p'u* [chronological biography of Wu Li], was first published in the *Fu-jen hsueh-chih* in June 1937. It was published in book form the same year and appeared in an English version, prepared by Eugene Feifil, in *Monumenta Serica* in 1938. Ch'en also published articles in the *Fu-jen hsueh-chih* in 1938-39 on controversial problems in the early history of the Ch'ing period, using Buddhist sources. The *Chung-kuo fo-chiao shih-chi kai-lun* [introduction to Buddhist sources of history] is a revised edition of his lecture notes on some important Buddhist works, which had been misinterpreted by Chinese bibliographical scholars.

Most of Ch'en Yuan's works were published by National Peking University, the Academia Sinica, Fu-jen University, or the Li-yun shu-wu. Between 1941 and 1944, the majority of them were reprinted under the title *Li-yun shu-wu ts'ung-k'o* [collection of the Li-yun book company].

Ch'en Yun

陳雲
Orig. Liao Ch'eng-yun 廉程雲

Ch'en Yun (1900-) began his political career as a Communist labor organizer in Shanghai. In 1938 he directed the organization department of the Central Committee. From 1940 to 1945 he was chairman of the northwest regional economic-financial committee. From 1946 to 1949 he was chairman of the party's Northeast bureau. After 1949 he was vice president of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau and held senior economic planning posts in the Peking government.

Little is known about Ch'en Yun's family background and early education except that he was born in the Shanghai area and probably received only limited primary schooling. As a young man, he worked at the Commercial Press in Shanghai as a typesetter. After joining the Communist party about 1924, Ch'en Yun became a labor organizer in Shanghai, where his knowledge of local conditions was useful to the party. During this period he came into contact with Liu Shao-ch'i (q.v.), who was in Shanghai in the summer of 1925 to organize anti-British agitation following the May Thirtieth Incident, when police in the International Settlement had fired on and killed several Chinese demonstrators.

Ch'en Yun rose gradually in the ranks of the Communist party. From 1931 to 1934 he was in the central soviet area in Kiangsi, where he directed programs aimed at organizing handicraft and other workers. He was elected to the Central Committee of the party in January 1934.

Ch'en Yun left Juichin at the time of the evacuation in October 1934 and accompanied the Communist forces from Kiangsi during the early stage of the Long March. He was at Tsunyi, Kweichow, when the meeting was held in January 1935 to debate intraparty differences regarding strategy and tactics appropriate to the Long March emergency. Since the views of Mao Tse-tung prevailed over those held by the group which had formerly dominated the central party apparatus in Shanghai, later official party histories date the beginning of Mao's political ascendancy in the party from the

Tsunyi meeting. Ch'en Yun apparently was a member of the group which supported Mao at Tsunyi, for at that time Ch'en gained a position on the military council headed by Mao.

In May 1935, after the Long March units completed the difficult crossing of the Tatu river in Sikang province, Ch'en left the main Communist forces and made his way overland to the Soviet Union. He remained in Russia for about two years. In Moscow, Ch'en Yun attended the Seventh Congress of the Comintern (July-August 1935), when the Comintern for the first time elected Mao Tse-tung to its Executive Committee. In addition to Ch'en Yun, the Chinese delegation at the 1935 Congress included Ch'en Shao-yü and K'ang Sheng (qq.v.). The three men left Moscow together in 1937, traveling to Shensi by way of Sinkiang. Ch'en Yun remained in Sinkiang for a time in 1937 and 1938, working with Soviet economic and technical officials during the period when Sheng Shih-ts'ai (q.v.), the dominant figure in the province, was collaborating closely with the Soviet Union (*see* Teng Fa).

After his arrival at Yenan in 1938, Ch'en Yun was assigned to direct the organization department of the Central Committee, succeeding Li Fu-ch'un. That post was extremely important during the Japanese war years, when the Communist party was extending its control and expanding its membership at an unprecedented rate in the rural areas north of the Yangtze. Ch'en Yun came to be an increasingly influential figure at Yenan in the training and indoctrination of party members and cadres. His "How To Be a Communist Party Member," which appeared in May 1939, and Liu Shao-ch'i's "How To Be a Good Communist" presented a concise formulation of the standards required for membership. Ch'en Yun's report later became one of the basic documents used in the cheng-feng [rectification] movement, the program which Mao Tse-tung initiated early in 1942 to strengthen political discipline in the party organization. The cheng-feng campaign, which affirmed the essential orthodoxy of the Communist party within its Chinese environment, did much to tighten that party into a closely knit machine organized on Leninist lines. Ch'en Yun also exerted growing influence on the economic affairs of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region. As chairman of the regional economic-financial committee from

1940 to 1945, he guided programs designed to overcome the difficulties created by the economic backwardness of the area and by the military blockade imposed by Nationalist troops commanded by Hu Tsung-nan (q.v.).

During the Sino-Japanese war, Ch'en moved steadily upward through the senior echelons of party leadership. A member of the Central Committee since 1934, Ch'en had become a member of the Political Bureau of the party by 1940. At the Seventh National Congress, which met at Yenan in 1945, he was elected eighth-ranking member of the Central Committee and was reelected to the Political Bureau.

At the time of the Japanese surrender in 1945, the Chinese Communist top command, well aware of the critical importance of Manchuria in the approaching struggle with the Kuomin-tang for control of China, assigned a strong group of Central Committee leaders to that area. In addition to Ch'en Yun, that group included Kao Kang, Li Fu-ch'un, Lin Piao, and Peng Chen (qq.v.). Ch'en Yun was the senior Communist political figure in Manchuria during the postwar interlude. He played a key role in directing the activities of Communist cadres as they transferred to the Northeast the experience in peasant agitation and mobilization which they had gained earlier in the so-called old liberated areas of northwest and north China. Ch'en was secretary of the Northeast bureau of the Chinese Communist party from 1946 to 1949 and chairman of the economic-financial committee of the Northeast Administrative Committee during the same period. When Lin Piao's troops entered Mukden in November 1948, Ch'en Yun became the top-ranking Chinese Communist official in the first major city on the mainland to come under Communist control. When the top leaders of the party assembled in north China early in 1949 to plan the formation of a new central regime, Ch'en moved to Peiping. The task of consolidating political and military controls in the Northeast then was delegated to Kao Kang, who was the senior Chinese Communist official at Mukden from 1949 through 1952.

With the establishment of the Central People's Government at Peking in October 1949, Ch'en Yun assumed new responsibilities at the national level. From 1945 to 1956 Ch'en Yun was a member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the party. The Eighth

National Congress (September 1956) and its second session (May 1958) made certain changes in the top hierarchy, but Ch'en Yun's position remained unaltered. He became a vice chairman of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, and a member of the party's policy-making nucleus, the seven-man standing committee of the Political Bureau.

After 1949 Ch'en continued to hold senior positions in the government and in major people's organizations. During the first five years of the new regime, he was a member of the Central People's Government Council and a vice premier of the Government Administration Council. His major specific duties continued to lie in the economic sector. He was the first minister of heavy industry (1949-50), chairman of the economic-financial committee of the Government Administration Council (1949-54), and a member of the State Planning Commission (1952-54). He also directed the All-China Federation of Trade Unions from its sixth national congress, which met at Harbin in August 1948, until its seventh congress, which met at Peking in May 1953, when Lai Jo-yü succeeded him. In the governmental reorganization which accompanied the inauguration of the new constitution in 1954, Ch'en Yun became senior vice premier of the State Council, serving as acting premier in 1955 and 1956 when Chou En-lai was absent from Peking. He also successively headed the ministry of commerce (1956-58), the first ministry of commerce (1958), and the state capital construction commission (October 1958-January 1961). He was chosen as a delegate from Shanghai to both the First and Second National People's congresses.

Ch'en Yun made two important trips to the Soviet Union. In the autumn of 1952 he accompanied Chou En-lai to Moscow for negotiations on issues outstanding under the February 1950 Sino-Soviet agreements on the Chinese Changchun railway and Port Arthur and played an important role in the bargaining which preceded the initial announcement of the level of Soviet economic and technical assistance of China's first Five-Year Plan beginning in 1953. In May 1958 Ch'en Yun led the Chinese observer group which attended important bloc economic and military meetings held at Moscow.

Ch'en Yun owed his position in the Chinese Communist movement more to diligence than

to theoretical training in the economics of national development. He demonstrated the combination of disciplined practical ability and consistent loyalty to authority which were basic ingredients in the exercise of top command responsibilities in the Chinese Communist party under Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-ch'i. Like Liu Shao-ch'i, Ch'en Yun was one of the very small group of political leaders in the Chinese Communist party in 1949 who had had experience in organizing the Chinese proletariat in the 1920's. Like Liu, Ch'en made his mark as a censor of political orthodoxy in the Yenan period and as a key man in the wartime expansion of the Communist party organization in the 1940's. For some 20 years he exerted substantial influence in economic affairs: first in the isolated and retarded areas of the northwest during the Sino-Japanese war, then in the strategic Northeast region during the civil war interlude from 1946 through 1948, and finally at the national level for some years after 1949.

Ch'en Yun was evidently a key figure in Peking's initial efforts in 1949-50 to establish effective control over a national economic structure which had been badly battered and seriously disorganized by years of foreign invasion and civil war. During the period of the first Five-Year Plan (1953-58), he remained prominent in economic affairs, his published statements relating principally to the basic problems and precepts of economic development following the Soviet pattern. In later years Ch'en was conspicuously absent from the news. Whatever the explanation of his inactivity, in 1964 Ch'en was still listed officially as a vice chairman of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist party.

Cheng Chen-to

T. Hsi-t'i
Pen. Kuo Yuan-hsin

鄭振鐸
西諦
郭源新

Cheng Chen-to (1898-17 October 1958), literary historian, bibliophile, and editor, made major studies of the history of Chinese vernacular literature, was prominent in the Literary Research Society, and edited the *Hsiao-shuo yueh-pao* (*Short Story Magazine*). In 1937 he became dean of the college of arts and letters at Chinan University. From 1954 to 1958 he served as vice minister of culture at Peking.

Although his native place was Ch'anglo, Fukien, Cheng Chen-to was born in Foochow. In later years he referred to himself as a youth who was "always scribbling." His first literary efforts were stories patterned on the *Liao-chai chih-i* (*Stories from a Chinese Studio*), and at the age of 15 he enjoyed composing verse in the fu and tz'u styles. After completing his early classical education in Fukien, he went to Shanghai, where he attended Communications University. By 1917 he had become so impressed with the literary reform efforts of Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Hu Shih (qq.v.) that he moved to Peking and turned his attention to vernacular literature. That subject was to remain his central scholarly and creative preoccupation in the next four decades of his life.

In Peking, Cheng became associated with Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, Hsu Ti-shan (qq.v.), and other young intellectuals and students of Chinese literature. He helped to edit two short-lived periodicals, the *Hsin she-hui* [new society] and *Jen-tao yueh-k'an* [humanity]. Although these journals were literary magazines sponsored by the YMCA in Peking, they contained some articles on political topics. By this time, Cheng was committed to a literary career—the Shanghai *Shun Pao* had published his maiden effort at fiction, and *Hsin ch'ing-nien* [new youth] had published his translations.

Cheng Chen-to's principal contributions during the period after the May Fourth Movement of 1919 were made through his leading role in the Literary Research Society and his editorship of the *Hsiao-shuo yueh-pao* (*Short Story Magazine*). At the time, he was a student at the Institute of Railway Administration. Late in 1920 Cheng and his friend Keng Chi-chih, who had been responsible for selling Cheng's first published work, conceived the idea of reorganizing the *Short Story Magazine*, a monthly publication of the Commercial Press in Shanghai hitherto devoted to old-style Chinese belles-lettres. Their literary associates at that time included Chou Tso-jen, Mao Tun (Shen Yen-ping), Yeh Sheng-t'ao (qq.v.), and a few other aspiring young writers. After consultation with Chang Yuan-chi (q.v.) and Kao Meng-tan at the Commercial Press, Mao Tun, then an editor at the Press, was named chief editor of the *Short Story Magazine*, and Cheng Chen-to was appointed its Peking editor. The name of the magazine was not changed, but the new editors were given author-

ity to devote maximum space to the new literature. The renovated magazine became the official organ of the Literary Research Society in January 1921.

Literature, according to this group, must provide an accurate portrayal of the actual experience of real people and should expose social problems with a view to fostering improvements in Chinese life. The constitution of the Literary Research Society stated that its purpose was to "study and introduce world literature to China, to reassess the literature of China's past, and to create new literature," and *Short Story Magazine* was devoted to pursuit of these aims. Cheng Chen-to was more successful in serving the first two purposes than he was in the third. In 1921 he translated selections from Robert Louis Stevenson and Rabindranath Tagore and contributed essays on the state of Chinese letters and on the translation of foreign literature into Chinese. In the same year he established and edited the first children's magazine in China, the *Erh-t'ung shih-chieh* [children's world]. During this period, when the impact of the May Fourth Movement placed heavy accent on the importance of being scientific, some critics objected to stories of princes, princesses, and fairies, holding them to be detrimental to the future citizens of the Chinese republic. Chang replied that children everywhere delighted in imaginative tales and that such fanciful stories were unlikely to affect their future conduct as citizens.

From May 1921 until May 1925 the Literary Research Society also controlled the *Wen-hsueh chou-pao* [literary weekly], the literary supplement of the Shanghai newspaper *Shih-shih hsin-pao* (*China Times*), and Cheng Chen-to was its editor and a frequent contributor. In addition to these activities, he represented the Society at numerous student meetings. Cheng's involvement in the intellectual currents of those years led him, in his definition of literary realism, to take the position that works of fiction should be imbued with social color and revolutionary spirit, a stand close to that later articulated by more politically oriented advocates of so-called revolutionary literature. In 1926 he became chief editor of the *Short Story Magazine*.

Cheng Chen-to focused his attention on literary history, specifically on the history of Chinese vernacular literature, rather than on the political activism to which Mao Tun and others

turned. In 1923 Cheng collaborated with Ku Chieh-kang (q.v.) on a number of studies of traditional Chinese literature. Between January 1924 and December 1926, 41 chapters of his *Wen-hsueh ta-kang* [outline of literature], inspired by the *Outline of History* which H. G. Wells had published in 1920, appeared serially in the *Short Story Magazine*. A bibliophile and a proponent of the "popular literature" of the past, Cheng began to collect and comment on early and rare editions of Chinese vernacular literature from the Sung, Yuan, Ming, and Ch'ing periods.

On 21 May 1927, shortly after the Nationalist occupation of Shanghai, Cheng Chen-to left China to visit Europe. The diary kept on this trip, which was published in 1934 as *Ou-hsing jih-chi* [diary of a trip to Europe], is in the form of an extended letter to his wife and displays a naive irredentism inspired by nationalism rather than by political doctrine. Of Southeast Asia he wrote, "Singapore—indeed the entire Nanyang area—should belong to China. It was all opened up by us, and all that is civilized about it, even the way of life, came from China." During the trip from the Far East to Marseilles aboard the French ship Athos, he wrote articles which were published in Shanghai in the *Wen-hsueh chou-pao*.

After landing, Cheng Chen-to went to Paris. There he spent much of his time in the Bibliothèque Nationale investigating its holdings of Chinese vernacular literature, particularly the Pelliot Collection of Tunhuang manuscripts. Cheng Chen-to was keenly interested in the collection because it contained specimens, dating from T'ang times, of pien-wen [popularizations]. These pien-wen were stories, both sacred and secular, which had been used by proselytizing Buddhist priests and missionaries; they were written in a style which approximated the spoken language. Some pien-wen texts represent a transitional stage between the oral (story teller's) and the written colloquial language tale, and they may have been the first attempts to write vernacular prose in China. After his stay in Paris, Cheng went to London, where he examined the British Museum collection of Chinese popular language fiction.

After his European sojourn, Cheng returned to China and by February 1929 was again active in Shanghai, writing and editing the *Short Story Magazine*. In 1930 he accepted a teaching position at Tsinghua University in Peking. By

the winter of 1931, however, he was again in Shanghai where, amidst the growing tensions following the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, he continued his personal program of research, writing, and editing. His first major work on the history of Chinese literature, the *Ch'a-t'u-pen Chung-kuo wen-hsueh shih* [illustrated history of Chinese literature], appeared in 1932. It was reprinted in 1957. Although marred by a unitary explanation of the evolution of literature, this massive four-volume work was acclaimed by many Chinese students and scholars. The *Chung-kuo wen-hsueh shih* dealt largely with the history of Chinese vernacular literature and stated that all other Chinese literature of worth was derived from the "literature of the people."

During these years Cheng also served as chief editor of the extensive Sheng-huo Bookstore collection "Shih-chieh wen-k'u" [world literature library], a massive anthology of Chinese and world literature. In accordance with his earlier interest, the volumes of the anthology to which he devoted most attention were the *Hsing-shih heng-yen* [stories that rouse the consciousness of the people] and *Ching-shih t'ung-yen* [stories that alarm the people], two late Ming collections of short stories, and the *Wan-Ch'ing wen-hsuan* [selected writings of the late Manchu dynasty], a selection of predominantly anti-Manchu writings from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century. He also published three volumes of general and critical essays: *Hai-yen* [seagull], in 1932; *Chü-lou chi* [the hunchback collection], in 1934; and *Tuan-chien chi* [the shortsword collection], in 1935. In addition, he wrote a volume of critical essays on Chinese literature, *Chung-kuo wen-hsueh lun-chi* [collection of essays on Chinese literature], published in 1934; and an outline history of Russian literature, *O-kuo wen-hsueh shih-lueh* [short history of Russian literature], published in 1934.

Cheng's peripheral interest in Russian literature was as much intellectual as political in origin. Essentially, it reflected the similarity of many of the topics which concerned Russian authors of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the sensitive and patriotic Chinese of the republican period. Cheng became increasingly opposed to the Kuomintang during the early 1930's. Like many other Chinese writers, he was less concerned with political ideology than with government censorship and other oppressive publishing restrictions. In

1933 he collaborated with Lu Hsün in the printing from woodblocks of a selection of Chinese letter-papers. That same year Cheng Chen-to, Mao Tun, Yü Ta-fu (q.v.), and others founded the literary review *Wen-hsueh tsa-chih* [literature magazine] to take the place of the *Short Story Magazine*, which had ceased publication in 1932. The *Wen-hsueh tsa-chih* continued publication in Shanghai until 1937. Cheng, then using the name Cheng Hsi-ti, also edited the *Wen-hsueh chi-k'an* [literature quarterly], published at Peiping; several former members of the Literary Research Society contributed to this magazine.

In 1937 Cheng, who had taught at both Chinan and Futan universities in Shanghai, became dean of the college of arts and letters at Chinan University. Also in 1937, Cheng Chen-to and Hsu Kuang-p'ing (q.v.) organized the Fu She [recovery society] to promote anti-Japanese sentiment. In 1938 Cheng's *Chung-kuo su-wen-hsueh shih* [history of Chinese vernacular literature] was published by the Commercial Press. This work was an expanded version of part of his earlier *Chung-kuo wen-hsueh shih*, which had been published in 1932. Cheng also worked with Lu Hsün's widow, Hsu Kuang-p'ing (q.v.), and others in preparing the posthumous edition of Lu Hsün's works published by the Fu-hsing Press in 1938-39.

Cheng Chen-to remained in Shanghai through the war years (he later described his experiences in *Chih-chü san-chi* [random reminiscences on life in hibernation], published in 1951). His major activity during that period was book collecting. He lived under an assumed name, emerging each morning "carrying a briefcase to demonstrate that I had a job." Cheng haunted the bookshops of Shanghai during this period of uncertainty when many private owners were forced to sell their libraries. Disturbed by the possible loss of "national treasures," Cheng spent all of his money purchasing books, many of which he later had to sell again. His greatest triumph came in the summer of 1938 when the priceless collection of 242 Yuan and Ming operas which had belonged to the prominent bibliophile and collector of rare books and manuscripts Huang P'ei-lih (1763-1825; ECCP, I, 340-41), came on the market. Cheng, who had known of this item as early as 1929, persuaded the National Government, then in Chungking, to purchase the collection and remove it to safety. The

original collection remains in China, and a typeset edition of 144 of the rarest and most interesting pieces has been published as *Ku-pen Yuan Ming tsa-chü* [ancient edition of plays of the Yuan and Ming dynasties], at Peking.

After the Japanese surrender in 1945, Cheng edited a literary magazine called *Wen-i fu-hsing* [literary renaissance]. He also edited the *Min-chu* [democratic weekly]. Though non-partisan, it was critical of Kuomintang policies. Among the contributors were Yeh Sheng-t'ao, Hsu Kuang-p'ing, Liu Ya-tzu, Ma Yin-ch'u, and Mao Tun. Although he had no record of previous intellectual commitment to Marxism or of connections with the Communist party, Cheng remained in Shanghai after the breakdown of the postwar negotiations and the eruption of full-scale war between the Nationalists and Communists. He then moved to Peking and lived there until his death nine years later.

After 1949 Cheng's activities centered in the ministry of culture, headed by his old friend Mao Tun, and in the Academy of Sciences, headed by Kuo Mo-jo. Cheng was vice minister of culture from 1954 to 1958. In the Academy of Sciences, he headed both the institute of archeology and the institute of literature. Cheng also played an active role in the programs of international cultural cooperation—on which the new authorities at Peking laid much stress. From 1953 to 1956 he headed the Sino-Burma Friendship Association, and he led several cultural missions from the People's Republic of China to other Asian countries: India and Burma (1951), India (1954), and Indonesia (1955). Cheng was killed in October 1958 in the crash of a Russian jet aircraft which was carrying a Chinese cultural delegation, of which he was a member, to Afghanistan and the United Arab Republic.

Cheng Chen-to's *Chieh-chung te shu-chi* [books obtained in the midst of plunder], first published in 1956, provides a descriptive bibliography of 180 titles which he "rescued" during the wartime years. In the preface to this work, dated August 1956, Cheng expressed his feelings about the collection of Yuan and Ming dramas which he obtained in 1938: "the *Ku-chin tsa-chü* [ancient and modern plays] was the peak of my collecting experience . . . It was no less a find than the oracle bones at Anyang or the caves at Tunhuang." Cheng's principal work was in the fields of literary history and criticism. He began

to find creative writing uncongenial as early as 1929 and thereafter wrote only short stories, never an extended piece of fiction. The most interesting collection, to some extent auto-biographical, is his *Chia-t'ing te ku-shih* [stories of the family]. Two anthologies, *Cheng Chen-to wen-hsuan* [selected works of Cheng Chen-to], both published in 1936, are collections of his belles-lettres, poetry, short stories, and historical essays. A new and important edition of Cheng's works, *Chung-kuo wen-hsueh yen-chiu* [studies in Chinese literature], appeared in China in December 1957. It contains all of his essays on literature from *Chü-lou chi*, *Tuan-chien chi*, and *Chung-kuo wen-hsueh lun-chi* [essays on Chinese literature], as well as a previously unpublished work, *Autumn River Collection*. The new publication provides a virtually complete record of Cheng's life as literary historian and critic.

Cheng, F. T.: see CHENG T'IEN-HSI.

Cheng Ho-fu 鄭和甫
West. Philip Lindel Tsen

Cheng Ho-fu (7 January 1885–6 June 1954), known as Philip Lindel Tsen, was the first Chinese diocesan bishop and the first Chinese presiding bishop of the Anglican Church in China.

Born into a destitute family in Wuhu, Anhwei, Philip Lindel Tsen was left homeless at 14 and was taken in by the Reverend Francis E. Lund of the American Church Mission (Episcopal) at Wuhu. Tsen was baptized in 1901 at St. James Church, Wuhu, and was confirmed in the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui [the Anglican Church in China] the following year. He was one of the few Chinese confirmed by James Addison Ingle during Ingle's brief tenure as bishop of Hankow. While still a student at St. James High School in Wuhu, Tsen showed his interest in Christian activity by organizing a St. Peter's society, membership in which signified commitment to training for a Christian vocation. More than 20 students joined. He went to Boone College in Wuchang where, after completing the undergraduate course in 1908, he became a member of the first class to be graduated from the Boone Divinity School in 1909. After his ordination as a deacon in St. Paul's Cathedral, Hankow, by Bishop Logan

Roots in 1909, Tsen returned to Wuhu for five years as headmaster of St. James High School and assistant minister of St. James Church.

After the collapse of the Manchu dynasty in 1912, Lindel Tsen declined a position in the new republican government, choosing instead to be ordained into the Anglican priesthood. His ordination by Bishop Huntington in 1912 was the bishop's first episcopal act following his own consecration. In 1914 Lindel Tsen was appointed rector of the True Light Church at Nanling near Wuhu, one of the leading Anglican mission stations. In 1916, he was appointed general secretary of the board of missions of the Sheng Kung Hui, a position he held concurrently with his duties as a rector. Despite frequent travels to raise funds for a proposed home missions program in Sian for the province of Shensi, he carried his combined responsibilities for five years. In 1921 he finally relinquished his position as rector in Nanling in order to devote his time to the board of missions. As a result of his work in raising funds and stimulating church interest, the board of missions inaugurated a program in Shensi which by 1934 required the supervision of a bishop. Bishop Shen Tzu-kaو was elected the first bishop of the Chinese missionary diocese. During this period Lindel Tsen also served as secretary of the interdenominational evangelistic campaign known as the China for Christ Movement, under the general direction of Ch'eng Ching-yi (q.v.).

In 1923 Tsen went to the United States for a year of study at the Virginia Theological Seminary, followed by another year at the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. He also studied at the University of Pennsylvania, where he received an M.A. in sociology in 1926. After returning to China in 1926, he was appointed dean of the Cathedral of the Holy Saviour at Anking (Anhwei), where he faced new problems created by the increasing anti-Christian sentiment in central China. Following the Nanking incident in March 1927, threats of mob violence forced Tsen and his family from their home. For a year the cathedral's congregation was denied the use of its own building and school facilities in Anking. After Western missionaries were expelled, Tsen assumed charge of maintaining church properties and directing church programs, responsibilities which he handled with a steady temper.

In April 1928, at the general synod in Shanghai, Lindel Tsen became the first Chinese Anglican priest to be elected chairman of the House of Delegates, succeeding Dr. F. L. Hawks Pott, then president of St. John's University in Shanghai. In September, Tsen was appointed secretary of the Anhwei diocese. By the end of 1928 the diocesan program in Honan, the first overseas diocese of the Canadian Episcopal Missionary Society, had expanded to the point of requiring a man to assist Bishop William C. White. In December 1928 Lindel Tsen was unanimously elected by the Honan diocesan synod as assistant bishop of the diocese. On being consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral at Hankow on 24 February 1929, Tsen became the first Chinese diocesan bishop in an established Anglican diocese. Some years later, when Bishop White retired in September 1935, the House of Bishops elevated Bishop Tsen to Diocesan Bishop of Honan. He was enthroned in Trinity Cathedral at Kaifeng.

By June 1938, less than a year after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, the Japanese had occupied Bishop Tsen's see city of Kaifeng. For the next two-and-a-half years, his Canadian mission superiors heard nothing from him. After contact was restored, Bishop Tsen was transferred to Peiping. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Bishops Arnold Scott and John Wellington of the north China and Shantung dioceses had been interned, and, until other provisions could be made, Tsen maintained their areas and administered the program of the Sheng Kung Hui throughout north China. Before the end of the war, however, he returned to central China to become pastor of the Church of St. John the Baptist at Hankow. He wrote Bishop Gilman in December 1944 that he was accepting no further salary from the mission because he felt that his church was capable of raising its own funds. In August 1947, at the first general synod of the Sheng Kung Hui in ten years, Bishop Tsen was elected chairman of the House of Bishops in China. Succeeding Bishop Arnold Scott, Tsen again pioneered in becoming the first Chinese Presiding Bishop of the Sheng Kung Hui.

In the summer of 1930, Bishop Tsen was the first Chinese bishop to attend the Lambeth Conference of Bishops in England. On the way, he visited the United States in the autumn and winter of 1929 for conferences and lectures. He

also received honorary degrees from the two institutions where he had studied in the United States—a D.D. from the Virginia Theological Seminary and a D.S.T. from the Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia. He also received the D.D. degree from Wycliffe College at Toronto University in Canada. In later years he was similarly honored by other institutions, including St. John's University in Shanghai, which gave him the degree of D.D. in 1931, and two Canadian institutions, King's College and Huron College, which gave him the D.D. degree in 1937. In 1937 Bishop Tsen visited Japan as a fraternal delegate to attend the celebrations marking the fiftieth anniversary of the Anglican Church as an autonomous national church in Japan. In 1938 he was a member of China's delegation to the session of the International Missionary Conference at Madras, India.

In July 1948 Lindel Tsen visited England to attend the Lambeth Conference of Bishops, the first held since 1930, as the Metropolitan of the Anglican Church in China. On his way back to China, he went to the United States. In Philadelphia he was hospitalized after having a stroke. Following a period of recuperation in Canada, he returned to Shanghai. He resigned his ecclesiastical offices in 1949.

From humble origins, Bishop Tsen rose to a position of preeminent influence in the Sheng Kung Hui, where his leadership contributed to the life of the church in the development of home missions, of interdenominational cooperation, and of sustained activity in north China during the war years, when the life of the church was seriously threatened.

Cheng Hsiao-hsü

T. Su-k'an

T'ai-i

H. Hai-ts'ang

鄭孝胥

蘇戡

太夷

海藏

Cheng Hsiao-hsü (2 April 1860–28 March 1938), Manchu loyalist and assistant to P'u-yi (q.v.), was a prime mover in the creation of Manchoukuo. He served as premier at Hsinking (Changchun) from 1932 to 1935.

Although his ancestral home was Minhou, Fukien, Cheng Hsiao-hsü was born in Soochow. His father, Cheng Shou-lien (T. Chung-lien), was a chin-shih of 1852. Cheng received his

early education in the Chinese classics and obtained the chü-jen degree in 1882.

In 1885 Cheng entered the secretariat of the governor general of Chihli (Hopei), Li Hung-chang (ECCP, I, 464-71), at Tientsin. Four years later he passed the examination given for secretaries of the Grand Secretariat; in 1890, presumably while awaiting appointment, he taught at the Bordered Red Banner School at Peking. In 1891, on entering the Chinese diplomatic service, he was assigned to Tokyo as secretary of legation. He later served as consul at Tokyo and as consul general at Kobe and Osaka. He returned to China after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1894.

Cheng Hsiao-hsü then entered the secretariat of another leading Chinese statesman of the period, Chang Chih-tung (ECCP, I, 27-32), at Nanking. When Chang went to Peking in 1895 to head the Board of Education, Cheng accompanied him. Chang Chih-tung was known for his readiness to assist worthy and promising scholars, and in 1898 he recommended that Cheng be granted an imperial audience. After the audience, Cheng was appointed a secretary in the Tsungli Yamen at Peking. That was the year of the Hundred Days Reform (*see K'ang Yu-wei*). When the Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi intervened to check the reform movement, incarcerated the emperor, and took control of the government herself, Cheng Hsiao-hsü resigned his post at Peking and went to Wuchang to take a position in the secretariat of the governor general of Hunan-Hupeh. In 1899 he was appointed head of the southern section of the Peking-Hankow railroad and director of the railroad school at Hankow. He remained in central China until 1903. Ts'en Ch'un-hsuan (q.v.), governor general of Kwangtung-Kwang-si, then recommended Cheng's appointment as commissioner of border defense in Kwangsi, to be stationed at Lungchou. Cheng Hsiao-hsü served there until 1905. At that time the southwestern border of Kwangsi was a bandit-infested area, and because it was adjacent to French Indo-China it required a commissioner who was both alert and discreet. Cheng went to his new post in Kwangsi with 3,000 Hupeh soldiers and succeeded in bringing comparative peace and order to the area. His experience in Kwangsi brought him pride and self-confidence.

From 1905 to 1908 Cheng was associated with a number of enterprises in Shanghai. He served

as director of the Kiangnan Arsenal and as a member of the board of directors of both the Commercial Press and the Shanghai Savings Bank. In 1907 he was appointed to provincial posts in Anhwei and then in Kwangtung, but he did not wish to serve under the empress dowager and refused both positions. After her death in November 1908, Cheng went to Mukden at the invitation of Hsi-liang, the governor general of the Three Eastern Provinces, to assist in planning the construction of the projected Chinchow-Aigun railroad and of the harbor at Hulutao. In connection with that task, he became associated with Sheng Hsuan-huai (q.v.), who had returned to prominence at Peking in the ministry of posts and communications; T'ang Shao-yi (q.v.), the governor of Fengtien province; and Willard Straight, the American consul general at Mukden. Cheng negotiated the preliminary agreement under which the proposed rail line was to be financed by the United States and constructed by a British engineering firm, but the project collapsed in 1910 as a result of Russian and Japanese pressure on the Peking government. In 1911 Cheng was appointed civil governor of Hunan province. Shortly after assuming that post, he was ordered to Peking for consultation. Before he could return to Changsha, it had been lost to the republican revolutionaries. After the abdication in February 1912 of the Hsuan-t'ung emperor, P'u-yi (q.v.), Cheng Hsiao-hsü resigned from official service. Although he was deeply opposed to the revolutionaries and their programs, he contended that the 1911 catastrophe had been caused by the misgovernment of the empress dowager.

In effect, Cheng Hsiao-hsü never recognized the Republic of China. From 1912 to 1923 he made his home in Shanghai, living quietly in retirement in a house which he named the Haits'ang-lou. He devoted himself to reading Chinese history, writing poetry, and improving his calligraphy. He held occasional literary gatherings, but took no part in politics. Yuan Shih-k'ai and Li Yuan-hung (qq.v.) invited him to accept positions in the government at Peking, but he refused. Monarchist though he was, he took no part in the restoration attempt of Chang Hsün (q.v.) in 1917.

Only when the man whom he still regarded as the ruler of China, P'u-yi, summoned him to Peking in late 1923 did Cheng Hsiao-hsü, then

over 60, emerge from seclusion to begin a second career. P'u-yi, who retained the title of emperor, desired Cheng's assistance in ridding his imperial household of corruption. Cheng accepted the assignment, and early in 1924 he took up his new post as minister of the imperial household at Peking, with the mission of bringing order to P'u-yi's establishment. The year, designated chia-tzu by the Chinese lunar calendar, was regarded as being auspicious for that undertaking.

One matter requiring attention at that time was the removal of P'u-yi's court from the Forbidden City in Peking to the Summer Palace, as had been provided in the Articles of Favorable Treatment drawn up at the time of his abdication. Preparations for that move were begun, but Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.) occupied Peking in October 1924, forced P'u-yi to leave the Forbidden City, and effectively destroyed the 1912 Articles of Favorable Treatment. Cheng Hsiao-hsü and Sir Reginald Johnston, P'u-yi's tutor-counselor, arranged for P'u-yi's escape into the Legation Quarter in Peking, where he was given refuge in the Japanese legation. In February 1925 P'u-yi, traveling incognito, went by rail from Peking to Tientsin, where he took up residence in the Japanese concession. These moves had been made with the acquiescence of Cheng Hsiao-hsü's friend and admirer Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.), who was then in power at Peking.

From 1925 to 1932, Cheng Hsiao-hsü continued to serve P'u-yi, now officially deprived of his imperial title, as counselor and adviser at Tientsin. The three advisers in P'u-yi's entourage who were then most influential were Cheng Hsiao-hsü, Lo Chen-yu (q.v.), and Ch'en Pao-ch'en (1848-1935). They often disagreed, and Cheng Hsiao-hsü and Lo Chen-yu, in particular, had long vied for preeminence. During the summer of 1928 Cheng began to feel that P'u-yi's cause might be assisted more directly by the Japanese than by the Chinese Nationalists, who had arrived in north China and had seized Peking. In August 1928 Cheng and his eldest son, Cheng Ch'ui (1887-1933; T. Jang-yü), visited Japan, where they met with representatives of the Japanese general staff and the Black Dragon Society. Reportedly, his Japanese hosts compared Cheng Hsiao-hsü with Shen Pao-hsu, who, in the period of the warring states in ancient China, had successfully restored the

state of Ch'u. Cheng demurred at the comparison, but broached the matter of the restoration of the Chinese emperor. Cheng reportedly returned to Tientsin satisfied with his mission, and the informal conversations led to more detailed planning during the months that followed. In February 1931 Cheng Hsiao-hsü returned to Shanghai long enough to sell his beloved residence, Hai-ts'ang-lou.

In the summer of 1931 P'u-yi and his advisers at Tientsin were informed indirectly that the Japanese regarded the rule of Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.) in Manchuria as unsatisfactory. The Mukden Incident of September 1931 that marked the beginning of the Japanese military occupation of Manchuria thus had special significance for P'u-yi. Private discussions between P'u-yi's staff, Japanese representatives, and Chinese supporters of P'u-yi continued. In November 1931, Doihara Kenji, head of the secret service organization of the Japanese Kwangtung Army, visited P'u-yi to assure him that the Japanese military action in Manchuria had been directed solely against Chang Hsueh-liang and to discuss the possibility of establishing an independent, monarchical Manchurian state to be headed by P'u-yi. Cheng Hsiao-hsü favored the Japanese proposal; Ch'en Pao-ch'en and others opposed it. In the end, P'u-yi followed Cheng Hsiao-hsü's advice. On 10 November 1931, P'u-yi, accompanied by Cheng Hsiao-hsü and Cheng Ch'ui, secretly left Tientsin, boarded a Japanese ship, and went to southern Manchuria, where the party took up residence at Port Arthur. Cheng Hsiao-hsü undertook the trip with high hopes and composed a special poem in honor of the occasion.

Cheng Hsiao-hsü's support of the restoration plan originally had been motivated by the idea of utilizing Japan's strength to establish a foothold in Manchuria. The long-range objective was to reestablish the imperial dynasty at Peking. Doihara reportedly conceded in the Tientsin negotiations that both the former dynastic name and the reign title might be used. Nevertheless, the Japanese had their own national interests clearly in mind when persuading P'u-yi and his supporters to make the trip to Manchuria. It soon became clear that the agreements made by Doihara were not to be carried out fully. Disagreement among Cheng Hsiao-hsü, his fellow Chinese, and the Japanese with regard to the status of P'u-yi occupied the

winter months of 1931. Terms were finally reached in February 1932, and the new state of Manchoukuo came into existence on 1 March 1932. On 9 March 1932, after having been invited the conventional three times to head the new state, P'u-yi graciously accepted. He was not made emperor, however, but was granted the title of chief executive, which Tuan Ch'i-jui had used at Peking a decade earlier. As anticipated, Cheng Hsiao-hsü, then over 70, became premier of the new government at the capital city of Hsinking (Changchun). For a short period Cheng was also minister of war; he later served as minister of education and culture. When the Japan-Manchoukuo Cultural Association was formed in 1933, he became its first president.

The major legal act of Cheng Hsiao-hsü's official career in Manchoukuo took place on 15 September 1932. On that date Cheng and Muto Nobuyoshi, who was governor general of the Kwantung Leased Territory, commander of the Kwantung Army, and Japanese ambassador to Manchoukuo, signed a protocol of recognition and a treaty of mutual assistance. By the protocol, Japan recognized Manchoukuo as an independent state "organized in accordance with the free will of its inhabitants," and Manchoukuo extended recognition, and also agreed to respect, existing Japanese public and private rights and interests within its jurisdiction. It was further agreed that Japan and Manchoukuo would co-operate for purposes of national security.

It was not until 1 March 1934 that P'u-yi was enthroned as emperor of Manchoukuo. The *Manchuria Daily News* of Dairen noted that that development had been largely the work of Cheng Hsiao-hsü. Cheng, the paper stated, had finally achieved "the creation of a monarchy when it seemed that monarchs had been forever ousted from China." Those who had followed the story of P'u-yi's progress to the throne of Manchoukuo, the paper added, recognized that Cheng Hsiao-hsü had been the man behind the scenes, "a Wolsey with a brighter destiny, a Richelieu whose statesmanship has blended with swordsmanship and poetry." In his official capacity as premier of Manchoukuo, Cheng made a visit to Japan from 24 March to 24 April 1934. A little over a year later, at the end of 11 years of service to the man whom he viewed as the rightful sovereign of China, Cheng resigned his post on 21 May 1935.

Cheng Hsiao-hsü always maintained his personal integrity, and none could question the sincerity of his purpose. He had consistently worked for the independence of Manchoukuo and toward reestablishing the authority of his emperor. Reportedly, he contended often with the Japanese in council and even rejected proposals by the Kwantung Army. However, the government of Manchoukuo was constituted to give Japan the deciding voice in the affairs of the region. As early as mid-1932, Cheng Ch'u, whose views apparently followed those of his father, was forced by Japanese pressure to resign from his post as chief secretary in the premier's office. When Cheng Ch'u died in the South Manchurian Railway Hospital at Mukden in 1933, Chinese observers were quick to suggest that perhaps his death had not been due to natural causes. Cheng Hsiao-hsü himself is said to have been the target of Japanese threats in late 1932.

Manchoukuo had two reign periods: Ta-t'ung, from 1932 to 1933 when P'u-yi was chief executive; and K'ang-te, which began in March 1934 when P'u-yi was installed as emperor. Ta-t'ung is, of course, to be identified with the ideal Confucian world of one great unified state. K'ang-te, meaning "the virtue of maintaining regional peace," apparently was intended to symbolize a retrogression, since the three stages outlined in the traditional *Ch'un-ch'in tso-chuan* [Tso's commentary on the spring and autumn annals] were the age of decay and disorder, the age of limited peace, and then the age of great unified peace. The sequence of the reign names suggests that the first high hopes had been abandoned for the compromised reality that was the puppet state of Manchoukuo. The nomenclature derived naturally from Cheng Hsiao-hsü's political philosophy, and he is the person most likely to have selected the name.

After his retirement from office, Cheng Hsiao-hsü visited Peking in 1937. He reportedly prepared a home for himself in Peking and planned to move there to live quietly, but the Japanese suggested that it would be inadvisable for the first prime minister of Manchoukuo to live outside the boundaries of that state. Cheng returned to Hsinking, where he died on 28 March 1938 at the age of 79 sui. Chang Ching-hui, the man who had succeeded him as premier of Manchoukuo, stated that the empire had lost its greatest figure. Official Japanese statements

in Tokyo declared that the services which Cheng Hsiao-hsü had rendered in realizing "the principle of the oneness in spirit and virtue" between Japan and Manchoukuo would occupy a prominent place in history. Cheng was given a state funeral, and P'u-yi, then the K'ang-te emperor, awarded him posthumously the Grand Order of Merit with Grand Cordon of Orchid. That decoration had been awarded only once before, to General Honjo Shigeru, chief of the Kwantung Army.

The central concept of Cheng Hsiao-hsü's political philosophy was still the conventional Confucian wang-tao, or kingly way. That concept had been revived in China in the late nineteenth century to counter aggressive Western influences, and it was revived by the Japanese to counter aggressive Chinese nationalism and Communism. Cheng, like Lo Chen-yu and other Chinese loyalists, essentially was concerned with the restoration of the Manchu dynasty as ruler of a revived Chinese empire. It was their fate to find themselves in a Japanese-controlled puppet government as the Far East moved toward the Second World War.

Cheng Hsiao-hsü followed a strict personal regimen throughout his life, preserved his physical vigor into his later years, and looked much younger than he was. He normally rose long before dawn, spent an hour in t'ai-chi-ch'uan exercises, wrote poetry or read history while sipping Chinese tea, and ate a frugal breakfast of rice gruel. At about six in the morning, he undertook the day's work. Because of his habits, one of his studios was named the Yeh-ch'i-an [night riser's studio].

Sir Reginald Johnston in 1932 described Cheng Hsiao-hsü as "a man of fine character and unimpeachable integrity," as "undoubtedly one of the most learned and accomplished men of his generation in China, and . . . also perhaps the most distinguished of living Chinese poets." Cheng's collection of his early poems, the *Hai-ts'ang-lou shih* [poems written at Hai-ts'ang-lou], was first published in 1902; later editions appeared in 1914 and 1938. Cheng's poetry, written in the classical style, resembled that composed by Ch'en San-li (q.v.). Cheng wrote prefaces for two collections of Ch'en San-li's poetry, published in 1909 and 1922. Cheng Hsiao-hsü's talents included calligraphy as well as poetry, and his calligraphy was considered outstandingly good. However, Cheng's classical

accomplishments and personal integrity have been obscured by political criticism because of his intimate connection with Manchoukuo.

Cheng T'ien-hsi

T. Fu-ting
West. F. T. Cheng

鄭天錫
茀定

Cheng T'ien-hsi (10 July 1884—), known as F. T. Cheng, the first Chinese to receive the LL.D. degree in England, became vice minister of justice at Nanking (1931–34) and a judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague (1936–46). From 1946 to 1950 he was ambassador to the Court of St. James's. In 1950 he was granted rights of residence in England.

Although F. T. Cheng was a native of Hsiangshan (Chungshan), Kwangtung, he was born at Mamoi, near Foochow. A few days after his birth a French naval flotilla attacked Foochow. The family fled to Hong Kong, where Cheng's father, Cheng Ching-nan, became a buyer in a British firm.

Since Cheng Ching-nan hoped to make his son a scholar, he sent F. T. Cheng back to his native district at the age of six to begin his traditional education. At the age of eight, Cheng rejoined his family in Hong Kong where, after a year in a private school, he studied with a tutor. After working under the tutor for a year, Cheng went back to the village school in Kwangtung because there was an epidemic in Hong Kong. In 1894 he returned to Hong Kong, entered a new Chinese school, and began to learn English. In 1896, during another epidemic, his father died. Cheng then abandoned his idea of becoming a classical scholar and decided to take up a career in business to support his mother. As a result of that decision he began serious study of English and mathematics under an uncle who had been a student at the Royal Naval College at Greenwich, England. He made progress, and his uncle's influence awakened a desire in Cheng to go to England. After a year with his uncle, Cheng entered Queen's College, the government-run English school for Chinese boys in Hong Kong. He boarded in a provisions store with which his father had once had business connections. He slept on the counter in traditional apprentice style and helped in the shop in out-of-school hours.

He remained at Queen's College for only one year, until 1898. Then another epidemic broke out in Hong Kong, and Cheng returned to his native village in Hsiang-shan on his mother's request. There he continued to study English on his own. After returning to Hong Kong, he became associated with Cheng Kuan-kung, a fellow-clansman whom he had known since childhood. Cheng Kuan-kung had recently returned from study in Japan and worked on the *Chung-kuo jih-pao* [China daily news], the anti-Manchu revolutionary paper established in Hong Kong in 1899. Cheng Kuan-kung later resigned and established his own newspapers. Although F. T. Cheng took an active interest in these enterprises and was exposed to the political ideas of the period, he did not become involved in the revolutionary movement.

He went into business, first as a shareholder in a provisions firm, which failed because of the manager's incompetent accounting, and then as a sales agent for a sewing-machine company. From that modest beginning he rose to become an agent for several European firms. He then established his own export business, located on Des Voeux Road in Hong Kong, where he dealt in bristles, rice, fireworks, and human hair. Cheng's credit rating was good, and the firm prospered. Cheng married, and he and his wife had a daughter.

In 1907 Cheng left his family at Mamoi and set off for England to realize his dream of studying law. In London he spent two years with a private tutor, a Cambridge graduate named A. E. Williams, preparing for the London University matriculation. He formed a close friendship with Williams, who taught him much about English life and who introduced him to Arthur Machen, an author and a regular contributor to the London *Evening News*. Machen gave him Boswell's *Life of Johnson* to read; it became one of Cheng's favorite books.

Cheng took his LL.B. degree with honors in 1912, and was called to the bar at the Middle Temple in April 1913. He then returned to China for a brief visit with his family. He was offered the post of procurator general in the high court at Canton, but refused the appointment because of his determination to return to London to obtain his doctorate. He did return to England in 1914, this time taking his wife with him, and began work on his thesis, "Rules of Private International Law Determining Capac-

ity to Contract." In August 1915 he published an article entitled "A Chinese View of the War" in the *National Review*. The article drew favorable comment from several other journals. In 1916 he received his LL.D. He was the first Chinese student to achieve that distinction, and the Chinese minister to England, Alfred Sze (Shih Chao-chi, q.v.) gave a special dinner in his honor.

After receiving his doctorate, Cheng remained in London for another year to learn the practical side of the law. On the recommendation of Sir John Macdonnell, he entered the chambers of Bromley Eames and, when Eames died, the chambers of Theobald Mathews. During this period Cheng attended the Quain lectures on comparative law and public international law given by Sir John Macdonnell and shared the Quain prize for an essay entitled "What is the Liability of Belligerents for Injuries Caused to Neutrals by Reprisals?"

In January 1917 Cheng left England with his wife and newborn second daughter to return to China. They planned to travel by way of Siberia because of the war; Alfred Sze had made Cheng a diplomatic courier to facilitate customs procedure. Boarding the Newcastle train at King's Cross to begin his journey, Cheng met Wang Ching-wei (q.v.), who was returning to China by the same route. When they finally arrived in Peking at the end of the long trip, Wang Ching-wei introduced Cheng to Hu Han-min, the former T'ung-meng-hui leader and close associate of Sun Yat-sen, and to Wang Ch'ung-hui and Lo Wen-kan (qq.v.), respectively chairman and vice chairman of the law codification commission.

Cheng went to Hong Kong and was admitted to the bar there in May 1917. The following month he was retained as counsel for the defense in a murder case and was complimented by the court for his handling of the case. His prospects for a successful law career in Hong Kong seemed good. But, acquaintances in Peking, specifically Wang Ch'ung-hui and Lo Wen-kan, urged him to return to Peking, where there was urgent need for Western-trained legal experts. He went north to the Chinese capital to join the judicial branch of the government.

Cheng received a minor post in the ministry of justice as supervisor in charge of translation of Chinese law into English. He translated most of the material himself and put into English virtually all the new laws of the republic, including

the provisional criminal code, the draft code of criminal procedure, the draft civil code, the draft code of civil procedure, the prize law, the prize court judgments, and the Supreme Court decisions.

Soon, Cheng was transferred from the ministry of justice to the law codification commission. In 1919 he was made a judge of the Supreme Court, but at the end of 1920 he returned to his position with the law codification commission. He was attached to the Chinese delegation at the Washington Conference of 1921-22. Afterwards, an international commission on extraterritoriality was established to examine the Chinese judicial system with a view to abolition of extraterritorial jurisdiction, and Cheng became a deputy delegate and an adviser to that commission. In 1922 he was appointed chief compiler of the law codification commission; two years later, following political changes in Peking, he resigned. He also held other posts in Peking: examiner for judicial candidates, tutor of the judicial academy, and professor of law at Peking University.

In 1927, after the arrival of the Nationalist forces in the Yangtze valley, Cheng moved his family to Shanghai and established a private law practice, which soon prospered. He declined the post of president of the high court in the government. Instead, he accepted a special partnership in a well-known firm of foreign lawyers. He also became a professor at the law school of Soochow University. His intentions to remain apart from official life were soon overcome. In 1932, on the recommendation and persuasion of Wang Ching-wei, he became vice minister of justice at Nanking, under Lo Wen-kan. Cheng held that post until 1934 and served as acting minister for a brief period in Lo's absence. During this period Cheng's mother died, an occasion which he described as being the saddest day of his life.

When Lo Wen-kan resigned as minister of justice in October 1934, Cheng also left office, but agreed to continue to serve as adviser to the ministries of justice and foreign affairs. He planned to return to private law practice in Shanghai. In 1935, however, Wang Shih-chieh (q.v.), who was then minister of education, invited Cheng to go to London to head a special cultural mission in charge of the art treasures being sent to the International Exhibition of Chinese art at Burlington House. That exhibi-

tion turned out to be one of the most successful ever held in London. During the period of its display Cheng delivered a series of three lectures on Chinese culture; these were published in 1936 under the title *Civilization and the Art of China*, with a prefatory note by Cheng's old friend Arthur Machen. He was also invited by Queen Mary to inspect her palace collection of Chinese art objects. Although he had no great knowledge of Chinese art, a fact which he readily admitted, F. T. Cheng contributed substantially to the success of the exhibition because he was a witty public speaker and knew England and the English well. He discharged the mission with great personal satisfaction, since it permitted him to renew old contacts in a country to which he was strongly attached and in a capacity free of political complications.

The Chinese art exhibition ended in the spring of 1936, and the art treasures were shipped to China aboard the P. and O. liner Rampura. When the vessel ran aground at Gibraltar in April, Cheng had many anxious moments in London, where he was winding up the exhibition's affairs. Fortunately, the vessel was refloated safely, and Cheng was able to return triumphant from his London mission. Shortly after his return from London, Cheng was appointed a judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, succeeding Wang Ch'ung-hui. With the German occupation of the Netherlands in 1940, Cheng moved with the court to Switzerland and remained there until the end of the war. He continued in his post until January 1946, and was then made a member of the board of liquidation of the League of Nations at Geneva.

On his return to China, Cheng was appointed ambassador to Great Britain. He took up his duties at London in August 1946 and, in that familiar milieu, spared no effort to promote cultural and economic relations between China and England. He continued in that post until the British government recognized the Central People's Government at Peking in January 1950. At that time Cheng was granted rights of residence in England.

After 1950 Cheng resided in New York, where he was an adviser to the Wah Chang Corporation, and in London. He also was adviser to the Judicial Yuan of the National Government at Taipei and a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.

F. T. Cheng's great diligence contributed much to his successful career. He has been respected by both Chinese and Westerners for his personal conduct and for his independence from political affiliations. As ambassador to Great Britain, he won the affection of royalty and commoner alike as a Chinese gentleman. Cheng had a strong sense of filial devotion and respect for Confucian principles. He also was well acquainted with such Western works as those of Shakespeare and Samuel Johnson, from which he loved to quote. Cheng was a lawyer of distinction; a diplomat who discharged his duties with skill and tact; and an urbane public figure. A sociable man in private life, he liked good food and wine and considered dining to be an art essential to good living. Simplicity, not lavishness, marked his tastes.

Cheng wrote several books in English: *China Moulded by Confucius*, which was published in London in 1946; *East and West: Episodes in a Sixty Years' Journey*, which was published in London in 1951; and *Musings of a Chinese Gourmet*, which was published in London in 1955.

Cheng Yü-hsiu 鄭毓秀

West. Soumay Tcheng

Cheng Yü-hsiu (1891–16 December 1959), the first woman lawyer in republican China and the wife of Wei Tao-ming (q.v.), studied law in Paris, practiced in Shanghai, and became president of the second special court in the French concession. In 1928 she became a member of the Legislative Yuan, and from 1931 to 1937 she was president of the school of law at the University of Shanghai.

A native of Kwangtung, Cheng Yü-hsiu was born in the Paoan district, adjacent to Hong Kong. Her grandfather owned land in the Hong Kong area, and her father served as a minor official in the Board of Revenue of the Ch'ing government. She spent her early years at Canton, where she received traditional instruction in the Chinese classics from a tutor. Then she accompanied her mother to north China to join her father at Peking, where she began her formal education.

In a later autobiographical account prepared for Western readers, Cheng Yü-hsiu described herself as a "revolutionary by nature," who

defied the established custom of foot-binding and broke the betrothal arranged by her grandmother. To lessen the disgrace brought upon her family through her second act of defiance, she was sent to Tientsin to attend the Chung-hsi Girls School, directed by two American missionary women. She remained in that school for only a few months, however, since she was not interested in its religious program or in its emphasis upon female domesticity. However, she began her study of the English language there and acquired a taste for Western-style clothing and customs.

In 1912 Li Shih-tseng (q.v.) and others launched a thrift-study movement to enable Chinese students to go abroad and study in France. A preparatory school was established at Peking, with about 30 students, including Li Shu-hua (q.v.) and others. Cheng Yü-hsiu and the other girl student in the institution performed regular chores. Many republican revolutionary leaders, including Chang Chi, Lin Sen, and Sung Chiao-jen, used the school building as a hostel when they were in Peking, and Cheng Yü-hsiu doubtless heard detailed accounts of the anti-Manchu revolutionary movement from them.

After several months spent studying French, the students in the Peking school left for Europe in December 1912, traveling by way of Siberia. It is not clear whether Cheng Yü-hsiu accompanied the group at that time. It is known that she was in Paris in the spring of 1914. There she adopted the name Soumay Tcheng; she continued to study French and enrolled at the Sorbonne. She apparently remained in Europe during the years of the First World War and must have been in touch with Wang Ching-wei, Ch'en Pi-chün, and other southern Chinese then living in France. In 1919, because of her fluency in French, she was appointed an attaché to the Chinese delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, handling liaison and press relations. She was also a prominent figure in a Chinese student organization in France which opposed the transfer of the former German rights in Shantung province to Japan.

The years after the First World War were marked in China by an intensification of the political and military struggles between the supporters of the Peking government in the north and the forces of the Nationalist revolution in the south. The course of events was reflected

to some extent in the political attitudes of the Chinese student community in Paris, where the official Chinese diplomatic representative, Ch'en Lu (q.v.), was the envoy of the Peking government. Because of his position, Ch'en Lu encountered the animosity of some Chinese in Paris who opposed the policies of the Peking government. In March 1921 a student named Li Hao-ling shot at Ch'en Lu in the home of Cheng Yü-hsiu in Paris.

Cheng Yü-hsiu was involved in the struggle for women's rights, and she supervised a group of some 20 Chinese girls from Szechwan who came to France to study. Her autobiographical account of her early career, *Souvenirs d'enfance et de révolution*, was published at Paris in 1921.

While a student in France after the First World War, she made the acquaintance of a younger Kiangsi student, Wei Tao-ming (q.v.), who was also reading law. Cheng Yü-hsiu received her doctorate in law from the University of Paris in 1925, with a thesis on "Le mouvement constitutionnel en Chine," and Wei Tao-ming gained his degree from the same institution in 1926.

After her return to China, she began her legal career. She and Wei Tao-ming established a joint law firm in the French concession of Shanghai. Because of her European legal training, Cheng Yü-hsiu soon came to occupy a prominent position in the legal and judicial community at Shanghai. When the Nationalists arrived there in 1927, they appointed H. Y. Loo (Lu Hsing-yuan) president of the Provisional (formerly Mixed) Court, which had been established so that cases in the Western concessions involving Chinese nationals could be tried by Chinese judges. Loo, a barrister from the Inner Temple who held an M.A. degree from Oxford, had previously served as president of the supreme court in the government at Canton headed by Sun Yat-sen. Later in 1927 Wang Ch'ung-hui, then minister of justice, appointed Cheng Yü-hsiu, whom he had known in Europe when he had served as deputy judge of the World Court at The Hague, to succeed Loo. However, Loo refused to vacate the post. Chen Yü-hsiu, despite her claim to be the first Chinese woman appointed to a judgeship in the International Settlement at Shanghai, did not actually serve in this position. Later, she was appointed president of the second special court in the French concession.

In the spring of 1927, when her law partner, Wei Tao-ming, was named secretary general of the ministry of justice, their joint law practice had to be dissolved. "But just as the legal partnership ended," Cheng Yü-hsiu later recalled, "our personal partnership began." She and Wei Tao-ming were married in August 1927.

Early in 1928 Cheng Yü-hsiu was sent to Paris by the Nanking authorities to attempt to work out a preliminary understanding with the French government with respect to the rapidly changing situation in China. Because she was expecting a baby, Wei Tao-ming accompanied her to France in the spring of the year. Their first-born son, Tchow-meï, was born at Paris in May 1928. Shortly thereafter, they left Europe to return to China by way of the United States. In November 1928 Cheng Yü-hsiu was appointed by Hu Han-min to membership on the Legislative Yuan. She was one of the first two female members, the other being Soong Meiling, the wife of Chiang Kai-shek. In the years from 1928 to 1931, Cheng Yü-hsiu worked in the Legislative Yuan while her husband served as minister of justice (1928-29) and as mayor of Nanking (1930-31). She was also one of the five members of the commission established to codify the Chinese civil code, which was promulgated by the National Government in 1931. She then returned to Shanghai to practice law, concurrently serving as president of the law school of the University of Shanghai, a post which she held until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in the summer of 1937. She helped to organize civilian assistance in the war effort in the International Settlement, but fled to join her husband at Nanking in the late autumn of that year.

After the retreat to Chungking, Wei Tao-ming served as secretary general of the Executive Yuan during the early war years. Cheng Yü-hsiu remained a member of the Legislative Yuan and also served for a time as vice minister of education. In April 1941 Wei was appointed ambassador to France. He and his wife left Chungking by air in July for Hong Kong. There they boarded the President Madison, intending to go to France by way of the United States. When they arrived at San Francisco, they learned that Japanese troops had occupied parts of French Indo-China and decided to wait in the United States for clarification of the

situation. During the winter of 1941-42 they were in Washington, where Wei served as a staff member of the Chinese embassy under Hu Shih (q.v.), who was then ambassador. In September 1942 Wei was appointed ambassador to the United States, replacing Hu Shih. During Wei Tao-ming's term in Washington from 1942 to 1945, Cheng Yü-hsiu participated actively in war relief work and public affairs. She played a prominent role during the historic wartime visit of Madame Chiang Kai-shek to the United States in early 1943, lent her name to the United China Relief Fund drives, and became honorary chairman of the China Aid Council. She was initiated into the Eta alumnae chapter of Kappa Beta Pi, a legal sorority. And her autobiography, *My Revolutionary Years*, was published in 1943.

After the war, she and her husband returned to China, where Wei Tao-ming was named vice president of the Legislative Yuan at Nanking in 1946. In 1947 Cheng Yü-hsiu was elected to the Legislative Yuan, receiving the next highest number of votes of any Shanghai candidate. In the spring of 1947 Wei Tao-ming was transferred to Taipei as the first civilian governor of Taiwan province. He held that post until the end of 1948, when he was replaced by a military man, Ch'en Ch'eng (q.v.), who was assigned responsibility to prepare for the evacuation from the mainland. Wei Tao-ming and Cheng Yü-hsiu then went to the United States. They visited Brazil, but they resided in the United States after 1949, living first in New York and later in southern California. Cheng Yü-hsiu died of cancer in Los Angeles on 16 December 1959.

During her active years in Shanghai, Cheng Yü-hsiu was known for her forceful personality and her vivacity, a quality perhaps enhanced, in gesture and volubility, by her years of residence in France. An impressive speaker and a facile writer, she was fluent in both French and English. She was known to have had excellent connections with the French and the Chinese who controlled the French concession at Shanghai. At the same time, she was perhaps the best example of a woman of independent political and personal influence in the Kuomintang during the years after 1927. Cheng Yü-hsiu was on intimate terms with Chiang Kai-shek's wife, Soong Mei-ling, and wielded notable influence over Wang Ch'ung-hui, the distinguished jurist and veteran

figure of the National Government, both of whom assisted her husband's career between 1927 and 1949.

Ch'eng Ch'ien

T. Sung-yun

程潛
頌雲

Ch'eng Ch'ien (1882-), Hunanese general, served Sun Yat-sen in many military campaigns. Later, he became commander of the Sixth Army of the National Revolutionary Army (1926) and of the Fourth Route armies (1927). He later held such positions as chief of the general staff (1935), commander of the First War Area (1937), and governor of Honan (1938). In 1948 he became governor of Hunan. His defection in 1949 made Nationalist defense of Canton hopeless and hastened the final military collapse of the Nationalists.

A native of Liling hsien, Hunan province, Ch'eng Ch'ien was born into a rural family of scholarly background. As a boy he had a traditional education in the Chinese classics, and about 1900 he went to the provincial capital, Changsha, to study at the Yueh-lu Academy. After the abolition of the imperial examination system in 1905, modern schools of various types were established. Ch'eng then enrolled in the Hunan provincial military academy, where his success as a cadet earned him a government scholarship for study in Japan.

Ch'eng Ch'ien went to Japan about 1906 and enrolled at the Shikan Gakkō [military academy] in Tokyo, where he studied in the artillery department. There he came into contact with other Chinese military students who were sympathetic to the anti-Manchu revolutionary cause, including Li Ken-yuan, Li Lieh-chün, and T'ang Chi-yao (qq.v.). Ch'eng then joined the T'ung-meng-hui and became an active propagandist among the Chinese students in Japan.

After being graduated from the military academy, Ch'eng Ch'ien returned to China in 1910 and served as staff officer in the Sixth Brigade of the army commanded by Wu Lu-ch'en, which was then stationed in the suburbs of Peking. When the revolt at Wuchang broke out in October 1911, Ch'eng Ch'ien made his way there to join the revolutionaries. He was assigned to command the artillery unit at

Hanyang and helped Huang Hsing (q.v.) in the defense of that city in November. Ch'eng then returned to his native province of Hunan and served as head of the military division of the government.

In July 1913 T'an Yen-k'ai (q.v.), the Hunan tutuh [military governor], joined the so-called second revolution against Yuan Shih-k'ai, and Ch'eng Ch'ien, who was director of the military affairs bureau of the province, was active in the campaign. The Hunan revolutionary forces were defeated early in August, however, and Ch'eng Ch'ien fled to Shanghai. Then he joined Li Ken-yuan and others in crossing to Japan. Sun Yat-sen and most of his followers had taken refuge in Japan by that time.

By 1913 Ch'eng Ch'ien had greatly advanced his position within the revolutionary party. When Sun Yat-sen in June 1914 planned the reorganization of the Kuomintang into the Chung-hua ko-ming-tang, Ch'eng attended the meetings held for discussion of the issue. Huang Hsing led the opposition to this move and did not subscribe to the new party. Ch'eng Ch'ien was among those who did not join the new party because to do so required an oath of personal loyalty to Sun. He was also reported to have joined the European Affairs Research Society, originally a group within the Kuomintang composed of men who did not support Sun's 1914 reorganization plan.

Although many of Sun Yat-sen's veteran followers declined to join the new party, for practical purposes Sun's leadership of the revolutionary movement was still respected. Thus, late in 1915 when Yuan Shih-kai's monarchical aspirations had come into the open and a new campaign against Yuan was brewing, Ch'eng Ch'ien and others were sent back to China by Sun to promote the anti-Yuan campaign. Ch'eng went first to Shanghai, where he contacted members of the Min-i-she, a Hunanese revolutionary group, regarding plans for an uprising in Hunan. Meanwhile, Li Lich-chün had gone to Yunnan to join the anti-Yuan campaign launched by Ts'ai O (q.v.) and T'ang Chi-yao, and Ch'eng Ch'ien hastened to join him.

On arrival in Yunnan, Ch'eng Ch'ien was appointed by the military command to the post of Hunan pacification commissioner and was given command of a battalion. He led his troops across Kweichow and entered Hunan

late in April 1916. He soon found support in the southwestern areas of Hunan and became commander in chief of the Hunan National Protection Army (the designation of national protection army was used by all forces in the anti-Yuan campaign of this period). The revolutionaries eventually captured Changsha, but Chao Heng-t'i and other local leaders invited T'an Yen-k'ai, the former tutuh, to return to Hunan to assume control of the situation. Ch'eng Ch'ien left for Shanghai.

When Sun Yat-sen launched the "constitution protection movement" and assumed the post of Generalissimo of the southern revolutionary government at Canton in August 1917, he ordered Ch'eng Ch'ien to return to Hunan to gain the support of that province. Ch'eng was successful in enlisting the services of some Hunanese armed forces, and was supported by Kwangsi troops which had been sent by Lu Jung-t'ing (q.v.), the Kwangsi leader who was then the power behind the southern government. This coalition made rapid progress and came to control all of Hunan for a period. Early in 1918, however, the northern government sent an overwhelming force to end southern power in the province. The southerners were defeated, the Kwangsi army withdrew from Hunan, and Ch'eng Ch'ien led his remnant forces to the southern part of the province. Eventually, in the spring of 1919, Ch'eng Ch'ien had to leave his men and take refuge with a Yunnanese army stationed at Shaokuan in northern Kwangtung which was led by his old schoolmate Li Ken-yuan. In 1920 Li Ken-yuan left his army, and Ch'eng Ch'ien accompanied him to Shanghai.

In May 1921 Sun Yat-sen became president extraordinary of the southern government at Canton. Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.) was minister of war, but since Ch'en was then preoccupied with his own army, Ch'eng Ch'ien, as vice minister, directed the affairs of the ministry. On the eve of Ch'en Chiung-ming's move against Sun Yat-sen in June 1922, Ch'eng Ch'ien attempted to dissuade Ch'en and his subordinates from that step. When Ch'en Chiung-ming's men attacked Sun's headquarters early on the morning of 16 June 1922, Ch'eng Ch'ien accompanied Sun on his escape to the gunboat. Later, on Sun's orders, Ch'eng Ch'ien, together with Li Lieh-chün and others, worked to organize the Kwangtung, Hunan, Yunnan, and Kwangsi troops that were loyal to Sun for a

concerted drive to expel Ch'en Chiung-ming from Canton. This move enabled Sun to return to Canton early in 1923.

In September 1924, Sun Yat-sen launched his northern expedition from Shao-kuan in northern Kwangtung. T'an Yen-k'ai, commander of the Hunan National Construction Army (national construction army was the designation used for the southern government's armies at this period), was also the commander in chief of the expedition. The main route to be taken was through Kiangsi. In November, Kanchow was captured. Meanwhile, Sun Yat-sen appointed Ch'eng Ch'ien commander of the forces to attack Hupeh, and Ch'eng began reassembling his former subordinates in Hunan to form an army.

Sun Yat-sen then went to Peking, where he died in March 1925. The Kwangsi and Yunnan forces led by Liu Chen-huan and Yang Hsi-min attempted to gain control of Canton, and the various other armies were recalled by the government to quell that revolt. The National Government was organized by the Kuomintang at Canton on 1 July 1925, and Ch'eng Ch'ien was elected to its 16-member government council. In January 1926, Ch'eng Ch'ien's army was reorganized as the Sixth Army of the National Revolutionary Army (the other five armies having been organized in August 1925). Ch'eng Ch'ien was appointed commander of the Sixth Army, and Lin Po-ch'u (q.v.), a leading Communist, was assigned to that army as party representative. The Sixth Army took part in the launching of the Northern Expedition in July 1926, serving as a reserve army for the Fourth Army. Later, it was sent into Kiangsi to fight against Sun Ch'uan-fang (q.v.), and finally, on 24 March 1927, it entered Nanking.

During the confusion of the takeover of Nanking by the Nationalists, there was looting in the foreign resident areas. British and American gunboats anchored at Nanking shelled the city, and the Nationalists returned fire. Ch'eng Ch'ien's presence prevented further deterioration of the situation. It was later alleged that Communist elements in the political department of the Sixth Army had caused the incidents on orders from Moscow in order to create Sino-foreign friction. This allegation was based chiefly on the fact that Lin Po-ch'u, who was a relative of Ch'eng Ch'ien by marriage, was the party representative to the Sixth Army. Lin was

a ranking member of the Chinese Communist party, and there were known Communist cadres on his staff.

At this time Ch'eng Ch'ien was considered to be pro-Communist. After the capture of Nanking, he went to Wuhan to report to the government and Kuomintang headquarters there. On arrival, Ch'eng clearly indicated his stand by becoming a member of the standing committee of the military council at Wuhan. Ch'eng telegraphed orders to his army to remain at Nanking, but the orders were intercepted, and Chiang Kai-shek managed to block action by Ch'eng's troops. Nanking and Wuhan soon settled their differences, and Wuhan began to purge the Communists in July 1927. A special committee of the Kuomintang was organized in September of that year to promote the unity of the party, and Ch'eng Ch'ien was a member nominated by the Wuhan side.

T'ang Sheng-chih (q.v.), the other Hunanese military leader, who had become the leading army commander in Wuhan, remained independent of Nanking's control. The Nanking government ordered punitive measures against T'ang, and Ch'eng Ch'ien was appointed commander in chief of the Fourth Route armies, taking over T'ang's command. Ch'eng was also named chairman of a specially created Hunan-Hupeh provisional political committee. Thus, he was nominally in command of the two provinces of Hupeh and Hunan. However, his plans for consolidation of power over this region soon were shattered. In March 1928 the Kuomintang created the Wuhan branch of the Central Political Council with Li Tsung-jen (q.v.) as its chairman. Ch'eng Ch'ien was only a member of that council, although he remained chairman of the Hunan provincial government.

On 21 May 1928 Li Tsung-jen suddenly placed Ch'eng Ch'ien under arrest on charges of taking part in illegal activities. Ch'eng was suspended from his membership on the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, to which he had been elected at the Second National Congress in 1926. He remained under house arrest from 1928 until 1932. During this period, Ch'eng Ch'ien spent much of his time writing poetry. In 1932, when the Kuomintang was reunited after the Nanking-Canton break of 1931, Lin Sen was elected Chairman of the National Government and Ch'eng Ch'ien became a member of the State Council. In

December 1935, Ch'eng Ch'ien was appointed chief of the general staff, and once again emerged as a prominent military figure. This appointment was made following the Fifth National Congress of the Kuomintang (November 1935).

When the Sino-Japanese war broke out in July 1937, Ch'eng Ch'ien, still chief of the general staff, was appointed to command the First War Area. General Chu Teli (q.v.), commander in chief of the Chinese Communist forces, was his nominal deputy. Ch'eng established his headquarters at Chengchow to direct operations along the Peiping-Hankow rail line. In March 1938, to ensure appropriate co-ordination of military and civil affairs during the crisis, he was named governor of Honan province. After the battle of Hsuchow, Japanese forces pressed forward into Honan. In June 1938, Ch'eng Ch'ien ordered the breaching of the Yellow River dikes for nearly 400 feet, an action which produced a serious flood, but which did hold up the Japanese advance through the Honan plain.

Early in 1939 Ch'eng Ch'ien was transferred to become director of the Generalissimo's headquarters at Sian. On the abolition of this headquarters in September that year, Ch'eng was appointed the director of the Generalissimo's headquarters at T'ienshui. In May 1940 Ch'eng Ch'ien was appointed deputy chief of the general staff, a post he held until the Japanese surrender in 1945.

After the war, Ch'eng Ch'ien was appointed director of the Generalissimo's headquarters at Wuhan in May 1946. This organ was redesignated the Wuhan headquarters of the Chairman of the National Government, and Ch'eng remained its director. In the spring of 1947, he was transferred to the post of pacification commissioner at Changsha. In 1948, when China held its first elections for president and vice president under its newly adopted constitution, Ch'eng Ch'ien was a candidate for the vice presidency. Among the six contenders for the position, Ch'eng, Li Tsung-jen, and Sun Fo received the most votes on the first two ballots. Ch'eng then withdrew and threw his support to Li Tsung-jen, who defeated Sun Fo on the fourth ballot.

In late 1948 Ch'eng Ch'ien was appointed provincial governor of Hunan. The Communists were advancing rapidly over the mainland of

China. Ch'eng had shown leftist sympathies in the past, and the personal influence exerted on him by Lin Po-ch'u, a veteran member of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist party, was stated to be considerable. Toward the end of 1948, Ch'eng staunchly advocated making peace with the Communists. He was reported to be in constant consultation with Pai Ch'ung-hsi (q.v.), who was the bandit-suppression commander in chief in central China, with headquarters at Wuhan. In January 1949, Chang Ch'ün and Huang Shao-hung (qq.v.) flew from Nanking to Hankow and then to Changsha for talks with Pai Chung-hsi and Ch'eng Ch'ien, respectively. Ch'eng Ch'ien appeared to be one of the Chinese Nationalist leaders who advocated the retirement of Chiang Kai-shek to permit peace talks with the Communists.

Chiang Kai-shek retired on 21 January 1949, and Li Tsung-jen became acting President of China. The peace delegation which Li Tsung-jen sent to Peking was not able to reach agreement with the Communists. Li then planned to make a final stand in south China. The National Government was moved to Canton, and it was hoped that Ch'eng Ch'ien would provide an effective outer defense for the southern city. When taking a trip from Nanking to Kwangsi early in 1949, Li Tsung-jen made a special visit to Changsha to consult Ch'eng Ch'ien and to attempt to secure a firm pledge of support. Apparently, Ch'eng had decided to throw in his lot with the Communists. On 3 August 1949, as the Communist armies moved south from the Yangtze, he publicly declared his surrender to the Communists. That move made the defense of Canton hopeless and hastened the complete collapse of Nationalist control of south China.

Ch'eng Ch'ien attended the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference held at Peking in September 1949. In the new government organized the following month, Ch'eng became a member of the Central People's Government Council, vice chairman of the Central-South Military and Administrative Committee, a vice chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, and a member of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In 1952 he was again appointed governor of Hunan. He was elected a deputy to both the First and Second National People's congresses in 1954 and 1959, and was a

vice chairman of the Second Congress. He was elected governor of Hunan in 1956. He became a vice chairman of the National Defense Council, the successor to the People's Revolutionary Military Council, a member of the standing committee of the Third Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and a vice chairman of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. He was also a vice chairman of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee.

Ch'eng Ch'ien had more scholarly accomplishments than many of his contemporary military officers; perhaps this made him a bit of an egotist. Some Chinese observers regarded Ch'eng as being stubborn and irritable, although his association with Sun Yat-sen appears to have been satisfactory and equitable. Ch'eng also had a reputation for hedonism. His apparently smooth adjustment to the new political situation after 1949 is generally attributed to his being a prominent native of Hunan, the home province of Mao Tse-tung and many other senior leaders of the Communist party. That Ch'eng Ch'ien was permitted to remain as governor of Hunan under the Communists suggests that the post was not a locus of genuine political power but rather was given him as an expression of tribute to the advanced years and personal prestige of one of Hunan's most prominent sons.

Ch'eng Ching-yi
H. Ching-yi

誠 靜 怡
敬 一

Ch'eng Ching-yi (22 September 1881–15 November 1939), Protestant leader, devoted his life to encouraging the growth of an independent, unified Chinese Protestant church. He instituted the China for Christ Movement, helped to found the Chinese Home Mission Society, and served as general secretary of the two leading Chinese interdenominational organizations, the National Christian Council and the Church of Christ in China.

At the time of his birth, Ch'eng Ching-yi's family was living in north China. His father, who had been converted to Christianity through the influence of the London Missionary Society, was one of the society's pastors. After receiving an early education along traditional Chinese lines, Ch'eng Ching-yi entered the Anglo-Chinese Institute of the London Missionary

Society in Peking, from which he was graduated in 1896. In 1900 he completed the course at the theological branch of the institute at Tientsin. Ch'eng's graduation preceded the Boxer Uprising by only two weeks. His family was among the besieged in the Legation Quarter in Peking, and a number of his fellow students lost their lives in the massacres of 1900. Ch'eng himself, serving as interpreter and stretcher bearer for the Allied forces on their march to Peking, narrowly escaped death several times. After the siege was over, he participated in relief activities in the capital.

In 1903, when Ch'eng Ching-yi was 22, he assisted the Reverend George Owen of the London Missionary Society in preparing a revised translation of the New Testament into Chinese. When Owen, for health reasons, had to return to England, he invited Ch'eng to accompany him and to continue the work there. Ch'eng accepted and spent the next five years in England. The period abroad gave him an opportunity to become fluent in both written and spoken English, an accomplishment which was relatively rare even among educated Chinese of that day. More significantly, the years in England led to a basic revaluation of his religious thought and faith. After being assailed by doubts to the point of repudiating many of his early religious convictions and devotional habits, Ch'eng came to a deeper faith, with the help of former missionary friends from China, Dr. and Mrs. Eliot Curwin, with whom he lived in England. The New Testament translation was completed in 1906, and Ch'eng entered a theological course at the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow. Although he was graduated in 1908, he chose to postpone ordination until after his return to China.

Once ordained in his home church, Ch'eng Ching-yi, then 27, undertook the first assignment of his pastoral career in the newly formed independent Mi-shih Hutung Church in the East City of Peking. This church drew a number of Chinese academic and professional people who were attracted to it, at least in part, because of its independence from mission jurisdiction.

Ch'eng's growing reputation was indicated by his selection as one of three Chinese Christian delegates to attend the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910. It was significant that Ch'eng received this appointment despite

his Manchu background at a time when anti-Manchu sentiment was steadily rising throughout China. He made a strong impression at Edinburgh both through personal contacts and through a notable seven-minute speech to the predominantly Western conference in which he declared: "speaking plainly, we hope to see in the near future a united Christian Church without any denominational distinctions . . . denominationalism has never interested the Chinese mind . . ." Ch'eng's forthright plea for a united church in China became a classic statement in Protestant missionary annals. At the conclusion of the conference, he was elected to the continuation committee of the International Missionary Council.

In 1912 Ch'eng became secretary of a Chinese advisory council (the counterpart of a London Missionary Society council) which represented five fields of mission work in China. In this capacity, Ch'eng traveled widely with his English counterpart, Dr. Thomas Cochrane, and became a familiar figure to Christian groups in many parts of China. These groups responded to Ch'eng's leadership and came to regard him as an effective spokesman for their aims of self-support and self-government. In his insistence that denominational labels and divisions be transcended in united allegiance and programs, Ch'eng both stimulated and crystallized the aspirations of many Chinese Christians.

When John R. Mott, a founder and the leader of an international student Christian movement, visited China in 1913, Ch'eng Ching-yi accompanied him, sharing interpreting duties with another able young Chinese, David Yui (Yu Jih-chang, q.v.). As a result of the Mott visit, a continuation committee of the National Missionary Conference in China was organized, with Ch'eng as secretary. In that capacity Ch'eng visited England and the United States, where through conferences and addresses he contributed to the growing interest in the ecumenical movement and in the work of the Christian church in China. By 1916 his talents were already sufficiently recognized in the West that Knox College in Toronto granted him an honorary D.D. degree. In 1923, he received an honorary LL.D. degree from the College of Wooster in Ohio, and, in 1929, a D.D. degree from St. John's University at Shanghai.

During the early turbulent years of the republican period in China, Ch'eng was moved

by the vision of a unified and independent Christian church acting as a vital center of integration in the national life of the Chinese people. In 1917 groups intent upon the perpetuation of traditional values attempted to force insertion of a clause in the Peking constitution stipulating that only Confucian teachings could be used in the schools as the basis of moral instruction. This effort was defeated in a brief but vigorous campaign in which Chinese Protestants, under Ch'eng Ching-yi's direction, played a leading part.

Ch'eng knew that the Christian movement in China was just beginning to develop and that its later character and form could be determined to a great extent by the actions and decisions of its current Chinese leaders. All endeavor, he insisted, should be centered in the church, not in the essentially transient interests of the missionary program. During this period, Ch'eng Ching-yi worked tirelessly to realize his ideals. In 1919 he instituted the China for Christ Movement, a nationwide attempt to expand and invigorate the Protestant church. And he helped to found the Chinese Home Mission Society, a group which sought, as an indigenous and interdenominational movement, to spread Christian influence among non-Chinese ethnic groups in the hinterland, especially in the southwest of China.

In 1922, when the National Christian Council was organized in Shanghai, Ch'eng Ching-yi was chairman of its first meeting, and he served as its general secretary until 1933. He was also prominent in the attempt to promote closer cooperation among Protestant groups in China. That effort led in 1927 to the initial meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Christ in China, where Ch'eng was unanimously elected the first moderator. This union of 16 denominations, including Presbyterian, Congregational, Reformed and English Baptist, in a cooperative Protestant program was a major tribute to Ch'eng's efforts, which had long been directed toward overcoming divisive barriers within the church. In the international sphere, Ch'eng was a leading member of the Chinese delegation which attended the 1928 Jerusalem conference of the International Missionary Council and was elected vice chairman of that meeting. At the same time he was appointed to the executive committee of the council; he served on the committee until the 1938 meeting at Madras,

India. At that meeting he was a member of the Chinese delegation.

The pace of Ch'eng's crowded life strained his energies, however. By the early 1930's he had found the extensive travel required by his position in the National Christian Council to be an increasing burden. Thus, after a period of more than ten years as secretary of the Council, Ch'eng resigned this position in 1933. Early in 1934, he became general secretary of the Church of Christ in China. However, he continued to suffer from high blood pressure and heart trouble. The outbreak of war between China and Japan in 1937 was a great personal sorrow to Ch'eng and further weakened his health. He felt that the war would damage irreparably the entire fabric of international brotherhood, as well as his personal ties with many Japanese Christians.

In 1939, during the last months of his life, Ch'eng traveled through west China to observe two projects in which he had deep personal interest: mission work among tribal groups in the southwest, and the mission church program at Kweiyang in Kweichow province. Friends said that he returned to Shanghai with a renewed sense of challenge and hope. His health soon failed, however, and he died in the Lester Chinese Hospital at Shanghai in November 1939.

From the time of his memorable speech at Edinburgh in 1910, Ch'eng Ching-yi was the foremost advocate of interdenominational co-operation and of an independent Chinese church. While principally identified with the administration of two leading cooperative Protestant bodies, he exerted a personal influence—as initiator, director, and counselor—on virtually every significant Protestant undertaking in China during the 30 years of his active career.

Ch'eng She-wo
T. P'ing

成 舍 我
平

Ch'eng She-wo (28 August 1898—), prominent newspaper publisher, founded and developed such papers as the *Shih-chieh jih-pao* [world daily news], the *Min-sheng pao* [people's livelihood newspaper], and the *Li-pao* [stand-up journal]. In 1947 he became a member of the Legislative Yuan. He founded World Journalism Junior College in Taipei in 1956.

Although his ancestral home was in Hsiang-hsien, Hunan province, Ch'eng She-wo was born at Nanking. His grandfather, Ch'eng Ts'e-ta, had served on the staff of the Hunan Army during the Taiping Rebellion and had moved with the army to Nanking. Ch'eng Pi, the father of Ch'eng She-wo, received an appointment as warden of the jail at Shuch'eng hsien in Anhwei and took his family there in 1906. Ch'eng She-wo was then eight and had begun his classical education under the personal supervision of his father.

In 1908, after a mass jail break, the hsien magistrate attempted to place the blame on Ch'eng Pi as warden, and false charges were made against him. Relieved of his appointment, the elder Ch'eng, pending a full investigation, took the family to the Anhwei provincial capital of Anking. He submitted evidence of his innocence to the higher authorities. A correspondent for a Shanghai newspaper helped him by making an independent investigation and by preparing an accurate report which proved Ch'eng Pi's innocence.

The incident greatly impressed Ch'eng She-wo, then 11. He cultivated the friendship of the correspondent, who encouraged him in his desire to become a journalist and who taught him how to write news dispatches. In 1911, when the Wuchang revolt broke out, Ch'eng She-wo joined the cadet corps that was organized in Anhwei. In April 1912, however, he was prevented by his father from joining the march to Nanking.

Although only 14, Ch'eng She-wo successfully took the matriculation examination of Chiang-huai University. The family, however, was so poor that he could not afford to enroll in the institution. In 1913 he got a job as reporter for the Anking newspaper *Min-yen pao* [the people's voice]. By this time he had joined the ranks of the republican revolutionaries and had taken part in the so-called second revolution against Yuan Shih-k'ai. In 1914 he and some friends planned a new paper to be called *Ch'ang-chiang pao* [Yangtze journal], but the authorities denied them registration. In 1915, the Anhwei military governor, Ni Ssu-ch'ung, an ardent supporter of Yuan Shih-k'ai, increased pressure on the revolutionaries, and Ch'eng had to flee for his life. He went to Mukden and worked for the newspaper *Chien Pao*. The chief editor of the paper was Wang Hsin-min.

In 1916, as the movement against Yuan Shih-k'ai neared its climax, Ch'eng She-wo left Mukden to return to Anking in response to appeals from his comrades. However, he was arrested by Ni Ssu-ch'ung, and his life was saved only because Ni's secretary, P'ei Ching-fu, intervened. Ch'eng then fled to Shanghai and lived in the headquarters maintained there by revolutionaries from Anhwei. There he came to know Ch'en Tu-hsiu (q.v.). Through contributions to the *Min-kuo jih-pao* [republican daily news], then the leading organ of the Kuomintang, Ch'eng also made the acquaintance of Yeh Ch'u-ts'ang, the party veteran who was then chief editor of the paper. Yeh Ch'u-ts'ang offered Ch'eng a regular job on the paper. By this time, Wang Hsin-min, the Mukden editor, had come south, and had become head of a group of writers, including Liu Fu and Hsiang Kai-jan, who were associated with the Commercial Press. Wang Hsin-min invited Ch'eng to join the group.

In 1917, the veteran revolutionary Liu Ya-tzu (q.v.), who was then head of the Southern Society, the well-known literary organization of the revolutionaries, exerted pressure on Ch'eng to support his case in a controversy with other members of the society. Ch'eng refused, and he left his job at the *Min-kuo jih-pao*. He inserted an advertisement in the *Shun-pao* [Shanghai news daily] informing the public of the case, and thus won great sympathy. Li Ta-chao was also impressed by the young man. Li Ta-chao and Ch'en Tu-hsiu induced Ch'eng She-wo to take up studies at Peking University; he worked to pay his way. In 1918, on the recommendation of Li Ta-chao, Ch'eng was employed as an editor by the *Yi-shin pao* [benefit-the-world journal] in Tientsin. In August, Ch'eng enrolled at Peking University in the department of Chinese literature. He was a participant in the May Fourth Movement in 1919, but his primary interest was journalism, and he took no active role in the development of the movement. Ch'eng was graduated from Peking University in 1921. By that time he had developed an ideology which differed from that of Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao.

In 1924 Ch'eng She-wo left the *Yi-shin pao*. With some money that he had saved, he founded his first newspaper, the *Shih-chieh wan-pao* [world evening news]. Early in 1925 Ch'eng added a morning paper, the *Shih-chieh jih-pao*

[world daily news], and later a pictorial, the *Shih-chieh hua-pao* [world pictorial]. The morning paper, *Shih-chieh jih-pao*, won prominence for Ch'eng She-wo. Its chief editor was his fellow-provincial Huang Shao-ku (q.v.).

The very success of Ch'eng's newspapers made him *persona non grata* to the warlords then in control in Peking. His papers were frequently prosecuted, and he was arrested on many occasions. But he always managed to escape conviction. In 1926, when Chang Tso-lin replaced Tuan Ch'i-jui as the effective power in Peking, the Shantung warlord, Chang Tsung-ch'ang (q.v.), struck terror among Peking journalists by executing two well-known newspapermen, Lin Pai-shui and Shao Piao-p'ing (q.v.). Although Chang Tsung-ch'ang soon had Ch'eng She-wo arrested, Ch'eng's execution was prevented through the intervention of Sun Pao-ch'i (q.v.), a former premier of the Peking government who had no personal acquaintance with Ch'eng, but who was impressed by his sincerity.

Ch'eng She-wo thought it prudent to leave Peking and to move to Shanghai. By that time the Northern Expedition was well under way. In April 1927 the National Government was inaugurated at Nanking. Ch'eng immediately went to the new capital, where he founded the *Min-sheng pao* [people's livelihood newspaper]. As soon as the Kuomintang had completed the second stage of the Northern Expedition and had brought Peking under its control, Ch'eng hastened back to the old capital to resume personal charge of his *Shih-chieh* group of newspapers. In 1929 he also served as chief secretary of the Peiping University area during the brief period when the National Government introduced the university zoning system for the country.

In 1930 Ch'eng left China to visit Japan, Europe, and the United States. In England he attended lectures at the London School of Economics. In 1931 he went from England to the United States in the company of Ch'eng Ts'ang-po, who later became the publisher of the *Central Daily News*. The two men visited the Missouri School of Journalism on the invitation of Dean Williams. Ch'eng returned to Shanghai in July of 1931. His papers in Peiping and Nanking continued to thrive, and Ch'eng was determined to make use of what he had learned from his foreign trip to make further improvements.

In May 1934 the *Min-sheng pao* clashed with the Executive Yuan, of which Wang Ching-wei (q.v.) was then president. The paper was suspended for three days. Ch'eng She-wo pursued the quarrel further; as a result, he was arrested and the paper was banned. On his release, Ch'eng, greatly disappointed by Nanking's interference with the freedom of the press, moved to the International Settlement at Shanghai. There he made intensive preparations to launch the *Li-pao* [stand-up journal]. This newspaper appeared for the first time on 1 September 1935. In many ways it proved to be Ch'eng's most successful publication, developing into one of the outstanding newspapers of republican China. The success of the *Li-pao* was indicated by the fact that advertisers flocked to it and paid for advertising space at the same rates as those charged by the largest newspaper in Shanghai, the *Sin-wen pao* [the news]. By 1937, on the eve of the Sino-Japanese war, the *Li-pao* claimed a daily circulation of 200,000, the largest of any Chinese paper at that time.

During these years Ch'eng She-wo divided his time between Shanghai and Peiping, where his *Shih-chieh jih-pao* remained a leading paper. When Sino-Japanese hostilities broke out in the north in July 1937, he happened to be in Peiping and thus was immediately involved in the war. The Japanese took over his paper and included his name on the membership list of the Japanese-sponsored peace maintenance committee formed in Peiping. Ch'eng hid himself and managed to escape to Nanking in September. He then went to Hankow, where he made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a Hankow edition of the *Shih-chieh jih-pao*.

Ch'eng then moved the *Li-pao* from Shanghai to Hong Kong, where it began publication on 1 April 1938. In November 1941 he predicted in his paper that war would soon break out between Japan and the United States. By that time he had been invited by the National Government to be a member of the People's Political Council. On 15 November 1941 he flew to Chungking to attend a meeting of the Political Council. He had planned to return to Hong Kong in December, but, fortunately for him, the War in the Pacific began before he made the trip. The Japanese occupied Hong Kong and immediately confiscated the *Li-pao*.

With the help of the Kwangsi provincial authorities, Ch'eng She-wo planned a school of

journalism at Kweilin, with separate departments for editorial workers and printers. The school opened in 1943, and the first year ended with great promise. The Kwangsi authorities allotted land for the expansion of its buildings, and they were ready for occupancy in the summer of 1944. However, the Japanese invaded the area and destroyed the new buildings.

Proceeding from Kweilin to Chungking, Ch'eng began preparation to publish the *Shih-chieh jih-pao* in the wartime capital. It began publication on 1 April 1945. A few months later, Japan surrendered. About that time, together with Chang Chu-p'ing, a former general manager of the famous "four newspapers group" in Shanghai, Ch'eng planned the organization of a publishing house for the publication of a chain of tabloids in the principal cities of China. The plan proved to be impractical, however.

Ch'eng returned to Shanghai in October 1945 to resume the publication of the *Li-pao*. In November he went to Peiping to restore the *Shih-chieh jih-pao*. Finding that conditions were not conducive to running the *Li-pao* along pre-war lines, he sold the paper to Kuomintang interests represented by P'an Kung-chan (q.v.). Ch'eng then devoted his full attention to his Peiping daily newspaper, the *Shih-chieh jih-pao*. In 1947 he was elected to the Legislative Yuan. He became increasingly critical of the Chinese Communists, and when they captured Peiping at the beginning of 1949, Ch'eng was singled out for special attack and was termed a man who "consistently holds a hostile attitude toward the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people." At the time of the Chinese Communist occupation of Peiping, Ch'eng was on his way from Shanghai to the old capital, and he stopped over at Tientsin. He at once returned to Shanghai. Later in the year he moved his family to Hong Kong.

In 1952 Ch'eng moved to Taiwan, where he attended the sessions of the Legislative Yuan regularly. In 1956 he founded World Journalism Junior College in Taipei and became its president. In 1960 he made a tour of the United States at the invitation of the State Department and visited Europe on his way back to Taiwan. In September 1963, the Taipei Press Council was set up under the auspices of the Taipei Newspaper Publishers Association for the promotion of journalism. Ch'eng She-wo was one of the six members of the council, which also included Hsiao T'ung-tzu and Huang Shao-ku.

Ch'eng T'ien-fang 程天放
Alt. Cheng Tien-fong

Ch'eng T'ien-fang (22 February 1899-) served the National Government in such capacities as ambassador to Germany (1936-38), delegate to the sessions of UNESCO (after 1945), and minister of education (1950-54). He was dean (1934-35) and vice chancellor (1943-44) of the Central Political Institute and chancellor of National Chekiang (1932-33) and National Szechwan (1938-42) universities.

A native of Hsinchien, Kiangsi, Ch'eng T'ien-fang was born at Hangchow, Chekiang, where his father was serving as a government official. At the age of ten sui, he returned to his ancestral home and entered a private school there. In 1912 Ch'eng went to Nanchang, the provincial capital of Kiangsi, and entered the Hung-tu Middle School. In the autumn of 1913 he transferred to the private Hsin-yuan Middle School; he was graduated in the summer of 1916.

Ch'eng then moved to Shanghai, where he enrolled at Futan University. He was active in student affairs after the patriotic May Fourth Movement in 1919 and became head of the student union formed at Shanghai and chief editor of its daily publication. He was graduated from Futan University in 1920, and he succeeded in passing the national examinations for government scholarships to study abroad.

In November 1920 Ch'eng left Shanghai for the United States, where he enrolled at the University of Chicago to study philosophy. In the autumn of 1921 he transferred to the University of Illinois to study political science. There he became friendly with two Chinese students, Lai Lien and Liu Lu-yin. Liu Lu-yin was already active in promoting Kuomintang affairs in the United States. Through his introduction, Ch'eng joined that party in 1921. Ch'eng obtained his B.A. degree at Illinois in June 1922 and his M.A. the following year.

In August 1923 he left the United States for Canada; Liu Lu-yin had preceded him there. Ch'eng enrolled at the University of Toronto for further graduate study. At the same time he served as head of the Toronto branch of the Kuomintang and as chief editor of the pro-

Kuomintang newspaper for the Chinese community in Toronto, the *Hsing-hua jih-pao* [the Hsing-hua daily]. He chose as his dissertation topic "The Oriental Immigration in Canada" and traveled extensively in Canada to gather data. While a graduate student, he lived for one year in Vancouver, British Columbia, which had the largest colonies of Chinese and Japanese in Canada. He was awarded the Ph.D. degree in April 1926.

Ch'eng arrived in Shanghai in August, after six years abroad. When the forces of the National Revolutionary Army occupied his native province of Kiangsi late in 1926, Ch'eng went to Nanchang. His first political post was that of director of the youth department of the Kiangsi provincial headquarters of the Kuomintang. In December, he was elected to membership in the Kuomintang executive committee for Kiangsi and was made chief of its propaganda bureau. In February 1927 a new provincial government was established at Nanchang under the chairmanship of Li Lieh-chün (q.v.), and Ch'eng was named to head its education commission. Early in 1927 a rift appeared within the Kuomintang between Chiang Kai-shek's group, which wanted the National Government's seat of authority to be based at Nanchang, and another group, composed largely of Communist and left-wing Kuomintang leaders, which favored having the government and party apparatus at Wuhan. Ch'eng T'ien-fang, who was allied with Ch'en Kuo-fu and others in the right wing of the Kuomintang, was a natural target for criticism by the leftists. The split in the party widened, and the National Government at Wuhan dismissed Li Lieh-chün as chairman of the Kiangsi provincial government on 1 April 1927 and ordered the reorganization of his government.

In the ensuing confusion, Li Lieh-chün fled to Fukien, and Ch'eng T'ien-fang and other rightists were seized by the Communist and left-wing elements at Nanchang. On 5 April 1927, Chu P'ei-te (q.v.) assumed the chairmanship of the Kiangsi provincial government and attempted for a time to maintain a political position midway between the forces represented by Wuhan and those at Nanking, where Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters, including Ch'en Kuo-fu, established a rival National Government on 18 April. At Nanchang, Ch'eng T'ien-fang and others were tried by a people's

court at the beginning of May, and Ch'eng was among those sentenced to death as counter-revolutionaries. Chu P'ei-te was then at Kiukiang. After he received a report of the proceedings, he returned at once to Nanchang, where he ordered a temporary stay of execution. Ch'eng and the others were then turned over to the local court. On 29 May 1927, Chu P'ei-te announced his support of Chiang Kai-shek and the authorities at Nanking. On the next day, Ch'eng T'ien-fang and the other condemned men were released.

Ch'eng immediately returned to his home in Hsinchien, Kiangsi. He then went, in disguise and under an assumed name, to Nanking, proceeding to Hangchow to recuperate from his ordeal. After about two months of rest, he returned to Nanking and in September took a position as professor of political science at Chung-ying University. He became a counselor to the National Government in November and chief instructor in the National Revolutionary Army officer corps. After the formal establishment of the National Government at Nanking in October 1928, Ch'eng became a counselor of the newly established Examination Yuan. But he continued in his teaching position at Nanking through the year 1928.

In January 1929 he was appointed commissioner of education in the new Anhwei provincial government headed by Wu Chung-hsin (q.v.). During his first few months in that post, Ch'eng also served as acting chancellor of Anhwei University. There he encountered much unruliness among the Anhwei students and took stern action to maintain order. In March 1929, Ch'eng attended the Third National Congress of the Kuomintang as a delegate from Anhwei. He was elected an alternate member of the Central Executive Committee and held that position until 1935. From February to May 1930, while Chiang Kai-shek's political authority at Nanking was under heavy attack from a coalition of Kuomintang leaders in north China, Ch'eng T'ien-fang served as acting governor of Anhwei province. His problems were many: the warfare in central China affected the province and a poor harvest in 1929 had led to an increase in local banditry.

Ch'eng resigned as commissioner of education in Anhwei in May 1931 and returned to Nanking. In June, he was appointed deputy director of propaganda in the central headquarters of

the Kuomintang. The director of propaganda at that time was his former schoolmate Liu Lu-yin. By 1931, however, Liu was associated with the faction of the Kuomintang that followed Hu Han-min (q.v.), while Ch'eng T'ien-fang had become closely identified with the faction of the party led by Ch'en Kuo-fu and Ch'en Li-fu.

Chiang Kai-shek had established his field headquarters at Nanchang and was directing military operations to dislodge the Communists from their base in Kiangsi. Ch'eng was ordered to Nanchang, where he was made a political officer in Chiang's headquarters. The Japanese aggression in Manchuria beginning in the autumn of 1931 brought the Kuomintang campaign to a halt. At the end of September, Ch'eng T'ien-fang returned to Nanking, where he resumed his post as deputy director of propaganda in the Kuomintang central headquarters and served as a member of a special foreign affairs commission. In those positions, he participated in the formulation of major policy decisions with regard to the deteriorating situation in Manchuria. When Chiang Kai-shek again went into retirement in December, Ch'eng left Nanking.

In April 1932 Ch'eng was appointed chancellor of National Chekiang University at Hangchow. He held that post for only one year. In April 1933 he was appointed commissioner of education in the Hupeh provincial government, but soon resigned that post on the grounds of poor health and retired to the resort town of Kuling in his native Kiangsi. In October 1933, however, Ch'en Kuo-fu was appointed governor of Kiangsu province, and he invited Ch'eng to join his government as its secretary general. Ch'eng accepted, left Kuling for Chinkiang, and served in Kiangsu for about a year. In August 1934 he returned to Nanking to take up the post of dean of the Central Political Institute of the Kuomintang.

In May 1935 the diplomatic missions exchanged between China and Germany were raised in status from legations to embassies. In June, Ch'eng T'ien-fang, despite his lack of diplomatic experience, became China's first ambassador to Germany. Ch'eng did not leave to take up his assignment for some months. In November, at the Fifth National Congress of the Kuomintang, he was elected to full membership on the Central Executive Committee. He finally

left Shanghai for Germany at the end of December, reached Berlin at the end of January, and presented his credentials to Adolf Hitler on 27 February 1936. Sino-German relations at that point were relatively cordial. Chiang Kai-shek was employing the services in China of a strong advisory group of German military officers, and trade between the two countries was increasing.

Changes in the situation in the Far East and in Germany soon arose to complicate Ch'eng T'ien-fang's mission. After the outbreak of hostilities between China and Japan in July 1937, he attempted to induce the Germans to mediate the conflict. His effort proved fruitless. The winter of 1936 had marked a turning-point in Hitler's foreign policies, which had resulted in the political downfall of several of Ch'eng's potential sources of support in Berlin. Berlin recognized the Japanese-sponsored government of Manchoukuo in February 1938. Soon thereafter, under pressure from the Japanese, Germany stopped the flow of military supplies to China and recalled the German military advisory group. Ch'eng T'ien-fang then submitted his resignation to Chungking, where the National Government had moved. It was accepted, and he left Berlin in August 1938 to return to China.

He reached Chungking in October, and in December he was appointed chancellor of National Szechwan University. In June 1939 the university was removed to O-meishan to avoid Japanese bombing raids. There, a normal school was organized in connection with the university to train middle-school teachers. As a veteran member of the Kuomintang, Ch'eng remained closely concerned with political affairs. In the winter of 1942 he left O-meishan for Chungking, where, on 1 January 1943, he assumed the post of vice chancellor of the Central Political Institute. He held that post for the remaining war years, and he was closely associated with Ch'en Kuo-fu and Ch'en Li-fu. After the Japanese surrender, the institute returned to Nanking, where it was reorganized into the National Political Academy.

In October 1945 Ch'eng was the Chinese delegate at the meetings in London to prepare for the establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). He then traveled extensively in Western Europe, returning to China in March 1946. In October 1946 he went to Europe to attend the first regular session of

UNESCO at Paris. Ch'eng then vacationed in Switzerland, traveled for several months through the United States, Canada, and Cuba, and returned to China in September 1947. By that time, the Kuomintang's struggle against the Chinese Communists was reaching its end. Ch'eng remained at Nanking, where he became a member of the Legislative Yuan in 1948 and was given the concurrent appointment of director of the central propaganda department of the Kuomintang in 1949. In the autumn of 1949 Ch'eng went to New York as a member of the Chinese delegation to the United Nations General Assembly. He introduced a resolution accusing the Soviet Union of aggression against China—a principal theme of Kuomintang propaganda.

In February 1950, Ch'eng T'ien-fang went to Taiwan. In March of that year, when Ch'en Ch'eng became president of the Executive Yuan, Ch'eng T'ien-fang was named minister of education in his new cabinet. In 1951 he attended the fourth session of UNESCO as the Chinese delegate. Ch'eng continued to serve as minister of education at Taipei until June 1954, when he lost that post in a reorganization of the Executive Yuan. He then became a professor at National Cheng Chih University.

In February 1955 he went to the United States to lecture on recent Chinese history at the University of Washington in Seattle. In the autumn, he moved to New York to do research, and in the spring of 1956 he lectured on Sino-Soviet relations at Fordham University. That summer he did further research at the Library of Congress in Washington. His research resulted in a book entitled *A History of Sino-Russian Relations*, which was published in 1957. Ch'eng left the United States in March 1957 and, after visiting Europe and the Middle East, returned to Taipei in June. He was appointed to teach in the Central Political Institute and to direct its foreign-affairs academy. In August 1958 he was named vice president of the Examination Yuan. In November 1960 he attended the twelfth session of UNESCO, and he attended UNESCO conferences thereafter.

In addition to his doctoral dissertation and the book on Sino-Russian relations published in English, Ch'eng T'ien-fang wrote books and articles in Chinese on educational problems. A volume containing his speeches and articles of the previous five years was published in Taiwan in 1954.

Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu 程硯秋
 Orig. Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu 程艷秋
 T. Yü-shuang 玉霜, 霽霜

Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu (4 January 1904–9 March 1958), an actor whose popularity was equaled only by that of Mei Lan-fang, played the tan [female] roles of traditional Peking theater.

Of pure Manchu descent, Ch'eng was the son of an impoverished member of the Yellow Banner. His native place was Peking. At the age of six, he became a pupil of the well-known drama teacher Jung Tieh-hsien, under whom he studied the rudiments of Peking-style acting and the k'un-ch'ü form of operatic singing. In 1918 he made the acquaintance of Lo Ying-kung, a Peking playboy and playwright who did much to foster the young actor's talents and who had a marked influence on Ch'eng's later career. Ch'eng frequently referred to the debt he owed Lo Ying-kung for his encouragement and assistance. Ch'eng began working as an actor at the age of 14, but he continued to study under older artists of the Peking theater such as Wang Yao-ch'ing (q.v.), Ch'en Te-lin, and Mei Lan-fang (q.v.) and worked diligently to perfect his technique.

In the spring of 1919, Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu was a member of the troupe which accompanied Mei Lan-fang on Mei's first visit to Japan, a sign of the esteem in which Ch'eng was held by his seniors. During the 1920's, Ch'eng began to acquire the reputation which finally resulted in his being classed as one of the ssu ta ming tan [big four actors] of the tan [female] roles on the Peking stage. The other three were Mei Lan-fang, Shang Hsiao-yün, and Hsün Hui-sheng. At the height of his career, Ch'eng's popularity with Chinese theater audiences was equaled only by that of Mei Lan-fang. His attractive appearance in stage make-up and the refinement of his singing and gestures endeared him to connoisseurs of the old-style theater.

After a decade of experience in China, Ch'eng left for Europe in January 1932 to study the theater and opera of the West. This trip was made under the patronage of Li Shih-tseng (q.v.) and was formally sponsored by the Nanking Academy of Dramatic Arts. Ch'eng visited France, Germany, England, Italy, and

Switzerland and was well received, particularly in France and Switzerland. In Geneva, Ch'eng gave a course in t'ai-chi ch'üan, a special system of Chinese physical exercise, to college students. A description of these travels is contained in his book, published in August 1932, *Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu fu-Ou k'ao-ch'a hsi-chü yin-yueh pao-kao shu* [Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu's report on his visit to Europe to study drama and music]: In 1934 he was invited to head a dramatic training school in Peking, an institution which broke completely with tradition by accepting both boys and girls as students. Ch'eng originally intended the school to offer courses in Western as well as Peking-style acting, but financial limitations prevented this program from being carried out. The school, the first co-educational school of its kind in China, produced a number of talented actors and actresses before the Sino-Japanese war forced it to close.

The outbreak of hostilities in 1937 prevented Ch'eng from carrying out his ambition to take a Chinese theatrical troupe to Europe. He had been invited to Paris, and preparations were well under way when the war forced cancellation of the venture. Ch'eng himself continued to act occasionally during the early war years. On his way from Shanghai to Peiping in 1942, however, he was manhandled by Japanese gendarmes at the Tientsin railway station. Angered and embittered, he returned home, sold all his theatrical costumes, and refused to perform again during the Japanese occupation. He retired to Ch'ing-lung ch'iao in the western suburbs of Peiping and supported himself until the end of the war by farming.

He returned to the stage after 1945, but faced with the difficulties that confronted all leading actors in the chaotic postwar period, he made relatively few stage appearances. With the establishment of the Communist regime in 1949, Ch'eng, like Mei Lan-fang, was encouraged to resume his career. During the final decade of his life, he took an active part in the cultural activities of the new government. He was vice president of the Chinese Dramatic Research Institute, headed by Mei Lan-fang; a member of the national committee of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles; and a member of the standing committee of the Union of Chinese Stage Artists, the theatrical subdivision of the Federation. As a senior dramatic adviser, he was particularly active in training

the new generation of classical actors. In 1953 he toured west China, where he had earlier had considerable success just before the Sino-Japanese war. In 1956 he made his first color film in Peking, based on the play *Huang-shan lei* [tears in the wilderness], a drama from his personal repertoire. Although he had no previous record of political activity, he joined the Communist party as a probationary member in October 1957. He died of heart disease and pneumonia in March 1958, at the age of 54. The day after his death the Chinese Communist party admitted him posthumously to full membership, and subsequent official commentary praised his "progressive views," his "resolute character," and his "closeness to the people."

Like many men of Manchu descent, Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu was a large man, nearly six feet tall. Noted for his grace and beauty in stage make-up, he grew very stout in middle age, and his increasing plumpness was an unfortunate physical handicap for one playing the fragile women of the Peking theater. While his voice remained sweet and true, Ch'eng had long since passed the zenith of his powers as a stage performer when he died.

Ch'eng specialized in the ch'ing-i roles, the traditional faithful and virtuous women. Good singing is an important feature of the technique required in these roles, supported by skill in the graceful gestures with the long silk sleeve characteristic of the costumes worn. Ch'eng excelled in both respects. His greatest contribution to Chinese dramatic art was in the creation of his individual style of singing, marked by a soft, haunting, undulating quality. Although Ch'eng's voice lacked the robustness of Mei Lan-fang's, by constant study, practice, and experiment he turned his disability to advantage in the particular type of role he favored. His singing was especially popular with women. Inseparable from the singing in the Peking drama is the use of stylized gestures to express actions or emotions. Ch'eng's special contribution in this respect was his use of sleeve movements. The actors playing female roles in the Peking-style theater wear garments with long, broad sleeves with white silk cuffs that are more than a foot long. Ch'eng was widely known in China for his distinctive and expressive sleeve movements, gracefully used to convey complex emotions.

He made his greatest reputation in a score of plays which were written especially for him and which provided scope for his particular talents. In addition to *Huang-shan lei*, his repertoire included such plays as *K'ung-ch'iao p'ing* [the peacock screen], *Fu-shou ching* [the auspicious mirror], *Wen Chi kuei-Han* [Wen Chi's return to Han], *Ch'un-kuei meng* [the wife's spring dream], and *Yü-ching t'ai* [the jade mirror stand]. Ch'eng's technique was widely imitated by both professionals and amateurs, and many of his followers are still to be found on the stages of Peking and Shanghai.

The frustrations of Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu's professional life were caused by the troubles of his country. A man of integrity in his private life, he was survived by his wife, the daughter of an actor, and by his son, Ch'eng Yung-kuang, who is known to have studied engineering in Switzerland.

Chern, S. S.: see CH'EN HSING-SHEN.

Chi Ch'ao-ting

West. C. T. Chi

冀朝鼎

Chi Ch'ao-ting (12 October 1903–9 August 1963), noted as an expert in economics, particularly in currency, banking, and international trade. He was converted to Communism while a student in the United States and took part in radical activities. In 1940 he became secretary general of the Currency Stabilization Board, serving under K. P. Ch'en. He was appointed director of the economic research department of the Central Bank of China by H. H. K'ung. In 1949 he became the director of the research department of the People's Bank at Peking.

Fenyang, Shansi, was the birthplace of Chi Ch'ao-ting. His father, Chi Kung-ch'uan, was a scholar-official who served as commissioner of education under Yen Hsi-shan (q.v.) in the Shansi provincial government and continued to hold that post until 1939.

Chi Ch'ao-ting went from his native Shansi to Peking, where he entered Tsinghua College as a member of the class of 1924. Tsinghua had not been a center of student political activity

immediately after the May Fourth Movement of 1919. During the early 1920's however, the radical nationalism that had been associated with Peking University spread to Tsinghua, and Lo Lung-chi, Wang Tsao-shih (qq.v.), and Chi emerged as active student leaders. The writing abilities of that trio found expression in the *Ch'ing-hua chou-k'an* [Tsinghua weekly], and their speaking talents in intercollegiate debates.

After Chi was graduated from Tsinghua in 1924, he went to the United States to continue his studies on a Boxer Indemnity scholarship. He enrolled at the University of Chicago, and he received a B.A. degree in 1926. He also became involved in political activities of a radical nature and in 1925 joined the Anti-Imperialist League, which had its headquarters in Chicago. His affiliation with the Anti-Imperialist League led Chi to join the Communist party in 1926. He was one of the first Chinese students in the United States to become a Communist, and he took that step at a time when the Communist party in China was allied with the Kuomintang.

Chi Ch'ao-ting sailed for Europe in the winter of 1926. In February 1927 he attended the meetings of the newly organized International Congress of Oppressed Peoples held in Brussels under the direction of the German Comintern agent Willi Münzenberg. That summer, in Paris, Chi married Harriet Levine, an American from New York whom he had met on the ship to Europe. He then went to Moscow, where he served as interpreter for a Chinese group which had gone to the Soviet Union with Borodin after Chiang Kai-shek had undertaken anti-Communist purges in China. In 1928 Chi took part in the work of the Chinese Communist delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow. Chi also participated in the work of the League against Imperialism and attended its second congress, held at Frankfurt-am-Main in July 1929.

He returned to the United States in 1929. In New York he worked for the China bureau of the Central Committee of the American Communist party and contributed to the *Daily Worker*. Writing under the pseudonym R. Doonping, in November and December 1929 he published a series of articles on the situation in China in the *Daily Worker*. These articles were published in revised form as *Militarist Wars and Revolution in China*. Subtitled "A Marxist

Analysis of the New Reactionary Civil War and Prospects of the Revolution in China," that pamphlet stated that "only a Soviet government of the workers and peasants of China can basically solve the Chinese question, unify the country, and put it on the road of peaceful and upward development." The author held that the colonial thesis of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (1928) had correctly analyzed the problem of the form of the coming revolution in China, and he declared that the Chinese Communist party would lead that revolution. In 1932 Chi Ch'ao-ting and M. James wrote a pamphlet, *Soviet China*, which was published by the Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in Moscow. The pamphlet traced the growth of the Communist movement in China and described the Chinese soviet republic that had been established in Kiangsi in November 1931.

From 1933 to 1936 Chi Ch'ao-ting was associated with the American Friends of the Chinese People and was a member of the editorial board of its publication, *China Today*, using the pseudonym Hansu Chan. That periodical began as a mimeographed bulletin selling for \$.05 a copy. In October 1934 it was given a more conventional format and was started afresh with Volume I, Number 1. Chi contributed frequent editorials to *China Today*. He also wrote on the contemporary situation in China and on the Chinese Communist movement. An article on "The Canton Uprising and Soviet China" appeared in the magazine in December 1934, shortly after the main Communist forces in China had been forced to retreat from their Kiangsi base. Chi Ch'ao-ting continued to write for *China Today* in 1935. Because he did not want to risk deportation, on a few occasions he used the pseudonyms Huang Lowe and Futien Wang.

In the early 1930's Chi Ch'ao-ting was active in Communist-directed work in New York. During that period, he was also a graduate student at Columbia University, where he studied economics. His dissertation was an attempt to analyze the economic history of China in the light of Marxist concepts. Chi had met Karl A. Wittfogel, a German Marxist, in Frankfurt in 1929, and Wittfogel's views on Chinese society influenced Chi's work. Chi's dissertation was a study of the key economic areas in China "as an instrument of control of subordinate areas and

as a weapon of political struggle." It relied heavily on the regional character of the Chinese economy and on the history of water control in China—a major theme in Wittfogel's analysis of Chinese economic and social history. Chi received his Ph.D. from Columbia in 1936. His thesis, which was awarded the Seligman Economics Prize, was published in 1936 by G. Allen & Unwin in England under the title *Key Economic Areas in Chinese History*, but did not appear in an American edition. In the introduction to that stimulating but controversial work, Chi gave credit to Karl Wittfogel for many valuable suggestions.

In 1936 Chi was a member of the Chinese delegation to the international conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations (I.P.R.) at Yosemite, California. In 1937 he was appointed a member of the research staff of the International Secretariat of the I.P.R. in New York, which had received \$90 thousand from the Rockefeller Foundation to undertake a study of China. Chi held that position for some three years, but the results of the research were not published. Chi did, however, write a brief study entitled *Wartime Economic Development of China*. At his request, it was not published, but was circulated in 1940 in mimeographed form as an anonymous work. He also contributed articles on contemporary developments to the I.P.R. periodicals *Far Eastern Survey* and *Pacific Affairs*, then edited by Owen Lattimore.

In March 1937 Chi Ch'ao-ting also became associated with a new magazine, *Amerasia*. The managing editor of *Amerasia* was Philip J. Jaffe, who had edited *China Today* under the name J. W. Philips. Jaffe, who had met Chi late in 1929, was a third cousin of Harriet Levine Chi. For about four years, from 1937 through 1940, Chi Ch'ao-ting served as an editor of *Amerasia* and wrote a feature column entitled "Far Eastern Economic Notes." In 1938 and 1939 he also taught at the New School for Social Research.

Chi Kung-ch'uan came in 1939 to the United States at his son's invitation. He spent the years of the Second World War working in New York for the China section of the Office of War Information.

During the 1930's Chi Ch'ao-ting had become acquainted with several men, notably Solomon Adler and Frank Coe, who worked in the United States Department of the Treasury in Washington.

Through them, he met K. P. Ch'en (Ch'en Kuang-fu, q.v.), the general manager of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank. Ch'en, who was regarded highly by Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., had been drafted by the National Government of China to go to Washington to handle negotiations to obtain badly needed credits and aid from the United States to assist the Chinese war efforts. In connection with these efforts, the Chinese National Government established a company in New York to facilitate the procurement of materials from the United States. That company, the Universal Trading Corporation, was nominally headed by K. P. Ch'en. Chi Ch'ao-ting joined its staff in 1940, serving first as secretary and later as administrative vice president. His name was removed from the masthead of *Amerasia* in February 1941.

In his new role as assistant to K. P. Ch'en, Chi Ch'ao-ting returned to China in 1941 after some 16 years of residence in the West. Although his name was little known in the wartime capital of Chungking, Chi soon emerged as a key figure in government financial circles. His meteoric rise began when he was appointed an alternate member and, concurrently, secretary general of the American-British-Chinese Currency Stabilization Board, which was established to administer credits granted to China by the United States Treasury and the British government. Chi served with the Currency Stabilization Board at Chungking until 1943, when it was amalgamated with the foreign exchange control commission of the ministry of finance.

Chi Ch'ao-ting's anomalous position at Chungking continued throughout the war years. He served the ministry of finance of the National Government, then headed by H. H. K'ung; and he served as a covert agent for the Chinese Communist liaison mission headed by Chou En-lai and Lin Po-ch'u. Although Chi's background in Communist party activities in the United States naturally became known to the security officials of the Kuomintang, notably to Ch'en Li-fu (q.v.), Chi, when questioned on the matter, attributed his Communist connection in the United States to youthful indiscretion. His personal position at Chungking was buttressed by his close personal connection with H. H. K'ung, minister of finance and brother-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek. That relationship, in turn, was based on the long-standing acquaintance of

K'ung and Chi Ch'ao-ting's father, Chi Kung-ch'uan, both of whom came from reputable Shansi families; Chi Ch'ao-ting referred to H. H. K'ung as his uncle.

In 1944 Chi Ch'ao-ting became confidential secretary to H. H. K'ung in Chungking. Later that year, when K'ung attended the International Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods as the personal representative of Chiang Kai-shek, Chi accompanied him and acted as secretary general of the Chinese delegation. After returning to China, Chi was appointed director of the economic research department of the Central Bank of China, of which K'ung was the governor. In that capacity he was responsible for editing bank bulletins, which dealt with financial and price statistics. In June 1948 Chi was adviser to the Chinese delegation to the third session of the United Nations Economic Council on Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), held at Octacamund, India. He occupied the same position at the fourth ECAFE session, held at Lapstone, Australia, in December.

After his return from Australia, Chi went to Peiping at a time when no discreet official of the National Government was venturing to north China. His nominal mission was to serve as economic adviser to Fu Tso-yi (q.v.), who commanded the Nationalist forces there. Chi's role in arranging the "peaceful surrender" of Peiping to the Communists is not clear, but he may have helped to prevent the physical destruction of the city. After the Chinese Communist forces entered Peiping, Chi remained and joined the new regime.

Although he was not identified at the time as a Communist, Chi Ch'ao-ting clearly had reliable connections with the new authorities. In the spring of 1949 he became the director of the research department of the People's Bank at Peiping. He then accompanied the Chinese Communist military forces to Shanghai, where he became assistant general manager of the Bank of China. After the establishment of the Central People's Government in October 1949, Chi was named director of the bureau under the Government Administration Council which was responsible for control of so-called foreign-capital enterprises in China.

In 1950, when the Chinese Communists announced their delegates to international organizations, Chi Ch'ao-ting was named to the

Chinese seat on the United Nations Economic and Social Council. He was not admitted to that body, nor was he permitted to attend later ECAFE meetings held at Bangkok and Lahore. In 1951-52, Chi was named in the investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations conducted in the United States by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Beginning in 1952, Chi became increasingly active in dealing with the international economic and trade problems of the People's Republic of China, and he devoted most of his energies to these problems during the last decade of his life. In 1952 he served as secretary general of the Chinese delegation to the International Economic Conference held at Moscow in March and April. In May 1952 he was named secretary general of the China Committee for the Promotion of Foreign Trade, and it was in that capacity that he led many of Communist China's international trade missions. He was a frequent visitor to Western Europe, where he attended trade and industrial fairs and represented the People's Republic of China in many discussions about foreign trade. In 1957 he headed a 28-man Chinese group that visited England to inspect factories, laboratories, and research and education centers. In 1962 he went to Brazil as the leader of a commercial mission to conclude a trade agreement with that country. Chi also participated in the work of the World Peace Council, and he attended meetings sponsored by that body in many parts of the world.

Chi also held various positions at Peking. He was a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, vice president of the China-Latin America Friendship Association, and a member of the standing committee of the council of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. He was also a vice president of the board of directors of the Bank of China.

On 9 August 1963 Chi Ch'ao-ting died of a cerebral hemorrhage at Peking, a few weeks before his sixtieth birthday. Not until his funeral, attended by a group of senior dignitaries including Chou En-lai, and Fu Tso-yi, was Chi's long connection with the Communist party officially acknowledged by Peking. Liao Ch'eng-chih (q.v.) eulogized Chi as a "fine member of the Chinese Communist party," briefly outlined his political career, and confirmed that Chi had

been "engaged in underground work for a considerable period."

Four months later, a British-sponsored commemorative meeting was held at Mansion House in London on 5 December 1963 at which tributes to Chi (as a man, not as a Communist) were offered by scholars, businessmen, and others, including Lord Boyd Orr, Joan Robinson, Dr. Joseph Needham, John Keswick, and Owen Lattimore of the University of Leeds.

Chi was in some respects a traditionalist; he collected examples of calligraphy, was devoted to the traditional Chinese theater, and took great pride in his native province of Shansi. At the same time, he was well acquainted with Westerners and their ways. Chi was known as a persuasive talker and a shrewd negotiator. His unusual public career may be explained in part by his talent for acting. In his years in the United States, he was fond of acting in amateur performances of Chinese theater. In the winter of 1930 Chi played a leading role in the Broadway production of *Roar China*, a play by Sergei M. Tretiakov.

Chi Ch'ao-ting had two sons: Emile (1936-) became a mathematician, and Carl (1940-) became a neuro-physiologist. Harriet Chi went to China for the first time in 1947. She and Chi separated in Shanghai, and she returned to New York.

Ch'i Hsieh-yuan

T. Fu-wan

H. Yao-shan

齊燮元

撫萬

耀珊

Ch'i Hsieh-yuan (1897-1946) served under Li Ch'un (q.v.) and succeeded him as military governor of Kiangsu in 1922. A member of the Chihli faction, he was inspector general of Kiangsu, Anhwei, and Kiangsi (1922-24). In 1937 he became a prominent official in the Japanese-sponsored regime at Peiping. He was arrested in 1945 and was tried, convicted, and executed in 1946.

Little is known of Ch'i Hsieh-yuan's childhood; he was a native of Ningho, Chihli (Hopei). After earning his sheng-yuan degree, Ch'i, like many other ambitious young men of his day, decided to pursue a military career. The imperial government was attempting to modernize China's armed forces, and opportunities for advancement were greater in the army

than in the civil departments of the government. Ch'i entered the Peiyang Military Academy, where he made an excellent record. After graduation, he was assigned to the 6th Division, in which he served successively as sergeant, captain, and staff officer. Stationed in Chihli, the 6th Division had been created in 1904 by Yuan Shih-k'ai from the Tientsin police force to evade the provision, set down in the peace protocol of 1901 concluded after the Boxer Uprising, that prohibited the stationing of Chinese troops within six miles of Tientsin. Its first commanding general was Tuan Ch'i-ju (q.v.). In 1910 the division was taken out of the hands of the Peiyang officers, and Wu Lu-chen, a Japanese-trained officer who was sympathetic to the revolutionaries, became its commander. Wu was assassinated by two subordinates when he attempted to move against the government authorities at the time of the 1911 revolution.

After Wu Lu-chen's death the divisional command went to Li Ch'un and again came under the control of Yuan Shih-k'ai. The 6th Division was later sent to the Hupeh front as part of the First Army under Feng Kuo-chang (q.v.) to fight the republican revolutionaries. The officers of the First Army became the nucleus of the Chihli faction of the Peiyang militarists. The 6th Division was later stationed in southern Honan, where Ch'i Hsieh-yuan, then its chief of staff, distinguished himself by going alone to a bandit hideout and inducing the surrender of a large number of armed brigands. In 1913, during the so-called second revolution instigated by the Kuomintang, Yuan Shih-k'ai ordered the division to attack Huk'ou, a stronghold of the dissident forces in Kiangsi province. After the successful conclusion of that campaign Li Ch'un was named tutuh [military governor] of Kiangsi, and Ch'i Hsieh-yuan remained with him as chief of staff. Ch'i retained that post from 1913 to 1916, and by 1916 had become the commander of the 6th Division.

After the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai in June 1916, Li Ch'un continued to hold control of Kiangsi, and Ch'i Hsieh-yuan remained with Li and in command of the 6th Division. In August 1917, prior to his assumption of the presidency, Feng Kuo-chang appointed Li Ch'un military governor of Kiangsu and made Ch'i Hsieh-yuan defense commissioner at Nanking. Ch'i retained his post as commander of the 6th Division.

In May 1920 Ch'i became deputy military governor of Kiangsu, and, in October, he became deputy inspector general of Kiangsu, Anhwei, and Kiangsi. When Li Ch'un died, Ch'i succeeded him as military governor of Kiangsu. In 1922, when rivalry between Wu P'ei-fu and Chang Tso-lin (qq.v.) led to the outbreak of the Chihli-Fengtien war, Ch'i Hsieh-yuan supported Wu P'ei-fu. Ch'i was rewarded with the post of inspector general of Kiangsu, Anhwei, and Kiangsi, which made him one of the most powerful warlords of east China.

Despite the expansion of his authority, Ch'i Hsieh-yuan was opposed by Lu Yung-hsiang, the military governor of Chekiang. In October 1923, when Ts'ao K'un (q.v.) was elected to the presidency at Peking through open bribery and intimidation of members of the Parliament, Lu Yung-hsiang refused to recognize Ts'ao's authority. Through this action Lu, who was then military governor of Chekiang, attracted to Hangchow many Kuomintang members of Parliament who similarly opposed Ts'ao K'un's election as well as partisans of Li Yuan-hung (q.v.), the former president who had hopes of regaining that office. Aside from opposition to the Chihli faction, however, the conferees at Hangchow were unable to agree on much, and the movement soon collapsed. At the same time Lu Yung-hsiang, through his subordinates, retained authority at Shanghai although Ch'i Hsieh-yuan was military governor of Kiangsu province.

Despite persistent peace appeals by the inhabitants of those provinces, the Kiangsu-Chekiang war broke out in September 1924. The combined forces of Ch'i Hsieh-yuan and Sun Ch'u'an-fang (q.v.), military governor of Fukien, surrounded and attacked Lu Yung-hsiang's territory. Although Lu Yung-hsiang was technically allied with both Chang Tso-lin in Manchuria and the southern government at Canton, effective aid from those quarters could not reach him in time. Quickly defeated, Lu Yung-hsiang announced his resignation on 12 October 1924 and left to take refuge in Japan. The Peking government then appointed Sun Ch'u'an-fang military governor of Chekiang and inspector general of Chekiang and Fukien. Ch'i Hsieh-yuan finally gained the coveted objective of Shanghai.

The victory proved to be short-lived. Chang

Tso-lin, with the assistance of Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.), soon won a complete victory over Wu P'ei-fu in the north, and Tuan Ch'i-jui emerged from retirement to head a new regime at Peking. When Tuan Ch'i-jui took office in November 1924, Chang Tso-lin had no intention of leaving the Yangtze provinces under the control of the Chihli faction. The Peking government dismissed Ch'i Hsieh-yuan from his post as Kiangsu military governor and appointed Lu Yung-hsiang, who had returned from Japan to join Chang Tso-lin's camp, to the office of pacification commissioner of Kiangsu and Anhwei. On 13 December Ch'i Hsieh-yuan relinquished his office after some of his military subordinates defected. Chang Tsung-ch'ang (q.v.), commander of the Fengtien forces, and Lu Yung-hsiang then entered Nanking on 10 January 1925. Ch'i attempted to form an alliance with Sun Ch'u'an-fang against the northern forces, but Sun preferred to accept Peking's appointment as military governor of Chekiang in return for his neutrality. Isolated by Peking's action and by Sun Ch'u'an-fang's inaction, Ch'i Hsieh-yuan fought a losing battle against the Fengtien forces. On 28 January 1925, after having been forced to retreat from Soochow to Shanghai, he left China for Japan. Lu Yung-hsiang regained his territory and the post of Kiangsu military governor, but lost both in July because of pressure from his erstwhile benefactors, the Fengtien generals.

The Fengtien forces, however, were already overextended. In October 1925 Sun Ch'u'an-fang turned against them and in a short campaign expelled them from Shanghai, Kiangsu, and Anhwei. On hearing the news of Sun Ch'u'an-fang's victory, Ch'i Hsieh-yuan hastily returned to China from Japan, but gained nothing from Sun, who was disinclined to share his territorial gains with others. Wu P'ei-fu, however, saw the opportunity to return to power, and Ch'i proceeded to Hankow to join his headquarters. Since Chang Tso-lin and Feng Yü-hsiang, the erstwhile allies, had already begun fighting each other, Wu P'ei-fu decided to conclude an alliance with Chang Tso-lin against Feng. After the defeat of Feng Yü-hsiang, Ch'i Hsieh-yuan, as representative of Wu P'ei-fu, went to Peking in April to confer with Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.), a son of Chang Tso-lin, regarding the organization of a new government.

In September 1926 Feng Yü-hsiang, having returned from a trip to the Soviet Union, declared his support of the Kuomintang. By October, Wu P'ei-fu, who had borne the brunt of the initial attacks of the Northern Expedition armies, had lost Wuchang. Using Wu's plight as a pretext, Chang Tso-lin applied increasingly strong pressure and by the end of 1926 had taken all of his positions north of the Yellow River. Recognizing that Wu P'ei-fu's power was diminishing, Ch'i Hsieh-yuan gave up his position in February 1927 and retired to private life.

Following the loss of Manchuria to the Japanese in 1931, the National Government established a Peiping branch office of the Military Council to coordinate the defense of north China. Ch'i Hsieh-yuan was invited to serve as an adviser to that body. In 1935 the Peiping council was dissolved under Japanese pressure, and its affairs were taken over by the Hopei-Chahar political council. The membership of that body included many former Peiyang military and political figures who were thought to have pro-Japanese sympathies. Ch'i Hsieh-yuan was appointed by the National Government at Nanking to serve on the council.

Following the outbreak of war in 1937, the Japanese quickly overran north China. On 14 December 1937, a Japanese-sponsored provisional government was established at Peiping; among its officials were many former members of the Hopei-Chahar political council. Ch'i Hsieh-yuan emerged as a prominent figure in the new regime, serving as a member of its executive and legislative committees and as minister of public security. In 1938 he was also named president of the military college established at T'ungchow near Peiping to train Chinese officers for the Japanese-controlled forces. In January 1940 Ch'i Hsieh-yuan was one of the delegates who participated in the Tsingtao conference at which representatives of the provisional government at Peiping, of the reformed government at Nanking, and of Wang Ching-wei came to an agreement on the framework of the government that Wang was to establish for the whole of occupied China outside Manchoukuo. The Tsingtao meeting agreed that the provisional government would be reduced in status to an autonomous regional government called the north China political council. Ch'i Hsieh-yuan retained all his former positions in the north China government and was awarded

several additional positions. However, since the Japanese-sponsored governments at Nanking and Peiping were not actually unified, Ch'i Hsieh-yuan's influence never extended beyond north China.

After the Japanese surrender, Ch'i was arrested by the National Government authorities and imprisoned at Nanking. In the postwar trials, he was convicted of collaboration with the Japanese, sentenced to death, and executed in 1946.

Ch'i Ju-shan

齊如山
Orig. Ch'i Tsung-k'ang 齊宗康

Ch'i Ju-shan (23 December 1876–18 March 1962), playwright, scholar, and impresario for Mei Lan-fang (q.v.), was the first Chinese scholar in the twentieth century to do extensive practical research on traditional Chinese drama. He helped to restore it to a place of honor in China.

A native of Kaoyang, Chihli (Hopei), Ch'i Ju-shan was born into an affluent north China family with a literary background. Both his great-grandfather, Ch'i Cheng-hsun (T. Chu-ch'i), and his father, Ch'i Ling-ch'en (T. Ch'i-t'ing), held the chin-shih degree. Ch'i Ling-ch'en passed the examinations in 1894. He was a protégé of both Li Hung-tsao (ECCP, I, 471–72) and Weng T'ung-ho (ECCP, II, 860–61). Ch'i Ling-ch'en also served as private tutor to Li Hung-tsao's son, Li Shih-tseng (q.v.), with whom his own sons were to be closely associated in the Chinese anarchist movement in Paris.

Ch'i Ju-shan received an education in the Chinese classics and at the age of 18 took the preliminary examination for the sheng-yuan degree; since he did not take the final examination, he did not obtain that degree. The following year, in 1895, he entered the T'ung-wen kuan [institute of foreign languages], founded in Peking at the suggestion of Tseng Chi-tse (ECCP, II, 746–47). There Ch'i Ju-shan, preceded by his brother Ch'i Chu-shan, studied German and French for five years until the institute was closed at the time of the Boxer Uprising.

After a short visit home, Ch'i Ju-shan returned to Peking in time to see the attack on

the Legation Quarter by Boxer troops in the summer of 1900. His mother was killed in Peking during the Boxer Uprising. Because of his fluency in the German language, Ch'i served briefly on the staff of Li Hung-chang (ECCP, I, 464-71) during the Boxer treaty negotiations. When the allied forces entered Peking, his knowledge of foreign languages led to his entering into business to act as a supplier to the foreign commissariat.

Between 1908 and 1913 Ch'i Ju-shan made three trips to Paris; he was closely associated with the Chinese anarchist group then based there. A prominent leader of that group was Li Shih-tseng, a relative and a former student of Ch'i Ju-shan's father. Ch'i's elder brother, Ch'i Chu-shan, managed the bean curd factory which Li had established in Paris to help finance the group's political schemes. The groups which Ch'i Ju-shan escorted to France in 1908 and 1911 were composed of Chinese going to work in this factory, which manufactured bean products as well as the traditional curd. In 1912, as a second phase of the movement, the Liu-fa chien-hsueh hui [society for frugal study in France] was founded in Peking by Li Shih-tseng, Wang Ching-wei (qq.v.), and others. A preparatory school, la Société Rationnelle des Etudiants en France, was also established at Peking, with Ch'i Ju-shan in charge. French, Chinese, and mathematics were taught. At the end of six months an examination was held, and successful candidates were sent to France. Ch'i Ju-shan was delegated to accompany the first group of students which went to France in 1913 under the work-study program.

Although these trips abroad were brief, Ch'i Ju-shan managed to see a good deal of European dramatic entertainment. Ch'i's family from his great-grandfather's time had been interested in the traditional Chinese theater, and Ch'i Ju-shan had developed this interest in his childhood. Direct exposure to Western theater stimulated his desire to improve the status of the traditional Chinese theater, which was then confined between a too rigid conservatism and an indifference which characterized the feelings of many younger Chinese intellectuals toward the traditional art forms.

In 1913, after his return from Paris, Ch'i gave a lecture on foreign drama before a benefit society organized by the Chinese theatrical profession. The lecture was attended by Mei

Lan-fang (q.v.), who in that year made his debut in Shanghai. In 1914 Ch'i Ju-shan regularly attended the Peking theater where Mei Lan-fang was performing. After closely studying the actor's technique day after day, Ch'i sent one or two suggestions by mail to Mei's home. These suggestions eventually were adopted by Mei, who was impressed with his unknown adviser's knowledge. This unilateral procedure continued for several months until Mei invited Ch'i Ju-shan to meet him. That meeting was the beginning of a fruitful artistic partnership which lasted for more than 20 years.

In 1915 theater audiences in China had begun to look for novelty and new treatments in their stage entertainment. Ch'i, at the request of Mei Lan-fang and other colleagues, set to work and devised a new play, which was based on an ancient legend. For this play, *Ch'ang-o pen-yueh* [Ch'ang-o flies to the moon], traditional stage costumes were abandoned for authentic period models, based on Ch'i's researches, and old dance forms were used. It was an immediate success and for a number of years was one of the more popular plays in Mei's repertoire.

In the years that followed, Ch'i Ju-shan wrote or adapted for Mei more than 20 plays, most of them based on historical and legendary sources. Although written specially for Mei, many of them became regular features of the Peking stage repertoire. Among Ch'i's more famous creations for Mei Lan-fang were *Tai-yü tsang-hua* [Tai-yü buries the blossoms], based on an incident in the *Hung-lou-meng* (*Dream of the Red Chamber*); *T'ien-nü san-hua* [heavenly maiden scattering flowers], based on Buddhist mythology; *Lo Shen* [the goddess of the river Lo]; and *Hsi Shih* [the West Lake beauty].

Ch'i Ju-shan was indefatigable in his researches into the drama, and his encyclopedic knowledge of stage practice enabled him to tackle his playwriting problems from several points of view, including the actor's. In the course of his career he interviewed hundreds of actors, musicians, and stage hands on whose performances and descriptions he made copious notes. He tested his information and theories in the theater and spent much time closely watching all kinds of plays and players. He read many Chinese works dealing with ritual and music and studied paintings and prints for costume information.

Mei Lan-fang, whose reputation grew rapidly, relied on Ch'i Ju-shan, who became intent on extending his distinguished associate's reputation beyond China. He was helped in this ambition by Li Shih-tseng, who persuaded a group of prominent bankers headed by Feng Keng-kuang of Peking to finance a tour in the United States for Mei and his troupe. Ch'i Ju-shan immediately became a driving force behind the preparations for the tour, selecting the repertoire, and writing explanatory material for use by the audiences.

In January 1930 he accompanied Mei and his party, 29 in all, to the United States. They made a highly successful debut in New York, and afterwards toured the principal American cities and Honolulu, Hawaii, returning to China in September. In recognition of his achievements Mei was awarded honorary degrees by both the University of Southern California and Pomona College while he was in the United States, and it was said that Ch'i was disappointed at not being recognized for his part in the tour.

The long professional partnership between Ch'i and Mei ended in 1931, when, after the Japanese attack in Manchuria, the actor decided to move from Peking to make his home in Shanghai. When Mei Lan-fang was invited to the Soviet Union in 1935, Ch'i Ju-shan did not accompany him, although he was again responsible for the program arrangements for the visit.

During the 1930's Ch'i devoted most of his time to collating his vast collection of material relating to the theater. He published the results of his researches in a series of books, many of which became standard works. One of the better known series was the "Hsi-chü ts'ung-k'an" [library of dramatic plays], published in 1933 in four volumes: *Hsi-pan* [theatrical troupe], *Mei Lan-fang yu-mei chi* [Mei Lan-fang's tour of the United States], *Mei Lan-fang i-shu i-pan* [a general introduction to the art of Mei Lan-fang], and *P'i-huang yin-yün* [the tones and rhymes of the Peking opera]. About 1931 Ch'i, with the help of friends, established the Kuo-chü hsueh-hui [traditional Chinese theater association] and the Kuo-chü ch'u'an-hsi-so [Chinese theater school] at Peiping. The Kuo-chü hsueh-hui later established a theatrical museum, which preserved valuable historical materials of the Chinese theater. It also published most of Ch'i Ju-shan's writings on the theater.

When the Japanese entered Peiping in 1937, Ch'i Ju-shan retired. He jealously guarded his theatrical museum and research center. After 1945 he continued to work in his museum. The deteriorating political situation in China hindered and finally ended his theatrical plans. In December 1948 he left for Shanghai and from there went to Taiwan, where he remained until his death in 1962.

In Taiwan, Ch'i Ju-shan occupied himself with such theatrical activity as went on under the National Government in its island refuge. He wrote and published several books on the Chinese theater, as well as historical accounts of traditional Chinese social customs; he also contributed articles on the drama to newspapers and magazines. He became the director of a dramatic training school founded in 1956. In that year his memoirs, *Ch'i Ju-shan hui-i lu* [reminiscences of Ch'i Ju-shan], were published to commemorate his eightieth birthday.

Ch'i Ju-shan's exile in Taiwan was in many respects a lonely one. Although Li Shih-tseng, his friend of 50 years, was often in Taiwan, most of the important personalities of the Chinese theater had stayed on the mainland. Although he was a prolific writer, Ch'i was at his best when surrounded by theater people and connoisseurs; it was then, in conversation, that his erudition achieved its most significant expression.

Ch'i was a force in the movement which in the earlier years of the twentieth century sought to restore the traditional theater of China to an honored place. That he succeeded was, in great part, because of the able interpretation of his ideas and theories by Mei Lan-fang. Nevertheless, his own thorough research and inexhaustible knowledge brought both new and forgotten knowledge to the traditional stage, which acquired a national and international status unknown before. A portion of his book collection, now housed in the Harvard-Yenching Library at Cambridge, Massachusetts, contained 72 Ming and early Ch'ing editions, including both stories and dramas.

Ch'i Ju-shan's wife and five daughters remained on the mainland when he left in 1948. He had two sons. The elder studied in Germany, where he married. The younger son, Ch'i Ying, became a marine engineer in Taiwan.

Ch'i Pai-shih

Orig. Ch'i Huang
T. Wei-ch'ing
Lan-t'ing
H. Pin-sheng
Pen. Chi-yuan

齊白石
齊璜
渭清
蘭亭
瀕生
寄園

Ch'i Pai-shih (22 November 1863–16 September 1957), prominent artist. He was best known as a painter, but was highly regarded as a calligrapher and seal engraver as well.

A native of Hsiangt'an, Hunan, Ch'i Pai-shih grew up in a poor peasant family; he lived with his grandparents, parents, and his eight younger brothers and sisters. When he was eight he attended a school in his native village in Hunan, but was forced to drop out because of illness after less than a year. Like many other poor children in China, he helped his family by gathering firewood and by tending water buffaloes on the farm. Too small and weak for the heavier farm duties, Ch'i turned to carpentry. He was apprenticed to his cousin's grandfather when he was 12. Progressing from the beginner's rough work, he learned to make fine, delicate objects and to carve decorative furniture. While selecting motifs for his design, he became acquainted with the popular manual of Chinese painting *Chieh-tzu-yuan hua-chuan* [drawings in the garden of mustard seeds], and from that work he copied pictures, which stimulated his interest in painting.

Not until he was 27 did Ch'i Pai-shih have the opportunity to study painting and classical literature with a qualified teacher. He was doing carpenter's work in an employer's house when he came to know two professional artists, Hsiao Hsiang-kai and Wen Shao-k'o, who taught him to paint portraits. Since there was great demand for traditional family ancestor portraits as well as for portrayals of legendary gods, Ch'i became a professional painter. He was particularly noted for his skill in portraying the exact appearance of human figures and in bringing out details of costume. At about the same time he learned other techniques of painting from Hu Tzu-wei (H. Ch'in-yuan) and began to read classical texts, including T'ang poetry, under the guidance of Ch'en Tso-hsün (T. Shao-fan), a private tutor of the Hu family.

At the age of 32, Ch'i Pai-shih organized a group of seven students who were interested in studying poetry. Through this group, known as the Lung-shan shih-she, he became acquainted with Li Te-hsun (b. 1870; H. Sung-an) and his nephew Li Ch'eng-li, from whom he began to learn the art of seal engraving. He also became acquainted with the noted Hunanese scholar and poet Wang K'ai-yun (q.v.). Ch'i Pai-shih became one of Wang K'ai-yun's noted craftsman-pupils, the other two being Chang Teng-shou, a blacksmith, and Tseng Chao-chi, a coppersmith. Wang K'ai-yun was said to have been very proud of these three.

After gaining success as a professional artist and becoming acquainted with many scholars, Ch'i began in 1900 to build a house, which he called Chieh-shan yin-kuan, at the foot of Lien-hua mountain in Hunan. There he lived for some 20 happy years before moving to Peking. In 1902 he accepted an invitation to teach painting in Sian, and he began to travel extensively to see the varied natural scenery of China. During the next seven years, he made five trips from Hunan to other provinces of China, including Shensi, Kiangsi, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Kiangsu, visiting famous mountains, rivers, lakes, and cities. These travels contributed to the maturation of his own individual style of painting. During his travels he met many noted scholars and officials who were interested in his art. Among these were Ch'u Hung-chi (1850–1918), then secretary of the Grand Council; Fan Tseng-hsiang (1846–1931; ECCP, II, 782); Hsia Shou-t'ien; Kuo Jen-chang; Li Jui-ch'ing (1867–1920); and Tseng Hsi.

After returning from his travels, Ch'i Pai-shih built two other houses, called Chi-p'ing-t'ang and Pa-jen-lou. He designed his own furniture, planted fruit trees, and raised insects and animals as subjects for life sketching. In these new studios he also read and wrote poems, engraved seals, and painted the famous mountains and rivers which he had seen, using the sketches made during his travels. These paintings, in addition to some he did as early as 1901, formed a series of some 50 landscape pictures known as the "Chieh-shan t'u-chüan" [scenes of the mountain Chieh-shan]. These were later inscribed with poems and postscripts by many contemporary scholars with whom Ch'i was acquainted. As in another collection of his landscapes, the

"Twenty-four Scenes of Shih-meng," the techniques represent his early style, which was detailed and delicate.

In 1917, when a civil disturbance broke out in Hunan, Ch'i left his home for Peking. He settled permanently in Peking in 1920, although he made occasional trips back to Hsiang-t'an and visited such famous cities as Hangchow, Chungking, and Chengtu. The move to Peking at the age of 58 marked a turning point in Ch'i's career because his broadened contacts with scholars and artists inspired him to new activity in his art. Thus, during the latter part of his life, Ch'i Pai-shih became a figure of international prominence.

His new style, as expressed in works painted after 1920, is characterized by simplicity, vigor, and elegance. It shows a sense of life and humanity and is not without humor and satire. Ch'i became particularly interested in portraying small living creatures such as grasshoppers, dragonflies, shrimps, crabs, frogs, chicks, sparrows, and squirrels. For his flowers, fruits, and vegetables, he used robust reds and yellows against leaves of different tones of black ink, the deepest black often used to emphasize a certain part of the picture. His later landscapes and human figures, utterly simple in composition, also employ free and forceful strokes. Ch'i Pai-shih's theory of painting was somewhere between that of realism and idealism. He once wrote: "The excellence of a painting lies in its being like, yet unlike. Too much likeness flatters the vulgar taste; too much unlikeness deceives the world." His style, the product of his genius and sustained work, was inspired by the best tradition of many of the earlier Chinese masters as well as by the modern artists.

Ch'i Pai-shih's calligraphy, like his later painting, was vigorous. His strokes generally were heavy and forceful. When inscribed on his pictures, the calligraphy adds new flavor to the painting. A similar change of style also took place in his seal engraving. In the early period his inscriptions followed the delicate style of two leading engravers of the Chekiang school: Ting Ching (1695-1765; T. Ching-shen; H. Yen-lin, Lung-hung shan-jen) and Huang I (1744-1801; H. Hsiao-sung). Later he changed to the freer style of Chao Chih-ch'ien (1829-1884; T. Hui-shu). During the later years of his life, Ch'i created an unusually forceful style of his own, one perhaps influenced by the skills which

he had originally learned as a carpenter carving in wood.

His poetry was natural and simple, free from difficult words and artificiality, many of his verses being written for his paintings. A poem on one landscape says: "To plant trees in the course of one decade is easy,/ To paint them through the effort of a whole life is hard;/ When hairs are faded and eyes become almost blind,/ Who comes to appreciate the 'Mountains after the Rain'?" This poem reflects his experience of hardship and struggle during almost a century of life and work.

During his long residence in north China, Ch'i Pai-shih worked diligently at painting and seal engraving, maintained a wide acquaintance with contemporary artists, and taught many students. Before the Japanese invasion in 1937, Ch'i lectured on Chinese painting at the Peiping Academy of Art when Li Feng-mien (b. 1901) was president of that school. He had many associates as pupils during this period, including Ch'en Nien (b. 1876; T. Pan-ting), Hsu Pei-hung (q.v.), Wang Yun (1896-1935; T. Meng-pai), Yao Hua (1876-1930; T. Ch'ung-kuang, Mang-fu), and Yu Fei-an (1899-1959). Mei Lan-fang (q.v.), one of the leading figures in the Peking theater, studied painting under both Ch'i Pai-shih and Wang Yun. In his memoirs Mei Lan-fang refers to Ch'i's passion for morning glories, frequently cultivated by connoisseurs of the arts in China, and to the fact that Ch'i was known as an expert horticulturist.

One of Ch'i Pai-shih's most intimate friends of the period was Ch'en Heng-k'o, eldest son of the poet Ch'en San-li (q.v.) and a brother of the historian Ch'en Yin-k'o. Himself a painter and a prominent student of Chinese art history, Ch'en Heng-k'o became an influential critic of Ch'i Pai-shih's paintings. It was Ch'en who suggested the change in Ch'i's style from delicate to free and bold strokes; and it was he who introduced Ch'i Pai-shih's work to Japan in 1922, where his paintings began to receive international recognition.

During the years of war with Japan from 1937 to 1945, Ch'i Pai-shih remained in Peking, but did not participate in the Japanese-sponsored regime there. In 1946 he made a trip to Nanking and Shanghai, where his work was exhibited under the auspices of the All-China Art Association and other art groups. When he was 75, a fortune teller told Ch'i that he would undergo

a crisis at that age. As he placed some faith in this prediction, Ch'i changed his age to 77 in order to "cross the sea by deceiving heaven." As a result of this change, the signatures and dates on his later works often give his simulated age.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Ch'i Pai-shih's name became associated with many national and international organizations. In 1949 he was one of the sponsors of the Chinese Painting Society, designed to rally painters to preserve and develop the great tradition of Chinese painting, and in 1953 he became honorary president of that organization. He was also an honorary professor at the Central Academy of Fine Arts; a member of the second national committee of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles; a senior member in the Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; and a delegate from Hunan to the First National People's Congress. He became a corresponding member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences of East Germany in 1955 and a member of the Asian Solidarity Committee of China in 1956. He received the 1955 International Peace Prize awarded by the World Peace Council in Stockholm. One-half of the prize money was used to establish the Ch'i Pai-shih scholarship for the advancement of Chinese traditional painting.

Ch'i died at Peking in 1957 at the age of 95. He willed to the Central People's Government all of the works in his possession, including paintings, calligraphy, seals and their impressions, poems, and other writings. Several memorial exhibits of these were held in Peking, Shanghai, and other cities. It has been estimated that Ch'i produced more than 10,000 paintings in his lifetime. During the year 1953 alone, he painted no fewer than 600 pictures. A memorial museum housing his work has been opened at one of his estates in Peking.

Ch'i Pai-shih was a man of sincerity and integrity. He lived an extremely simple life of industry and thrift. When he was 12, his father took a t'ung-hsi [child-daughter-in-law] into his family, but the marriage did not take place until Ch'i was 19. At the age of 57, he took a concubine who became his second wife in 1941, one year after his first wife died in his native town. Ch'i had seven sons and six daughters, several of whom followed their father's style in painting and seal engraving. Especially well known are

Ch'i Liang-yüan (1889-c. 1943), his eldest son; Ch'i Liang-ch'ih (1921-), his fourth son; and Ch'i Liang-chi (1923-), his fifth son.

Ch'i Pai-shih's publications include collections of his paintings, seal engravings, and poems. Many of his paintings, reproduced by collotype, have been published in albums. These include the *Ch'i Pai-shih hua-ts'e* [paintings of Ch'i Pai-shih], a collection of 35 pictures with a preface by Hsu Pei-hung; and the *Pai-shih lao-jen hsiao-ts'e* [paintings of the old man Pai-shih], a collection of 12 pictures of flowers and fruits painted in 1920. The facsimile reproductions with polychrome wood cuts published by the Jung-pao-chai of Peking include the *Ch'i Pai-shih hua-chi*, a folded album of 22 pictures; the *Pai-shih lao-jen hua-ts'e*, a folder of ten pictures of flowers; the *Pai-shih mo-miao* [sketches of Pai-shih], an album of 12 pictures painted in 1948 for Hsu Pei-hung; and the *K'o-hsi wu-sheng*, a collection of pictures of insects. Several of his works have been reproduced and mounted on scrolls.

Chi's collection of seal impressions, *Pai-shih yin-ts'ao*, was first published in 1928 with 200 impressions. The revised edition of 1933 included impressions of some 60 seals carved after Ch'i was 70. His poems were published under the title *Chieh-shan yin-kuan shih-ts'ao* [poems from the poetry-humming studio in the serene mountain] and were reproduced in his own calligraphy. This volume was enlarged and published in 1933 under the title *Pai-shih shih-ts'ao* [drafted poems of Pai-shih], edited by Fan Tseng-hsiang with a preface by Ch'i and a postscript by Wang Hsun. A representative collection of his works may be found in the *Ch'i Pai-shih tso-p'in hsuan-chi* [selected works of Ch'i Pai-shih], published at Peking in 1959. That work includes photographs of 133 paintings and examples of calligraphy and 155 seal impressions produced between 1887 and 1955. It was compiled by Li Chin-hsi, a close friend of Ch'i, and Ch'i Liang-chi, Ch'i's fifth son.

Ch'i Pai-shih's paintings have been shown in cities throughout the world. He is generally regarded as the outstanding contemporary artist of China. Ch'i said that he was at his best in his poems; next, in his seal engraving and calligraphy; and last, in his painting. His appraisal was conventionally modest, and critics agree that his artistic achievements probably rank in the reverse order.

Chiang Ch'ang-ch'u'an 江長川
Alt. Z. T. Kaung

Chiang Ch'ang-ch'u'an (December 1884–23 August 1958), known by his Western name, Z. T. Kaung, a Methodist bishop, was a world-known Protestant leader in China. As pastor of Allen Memorial Church and later of Moore Memorial Church—the two largest congregations in Shanghai—he exerted much influence, and as a bishop in north China he was a wise leader during the period of the Japanese occupation.

As the eldest child in a prosperous family, Z. T. Kaung began life in economic comfort. His father, a wealthy contractor in Shanghai, provided generously for his four sons and two daughters. Despite the strongly traditionalist values of his family, young Kaung was sent, at 14, to a Methodist middle school in Shanghai where he developed his first close friendships with Westerners. Through the influence of American missionary teachers, notably Clara E. Steger, he was persuaded by the time he was 19 to accept Christianity and to join the Christian church. Kaung's family, wholly unsympathetic, tried strenuously to dissuade him from taking this step. When these efforts proved useless, they disinherited him.

To support himself and to continue his education, Z. T. Kaung taught and studied at Anglo-Chinese College (Methodist) in Shanghai for four years (1905–9). In addition, he began work at Moore Memorial Church, the largest Protestant congregation in Shanghai, directing the church school and frequently serving as preacher in local neighborhood meetings sponsored by the church. On completing the course at the Anglo-Chinese College, he entered Soochow University's newly established and still experimental theological department, which had only three students and three teachers. After two years, Z. T. Kaung was the sole remaining student and became, in 1912, the first and last recipient of the B.D. degree from Soochow University. The following year the department merged with the Nanking Theological Seminary. During this time, his family relented and reinstated their son. They also accepted his friend and teacher Miss Steger in the family circle.

Later, a room in their large home in Shanghai was reserved for her exclusive use. During their close and continuous association, Miss Steger influenced others in the family to join their eldest son in accepting the Christian faith.

In 1911 Z. T. Kaung joined the Methodist Conference, later known as the East China Conference. After his graduation from Soochow University and his ordination in 1912, he became assistant minister at Moore Memorial Church. A year later he was made pastor and was given full responsibility for the church. Overwork during the next few years, however, impaired his health. To ease his work, he was transferred in 1917 to a smaller church at Huchow in Chekiang. Three years in this smaller community served both to restore his health and to revitalize the Huchow church. During the next two decades, Z. T. Kaung assumed increasing pastoral and administrative responsibilities for the work of the Methodist church at Soochow and Shanghai. In 1921 he was made presiding elder of the Soochow District and, concurrently, chaplain at Soochow University. In 1923 he was appointed to the pastorate of Allen Memorial Church in Shanghai, which during the next few years became one of the most active Protestant congregations there. The church included in its membership several members of the prominent Soong family (*see* Charles Jones Soong), including Soong Meiling (q.v.), who married Chiang Kai-shek in December 1927. It was at Allen Memorial Church that Z. T. Kaung baptized Chiang Kai-shek on 23 October 1930. During the early 1930's, Kaung returned to Soochow for work, chiefly among university students, at St. John's Church. Toward the end of 1936 he returned to Shanghai to resume the pastorate of Moore Memorial Church, then generally considered the largest Protestant congregation in the Far East. There he became known for his help to the poor and for his work with refugees.

Between 1919 and 1940, Z. T. Kaung made five trips to the United States on missions related primarily to Methodist affairs. In 1926 he was awarded an honorary D.D. degree by Asbury College at Wilmore, Kentucky. In China, however, his activities were never limited solely to denominational interests. For ten years, from 1920 to 1930, he was chairman of the Student Volunteer Movement. From 1923 to 1941 he was chairman of the Chinese Home Mission

Society, the group founded by Ch'eng Ching-yi (q.v.) which sought to spread Christian influence among non-Chinese ethnic groups in the hinterland, especially in the southwest, of China. Z. T. Kaung was also head of the Executive Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church (South) from 1934 to 1941; and in 1937 he became the director of the China Sunday School Union. He was a trustee of Soochow University from 1927 to 1931 and a member of the Board of Managers of Nanking Theological Seminary from 1936 to 1940.

In March 1941, at the first convocation of the Central Conference of United Methodism in China, Z. T. Kaung was elected bishop on the first ballot. Ch'en Wen-yuan was elected on the second. Thus they were elevated simultaneously to the only two Chinese bishoprics in the denomination. (Wang Chih-p'ing had been the first Chinese Methodist bishop, serving from 1930 to 1934, but then had asked to be relieved of his responsibilities.)

By volunteering to accept the assignment in north China in August 1941, Bishop Kaung resolved an awkward problem. Since neither Chinese bishop was from the north, one of them faced appointment to an unfamiliar area. As a native of Shanghai, Z. T. Kaung had only indifferent command of the Peking dialect. In addition, he had been trained and had worked entirely in the south.

More serious were the political problems posed by the Japanese military occupation of north China and by the presence of a Japanese-sponsored regime there. As a man whose personal connections with the Soong family and with Chiang Kai-shek were well known, Bishop Kaung was under close and constant scrutiny. Cooperation with the Japanese and the puppet regime would suggest disloyalty to Nationalist China, while overt signs of anti-Japanese partisanship might arouse suspicion in the eyes of the Japanese authorities. In a situation where a false step might jeopardize both the work of the church and his personal safety, Bishop Kaung succeeded in demonstrating his allegiance to the Christian cause and in gaining acceptance of the apolitical nature of his central task. He won the affection and confidence of the people among whom he worked and did much to dispel the uncertainties which many felt during that period of alien occupation. Many Chinese students, bewildered by the problems of an uneasy present

and an uncertain future, looked to him for counsel. Bishop Kaung also was able, with great difficulty, to resist Japanese attempts to encroach upon important areas of church administration and religious activity. He erected complex and subtle defenses against persistent appeals of Japanese churchmen for union with the Chinese church within the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.

Bishop Kaung was once described as a "tower of strength to churches of all denominations during the war" in China. His cordiality, warm but dignified, endeared him to the many people with whom he came into contact. He was conservative theologically and fervently evangelistic in his ministry. His preaching appealed to liberal university students and illiterate laborers alike. One of his greatest desires was to see the development of a genuinely united and thoroughly indigenous Protestant Christian Church in China.

When the Communist regime came to power in 1949, Bishop Kaung remained on the mainland, where he died on 23 August 1958.

Chiang Ching-kuo

蔣經國

Chiang Ching-kuo (1909-), the eldest son of Chiang Kai-shek. After spending almost 12 years in the Soviet Union, he returned to China and served the National Government in various posts. In Taiwan, Chiang advanced steadily in influence and importance, heading the general political department of the ministry of defense and then serving as deputy secretary general of the National Defense Council, minister without portfolio, and minister of national defense.

Born at Ch'ik'ou, Fenghua, Chekiang province, Chiang Ching-kuo was the son of Chiang Kai-shek and his first wife. When Chiang Ching-kuo was born, his father was in Japan. Chiang Ching-kuo was raised under the strict Buddhist discipline of his paternal grandmother.

He entered the Wushan School in Chekiang in March 1916 and studied there for two academic years. In December 1917 Chiang Kai-shek entrusted his son's education to his own former tutor, Ku Ch'ing-lien, and to another teacher named Wang Ou-sheng. In 1921 Chiang Ching-kuo entered the Lung-chin Middle School at Fenghua, where his father had

studied in 1906. A few months after the death of his grandmother in the summer of 1921, Chiang Ching-kuo was sent from Fenghua to Shanghai. There, in March 1922, he entered the Wan-chu School. He was graduated in the winter of 1924, and he enrolled in the Pootung Middle School in the spring of 1925. After participating in the anti-imperialist agitation of that year, sparked by clashes between the British police in Shanghai and Chinese students, he was expelled from school. His father then sent him to Peking, where he became a student in the small private school that the veteran republican revolutionary and classical scholar Wu Chih-hui (q.v.) operated for the children of Kuomintang leaders. During his brief stay at Peking, Chiang was arrested and jailed for two weeks for participating in student demonstrations against the policies of the Peking government.

Chiang Ching-kuo went to Canton in August 1925 to obtain his father's permission to study in the Soviet Union. Chiang Kai-shek, who had visited Moscow on a mission for Sun Yat-sen during the late months of 1923, was closely associated with the program of Soviet military assistance to the Kuomintang. He then was serving as commandant of the Whampoa Military Academy, which had been established in 1924. Whatever Chiang Kai-shek's thoughts about his son's desire to go to the Soviet Union may have been, he did not stand in the way of the proposed trip. Chiang Ching-kuo and other Chinese youths left for Russia by cargo ship in October 1925. In Moscow, despite his youth and the inadequacies of his formal education in China, he was permitted to enter Sun Yat-sen University, which had been opened that year for the training of Chinese revolutionary cadres. Chiang Ching-kuo joined the Communist Youth Corps in December 1925. He was graduated from Sun Yat-sen University in April 1927. He then asked to return to China, but was not allowed to do so.

The Kuomintang-Communist alliance in China fell apart in 1927, and Kuomintang leaders associated with Chiang Kai-shek began a purge of Communists in areas under their control in central and south China. Chiang Ching-kuo was completely isolated from China. He was not even allowed to mail a letter. In 1928 he was selected by the Soviet government for advanced studies at the Central Tolmatchev Military and Political Institute in Leningrad.

After his graduation from the Central Institute in May 1930, Chiang again asked permission to return to China. As a second choice, he asked to be assigned to the Russian army. However, the Chinese Communist delegation in Moscow allowed him neither choice. At the end of June 1930, he was appointed assistant director of the Chinese students visiting group at Lenin University, formerly Sun Yat-sen University. He was assigned to accompany a group of students on a trip to the Outer Caucasus and the Ukraine. When he returned to Moscow from this trip, he was seriously ill. After his recovery, in October 1930 Chiang was employed by the Tinama electrical plant as an apprentice.

At a meeting, Chiang Ching-kuo verbally attacked Ch'en Shao-yü (q.v.), the head of the Chinese Communist delegation in Moscow. As a result, he was asked by Comintern officials to leave Moscow and to go to a mining plant in Alta, Siberia. Because of his poor health, Chiang appealed to the Russian Communist party not to send him to the north. This request was granted, and in the autumn of 1931 he was sent to Shekov village near Moscow and was given a horse and some farming tools. At the end of October 1932 he was recalled to Moscow for reassignment. In January 1933 he was sent to Alta to work in a gold mine, as had been advised by the Chinese Communist delegation.

Chiang was reassigned to the Ural Heavy Machinery Plant at Sverdlovsk as a technician in October 1933. A year later, he became assistant director of the plant and the chief editor of the plant newspaper. During the period from August to November 1934, he was placed under the surveillance of the NKVD.

Chiang had met an orphaned Russian girl named Faina at the Ural plant in 1933. She had just been graduated from the Workers' Technical School and was working under Chiang's supervision. Two years later, in March 1935, they were married.

In January 1936, Chiang went to Moscow on instructions from the Comintern. Ch'en Shao-yü tried to force Chiang to write a letter to his mother according to Ch'en's dictation. The proposed letter said that Chiang had become a dedicated Communist, and it contained a refusal to return to China and an attack on Chiang Kai-shek. They argued for three days about the content of the letter without reaching agreement. Chiang later gave in and agreed to write the

proposed letter if he could add a note at the end of the letter saying, "if you wish to see me, please come to Western Europe and let us meet there." The next day, Chiang showed a copy of the letter to the general director of the NKVD and told him that he was forced to write it, pointing out his objections to its content. After conferring with Ch'en Shao-yü, the director suggested that the letter be destroyed. However, as Chiang learned later, it had already been sent to China and had been published.

Ch'en Shao-yü agreed to let Chiang write another letter. Reportedly, this communication was unsatisfactory also, for there was much that Chiang was afraid to say. He tried to convey his longing for his family in one sentence: "I have never stopped even for one day the desire to have some home-cooked food which I have missed for such a long time." Apparently, Chiang unsuccessfully sought another opportunity to get in touch with his parents.

In September 1936, Chiang was dismissed from his posts at the Ural Heavy Machinery Plant by the Ural Committee of the Russian Communist party. His alternate membership in the Communist party also was rescinded. In December 1936, the Soviet Union, through the Chinese Communist party, took action to preserve Chiang Kai-shek as the national leader of China after he had been detained by Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.) and others who supported a national united front against the Japanese. Then Chiang Ching-kuo wrote to Stalin, pleading to be allowed to return to China. His request was granted, and on 25 March 1937 Chiang, his wife, and their two children left Moscow for China.

After an absence of almost 12 years, Chiang Ching-kuo, then nearly 28, arrived at Shanghai in April 1937. Contemporary press reports quoted sources close to Chiang Kai-shek as saying that reports of estrangement between father and son were "Russian inventions" and stated that Chiang Ching-kuo had "made his peace with his father" and that the two had met at Hangchow to discuss the young man's future. Chiang Ching-kuo returned to Ch'ik'ou in Chekiang and spent some three months at the family home, where his mother still lived. Chiang Ching-kuo reportedly was assigned to study, under the direction of a tutor, the works of the seventeenth-century philosopher Yen Yuan as a method of inculcating in him the

traditional discipline of the ancient Chinese sages.

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in July 1937 afforded Chiang Ching-kuo an opportunity for "political rehabilitation." Shortly after the conflict began, Hsiung Shih-hui (q.v.), the governor of Kiangsi province, proposed to Chiang Kai-shek that his son be sent to work in the Kiangsi provincial government. Chiang Kai-shek approved the proposal, and in January 1938 Chiang Ching-kuo went to Nanchang as deputy commander of the Kiangsi provincial peace preservation corps. Later in 1938 he joined the Kuomintang.

Chiang Ching-kuo was assigned to train troops at Linch'uan, and he proved to be a capable officer. When the provincial government moved to T'aiho after the Japanese engulfed Nanchang in March 1939, Chiang was appointed supervisory officer of the fourth administrative district, which was composed of 11 hsien in southern Kiangsi and which included the area which had formerly been the chief Chinese Communist territorial base. After the Communists had withdrawn in late 1934, the area had been dominated by local gentry, who paid scant attention to the provincial government authorities. Chiang Ching-kuo reportedly approached his duties with the thought of becoming a twentieth-century counterpart of Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529), a Chekiang man who had won fame as a military man and as a civil administrator in southern Kiangsi. Chiang established himself at Kanhsien, where he began a vigorous program of social reform and political consolidation based on Marxist-Leninist principles and on the teachings of Yen Yuan. Chiang personally selected a group of assistants to implement the program. He also directed the Kiangsi branch of the Chinese Youth Corps.

Chiang Ching-kuo took stern measures to prohibit gambling, opium smoking, and prostitution. He established governmental authority quickly by punishing offenders severely. He utilized secret police methods to consolidate his power over the local gentry and the hsien magistrates. In 1940 Chiang launched a modest three-year plan for economic and social reform in southern Kiangsi and made Kanhsien itself an experimental area for some of his theories about government administration. He won popular acclaim for improving sanitation and

public health, developing local industries, and introducing reforms in popular education and government service training. It was generally agreed that Chiang Ching-kuo's administrative methods were authoritarian, and he became widely known as the "iron commissioner" of Kanhhsien. Taxes were high, but he won a reputation as a vigorous administrator.

Beginning in 1941 Chiang Kai-shek frequently summoned his son to Chungking. In 1943 Chiang Ching-kuo and his wife, known in China as Fang-liang, joined the Methodist Church at Chungking. By 1943 Chiang Kai-shek evidently had decided that his son had remained long enough in the rural areas, and he made preparatory moves for his transfer. Chiang Ching-kuo was relieved of his responsibilities at Kanhhsien, and most of his subordinate officers were reassigned. In December 1943 Chiang Ching-kuo was made a member of the Kiangsi provincial government council, and he was appointed dean of studies at the Youth Cadres Training School at Chungking in January 1944. He was given concurrent responsibilities in the central organization department of the Kuomintang in 1945.

As the Second World War drew to a close, Chiang Ching-kuo was assigned, as his father's personal representative, to accompany T. V. Soong (q.v.) to Moscow and attempt to reach an agreement on provisions of the Yalta pact that concerned China. The initial discussions were not satisfactory to the Chinese negotiators, and Chiang Kai-shek directed his son, who spoke Russian fluently, to arrange a personal meeting with Stalin. However, the meeting did not soften the Soviet dictator's attitude with respect to the postwar settlement.

At the end of the Second World War, in the initial allocation of Nationalist posts in Manchuria, Chiang Ching-kuo's former chief in Kiangsi, Hsiung Shih-hui, received the position of top political administrator, and the banker Chang Kia-ngau (Chang Chia-ao, q.v.) was assigned responsibility for economic affairs. Chiang Ching-kuo, despite his lack of diplomatic experience, was appointed special foreign affairs commissioner for the Northeast, with primary responsibility for dealing with the Soviet military forces which had advanced to occupy that area in August. He left Chungking with Hsiung Shih-hui, and they arrived in Changchun on 13 October 1945. In Manchuria,

Chiang confronted an outstanding Russian military commander, Marshal Rodion Ya. Malinovsky, hardly one to be dominated by a young man who had spent more than a decade of his life in a subordinate status in the Soviet Union. Russian obstacles to the extension of Nationalist military and political control into Manchuria caused the National Government on 15 November to order its officials at Chang-chun to withdraw. Chiang Ching-kuo remained behind and negotiated an agreement with Malinovsky, concluded on 30 November 1945, which permitted postponement of Soviet troop withdrawal until Nationalist troops moved into Manchuria. He held new talks with Malinovsky in early December. By then it had become apparent that Nationalist gains from the Sino-Soviet agreements of August 1945 would be smaller than anticipated and that the Chinese Communists were already establishing territorial bases in the Manchurian countryside in preparation for military operations.

On 25 December 1945, Chiang Ching-kuo left for Moscow as his father's personal representative. He was received by Stalin and Molotov on 30 December 1945, and he met once again with Stalin. In his account of the mission in his book, *Wo-ti fu-ch'in* [my father], Chiang reported that Stalin had indicated that the Soviet Union stood ready to assist the postwar economic rehabilitation of China, including Manchuria and Sinkiang, on condition that China would not permit American military power in China and would not rely on the United States. According to Chiang Ching-kuo he and his father saw through Stalin's plot and rejected the Soviet proposition.

Chiang Ching-kuo returned to China from Moscow on 14 January 1946, shortly after the Political Consultative Conference had met at Chungking in an attempt to arrange a settlement of China's internal political problems. At a critical meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang held in early March, decisions were made that effectively undercut both the preliminary decisions of the Political Consultative Conference and the mediation efforts of General George C. Marshall, who had arrived in China in December 1945. Since developments in Manchuria affected the issue of peace or civil war, Chiang Ching-kuo's handling of the situation there was criticized by both the top Kuomintang command and the

Political Consultative Conference. The latter, on 31 March, adopted a resolution charging mismanagement in Manchuria and demanding an investigation—which was never undertaken—of the actions of Chiang Ching-kuo, Hsiung Shih-hui, and Chang Kia-ngau. Civil war between Nationalist and Communist forces broke out again in June 1946 after the expiration of a temporary truce that had been arranged by General Marshall.

After his return to China in 1946, Chiang Ching-kuo accompanied his father on a brief journey to southern Kiangsi; it was Chiang Kai-shek's first visit there since his son had held office at Kanhsien. Chiang Ching-kuo had been able to dominate the small pond that was southern Kiangsi, but in postwar Nanking the political currents were faster and more treacherous. He was appointed dean of studies at the Central Political Institute (*see* Ch'en Kuo-fu), but political frictions soon forced him out of that position. He had to be content with lesser posts at Nanking, where he was concerned with renewed but belated efforts to mobilize and train young people for service in the drive against the Communists. He also assumed control of a newspaper, but had little success in that endeavor.

Economic conditions in the areas of China remaining under National Government control deteriorated rapidly during this period. By the summer of 1948 Chiang Kai-shek had recognized that hyper-inflation constituted a serious threat to his political control. In July of that year, Chiang Ching-kuo was sent to Shanghai, where he conferred with the garrison authorities regarding measures to curb speculation and the black market. On 19 August 1948 the National Government launched a new currency reform, introduced the so-called gold yuan script, and pegged commodity prices. On 21 August, O. K. Yui (Yü Hung-chun, q.v.) was named economic control supervisor for the Shanghai area, with Chiang Ching-kuo as his deputy. Their formal powers embraced all of Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Anhwei provinces, but the main theater of operations was Shanghai itself. Chiang Ching-kuo made headlines by announcing drastic control measures, by summarily executing a number of black market speculators, and by arresting many merchants and bankers, but his methods did not bring order to the chaotic economic situation then prevailing at Shanghai. When

Chiang arrested the son of the prominent Shanghai figure Tu Yueh-sheng (q.v.) and David K'ung, the son of H. H. K'ung (q.v.), his stepmother, Soong Mei-ling, at once intervened. She took her nephew David to see Chiang Kai-shek and then sent him to Hong Kong. On 31 October 1948, the National Government at Nanking issued new economic regulations that, in effect, accepted the inflation. On the following day—as Mukden, the last Nationalist stronghold in Manchuria, fell to the Communists—the cabinet headed by Wong Wen-hao (q.v.) resigned, as did Chiang Ching-kuo. Chiang issued a proclamation containing a public apology to the Shanghai public for the failure of the 19 August regulations, acknowledging that his control measures had "aggravated the sufferings of the people in some respects."

Military operations during the final weeks of 1948 resulted in steady Nationalist losses, and Chiang Kai-shek made a belated attempt to seek a compromise settlement with the Communists. When that effort failed, Chiang formally retired from the presidency on 21 January 1949. He appointed his long-time associate Ch'en Ch'eng governor of Taiwan and made Chiang Ching-kuo director of the Taiwan headquarters of the Kuomintang. Chiang Kai-shek then left Nanking and flew to his family home in Chekiang. Although Li Tsung-jen (q.v.) was acting President, Chiang, in his capacity as tsung-ts'ai [party leader] of the Kuomintang, continued to direct men and armies from Fenghua. On Chiang Kai-shek's order, Chiang Ching-kuo withdrew substantial holdings of gold bullion from the Central Bank for shipment to Taiwan. He then assumed responsibility for political work at Shanghai during the last futile Nationalist attempt to defend China's major metropolis.

In the early autumn of 1949 Chiang Ching-kuo accompanied his father to Chungking, where they planned a unified defense of the southwestern provinces. Since the plan necessarily involved the cooperation of Yunnan, Chiang Ching-kuo flew to Kunming on 22 September to prepare for talks with the provincial governor, Lu Han (q.v.), whose loyalty to the Kuomintang was dubious because of Chiang Kai-shek's treatment of Lung Yun (q.v.), his predecessor and relative. Chiang Kai-shek arrived at Kunming on the following day. His son's close surveillance of Lu Han during the brief interval before the meeting is said to have

prevented Lu Han from arranging a coup that might have netted Chiang Kai-shek himself. The Kunming meeting proceeded safely, though it bore no fruit. The Chiangs then flew to Canton for a conference with Li Tsung-jen. In November, Chiang Ching-kuo and his father were again in Chungking, then threatened by the rapid Communist military advance. In December 1949 they boarded a military aircraft at Chengtu and flew to the island of Taiwan.

Chiang Kai-shek resumed the post of President on 1 March 1950 and confronted the task of establishing his personal authority in Taiwan. Because he was aware of the necessity of having an absolutely reliable assistant, Chiang selected his son. Beginning in 1950 Chiang Ching-kuo, with his father's backing, advanced steadily in influence and importance.

Because Chiang Kai-shek believed the strengthening of political control in the Nationalist military forces to be of prime importance, he appointed Chiang Ching-kuo in 1950 to establish and direct the general political department of the ministry of national defense of the National Government in Taiwan. Working with P'eng Meng-chi (1907-), then deputy commander of the Taiwan peace preservation headquarters, Chiang Ching-kuo came to exercise effective control of the secret police apparatus on the island. In August 1950 Chiang also was named one of 16 members of a new central reform committee of the Kuomintang, assigned by his father to make plans to revitalize the party's structure and operation. In the early 1950's, when Kuomintang control on Taiwan was based essentially on martial law, the political department of the ministry of national defense gained a reputation for ruthless and effective operations. The department placed political officers in all branches of the military establishment and instituted programs of political indoctrination and surveillance generally similar to those of the Russians and the Chinese Communists. The programs were viewed with distaste by American military officers in Taiwan. Although some practical compromises were worked out, Chiang Ching-kuo, backed by his father, retained the political officers and the dual chain of command, insisting that they were necessary.

Chiang Ching-kuo's rising authority was confirmed at the Seventh National Congress of the Kuomintang, held at Taipei in October

1952. He was elected to the new Central Committee and was made a member of its standing committee. On 31 October 1952, Chiang Ching-kuo was assigned to establish and direct a youth organization designed to stimulate the young people of Taiwan to counter-attack and recover the mainland. The Chinese Youth Anti-Communist National Salvation Corps soon pervaded the school system in Taiwan; it was criticized by local educators because it competed with education for the time and interest of students.

In September 1953, shortly after the end of the Korean conflict, Chiang Ching-kuo went to the United States as a guest of the departments of State and Defense and met with President Dwight D. Eisenhower. In 1954 he became head of a new organization in Taiwan designed to supervise and rehabilitate Chinese prisoners of war (from the Korean conflict) who had elected not to return to mainland China. In June 1954 his deputy, Chang Yi-ting, succeeded to the office of director of the political department of the ministry of national defense. In September of that year, Chiang Ching-kuo was named deputy secretary general of the National Defense Council, a key organ in the Taiwan military establishment. In that position, he continued to supervise political and security operations. Chiang's personal influence was buttressed by the steady rise of his associate P'eng Meng-chi, who was deputy commander of the Taiwan peace preservation headquarters from 1949 to 1954. In 1954, P'eng became deputy chief of the general staff; in 1955, he was promoted to the post of chief of staff.

United States support of the National Government was confirmed by a mutual defense treaty between the two governments, signed in December 1954. Despite the overwhelming dependence of the Chinese Nationalists on the United States, in May 1957, anti-Western mobs, sparked by a poorly handled local issue involving the killing of a Chinese by an American Army sergeant, roamed Taipei for several hours without effective police opposition. The rioters damaged and looted the American Embassy, gutted the offices of the United States Information Agency, destroyed confidential American government files, and injured several Americans. When the local police appeared, the rioters turned on them and besieged the central police headquarters in Taipei. Units of

the Chinese army, fortified by tanks and artillery were ordered into Taipei to restore order. The incident indicated the extent of anti-Western sentiment in Taiwan; the delay in bringing it under control suggested that Chiang Ching-kuo and other officers responsible for military security on the island had not been effective in responding to the crisis.

Chiang Ching-kuo's political position in Taiwan continued to rise. At the Eighth National Congress of the Kuomintang, held in October 1957, he was reelected a top-ranking member of the Central Committee of the party. In July 1958 he was named to the cabinet as minister without portfolio. His principal formal governmental responsibility, aside from his key post as deputy secretary general of the National Defense Council, was to handle veterans' affairs. In 1957 he had been named to direct the Vocational Assistance Commission for Retired Servicemen, the principal veterans' rehabilitation organization in Taiwan. Chiang also directed Nationalist guerrilla warfare operations on the mainland of China. He remained at the top of the complex pyramid of Chinese military intelligence and security agencies in Taiwan.

At the invitation of the United States Department of State, Chiang Ching-kuo made a second visit to the United States in September 1963, when he conferred with senior officials of the American government and talked with President John F. Kennedy about the international situation. After his return to Taiwan, Chiang was reelected a top-ranking member of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang at the Ninth National Congress in November 1963. He remained a member of the standing committee. In March 1964 he was named deputy minister of national defense in the National Government. When the minister, Yü Ta-wei (q.v.), resigned in January 1965, Chiang Ching-kuo was appointed minister of national defense. In that capacity he made an official trip to the United States in September 1965 at the invitation of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara.

After the death in March 1965 of Ch'en Ch'eng, who had held the positions of vice president and of deputy tsung-ts'ai [party leader] of the Kuomintang, Chiang Ching-kuo consolidated his personal position in Taiwan. His primacy was especially notable in the areas of genuine power: the armed forces, the security and intelligence agencies, and the Kuomintang.

Chiang had three sons and one daughter. The eldest son, Alan (1935-), studied in the United States at Georgetown University and the University of California; he later returned to Taiwan, where he became an office manager of the Taiwan Power Company, a government enterprise. The daughter, Amy, was graduated from middle school in Taiwan; she attended Mills College in California. Later, she married a son of Yü Ta-wei and lived in San Francisco. The two youngest sons, Edward and Alexander, attended school in Taipei. The Chinese names of Chiang Ching-kuo's children were Hsiao-wen, Hsiao-chang, Hsiao-wu, and Hsiao-yung. Reportedly, they were chosen by Chiang Kai-shek. It has been noted that all of their names contain the character that means "filial piety," a virtue that Chiang Kai-shek long has emphasized.

Chiang Ching-kuo's publications include *Wo ti sheng huo* [my life], published in 1947; *Wo tifu ch'in* [my father], published in 1956; and *Fu chung chih yüan* [bearing the burden and carrying it a long way], published in 1960.

Chiang Fang-chen

T. Pai-li

蔣方震

百里

Chiang Fang-chen (13 October 1882-4 October 1938), trained in military science in Japan and Germany, did much to revolutionize military training in republican China and was powerful as adviser to many military commanders, notably Wu P'ei-fu, Sun Ch'u-an-fang, and Chiang Kai-shek. He also introduced to China knowledge of Western culture, constitutional ideas, and military practices.

A native of Haining, Chekiang, Chiang Fang-chen came from a family of scholars. His father, Chiang Hsueh-ken, was the son of the noted bibliophile Chiang Kuang-hsu (ECCP, I, 138-39) and a younger brother of Chiang Hsueh-p'u (1846-1890), a chü-jen of 1875 and at one time head of the famous Kuang-ya Academy in Canton. Originally well-to-do, the family suffered a decline in its fortunes during the Taiping Rebellion, and to support himself, Chiang Fang-chen's father took up the practice of medicine. As a boy Chiang Fang-chen received a thorough grounding in the Chinese classics and in traditional forms of literature. Aroused by China's defeat by Japan in 1895

and by the reform propaganda of K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (qq.v.), Chiang's interests shifted to political economy, military science, and other subjects relevant to the strengthening of China. In 1898 he became a sheng-yuan, and after serving briefly as a family teacher, he gained the admiration of a local magistrate who in 1900 arranged for him to enroll in the well-known Ch'iu-shih Academy at Hangchow. Although he quickly distinguished himself as a student, in his writings of that time he expressed views hostile to the imperial government; as a result he was dismissed from the academy. However, with financial support from the prefect of Hangchow, he was able to continue his studies in Japan.

Arriving in Japan in 1901, Chiang Fang-chen enrolled in the Seika Gakkō, a preparatory school for Chinese students which offered courses in Japanese and in modern subjects. Upon graduation Chiang decided to take up a military career and gained admission to the Seijo Gakkō, the Japanese army preparatory school. Through the influence of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, who became his mentor, he was admitted in 1904 to the Shikan Gakkō [military academy]. During this period there were two major political groups competing for followers among the Chinese students in Japan: the reform group, led by K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao; and the revolutionary party, which in 1905 organized the T'ung-meng-hui under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen. Although he was then a protégé of Liang, Chiang's political inclinations drew him toward the revolutionaries, and he was reported to have submitted articles to the *Min-pao* [people's journal], the organ of the T'ung-meng-hui. He also joined the students of his native province in the Che-chiang t'ung-hsiang-hui [Chekiang provincial association] and managed the association's magazine, *Che-chiang-ch'ao* [Chekiang tide], which in its advocacy of Chinese nationalism tended to support the revolutionary party. Late in 1905 Chiang was graduated first in his class at the military academy and was awarded the coveted sword by the Japanese emperor. Embarrassed because a Chinese had won top academy honors, the Japanese administration of the academy henceforth placed Chinese students in a group separate from the Japanese cadets. Among the 92 Chinese students in Chiang's class (the third class) was his

close friend Ts'ai O (q.v.), of Hunan province.

Early in 1906 Chiang Fang-chen returned to China with the patriotic ambition of building up his country's military defenses. After remaining for a short while in Chekiang, he went to Manchuria, where the military governor, Chao Erh-sun (q.v.), placed him in charge of a military training bureau recently established to train army units in that region. However, because of the intense jealousy of such older officers as Chang Tso-lin (q.v.), Chao Erh-sun decided to send Chiang to Germany for further military training. There he served as company commander in training in the Seventh Army Corps under Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg. In 1910, after three years in Germany, Chiang returned to China by way of Siberia in the company of the Manchu Yin-ch'ang, the Chinese minister to Germany and a close friend of Yuan Shih-k'ai. In 1911, at the request of his patron, Chao Erh-sun, then governor general of the three Manchurian provinces, Chiang was assigned to head the military training bureau in Mukden. There he again encountered the animosity of Chang Tso-lin and those other officers of the old school who fiercely resented the expanding new army divisions and their young, foreign-trained officers, among whom were several of Chiang's former schoolmates in Japan, including Chang Shao-tseng, Lan T'ien-wei, and Wu Lu-chen. However, as he was surrounded by new army divisions in Mukden, Chiang's position was secure until the outbreak of the revolution in October 1911, when these divisions were transferred south, leaving Shenyang in the control of the "old" army units. To escape the wrath of Chang Tso-lin, Chiang fled Manchuria and retired to his native province of Chekiang.

In 1912 Chiang Fang-chen visited Peking. In December he was named by Yuan Shih-k'ai as director of the Military Academy at Paoting, an appointment Chiang viewed as an opportunity to further his ambition of strengthening China's military establishment. Although Paoting was then the foremost military school in the country, it had been operated during the past few years by inefficient and corrupt officers of the Peiyang Army. Upon assuming his duties, Chiang brought in a number of young, foreign-trained instructors and instituted a series of reforms. Soon, however, he encountered serious difficulties, for at Paoting, as at Mukden, he was

confronted by the hostility of old-school army officers who resented the favored positions given to younger men. Many of these older officers were protégés of Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.), who, as minister of war under Yuan Shih-k'ai, was in a position to support them by ignoring Chiang's application to his ministry for academy funds. After months of frustration, Chiang, in June 1913, apologized before the assembled cadets for failing the academy and then, in a dramatic gesture, shot himself. The wound was not fatal, however, and on his recovery he was transferred to Peking as councillor first class in the President's headquarters. Although his tenure as head of the Paoting Academy was brief, he was able to establish lasting ties with many young cadets, such as Ch'en Ming-shu and T'ang Sheng-chih (qq.v.), who were later to become prominent military leaders.

In May 1914 Chiang Fang-chen was appointed one of the eight councillors to the Generalissimo's office, a body created by Yuan Shih-k'ai to strengthen his personal control over the country's military establishment. While in this office, Chiang and a collaborator prepared at Yuan's order a modern interpretation of the ancient classic on military tactics, *Sun-tzu ping-fa* [Sun-tzu on the art of war], which was published as the *Sun-tzu hsin-shuo* [a new interpretation of Sun-tzu]. Chiang's continuing interest in the problems of national defense brought him again into contact with his friend and former classmate, Ts'ai O, whom Yuan Shih-k'ai had transferred from Yunnan to Peking to serve in his regime. Both Chiang and Ts'ai were opposed to the movement to make Yuan monarch, and late in 1915 Ts'ai secretly left Peking to lead a revolt against Yuan from Yunnan province. Although Chiang was placed under close surveillance by Yuan, he managed to escape from Peking early in 1916. Traveling to Kwangtung, he served under Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in the military council set up at Chao-ch'ing in opposition to Yuan Shih-k'ai.

After Yuan's death in June 1916, Chiang left Kwangtung for Shanghai and proceeded up-river to Szechwan to join Ts'ai O, who had been appointed governor of the province. However, illness soon forced Ts'ai to resign his post. Chiang accompanied him to Shanghai and thence to Japan, where Ts'ai died of cancer in November 1916. After attending to the funeral arrangements for his old friend, Chiang returned

to Peking, where he was appointed adviser to the President's office by Li Yuan-hung. While holding this sinecure position, Chiang was free to devote his time to study and writing. He wrote two popular volumes on military science and published the *Chih-fen lun* (1917), a translation of *Duty*, by the Scottish moralist Samuel Smiles.

With the Peking government firmly in the grip of the Peiyang militarists under Tuan Ch'i-jui, Chiang Fang-chen found little scope for realizing his early ideals of building up China's national defenses; and with his ambitions thus frustrated, his interest turned for the time being to the field of history and culture. At the end of 1918 he went with Carsun Chang, V. K. Ting (Ting Wen-chiang), Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, and other Chinese observers to attend the Paris Peace Conference. While in Europe, Liang and his companions took up the study of Western political and cultural affairs, in particular, the history of the European Renaissance. When the group returned to China in March 1920, Chiang engaged in a number of projects sponsored by Liang and his associates as part of a new culture movement. In addition to these activities, Chiang became editor of *Kai-tsao* [reconstruction], a scholarly magazine initiated in September 1920 by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and his group. In accordance with the aim of these undertakings—to bring about a cultural renaissance in China—Chiang published his "History of the Renaissance in Europe" ("Ou-chou wen-i fu-hsing shih"), with a preface by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. He also published his translation from the Japanese of Tomonaga Sanjuro's "Modern Conceptions of the 'Self'" ("Chin-shih 'wo' chih tzu-chueh shih").

During the early 1920's, while involved in these cultural activities, Chiang Fang-chen retained a keen interest in the political and military affairs of the nation. In response to the civil conflict then raging between rival military factions, he published his "Plan for Disarmament" ("Ts'ai-ping chi-hua shu"), in which he urged a reduction in the nation's competing military forces. At that time, in opposition to Tuan Ch'i-jui's plans for unifying the country by force of arms, there had arisen a movement to make China a federation of autonomous provinces, and to this movement Chiang lent his active support. In 1920 he was invited to

Hunan by the military governor, Chao Heng-t'i (q.v.), to supervise the drafting of a constitution for the province in accord with the principles of the federalist movement. Shortly afterward he was elected to the provincial assembly of Chekiang, and in 1921 he took part in drafting a constitution for his native province based upon similar principles.

As a graduate of the Shikan Gakkō and a former head of the Paoting Academy, Chiang Fang-chen had a wide range of connections with military officers trained in these institutions, and his services as lecturer and adviser were sought by leaders of several military camps. Although he attempted to keep himself aloof from factional alignments, his longstanding antagonism to Chang Tso-lin inclined him toward Chang's rivals of the Chihli faction, then dominated by Wu P'ei-fu. Through his associations with Chao Heng-t'i and other Hunanese military leaders, Chiang met Wu P'ei-fu in 1923 at Yochow, and in September 1924, on the eve of the second Fengtien-Chihli war, he was consulted by Wu in Peking concerning the military situation in Hunan. After Wu's overthrow by the combined forces of Chang Tso-lin and Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.), Chiang met secretly with the defeated leader and agreed to help him, as chief of staff, in regrouping the scattered Chihli forces for a new campaign against the Chang-Feng coalition. Proceeding to Shanghai, Chiang conferred with Sun Ch'u-an-fang (q.v.), Wu's former subordinate, who then was expanding his power in Chekiang and neighboring provinces.

During 1925, Chiang was engaged in planning an alliance between Sun Ch'u-an-fang and Wu P'ei-fu against Chang Tso-lin and in establishing contact with the Kuomintang government in Canton through one of his former students, Liu Wen-tao (q.v.). Through a former student in Hunan, T'ang Sheng-chih, Chiang hoped to bring most of the leaders of south China, including the Canton regime, into the coalition against Chang Tso-lin. However, Chiang's plans came to naught because Wu P'ei-fu refused to recognize T'ang Sheng-chih as governor of Hunan and decided, late in 1925, to align himself with Chang Tso-lin against Feng Yü-hsiang. These actions prompted Chiang to resign as Wu's chief of staff early in 1926. On returning to Shanghai from Hankow, Chiang was asked by Sun Ch'u-an-fang to serve in a number of posts—as Sun's chief of staff, as governor of Chekiang,

and as mayor of Shanghai. Chiang declined all of these positions, but agreed to serve in an informal capacity as Sun's adviser. During the summer of 1926, after the launching of the Kuomintang's Northern Expedition from Canton, Chiang was one of the intermediaries secretly working for an alliance between Sun Ch'u-an-fang and the Kuomintang. However, when the Northern Expedition began to attack Sun's armies in Kiangsi, and when Sun joined forces with Chang Tso-lin against the Kuomintang, Chiang made his final break with the Peiyang faction.

Although most of Chiang's associations had been with the northern militarists, he was held in high regard by many of the military leaders in Canton, including Chiang Kai-shek, the commander in chief of the Kuomintang forces. At the beginning of the Northern Expedition, the Kuomintang leaders had attempted unsuccessfully to obtain Chiang's services as chief of staff. Early in 1927, as the Kuomintang forces were advancing on Shanghai and Nanking, Chiang Kai-shek called Chiang Fang-chen to a series of private conferences at which they discussed the Kuomintang government's relations with the foreign powers, particularly Japan. Following these talks it was decided that the Kuomintang would seek to ease the tensions between China and Japan that had arisen in the course of the Northern Expedition, and Chiang Fang-chen was sent to Japan to explain to Japanese political leaders the policies and aims of the new National Government. Although he made some progress in his mission, he was reluctant to become involved too deeply in the affairs of the Kuomintang. He soon returned to China, leaving his work in Japan to be carried on by such party stalwarts as Tai Chi-t'ao (q.v.).

In its first years, the Nanking government under Chiang Kai-shek was beset with revolts; several powerful military leaders were unwilling to accept Chiang's domination of the regime. During this period Chiang Fang-chen in Shanghai sought to keep on good terms with Nanking, but because of his close connections with his former student T'ang Sheng-chih, he soon came under suspicion. After his defeat by Nanking in 1927, T'ang had taken refuge in Japan, but early in 1929, through the mediation of Chiang Fang-chen and his associates, T'ang had been reinstated by Chiang Kai-shek, who hoped to use him in his own campaign against

the dissident Kwangsi militarists. However, T'ang's defection to the Yen Hsi-shan-Feng Yu-hsiang coalition in December 1929 left Chiang Fang-chen, as T'ang's guarantor, in an awkward position. Early in 1930 he was taken into custody by the National Government authorities. However, through the intercession of several powerful friends among the military, including Ch'en Ming-shu, he was released after about a year of imprisonment in Nanking. He then returned to his home in Shanghai.

In January 1932 Chiang was residing in Shanghai when the Japanese launched an attack upon the city. During the period of hostilities he was often consulted by Ch'en Ming-shu and other officers of the Nineteenth Route Army concerning the tactics to be followed by the Chinese forces defending the city. Chiang then turned once more to writing, and in a number of books and articles he set forth his ideas on such questions as national defense, foreign affairs, and the relation of militarism to politics. During the next few years he was in frequent contact with K. P. Ch'en, Mu Hsiang-yueh, Hsu Hsin-liu, and other prominent figures in the Shanghai business world, and in 1934 he became one of the executive directors of the reorganized Agricultural and Commercial Bank (Nung-shang yin-hang).

In 1935 Chiang Fang-chen returned to government service through the invitation of Chiang Kai-shek, who appointed him a senior adviser in the government's Military Council. That same year, in a private capacity, he made another visit to Japan to appraise the political and military situation there. Observing that a younger, more radical, group of military leaders had assumed control of the Japanese government, he returned to China convinced that war between the two countries was inevitable. In preparation for the coming conflict, he privately drew up a plan of national strategy in which Hunan figured as the center of China's defense. He gave this document to his friend V. K. Ting, then secretary general of Academia Sinica, who proceeded with plans to develop the resources of that province as quickly as possible before the outbreak of war.

In the winter of 1935 Chiang was sent on a mission to study the processes of national mobilization in Italy, Germany, and other countries of Europe. Chiang was deeply impressed by the importance which European

military planners attached to air power. In reports sent back to the National Government, and, subsequently, in articles published in the *Ts Kung Pao* and other newspapers, he advocated having three separate military services—army, navy, and air force—united under a supreme organ of national defense. In view of the urgency with which he believed China had to mobilize her defenses, he urged the nation's leaders to give top priority to building up an air force and accelerating the training of air force personnel.

After several months in Europe, Chiang returned to China by way of the United States, arriving in Shanghai on 1 December 1936. One week later he was summoned to Sian by Chiang Kai-shek, to whom he presented a report of his trip abroad. He was there at the time of the Sian Incident, and took part as a non-partisan intermediary in the negotiations with Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.) which preceded the release of Chiang Kai-shek. He gained the confidence of Chiang Kai-shek, and he was frequently consulted by him on questions of national defense. While in Europe he had observed the close coordination of national economies with defense planning, and during the first part of 1937 he began to set down his ideas on this and related themes in a work entitled *Kuo-fang lun* [on national defense]. The first volume, dealing with the military aspects, was published by the Lushan Training Corps. Chiang spent the summer of the year with the training corps as a guest lecturer. He had just begun the second volume, dealing with the economic aspects, when the outbreak of the war with Japan interrupted his labors.

Following the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in July 1937, Chiang abandoned his home in Shanghai and went to Nanking, where he was named to the National Defense Council. In September he was dispatched to Italy and Germany as Chiang Kai-shek's personal representative, presumably to explore the possibilities of mediation by these governments in the Sino-Japanese dispute. However, conferences in Rome and Berlin with Ciano and Ribbentrop produced no concrete results, and Chiang, in a report to Chiang Kai-shek, advised that China seek the aid of Britain, France, and the United States. After spending some months in Paris and London, Chiang was summoned home to participate in the People's Political Council.

After arriving in Hankow in May 1938, Chiang devoted much of his time to writing and lecturing in the service of the campaign of resistance to Japan. At the same time, he was often consulted by Chiang Kai-shek, who appointed him acting president of the Army Staff College, then located at T'aoyuan in northern Hunan. This was a special honor inasmuch as Chiang Kai-shek himself was at that time president of all military schools, each of which was ordinarily administered by a dean. When the National Government abandoned Hankow for Chungking later in the year, the Army Staff College was transferred to Tsunyi, in Kweichow province. During the exertions of the transfer, Chiang's health, which had never been robust, failed rapidly. In November 1938, on his way from Liuchow, Kwangsi, to Kweiyang, Kweichow, he suffered a heart attack and died.

Chiang Fang-chen was survived by his second wife and four daughters. He had no sons. His first marriage, contracted by his parents, had been to a girl of his native locality. His second wife and almost constant companion was a Japanese woman, *née* Sato, to whom Chiang gave the Chinese name Tso-meи. Trained as an obstetrical nurse at Tokyo Imperial University, she had been sent to Peking as a member of the Japanese Legation staff. In 1913, through a special arrangement made by Yuan Shih-k'ai, she had attended Chiang at Paoting during his convalescence from his attempted suicide. Following his recovery, Chiang courted and married her.

Chiang Hai-ch'eng
Alt. Ai Ch'ing

蔣海澄
艾青

Chiang Hai-ch'eng (1910-), known as Ai Ch'ing, poet. As a prominent literary figure committed to the doctrines of Mao Tse-tung, he held official posts at Peking from 1949 to 1958, when he was censured as a rightist.

Iwu, Chinhua hsien, Chekiang province, was the birthplace of Ai Ch'ing. His family owned much land in the district as well as a general store that had been established by Ai's great-grandfather. Some details about Ai's early life and some information about his father may be gleaned from his own poems. In "Wo te fu-ch'in" [my father], published in 1942, he related

that his father had assumed adult responsibilities at the age of 16, when Ai's grandfather died. In due course, his father became a local official and taught Chinese in the local middle school.

Soon after his birth, Ai Ch'ing was taken to the Chekiang countryside to be reared by a peasant wet nurse. At the age of five, he returned home and began to attend school in Chinhua. His father encouraged Ai to study Western languages, and he was exposed to Western poetry as a schoolboy.

After graduation from middle school, Ai studied medicine, but soon decided that he wished to become a painter and attended an art school in Shanghai for a few months. He became obsessed with the desire to study abroad, and in 1928 his father reluctantly gave him the money to go to Europe. He sailed at once for France. There he managed to earn a little money preparing designs for porcelain. He spent most of his time reading, exploring Paris, haunting the Louvre, and investigating modern European art and poetry. He became interested in the poems of Rimbaud and Apollinaire, and he made a pilgrimage to Arles to see the paintings of Van Gogh.

When his money ran out, Ai Ch'ing returned to China in January 1932. On the ship he made his initial attempt to write poetry. When his parents saw him, they were distressed by his "bohemianism"; they had hoped that he would choose a conventional profession which would lead to a respected position and would increase the family fortune. Ai soon left Chekiang for Shanghai, where he gained an introduction to the prominent author and social critic Lu Hsün (Chou Shu-jen, q.v.) and became a member of the Ch'un-ti Art Research Society. Ai's contact with Lu Hsün in the early months of 1932 strengthened his determination to write.

In July 1932 Ai was arrested by the French police on suspicion of "harboring radical thoughts." He was detained in the French concession of Shanghai for more than three years, until October 1935. That period of confinement had positive results. Ai produced the collection of nine poems entitled *Ta-yen-ho* (1936). The work took its name from the principal poem, which described the tragic existence of Ai's wet nurse in Chekiang. The poem was entitled "Ta-yen-ho" [big dike river] because the woman had no name of her own, but was called by the name of her native village. It was

intended to serve as a tribute to the woman and as "an imprecation upon this unjust world." The collection had an immediate impact on socially conscious literary circles in China and brought Ai recognition.

After his release from prison in the autumn of 1935, Ai Ch'ing remained in Shanghai until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in the summer of 1937. There he was associated with Hu Feng (q.v.), an independent Marxist literary critic and poet, and with the poet T'ien Chien. In the early wartime period, Ai Ch'ing went to teach at National Shansi University for a short period before going on to Sian, where he joined a literary propaganda group which had been formed to encourage resistance to Japan. From Sian he moved back to Hankow and then to Kweilin in Kwangsi province, where he worked for a year as the literary editor of a newspaper. Then Ai went to Hunan and taught in a middle school. A year later the school was closed by the National Government authorities because of its "leftist tendencies." Ai Ch'ing then went to Szechwan, where he obtained a position in the Yu-ts'ai School, an institution for orphans directed by the prominent educator T'ao Hsing-chih (q.v.). The school was located at Peip'ei near Chungking.

Early in 1941 Ai Ch'ing moved to the Chinese Communist wartime base in northwest China. He joined a small group of men who posed as military officers in Yen Hsi-shan's Shansi Army and traveled to Yenan in March 1941. Ai Ch'ing attended the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art in the spring of 1942. Afterwards, he became active in the program to implement the general literary directives that Mao Tse-tung had set forth at the forum. Ai lectured at the Lu Hsün Academy of Arts at Yenan and studied folk songs. Yenan had a decisive influence on his poetry; his work became more political and more concerned with the common people of China. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, Ai Ch'ing went to Kalgan, where he worked in the Communist-sponsored land reform program and continued to write and lecture.

After the Central People's Government was established at Peking in 1949, Ai Ch'ing was recognized as one of the prominent literary men committed to Mao Tse-tung's doctrines. From 1949 to 1953 he was associated with the monthly magazine *Jen-min wen-hsueh* [people's literature], first as assistant editor and then as a member of

the editorial board. In 1953 he was elected to membership on the national committee of the All-China Federation of Literary and Arts Circles, and he became a member of the board of directors of its literary sub-organization, the Union of Chinese Writers. He was a member of the Chinese cultural delegation that visited Chile in the summer of 1954. Two collections, *Ai Ch'ing hsuan-chi* [selected works of Ai Ch'ing] and *Ai Ch'ing shih-hsuan* [selected poems of Ai Ch'ing], appeared in 1951 and 1955, respectively. In 1957, however, Ai Ch'ing, along with other literary figures, received official criticism. He was called a rightist and was charged with holding deviant views. In February 1958 he was dismissed from his official posts. He remained in disfavor for some time, but was cleared of the charge against him in December 1961.

Ai Ch'ing occupied a significant place among twentieth-century Chinese poets. His language was simple, and his most effective poems were written in a free style close to that of prose. Ai Ch'ing himself divided his writing career from 1932 to 1945 into three phases: the period of Kuomintang rule, the early wartime period, and the years at Yenan. In the first, which included his years of imprisonment in Shanghai, most of his poems were autobiographical and experimental. He was both saddened and angered by the social injustice that he saw around him. In the second period of his career, from 1935 to 1941, he used narrative and descriptive forms and patriotic content. His poems of that period were hopeful, but showed an awareness of the tragic suffering caused by the Japanese invasion. Ai Ch'ing wrote of the war-shattered lives of the peasants of north China, whose fortitude he admired greatly. After his journey to Yenan, Ai Ch'ing began to write political poems; he attacked fascism, saluted the Soviet Union, and expressed his reactions to current affairs at home and abroad. His work of this period was limited by the demands of its ideology.

Ai Ch'ing's most important works were written in the years before 1941. His *Shih-lun to-shih* [collected essays on poetry], published in 1937, was followed by a collection of verse entitled *Hsiang t'ai-yang* [looking toward the sun]. Later collections of poetry were entitled *Pei-fang* [the northern land], *T'a ssu tsai ti erh-tz'u* [he died a second death], *Kei hsia-ts'un te shih* [poems dedicated to villagers], and

Huo-pa [the torch]. In another collection of essays, *Shih-lun* [on poetry], published in 1940 when he was at the peak of his career, Ai Ch'ing stated his literary credo. "We must persist in the revolution brought into poetry by Whitman, Verhaeren, and Mayakovsky. We must make poetry into something that adequately meets the needs of a new era, without hesitating to use whatever poetic form is most suitable for this purpose."

Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石

Officially: Chiang Chung-蔣中正
cheng
H. Chieh-shih (Cantonese: Kai-shek)

Chiang Kai-shek (31 October 1887–), head of state of the National Government in China and in Taiwan and party leader of the Kuomintang.

A native of the Fenghua district, Ningpo prefecture, of Chekiang, Chiang Kai-shek was born in Ch'ik'ou, a town to the west of the Wuling mountain range. The family had been farmers for generations until Chiang's paternal grandfather, Chiang Ssu-ch'ien (T. Yu-piao), who died in 1894 at the age of 81 sui, became a salt merchant and began to improve the family's financial and social position. Chiang Kai-shek's father, Chiang Ch'ao-ts'ung (T. Su-an), also was a salt merchant. He died in 1896 at the age of 54 sui, leaving his family in financial straits. It was only through perseverance and personal sacrifice that Chiang Kai-shek's mother (1863–1921), the third wife of Chiang Ch'ao-ts'ung, was able to support and guide her children. Chiang Kai-shek was a devoted son, both as a child and as a man. He had one brother, Jui-ch'ing; two sisters, Jui-lien and Jui-chün; a half-brother, Hsi-hou, and a half-sister, Jui-ch'un.

In 1905 Chiang went to Ningpo to study under Ku Ch'ing-lien at the Chien-chiu School. There he studied Chinese philosophy and became acquainted with the ancient Chinese military text *Sun-tzu ping-fa* [on the art of war]. The idea of becoming a military man already appealed to him. In the autumn of 1906, at the age of 20 sui, Chiang transferred to the Lung-chin Middle School at Fenghua. He remained there for only three months, for he had made up his mind to study military science abroad.

Like many other patriotic youths of that period, Chiang was distressed by the inability of the Ch'ing court to protect China's interests in the face of growing foreign penetration of the country. The defeat of Russia by Japan in 1904–5 in a war that was fought largely in Chinese territory in Manchuria posed new threats and made the position of the Chinese empire even more precarious. To convince his mother of his determination to go to Japan, Chiang cut off his queue and sent it to her. At that time, the financial situation of the Chiang family was threatened by the actions of local bureaucrats in Chekiang, but Chiang's mother reluctantly gave him her blessing and what funds she could spare.

Chiang arrived in Tokyo in 1906, only to discover that because he was not a government-sponsored student he could not enter military training programs in Japan. He soon returned to China, and in 1907 he was admitted to the Lu-chün su-ch'eng hsueh-hsiao, a military school at Paoting, Chihli (Hopei), which was under the supervision of the Board of Military Affairs. Because he had cut off his queue, Chiang Kai-shek was obliged to behave with circumspection, for the Ch'ing authorities were suspicious of potential radicalism among the cadets. Except for one altercation with a Japanese instructor, for which he received a reprimand, Chiang spent an uneventful year at Paoting and thereby secured the privilege of becoming a government-sponsored student in Japan. The Paoting school was a predecessor of the Paoting Military Academy; and his later association with the Paoting group of military officers in republican China stemmed from his attendance there in 1907–8.

From 1908 to 1910, Chiang Kai-shek attended the Shimbū Gakkō, a military school in Tokyo which had been established to prepare Chinese students for study at the Shikan Gakkō [military academy]. Chiang became acquainted with Chang Ch'ün (q.v.), a Szechwanese who also had studied at Paoting; almost of an age, the two became close friends and political associates. Another of his associates was Ch'en Ch'i-mei (q.v.), whom he had met in Japan in 1906, and, under Ch'en's sponsorship, he joined the T'ung-meng-hui in 1908. A fellow provincial from Chekiang who was some 11 years Chiang's senior, Ch'en Ch'i-mei, became the political mentor of the young cadet. Ch'en introduced

Chiang to Sun Yat-sen when Sun returned briefly to Japan from Honolulu in 1910.

In 1910, Chiang was graduated from the Shimbu Gakkō and became a candidate for admission to the Shikan Gakkō. Together with Chang Ch'ün, he was assigned for field training to the 13th Field Artillery (Takada) Regiment of the Japanese Army. Although Chiang responded well to the rigorous training and to the long hours of duty, he apparently made no strong impression on the Japanese officers of the regiment.

When news of the Wuchang revolt of October 1911 reached Japan, Chiang Kai-shek, Chang Ch'ün, and other young Chinese cadets immediately sailed from Nagasaki on a Japanese ship. They arrived at Shanghai on 30 October. Ch'en Ch'i-me, with the help of secret societies in Shanghai, was engaged in an attempt to capture the Kiangnan arsenal; during the first week of November, he succeeded in winning over Shanghai to the cause of the republican revolutionaries. Encouraged by this success, Ch'en Ch'i-me began organizing forces to consolidate control of the seaboard provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang and to capture Nanking. While the Shanghai campaign was underway, Chiang Kai-shek participated in these actions, and, in recognition of his loyalty and his services, Ch'en Ch'i-me, who had become military governor of Shanghai, gave him a promotion to regimental commander. The early victories of the revolutionary armies at Shanghai and Nanking during the late weeks of 1911 helped to make possible the establishment of a new provisional government at Nanking and the election of Sun Yat-sen as provisional president.

The revolutionary activity directed by Ch'en Ch'i-me at Shanghai in 1911-12 had long-term as well as immediate effects, because it led to the establishment of personal relationships which were important to Chiang Kai-shek's later political career. Chiang formed a sworn brotherhood with Chang Ch'ün and with Huang Fu (q.v.), then chief of staff and divisional commander under Ch'en Ch'i-me. The three made pledges to rely on each other in crisis or in peace and to share each other's fortunes and setbacks. Other associates of this period who were to play important roles in the Kuomintang after Chiang Kai-shek gained power included Ch'en Kuo-fu, Shao Yuan-ch'ung, and Wu Chung-hsin (qq.v.). During this time, Chiang also became friendly

with Chang Jen-chieh (q.v.), who later secured Chiang's entry into the personal service of Sun Yat-sen.

The early years after the inauguration of the Chinese republic in 1912 were marked by a struggle for authority between the supporters of Sun Yat-sen and those of Yuan Shih-k'ai. Chiang served under Ch'en Ch'i-me, but he did not gain national prominence. When Yuan Shih-k'ai consolidated power, Ch'en Ch'i-me relinquished his military and civil posts at Shanghai in 1912. Ch'en then returned to Japan, and Chiang accompanied him. In Japan Chiang studied German in preparation for a projected trip to Europe and published a short-lived magazine, the *Chün-sheng tsa-chih* [army voice magazine]. Opposition to Yuan Shih-k'ai continued, and, during the period of the so-called second revolution, Ch'en Ch'i-me and Chiang Kai-shek returned to Shanghai. Ch'en attempted to reactivate his forces in the Shanghai Woosung area, and Chiang led a military action in the Chinese sector of Shanghai in July. Chiang's small forces soon were disarmed by the British police in the International Settlement, and he left for Nanking with Chang Jen-chieh.

Ch'en Ch'i-me's isolated position forced him to flee from Shanghai in November 1913. He went to Japan to join Sun Yat-sen. About this time, Chiang Kai-shek also went to Japan. In 1914 Sun reorganized the outlawed Kuomintang as the Chung-hua Ko-ming-tang, a closed organization that required its members to pledge personal allegiance to Sun. Some of Sun's adherents refused to take the oath of personal loyalty and withdrew their support of Sun, but Chiang and Ch'en remained loyal to his cause. In 1914, on orders from Sun, Chiang Kai-shek made trips to Shanghai and later to Harbin to instigate actions against Yuan Shih-k'ai. Both attempts failed. Except for undertaking these missions, Chiang remained in Japan during 1914-15, reading works by Wang Yang-ming, Tseng Kuo-fan, and Hu Lin-i and studying military strategy.

The political outlook for the republican revolutionaries remained bleak throughout 1915. In May, Yuan Shih-k'ai acceded to Japan's Twenty-one Demands; in August, he launched his campaign to become monarch. Renewing his attempt to dislodge Yuan's forces from Shanghai, Ch'en Ch'i-me, accompanied by Chiang Kai-shek and other associates, returned

to China in mid-1915. In November and December, Ch'en's group created incidents at Shanghai which, though unsuccessful, gave impetus to the anti-Yuan movement in other areas of China. On 18 May 1916 Yuan had Ch'en Ch'i-mei assassinated. Ch'en's untimely death at the age of only 41 sui marked the end of a significant personal relationship for Chiang Kai-shek. Several members of Ch'en Ch'i-mei's entourage of the 1911-12 period at Shanghai became trusted lieutenants of Chiang Kai-shek; and Ch'en's two nephews, Ch'en Kuo-fu and Ch'en Li-fu (q.v.), played leading roles in the central apparatus of the post-1924 Kuomintang.

The May Fourth Movement in China and the initial dissemination of Marxist literature and ideas in China had no immediate effect on Chiang Kai-shek's political career. However, he became interested in the pattern of the Russian Revolution, and his high regard for the idea of a party-army-government amalgam to bolster political control had an effect on his later career. After Ch'en Ch'i-mei's assassination in mid-1916, Chiang, though committed to Sun Yat-sen's nationalist cause, lingered in Shanghai. He did not accompany Sun Yat-sen to Canton when Sun moved there in the autumn of 1917 to attempt to establish a military base in south China, but he did submit informal military estimates and personal recommendations to Sun later that year. In March 1918 Sun summoned Chiang to Canton to discuss his possible participation in the newly established regime there. That was Chiang Kai-shek's first trip to Canton, and it probably was arranged by Chang Jen-chieh, who was a personal friend and a liberal financial supporter of Sun Yat-sen.

The nucleus of Sun's military power was the Kwangtung Army, commanded by Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.). On 15 March 1918 Chiang was named operations officer on Ch'en's staff. Chiang made several field trips with Teng K'eng (q.v.), then chief of staff under Ch'en Chiung-ming. Chiang apparently earned Ch'en's confidence, but other Kwangtung officers were hostile to him because he was a Chekiang man. Chiang resigned from Ch'en's staff at the end of July. A few weeks later, after a series of victories had led to the capture of Changchou, Fukien, he received command of the second column of the Kwangtung Army, with headquarters at Ch'angt'ai, Fukien. From 1918 to 1920, while Sun Yat-sen was living in retirement in Shanghai,

Chiang Kai-shek shuttled between Shanghai and his army post in southern Fukien, where Ch'en Chiung-ming's Cantonese military forces constituted Sun's only hope of regaining power in the south. Chiang's peripatetic existence reflected the fact that he was often on the verge of resigning his military post. Toward the end of October 1919, he visited Japan briefly, reportedly to renew friendships there.

The secrecy surrounding Chiang Kai-shek's activities during this period gave rise to reports that he made money through financial speculation. Sun Yat-sen, to raise funds for his political cause, ordered the establishment of a commodity exchange at Shanghai in 1919. Participants in the venture, in addition to Ch'en Kuo-fu, presumably were Chang Jen-chieh, Chiang Kai-shek, and Tai Chi-t'ao (q.v.). During this period, Chiang developed close relations with the Ch'ing-pang (Green Gang), a Chinese secret society that had wide influence both in Shanghai and in areas along the Yangtze valley. The Green Gang had recognized social functions, and it also controlled much of the Shanghai underworld.

In 1920 Chiang returned to active military duty at the behest of Sun Yat-sen. In October, Chiang arrived at Swatow to join Ch'en Chiung-ming's forces, which were beginning the successful advance on Canton that enabled Sun Yat-sen to resume power there. Chiang Kai-shek returned to Shanghai in November 1920 and evaded the repeated efforts of Sun and his close political associates, including Hu Han-min, Wang Ching-wei, and Liao Chung-k'ai (qq.v.), to secure his return to Canton to help strengthen Sun's position. Chiang's refusal to remain at Canton was based on his opposition to working with Ch'en Chiung-ming in the south. In February 1921 Chiang did go to Canton to confer with Sun Yat-sen, but by May of that year, when Sun assumed the office of extraordinary president of the new regime at Canton, Chiang had returned to his native village in Chekiang because of the serious illness of his mother.

His mother died on 14 June 1921, and Chiang remained at Fenghua to observe the traditional period of mourning. Sun Yat-sen sent Ch'en Kuo-fu to the funeral as his personal representative, and Chü Cheng (q.v.) and Tai Chi-t'ao also attended the services. The degree of official representation indicates that by mid-1921 Chiang Kai-shek had begun to enjoy the

personal patronage of Sun Yat-sen. In October 1921 Chiang returned to Canton. By that time Ch'en Chiung-ming had won a series of victories in Kwangsi, bringing the province under the military control of the Canton government. Encouraged by this success, Sun Yat-sen decided to carry the campaigns northward into Hunan and Hupeh as the next step toward the unification of China under his regime. Chiang Kai-shek was assigned to draft plans for the proposed northern expedition.

The conflict between Sun Yat-sen's national objectives and Ch'en Chiung-ming's ambition to hold Kwangtung under his own leadership became intense in the early months of 1922. In March, Teng K'eng (q.v.), the chief of staff of the Kwangtung Army and a staunch supporter of Sun Yat-sen, was assassinated at Canton; despite his vigorous denials, Ch'en Chiung-ming was thought to be responsible for the slaying. In June 1922 Chiang Kai-shek was at his family home in Chekiang, observing the conventional ritual of mourning on the first anniversary of his mother's death, when Ch'en Chiung-ming's associates decided that the time had come for an open break with Sun Yat-sen. Some of Ch'en's military forces then prepared for an attack on Sun. Sun was warned of the impending coup and escaped to the gunboat Yung-feng in the Pearl River.

Two days later, Chiang Kai-shek learned of the crisis from Wang Ching-wei, then in Shanghai. Wang's message was followed by an urgent telegram from Sun himself: "Emergency. Hope you come quickly." Chiang Kai-shek entrusted his family affairs to Chang Jen-chieh and left immediately for the south. He arrived at Canton on 29 June 1922 and joined Sun aboard the Yung-feng. They finally left for Hong Kong on 9 August on a British ship and reached Shanghai on 14 August 1922. Chiang later wrote about the Yung-feng interlude in a short memoir entitled *Sun ta-tsung-t'ung Kuang-chou meng-nan chi* [president Sun's harassment at Canton].

Chiang Kai-shek's political career was significantly advanced as a result of this episode. From 1912 to 1922 his role in the Kuomintang had been relatively unimportant, though Sun Yat-sen had respected the abilities of his young subordinate. The days spent together on the Yung-feng served to strengthen their relationship and to prepare the way for Chiang's rise to power.

WHAMPOA AND THE NORTHERN EXPEDITION

On 20 October 1922 Sun Yat-sen appointed Chiang Kai-shek chief of staff in Fukien, under Hsü Ch'ung-chih (q.v.). Hsü, a senior general of the Kwangtung Army who had remained loyal to Sun, had launched an attack on Fukien from Kwangtung and Kiangsi and had captured Foochow on 12 October. In January 1923 these Kwangtung forces, acting in support of Yunnan and Kwangsi armies, moved toward Canton and caused Ch'en Chiung-ming to withdraw to his stronghold in the East River area. Sun went to Canton in February to reestablish the military government of 1917. Chiang Kai-shek, after a trip to Chekiang, arrived in Canton on 20 April 1923 to serve as chief of staff in Sun's headquarters.

In working out the alliance with Adolf Joffe for cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Russians, Sun Yat-sen sent a special mission to Moscow to study questions of military organization and to obtain arms. He named Chiang Kai-shek to head the group, which also included Wang Teng-yun, a member of the Kuomintang; Chang T'ai-lei (q.v.), a Communist; and Shen Ting-i, who was a member of both parties. Chiang and his group left Shanghai on 16 August 1923 and arrived in Moscow on 2 September. During his stay in the Soviet Union, Chiang studied party, military, and political organization and inspected military and naval training schools. Leon Trotsky, the principal architect of the Soviet Red Army, and his colleagues met with Chiang. He was received by G. V. Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and by G. Zinoviev, as well as by such Comintern officials as Maring, Joffe, and G. H. Voitinsky. Chiang and his party left Moscow on 29 November 1923 and arrived in Shanghai on 15 December. Chiang immediately returned to his home at Fenghua to observe the sixtieth anniversary of the birth of his mother, on 16 December.

Chiang reached Canton on 16 January 1924 and submitted a report on his Russian trip to Sun Yat-sen and the senior Kuomintang leaders, who then were intent on completing plans for the party's reorganization. The report was not made public, but Chiang apparently had returned from the Soviet Union with a shrewd appreciation of the methods and potential strengths of the single-party state dictatorship. Chiang Kai-shek arrived in Canton just before

the opening of the major Kuomintang reorganization meeting, but Sun did not appoint him a delegate to that congress.

At the First National Congress of the reorganized Kuomintang, held at Canton from 20 to 30 January 1924, Chiang was appointed to membership on the Military Council of the Kuomintang and was made head of a seven-man committee to establish a military academy at Whampoa, a small island some ten miles down-river from Canton. However, Chiang resigned from the committee and left Canton on 21 February 1924; the major responsibility for establishing the new academy fell to Liao Chung-k'ai. Only after repeated requests from Sun Yat-sen, Liao Chung-k'ai, Hu Han-min, and others did Chiang return to south China. After arriving at Canton on 21 April, he was appointed commandant of the Whampoa Military Academy on 3 May 1924.

The first class of cadets, some 500 students in all, arrived in May, and the opening ceremonies were held on 16 June 1924. Sun Yat-sen presided over the ceremonies and made a stirring speech in which he stressed the key role that was to be played by the Whampoa cadets in the national unification of China. Sun then presented the seal of the academy, the symbol of authority and leadership, to Chiang Kai-shek. The presence of many Kuomintang officials at the ceremony demonstrated the importance of the academy to the Nationalists.

Chiang personally supervised the military training of the 2,000 men in the first three classes of Whampoa cadets (entering in May 1924, August 1924, and January 1925). From this group came many of the Nationalist officers later known as members of the Whampoa clique and a number of officers who later served in the Chinese Communist forces. Many of the military instructors at Whampoa—Ch'ien Ta-chun, Ho Ying-ch'in, Liu Chih, Ku Chu-t'ung (qq.v.), and others—later were close associates of Chiang Kai-shek as Nationalist generals.

In addition to military training, Sun Yat-sen felt that great emphasis should be placed on the indoctrination of the Kuomintang's principles of national revolution. He therefore made Liao Chung-k'ai the senior political officer at the academy and appointed as instructors Hu Han-min, Tai Chi-t'ao, Wang Ching-wei, and others. Liao Chung-k'ai had full responsibility for supervising political training and indoctrination

and helped to lay the foundations for the political commissar system used by the National Revolutionary Army on the Northern Expedition and by both the Nationalist and Communist armies in China after 1928. In connection with the pro-Russian orientation of the reorganized Kuomintang, Chiang Kai-shek worked closely with the Russian advisers at Canton, including Borodin and Bluecher (known as Galen), and with a number of Chinese Communists, notably Chou En-lai (q.v.), who became political instructors at Whampoa.

Although plans for building up Kuomintang strength with Soviet military aid were being implemented, the newly reorganized regime at Canton was not safe from danger. In eastern Kwangtung, Ch'en Chiung-ming remained a figure of considerable military power. In Canton, the Kuomintang's position was threatened in the autumn of 1924 by the armed defiance of the Canton Merchants Corps, a volunteer militia organization maintained by local Chinese businessmen. Sun Yat-sen had moved his headquarters to Shaokuan, and Hu Han-min was then the senior Kuomintang figure at Canton. Acting on orders from Sun, Hu summoned all the armed forces available at Canton and placed them under the command of Chiang Kai-shek. By mid-October, the Merchants Corps had been crushed and disarmed after a battle during which parts of Canton's most populous quarter had been set afire and looted by the government forces.

Late in 1924 Sun Yat-sen, who hoped to arrive at a *rapprochement* with the principal military figures of north China, was invited to visit Peking for discussions of major national issues. Before leaving for the north in mid-November, he paid an inspection visit to the Whampoa Academy, an occasion which marked the last meeting between Sun and Chiang Kai-shek. Sun was at Peking in January 1925 when Ch'en Chiung-ming launched a renewed offensive against Canton. In response, the Kuomintang regime there organized a so-called eastern expedition under the command of Hsü Ch'ung-chih. The right flank forces, composed of Whampoa cadets under the command of Chiang Kai-shek, defeated Ch'en's forces in a series of engagements. By the end of March, Ch'en's armies had been routed, and Chiang's force had occupied Haifeng, Swatow, and most of eastern Kwangtung.

The death of Sun Yat-sen in March 1925 resulted in new problems for the Kuomintang government at Canton, where Hu Han-min held authority. The most pressing threat was that of revolt by the Yunnan and Kwangsi mercenary armies in and around Canton. Hu Han-min handled this crisis with the same firmness that he had shown in dealing with the Canton Merchants Corps the previous autumn. After consultation with Hsü Ch'ung-chih and Chiang Kai-shek, Hu determined to use force against the unruly troops, and in June 1925 he suppressed the insurrection in two weeks.

From the summer of 1925 onward, Chiang Kai-shek's key military position at Canton was undisputed; he was commandant of the Whampoa Academy and garrison commander of the city. After the establishment of a Kuomintang-controlled National Government at Canton in July 1925, Chiang was elected to its Military Council. Shortly thereafter, when the Kuomintang armed forces in Kwangtung were reorganized into the National Revolutionary Army, Chiang became commander of the First Army. His prestige was enhanced by his success in the second eastern expedition against Ch'en Chiung-ming, who had made a final attempt to dislodge the Kuomintang from Canton. In October, during the siege of Ch'en's stronghold of Waichow, Chiang was surrounded by enemy troops. He reportedly was rescued from his predicament by Ch'en Keng (q.v.), a young Communist officer who had been a member of the first class at Whampoa. By early November 1925, Chiang Kai-shek had finally defeated the last remnants of Ch'en Chiung-ming's forces in eastern Kwangtung.

During 1925 the party leaders also confronted the thorny succession problem. At the time of Sun Yat-sen's death, the major aspirants were generally assumed to be Hu Han-min, Wang Ching-wei, and Liao Chung-k'ai. All were T'ung-meng-hui veterans who had been friends of Sun and had enjoyed his confidence. Although Chiang Kai-shek had emerged as a new favorite of Sun during the early 1920's, his position in the Kuomintang hierarchy was not yet stabilized. In 1925 he was not a member of the Central Executive Committee. His speeches of this period indicate that Chiang believed that his primary mission was to serve the Kuomintang as a military officer. Nonetheless, in the months preceding the Northern Expedition a

number of circumstances worked to Chiang's advantage and brought him to the forefront of political affairs.

The assassination of Liao Chung-k'ai in August 1925, the banishment of Hu Han-min, and the dismissal of Hsü Ch'ung-chih left Chiang and Wang Ching-wei as the leaders in the Kuomintang. Chiang's position was buttressed by the crucial fact that at the time he supported the alliance with the Soviet Union and, in turn, had the support of Borodin. By the beginning of 1926, in preparation for the Northern Expedition, Chiang and Wang were carrying out the policies of collaboration with the Communists and alliance with the Soviet Union and were arranging the entente with T'ang Sheng-chih (q.v.) that made possible the later military thrust northward through Human. In January 1926, when the Second National Congress of the Kuomintang met at Canton, Chiang and Wang, supported by Borodin and in cooperation with the Chinese Communist delegates, dominated the meeting in opposition to the conservative Western Hills faction of the party. At that congress, Chiang Kai-shek was elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

On 20 March 1926, in connection with an alleged plot involving the gunboat Chungshan, Chiang moved suddenly against the Communists. He imposed martial law, detained the gunboat commander, and arrested many Soviet advisers and Chinese Communist cadres in military units under his command. The March 1926 incident resulted in the retirement of Wang Ching-wei from the political scene and in the assumption by Chiang Kai-shek of a dominant position in the power structure at Canton.

At the second plenum of the Second Central Executive Committee, held on 15 May 1926, Chiang moved forward. He proposed a series of actions to curtail Communist influence in the Kuomintang. They were accepted, and Chiang became truly powerful in the party in his own right. Chang Jen-chieh, Chiang's former patron and intimate associate in Shanghai, was elevated to the post of chairman of the standing committee of the Central Executive Committee, and Communists then serving as department heads in the central apparatus of the Kuomintang were ousted. Chiang Kai-shek himself succeeded the Communist T'an P'ing-shan as head of the organization department, while Ku Meng-yü succeeded Mao Tse-tung, who had been acting

head of the central propaganda department. Chiang soon named Ch'en Kuo-fu to head the organization department, and from that time Ch'en Kuo-fu and his brother Ch'en Li-fu continued to hold dominant positions in that key organ of the Kuomintang for more than 20 years.

By mid-1926 Chiang Kai-shek had consolidated a base in Kwangtung, and plans had been completed for the launching of the Northern Expedition. On 5 June, Chiang was named commander in chief of the National Revolutionary Army. On 9 July, he assumed office as supreme commander. The induction ceremony was impressive, with an estimated 50,000 people present when T'an Yen-k'ai, in his capacity as chairman of the National Government at Canton, presented Chiang with the official seal. Wu Chih-hui (q.v.) presented the army flag, and Sun Yat-sen's son, Sun Fo (q.v.), held a portrait of his father to symbolize the fact that the campaign was designed to carry out Sun's unrealized ambition of unifying China. Under Chiang Kai-shek's over-all command, Teng Yen-ta (q.v.) headed the general political department, with Kuo Mo-jo (q.v.) as his deputy. The forces during the first stage (1926-27) of the Northern Expedition were composed of eight armies: three from Hunan, two from Kwangtung, one from Kwangsi, one from Yunnan, and one commanded by Chiang's close associate Ho Ying-ch'in, a Kweichow officer who had served as dean of instruction at Whampoa. The Nationalist war plan called for a drive northward through Hunan to strike at Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.) in Hupeh.

The initial speed and success of the Northern Expedition forces was impressive. Changsha, the provincial capital of Hunan, was captured quickly; and Chiang, who arrived from Canton on 12 August, was greeted by the local populace as a conquering hero. By the end of August, Nationalist forces had secured the areas south of Tung-t'ing Lake in Hunan and had captured Ting-ssu-ch'iao and Ho-sheng-ch'iao, two key points on the railway leading to Wuchang. In these battles Chang Fa-k'uei (q.v.), then a division commander in the Fourth Army, gained national reputation as a military leader. Assault on the three Wuhan cities of Wuchang, Hanyang, and Hankow began at once. Hankow and Hanyang fell in early September, and Wuchang was captured on 10 October 1926, the fifteenth anniversary of the republican revolution.

After the defeat of Wu P'ei-fu's forces in the central Yangtze valley, Chiang turned his attention to Kiangsi, then controlled by Sun Ch'u-an-fang (q.v.). Three Nationalist armies were deployed in that province: the First, the Third, and the Sixth. Nanchang, the provincial capital, fell in November 1926, and Chiang Kai-shek established his headquarters there. Ho Ying-ch'in's forces then moved into Fukien and captured Foochow, the provincial capital, in December. At the beginning of 1927 the Nationalists launched a two-pronged attack on Chiang's native province of Chekiang, with Ho Ying-ch'in advancing from Fukien and the Kwangsi general Pai Ch'ung-hsi (q.v.), from eastern Kiangsi. Hangchow, the provincial capital of Chekiang, fell on 19 January 1927, opening the way for a drive on Shanghai. As Pai Ch'ung-hsi advanced, there was heavy fighting along the rail line between Hangchow and Shanghai, notably against White Russian mercenary troops commanded by Chang Tsung-ch'ang (q.v.), the Shantung warlord who then was cooperating with Sun Ch'u-an-fang. Pai Ch'ung-hsi's forces entered Shanghai on 22 March 1927. Aided by the defection of Ch'en T'iao-yuan, Chiang Kai-shek, directing Li Tsung-jen on the north bank of the Yangtze and Ch'eng Ch'ien on the south, gained control of Anhwei and captured Nanking on 24 March. The capture of Shanghai and Nanking ended the first stage of the Northern Expedition.

However, an international crisis developed at Nanking. Anti-foreign activities by units of Ch'eng Ch'ien's army, in which the Communist Lin Po-ch'ü (q.v.) served as party representative, provoked retaliation by British and American gunboats stationed on the Yangtze patrol. Chiang Kai-shek, as commander in chief of the Nationalist forces, took a cautious position, stating that the Nationalist forces were not basically anti-foreign. After a brief visit to the newly captured city, Chiang went to Shanghai and did not return to Nanking until early April.

Although military successes had been impressive, the uneasy alliance with the Communists continued to pose serious problems for the Kuomintang and threatened for a time to disrupt the unity essential to Nationalist success. When Chiang Kai-shek left Canton in the summer of 1926 to direct military operations in the field, party and government affairs at

Canton were under the direction of Chang Jen-chieh and T'an Yen-k'ai, respectively. Chiang Kai-shek, against the wishes of the Communists, advocated moving the party and government organs northward from Canton. After he had gained a victory at Nanchang in November 1926, Chiang wished to make that city the principal Nationalist base so that he could keep both military and political power under his supervision. In December, senior Kuomintang leaders, including T'an Yen-k'ai, moved from Canton to Nanchang. In January 1927 another political regime, composed of both Kuomintang and Communist figures, began to function at Wuhan. Because of political and personal differences, the problem of the basic geographical locus of Kuomintang political authority remained unsettled for several months. In April, Chiang Kai-shek and his associates began a drive against the Communists and other groups considered radical. Large numbers of people in the labor unions and other Communist-infiltrated organizations in and around Shanghai were arrested and executed.

On 18 April 1927 Chiang and other opponents of the Wuhan group organized a new national government at Nanking, headed by a five-man standing committee which included Hu Han-min and other prominent figures who were opposed to the alliance with the Communists. The Nanking authorities sponsored a party purification drive to crush Communist influence and activity in areas under their effective control. In June 1927 Chiang Kai-shek held a meeting at Hsuchow with Feng Yü-hsiang, who then held a key position between the two contending factions of the Kuomintang. As a result of that conference, Feng Yü-hsiang decided to give his military support to Chiang Kai-shek. In July, Feng began to purge Communist political cadres in areas under his control. Wang Ching-wei, the senior Kuomintang leader at Wuhan, also broke with the Communists and began a vigorous suppression campaign in the central Yangtze area.

As a result of these moves, the various Kuomintang factions began discussions that eventually led to the merging of the rival Wuhan and Nanking regimes. Chiang Kai-shek, despite his growing national prestige, still had less political seniority within the Kuomintang than either Hu Han-min or Wang Ching-wei. His military reputation was tarnished by an ill-

planned northward thrust in July 1927; he lost the strategically important city of Hsuchow to the joint forces of Sun Ch'uan-fang and Chang Tsung-ch'ang. In August, pressed by the need for party unity and faced with the opposition of the Kwangsi generals (notably Li Tsung-jen and Pai Ch'ung-hsi), Chiang announced his retirement. He left Nanking and returned to his home at Fenghua. On 27 September, Chiang sailed from Shanghai for Japan.

In part, Chiang's trip to Japan in late 1927 was motivated by personal considerations: to work out the details of a proposal of marriage to Soong Mei-ling (q.v.), the younger sister of T. V. Soong and Soong Ch'ing-ling (qq.v.). Although Soong Ch'ing-ling strongly opposed the marriage, her mother, the widow of Charles Jones Soong, finally gave consent on the condition that Chiang investigate Christianity. Chiang agreed and returned to Shanghai on 10 November.

The wedding, an event of political as well as social significance, was celebrated at two impressive ceremonies in Shanghai on 1 December 1927. The first was a Christian service held in the Soong home, at which David Yui (Yu Jih-chang, q.v.), general secretary of the national committee of the YMCA in China, officiated. The Chinese ceremony was held in the grand ballroom of the Majestic Hotel, with Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, the former chancellor of National Peking University and elder statesman of the Kuomintang, presiding. The union made Chiang a member by marriage of the family group that included T. V. Soong and H. H. K'ung (q.v.), the husband of Mei-ling's eldest sister, Ai-ling. Because his first wife was still living and had not been divorced from him and because the December 1927 union was a matter of national importance, Chiang Kai-shek's second marriage was the subject of much controversy and adverse comment. Criticism subsided somewhat when, on 23 October 1930, Chiang Kai-shek was baptized by Z. T. Kaung (Chiang Ch'ang-ch'uán, q.v.) at Allen Memorial Church in Shanghai.

At the beginning of 1928 Chiang resumed his position as the leader of the Nationalist military forces, serving as chairman of the National Military Council and commander in chief of the second stage of the Northern Expedition. For the offensive against the generals holding power in north China, four group armies were formed.

Chiang Kai-shek himself commanded the First Group Army, with Ho Ying-ch'in as his chief of staff. Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.) commanded the Second Group Army; Yen Hsi-shan (q.v.), the Third; and, somewhat later, Li Tsung-jen, the Fourth, with Pai Ch'ung-hsi as front line commander. Since the forces of Wu P'ei-fu and Sun Ch'u-an-fang south of the Yangtze had been destroyed, the principal enemy remaining in the north was Chang Tso-lin (q.v.), who then dominated the Peking government. As the Nationalist forces moved northward, the Japanese, who had extensive interests on the mainland, became alarmed at the prospect of a unified China and took action in Shantung, ostensibly to protect Japanese nationals in that province. The result was a clash on 3 May 1928 at Tsinan (*see* Ho Yao-tsü). Chiang wished to avoid a serious confrontation with the Japanese. He therefore ordered the Nationalist forces to withdraw southward to Hsuchow and to detour along the Lunhai rail line before turning northward again. Chiang himself, after a series of meetings with such prominent commanders as Feng Yü-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan, returned to Nanking at the beginning of June 1928. The Nationalist forces in north China finally captured Peking in June. After its capture, the commanders of the four army groups which had participated in the second stage of the Northern Expedition—Chiang Kai-shek, Feng Yü-hsiang, Yen Hsi-shan, and Li Tsung-jen—met at the temple in the Western Hills which then housed the remains of Sun Yat-sen for preliminary discussions of the problem of military reorganization.

THE NATIONALIST DECADE

The year 1928 marked another crucial turning point in Chiang Kai-shek's career, for the Northern Expedition had broken the power of the northern generals. At the same time, Chiang moved to consolidate his political position. Although he had been elected chairman of the Central Political Council in March 1928, he still had no political machine within the party. Ch'en Kuo-fu and Ch'en Li-fu suggested the establishment of a political center at Nanking for training Kuomintang cadres. Through the Central Political Institute and the organization department of the central headquarters of the Kuomintang, the Ch'en brothers took control of the party structure. Chiang himself became Chairman of the National Government estab-

lished at Nanking on 10 October 1928, inaugurating the five-yuan system of government stipulated by Sun Yat-sen. The Northern Expedition had achieved its military goals, and, by the end of the year, the Nationalist flag had been raised over all of China, including Manchuria. Throughout the world, Chiang Kai-shek was considered the single leader of a unified China. He was so regarded for more than 20 years.

The unity of China was somewhat illusory. Chiang Kai-shek's control was accepted formally, but rarely in practice, by a large number of relatively autonomous leaders and groups with regional bases of power. The major failure of the Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-shek was that it was unable to create an organization sufficiently broad and disciplined to implement Nanking's political and social goals on a national basis. The National Government did manage to make some significant reconstruction during the years before the Sino-Japanese war, particularly in the period from 1932 to 1935, when Wang Ching-wei headed the Executive Yuan. In general, however, the National Government was unable to extend its rule throughout China, and its authority was contested by the Chinese Communists and threatened by Japanese aggression on the mainland.

The most serious external threat to China during the Nationalist decade was Japan. The incident at Tsinan in May 1928 had demonstrated Japan's concern about the potential Nationalist threat to their interests and investments. Japanese aggression was evidenced by the incident at Mukden in September 1931 and by the fighting at Shanghai in January 1932. Even after the establishment of the Japanese-sponsored state of Manchoukuo and the continued Japanese military pressure in north China and Inner Mongolia, Chiang Kai-shek adhered to policies toward Japan that his political enemies called appeasement. Chiang argued that China, to sustain its national defense, to avenge long humiliation, and to avoid future encroachments, had to deal with its domestic problems before declaring war on Japan.

Chiang Kai-shek's domestic opponents were Chinese Communists and a number of Kuomintang members or independent generals who opposed Chiang and his associates at Nanking. Non-Communist challenges to Chiang's authority came initially from the Kwangsi generals,

notably Li Tsung-jen and Pai Ch'ung-hsi, who, although allied with Chiang on the Northern Expedition, were reluctant to obey him. Their 1929 split with Chiang resulted in repeated clashes. In 1930 Feng Yü-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan, who had substantial military power in north China, began a brief but destructive civil war with Nanking. Wang Ching-wei joined them in an attempt to establish a rival regime at Peiping, a move that failed because Chiang Kai-shek gained the passive cooperation of Chang Hsueh-liang, who controlled Manchuria. Another crisis arose in February 1931, when Chiang Kai-shek came into conflict at Nanking with the veteran Kuomintang leader Hu Han-min. Chiang placed Hu Han-min under house arrest. In April, four senior members of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang issued a statement calling for the impeachment of Chiang Kai-shek for unconstitutional action; and in May 1931 a group of important southern Kuomintang leaders gathered together at Canton in a conference that led to the formation there of a new opposition government which repudiated the authority of Nanking. The situation was saved for Chiang Kai-shek by the national emergency precipitated by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in September 1931. This led to peace talks between Nanking and Canton, the release of Hu Han-min, and a measure of reconciliation obtained at the price of Chiang Kai-shek's temporary retirement that winter. In November 1933 Ch'en Ming-shu (q.v.), a prominent figure of the Kwangtung faction in the Kuomintang, led a revolt in Fukien against Nanking. The Fukien rebels violently denounced the authority of Chiang Kai-shek and adopted a platform calling for resistance to Japanese aggression and for democratic government in China. The Fukien regime failed to attract support, however, and Chiang Kai-shek was able to suppress it by January 1934.

The growing military power of the Chinese Communists was a threat to Nanking's authority. Because the unification of China was Chiang's major objective, beginning in the winter of 1930 he launched five successive campaigns to annihilate the Communist military forces in the rural areas of south central China. Chiang continued to concentrate on fighting the Communists and destroying their base areas rather than on facing the Japanese military forces. In 1932 he estab-

lished his personal headquarters at Wuhan to direct campaigns against the Communist bases in Honan, Hupeh, and Anhwei. Chiang then moved his field command post to Nanchang, Kiangsi, to launch encircling campaigns in 1933-34 directed at the central soviet base.

A few years earlier, Chiang had begun to make extensive use of German military officers in training his troops. Colonel Max Bauer, General Hermann Kriebel, and Lieutenant General Georg von Wetzel served successively as his chief military advisers, and Captain Walter Stennes trained his personal bodyguard. Colonel-General Hans von Seeckt, one of the leading professional officers of the modern German army and chief of staff of the Reichswehr after the First World War, headed the German military mission in China during 1934-35. Chiang also tried to enforce his programs through the New Life Movement. On 19 February 1934 he made a speech at Nanchang in which he called for a "movement to achieve a new life" for China. In March, he further clarified his ideas and set forth his program in a series of four speeches. The New Life Movement's program of moral reform was based on traditional Chinese virtues and on similar Christian virtues such as frugality and simplicity. Its avowed purpose was to curb the spread of Communism by revitalizing the spirit of the Chinese people, thus enabling China to achieve true national unity. Although in 1934 the movement made some progress toward achieving its aims, it lost momentum thereafter.

Chiang Kai-shek finally succeeded in surrounding the principal Communist base in Kiangsi in late 1934 and in forcing the main body of the Communists to evacuate to northwest China. However, the increase in Japanese troop movements and political pressures in north China during 1935 not only diverted public attention from the Communists but also created a wave of sentiment in China opposing the prolongation of the Kuomintang-Communist civil war. The Chinese Communist command, alert to public opinion and to Moscow's strategy changes, in late 1935 pressed for an anti-Japanese united front to mobilize national resistance against Japan.

In December 1935 Chiang was chosen president of the Executive Yuan, succeeding Wang Ching-wei. As the civilian head of the National Government while it was pursuing a generally

unpopular policy of temporizing with Japan, Wang had been unable to profit politically from the rising opposition. Rather, he lost popularity while shielding Chiang from anti-appeasement criticism. By this time, Chiang Kai-shek had consolidated his control at Nanking. His personal domination of the Kuomintang party apparatus had been clearly demonstrated at the Fifth National Congress, held at Nanking in November 1935. The Communists had been exiled to the remote reaches of northern Shensi by late 1935 and appeared to constitute no major threat to the National Government, and the 1936 rebellion of Ch'en Chi-t'ang in Kwangtung was quelled after Ch'en's air force and several of his senior officers defected.

When Chiang Kai-shek reached the age of 50 sui in October 1936, he was presented with 50 aircraft to bolster China's nascent air force. Two months later the Sian Incident precipitated a new national crisis. On 12 December 1936, while on an inspection trip to Sian in northwest China to confer with the Nationalist commanders entrusted with the task of suppressing the Communists, Chiang was seized and detained by Chang Hsueh-liang and others, whose major demands were that the civil war against the Communists be terminated in favor of a national united front against the Japanese and that the National Government at Nanking be reorganized.

The negotiations assumed a new form with the arrival at Sian on 15 December of a Chinese Communist delegation, headed by Chou En-lai, which had been informed that the Soviet Union favored the preservation of Chiang Kai-shek as the national leader of China. Chiang's adviser W. H. Donald flew to Sian on 14 December. T. V. Soong arrived on 20 December, and Madame Chiang Kai-shek arrived two days later. Although he did not put his acceptance of the rebel demands in writing, Chiang presumably accepted them; he was released on 25 December 1936. Paradoxically, Chiang Kai-shek, through the Sian Incident, became the popular symbol of what he had opposed for years: a genuine united front against Japan.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND THE CONFLICT WITH JAPAN

After the Sian Incident of December 1936, the national leadership of Chiang Kai-shek was accepted by his critics and adversaries. Pre-

sumably to make return for the Communists' part in securing his release, he was obliged to cooperate with them in a united front against the Japanese. The Sino-Japanese war broke out in the summer of 1937, and in September the Kuomintang and the Communists set forth the terms of their collaboration in a political agreement. Chiang's position as a national political figure was not basically affected by the agreement, however, and he retained full powers as commander in chief of China's war effort.

The Japanese attacked at Lukouchiao near Peiping on 7 July 1937. Japanese units occupied Peiping and Tientsin and took control of major rail lines. In August 1937 they attacked Shanghai. In spite of the sharp resistance of Chinese units during the autumn, the city fell on 12 November. The same month, the National Government at Nanking decided to move to Chungking. Chiang Kai-shek left Nanking for Kiangsi and Wuhan only a few days before the Japanese took the city on 13 December 1937. The Japanese acted with violence against the Chinese in the "rape of Nanking," earning international rebuke. A second phase of the Japanese military invasion saw deeper penetration of the Yangtze valley during the summer of 1938, with simultaneous campaigns to consolidate control of the rail system in north China and to seal off Canton in the south. In October 1938 the Japanese occupied the Wuhan cities and Canton. By the end of 1938, after the needless burning of Changsha, the capital of Hunan province, by the Chinese themselves (*see* Chang Chih-chung), Chiang Kai-shek himself had withdrawn to Chungking.

Although the Japanese began air raids on Chungking in May 1939, Chiang's refugee government was secure there because the city was geographically remote from the main body of the Japanese ground forces in China. The Sino-Japanese conflict became a holding operation as the Japanese attempted to consolidate control in the rich and populous areas that they had already occupied.

During this period, Chiang Kai-shek also had to contend with changes in his family affairs. His elder brother, Chiang Hsi-hou, died at Fenghua on 27 December 1936, almost immediately after the Sian Incident. In April 1937 Chiang Ching-kuo, after spending some 12 years in the Soviet Union, returned to China. Chiang Kai-shek, who went to Fenghua that month to

attend the burial of his elder brother, met Chiang Ching-kuo at Hangchow and took him to the family home at Ch'ik'ou. Mao, Chiang's first wife, still lived there, and she was happy to be reunited with her son and to see her grandchildren. During the Sian Incident, she reportedly had offered to give up her life to win Chiang Kai-shek's release. Although that story may have been apocryphal, it was thought by many Chinese to be of symbolic significance. She reportedly was killed in a Japanese air raid on Fenghua on 25 December 1937, exactly one year after Chiang's release.

Chiang Kai-shek continued to operate on the assumption that the Kuomintang was the party destined to rule China. In the early stages of the Sino-Japanese conflict he assigned a significant number of troops to contain the new Communist territorial base in northwest China. He agreed to nominal incorporation of the Communist forces into the national military establishment, but those units never came under his control and the alliance was an uneasy one. It was later ruptured by the New Fourth Army incident of January 1941 (*see Yeh T'ing*).

Chiang also consolidated his position as the leader of the Kuomintang. In March 1938, when the Kuomintang convened the Extraordinary Congress at Hankow, the party constitution was modified to permit the election of Chiang Kai-shek as tsung-ts'ai [party leader], a rank equivalent to that of tsung-li, which was reserved for Sun Yat-sen alone. Chiang now had veto power over all party decisions. In recognition of his seniority in the party, Wang Ching-wei was elected deputy tsung-ts'ai. At the March 1938 meeting, the Kuomintang adopted the Program of National Resistance to serve as the formal framework of government policy during the Japanese invasion. It also took action to create the People's Political Council, designed to give representation to all of the active political groups in China, including the Chinese Communist party.

Within the Kuomintang, the major development of the early wartime period was the defection of Wang Ching-wei. During the first year of the Japanese invasion, Wang had become increasingly dubious of China's ability to sustain a protracted war against Japan. In December 1938 he left west China for Hanoi in French Indo-China, where he issued a public declaration requesting Chiang Kai-shek to halt armed

resistance and to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the Japanese. Chiang refused and at the beginning of 1939 had Wang Ching-wei expelled from the Kuomintang. Wang lingered at Hanoi during the first few weeks of that year, and Chiang remained uncertain of his intentions. Then, in March 1939, several armed men broke into Wang's residence at Hanoi. Wang himself was uninjured, but his long-time protégé and confidant, Tseng Chung-ming (q.v.), was fatally wounded. Wang Ching-wei believed that Chiang Kai-shek was responsible for the murder of Tseng. He immediately severed all relations with Chungking and began to work in collaboration with Japanese representatives. The Japanese-sponsored Nanking government was inaugurated on 30 March 1940, with Wang Ching-wei as its top-ranking official, and was given formal diplomatic recognition by Japan in November.

Although Chiang Kai-shek did not hold the office of chief of state at Chungking, he dominated the National Government through the Kuomintang and through his position as chairman of the Military Affairs Commission. In February 1939 he became chairman of the Supreme National Defense Council. As the wartime replacement of the Central Political Council, the Supreme National Defense Council was the highest political organ in Chungking.

In the early days of the Sino-Japanese war, although Chungking's prospects for victory were dim, the only country to come to Chiang Kai-shek's assistance was the Soviet Union. Under the terms of the August 1937 Sino-Soviet treaty for non-aggression, the Russians, for strategic reasons of their own, supported the National Government against their common enemy. The Russians shipped war matériel to west China and sent pilots and aircraft to assist in the air war against Japan. However, the outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939 served to increase the political isolation of Chiang Kai-shek's government. Acceding to a Japanese demand, the British in July 1940 closed the Burma Road to Chinese traffic for three months, thereby cutting China's major overland link with Rangoon and with the outside world. The United States, though intermittently denouncing Japanese aggression, continued to permit the shipping of strategic and critical materials to Japan, while granting Chiang Kai-shek only modest assistance. In December 1938 and March 1940

Washington extended commercial credits to China after negotiations with the prominent banker K. P. Ch'en (Ch'en Kuang-fu, q.v.). But it was not until November 1940 that the United States granted Chiang a credit of US\$100 million, half to be used for general purposes, half for currency stabilization in China. Because of Chiang Kai-shek's desire for German military advice, the Germans, despite the fact that they were formal allies of Japan under the Anti-Comintern Pact of November 1936, continued to aid China during the early wartime period. After the return of Colonel-General von Seeckt to Berlin in March 1935, Chiang had requested further German military assistance, and Hitler had complied by sending General Alexander von Falkenhausen to replace him. At the end of 1937, the German ambassador in China, Oskar Trautmann, attempted unsuccessfully to mediate between China and Japan to restore peace. General von Falkenhausen continued to serve Chiang Kai-shek until 1938, when he was recalled because of Japanese pressure on the German government. But it was not until 1 July 1941 that Chiang Kai-shek broke diplomatic relations with Berlin and Rome after those Axis governments had extended recognition to the Japanese-sponsored regime at Nanking.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 caused the entry of the United States into the global conflict. In the China theater, the Japanese continued to maintain their positions and worked to extend their control into Southeast Asia so that they could utilize its natural resources. Although the National Government at Chungking was recognized as the legitimate government of China by both the Western powers and the Soviet Union, Chiang Kai-shek's effective control in China was confined largely to the inland provinces. The Japanese-occupied areas, a group of semi-autonomous regions stretching from the Amur river in northern Manchuria to the Gulf of Tonkin in the south, comprised well over half of the area, population, and resources of China. The Communist-controlled areas, also a group of semi-autonomous areas in north, east, and central China, were loyal to the Communist insurgent government at Yenan. The best policy for the Nationalists, Chiang believed, was to contain the Communist areas and to strengthen the political position of the National

Government by all means at his disposal.

China declared war on Japan, Germany, and Italy on 9 December 1941 and pledged full support to the Allied cause. A military conference held in late December at Chungking, attended by Chiang Kai-shek, Major General George H. Brett of the United States, and General Sir Archibald P. Wavell of Great Britain, paved the way for the creation of a Chinese theater of operations as part of the Allied war effort. In July 1942, Chiang Kai-shek was designated supreme commander of this war theater, which also included Indo-China and Thailand. President Franklin D. Roosevelt then appointed Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell of the United States Army to assume command of American armed forces in the China-Burma-India theater and to serve concurrently as chief of staff under Chiang Kai-shek. The American Volunteer Group (AVG) of pilots, organized in August 1941 by retired Lieutenant Colonel Claire C. Chennault, who had come to China in 1938, and better known as the Flying Tigers, was converted into the United States Fourteenth Air Force. In addition to these initial measures, the United States granted a major loan of US\$500 million to China in February 1942; it was followed in July by a British loan of £50 million.

The fall of Hong Kong on 25 December 1941 and of Singapore on 15 February 1942 was indicative of the rapid progress of the Japanese military thrust in the Far East. Because of the serious deterioration of the Allied military position in the Far East, in 1942 Chiang Kai-shek took the initiative in international politics for the first time. If India were to succumb to Japanese political and military pressures, the Allies' strategic situation in Asia might become extremely difficult. Chiang said that if he could meet with Gandhi he might be able to convince the Indian leader to give firm support to the Allied cause. Otherwise, Chiang thought, because relations between the Indian Nationalist leaders and Whitehall were strained, India might be swayed by Japan's pan-Asian, anti-Western propaganda. The British were critical of Chiang's plan, but President Roosevelt endorsed it. In February 1942 Chiang and his wife made a two-week trip to India. They talked with Gandhi at Calcutta about the common anti-imperialist interests of the two most populous countries of Asia, and with the British

Viceroy at New Dehli. However, the mission was not notably successful.

The 1942 anniversary celebrations of the Wuchang revolt of 10 October 1911 marked a memorable point in Chiang Kai-shek's career as a national political leader. The governments of the United States and Great Britain simultaneously informed the Chinese National Government at Chungking of their intention to relinquish extraterritoriality and other special rights in China and to negotiate new treaties based on equality and reciprocity. Three months later, on 10 January 1943, new Sino-American and Sino-British treaties were signed. Although executed under the pressure of wartime exigencies at a time when a substantial part of China was under Japanese military control, the new treaties with the principal Western powers were widely represented in China as the final realization of one of the major aims of modern Chinese nationalism (and of the Kuomintang) and as a personal triumph for Chiang Kai-shek. In a message to the Chinese nation entitled "New Treaties, New Responsibilities," Chiang declared triumphantly: "After fifty years of bloody revolution and five and a half years of a war of resistance during which great sacrifices have been made, we have at last transformed the painful record of one hundred years of the unequal treaties into the glorious record of their abolition . . . with our past humiliations wiped out and our independence and freedom regained, we can have the chance to make our country strong."

Chiang Kai-shek's view of the postwar world and of China's place in it was set forth explicitly in his *Chung-kuo chih ming-yun* (*China's Destiny*), his only extended political treatise. It was published at Chungking in March 1943 to mark the eighteenth anniversary of the death of Sun Yat-sen, and copies of it were distributed throughout China. Many Chinese observers regarded *China's Destiny* as Chiang Kai-shek's response to Mao Tse-tung's *On New Democracy*, which had appeared in January 1940. Chinese—and many Japanese as well—noted that, though *China's Destiny* appeared almost simultaneously with the repudiation of extraterritoriality by Western powers, the book was essentially an extended diatribe against the evils of Western "imperialism."

After the sudden death of Lin Sen (q.v.) on 1 August 1943, Chiang succeeded Lin as chief

of state. On 10 October 1943 he was inaugurated Chairman of the National Government of the Republic of China. In the Moscow Declaration of October, China was recognized, chiefly on the insistence of the United States, as one of the four "great powers" that would mold the postwar world. Chiang Kai-shek's international prestige as the leader of China was enhanced when he was invited by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill to attend the Cairo Conference. Chiang flew to Cairo accompanied by Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ch'ung-hui (q.v.), and a staff of personal advisers. After meeting in conference, the three allied leaders, in the Cairo Declaration of 1 December 1943, announced their joint intention to bring Japan to submission. In the event of victory over Japan, China was promised the return of Manchuria, Taiwan, and the Pescadores. Chiang also won a specific war commitment for a joint Allied action, Operation Buccaneer, in the Burma theater. However, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill then met with Stalin at the Teheran Conference, which reduced the importance of China in the over-all war picture and brought greater emphasis to Operation Overlord, the Normandy landing scheduled for the following spring. Operation Buccaneer was cancelled. Chiang was angry. He asked President Roosevelt for a billion-dollar loan, double the number of planes previously agreed on, and an increase in the airlift of supplies into China. Perhaps the most significant result of Chiang's request was a diminishing of Roosevelt's flexibility and friendliness in dealing with China.

Both Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking and the Japanese government at Tokyo were aware of the expansion and potential explosiveness of Chinese Communist power. Although they were declared enemies on national grounds, they nevertheless shared a measure of concern about the long-term threat of Chinese Communist power allied with Soviet power in Asia. Although the Chinese Communists had maintained a small liaison mission at Chungking, after 1941 they had begun to devote most of their energies to expanding their organizational network in the rural areas of north and east China and to developing a solid base of peasant support in areas behind the Japanese lines. During 1943, after Shigemitsu Mamoru, who had been Japanese ambassador to Wang Ching-wei's

government at Nanking, returned to Tokyo to become Japanese foreign minister, a so-called new China policy was gradually evolved in Japan. Aimed essentially at arranging a mutually advantageous political settlement with Chiang Kai-shek, this policy provided for Japan to modify her earlier ambitions for domination of East Asia, while at the same time blocking the return of the Western powers to their former positions of political, economic, and military influence. In a new and more liberal treaty of alliance between Tokyo and Nanking concluded in October 1943 and in covert peace overtures to Chungking, Tokyo pressed the line that Chiang Kai-shek's long-range interests actually lay in severing relations with the United States and Great Britain and in collaborating with like-minded Asian leaders to exterminate the Chinese Communist movement. Although Chiang Kai-shek did not respond openly to the Japanese gestures, some observers felt that he believed the Chinese Communists to be a greater long-term threat to his interests than the Japanese.

Because the major weight of Allied military power remained committed in the European theater, the year 1944 brought a series of hardships and frustrations to Chiang Kai-shek. One major objective of Japanese military policy was to open a direct rail route through China from Manchoukuo to Canton and thence to Indo-China. In the spring of 1944, therefore, the Japanese increased their pressure on Honan and Hunan, and in May, Changsha, the capital of Hunan, fell into Japanese hands. Hengyang was overrun in August, and the Japanese then had no difficulty in thrusting from Hunan into Kwangsi. After that breakthrough, the Japanese soon seized Kweilin, Liuchow, and Nanning in October and advanced along the rail line toward Kweichow. In December 1944 the capture of Tushan by an advance Japanese column created panic at Chungking, but it proved to be the terminal point of the Japanese offensive.

During the period from 1941 to 1944, the American ambassador at Chungking was Clarence E. Gauss, the last career diplomat to serve as ambassador on the mainland. During 1944 Gauss and other American diplomats in China became increasingly pessimistic about the political-military situation there. They were concerned by the virtual collapse of Chinese resistance on the east China front and the Japanese

capture of the important Kweilin air base in November 1944. They believed that, in areas under Chiang Kai-shek's control, Chinese morale and the Chinese war effort were hampered by political negativism and official apathy. Another source of concern to the Americans was the growing gulf between Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communists.

While Gauss was serving as ambassador, Washington dispatched a series of special envoys to increase cooperation with Chiang Kai-shek and to bolster the morale of the Chinese. Among the envoys were Wendell Willkie (October 1942) and Vice President Henry A. Wallace (June 1944). Donald M. Nelson, chairman of the War Production Board, and Major General Patrick J. Hurley headed a mission that arrived in China in September 1944.

In October, Washington recalled General Stilwell, ending his long-standing feud with Chiang Kai-shek. Gauss resigned on 1 November, and General Hurley replaced him as ambassador. Hurley held that post for less than a year, during which he made unsuccessful attempts to bridge the gap between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists.

Despite all problems, throughout the war years Chiang Kai-shek remained the recognized national leader of China. He continued to be the dominant figure in the military and in the Kuomintang. In May 1945, the Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang, meeting at Chungking, reelected Chiang Kai-shek to the position of tsung-ts'ai and elected a new and greatly enlarged Central Executive Committee designed to link non-Communist political figures and peripheral power centers to Chiang's cause. The status of China among the major world powers was confirmed when, in the spring of 1945 at San Francisco, China was made a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations.

On the occasion of the V-J (Victory in Japan) celebrations, observed in China by a three-day holiday beginning on 3 September 1945, Chiang Kai-shek was hailed as the man whose "unswerving and sagacious leadership" had brought the nation safely through the difficult war years. Chiang named his veteran military associate Ho Ying-ch'in, the commander of the Nationalist ground forces, to accept the surrender of the Japanese forces in China. General Okamura, the Japanese commanding general, formally

surrendered to Ho Ying-ch'in at Nanking on 9 September 1945. Then Chinese Nationalist forces entered the Japanese-held coastal cities of China.

CONTEST FOR THE MAINLAND

Chiang Kai-shek's power in China had diminished during the wartime years. With Japan defeated, he and the Communists turned to confront each other. With reference to the Communists, Chiang took an uncompromising stand in his V-J Day message to the Chinese nation. Mao Tse-tung, in orders issued at Yenan following the announcement of Japan's willingness to surrender, instructed the Communist forces to "step up the war effort," to accept the surrender of Japanese and Japanese-sponsored troops, and to take over their arms and equipment. General Hurley, accompanied by Chang Chih-chung, flew to Yenan and convinced Mao Tse-tung to come to Chungking and discuss the major issues dividing the two factions. Mao arrived at Chungking on 28 August 1945, and Chiang Kai-shek entertained him at a formal dinner on 29 August.

During the next six weeks, negotiations were conducted between Chang Ch'ün, Wang Shih-chieh, and Shao Li-tzu, representing the National Government, and Chou En-lai and Wang Jo-fei, representing the Communists. Although the talks reached a stalemate on the central military and political issues, Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung reached a preliminary agreement, promising to work for the peaceful reconstruction of China and to convene a political consultative conference at which the major factions would be represented. Having laid some basis for further discussion, Chiang entertained Mao at a performance of classical Chinese theater on 10 October 1945, the eve of Mao's departure for Yenan.

On 27 November President Harry S. Truman accepted General Hurley's resignation and appointed General George C. Marshall, wartime Chief of Staff of the United States Army, his special representative to China, with the personal rank of ambassador. General Marshall's mission was to take up the task of mediation where Hurley had left off and to arrange a truce. In January 1946 a cease-fire agreement was reached by the so-called Committee of Three—General Marshall, Chang Ch'ün, and Chou En-lai. To enforce the truce, an executive headquarters was established at Peiping and tripar-

titute truce teams were dispatched to the field to curb hostilities. However, the bitter mutual suspicion that divided the Kuomintang and the Communists soon undermined the American mediation effort.

Further, although the main American objective was mediation, the United States became increasingly committed to Chiang Kai-shek's side, providing machinery, motor vehicles, flour, and other supplies to the Nationalists. In January 1947, after leaving for the United States to become Secretary of State, General Marshall issued a full and frank statement on the failure of his mission.

In late 1946 Chiang Kai-shek recognized the long-standing criticism of the Kuomintang's 20-year monopoly of political power in the National Government. On 15 November 1946 the Kuomintang unilaterally convened a constituent National Assembly at Nanking, which, however, was boycotted by the Communists and by the China Democratic League. The assembly framed a new constitution, which was adopted on 25 December 1946 and promulgated by the National Government on 1 January 1947. The constitution embodied the essential political concepts of Sun Yat-sen. A new National Government was inaugurated at Nanking on 18 April 1947, with Chang Ch'ün as president of the Executive Yuan, or premier. Elections of delegates to a National Assembly were held in the Nationalist-controlled areas of China in November 1947, and the Kuomintang received a majority of the votes.

The new National Assembly was formally convened at Nanking on 28 March 1948, and it assumed responsibility for the election of top officials to head the new constitutional government. Chiang Kai-shek said that he was about to devote his full energies to military tasks and suggested that Hu Shih (q.v.) would be an appropriate choice for the presidency. Voting in the National Assembly in April, however, produced an overwhelming victory for Chiang Kai-shek, who was elected President with 2,430 votes against 269 for Chü Cheng. Competition for the vice presidency, however, resulted in an unexpectedly sharp race between Li Tsung-jen and Sun Fo. Although the central officials of the Kuomintang solidly supported Sun Fo, Li Tsung-jen won by a small margin. In May 1948, Wong Wen-hao (q.v.) became the first president of the Executive Yuan to be

chosen under the new 1947 constitution. The National Assembly adopted a resolution which gave the President the right, in view of the civil war, to bypass regular constitutional procedures in order to "take emergency measures to avert imminent danger to the security of the state or of the people or to cope with any serious financial or economic crisis." Thus, Chiang kept the power that he had exercised prior to the adoption of the constitution.

During this time, the struggle for control of China continued in the countryside. Throughout 1947 and 1948 Chiang Kai-shek traveled constantly to direct the military campaigns in Manchuria and in China proper. His initial attempt to establish Nationalist military power in Manchuria led to an overextension of forces along fragile lines of communication, and poor planning resulted in the gradual loss of his strategic advantage. The Nationalist camp was torn by the political and personal quarrels of its leading generals. Chiang faced a war of movement conducted by such battle-toughened Communists as Lin Piao, Ch'en Yi, and Liu Po-ch'eng, who maneuvered their forces with speed and decisiveness in areas where the Communists often had mobilized much of the rural population. Adopting and applying the classical rules of ground warfare, the Communists steadily defeated Chiang's Nationalist armies. Mukden, the major industrial city of southern Manchuria, fell to the Communists on 1 November 1948; and the Communist commanders moved to annihilate the Nationalist forces in the Tientsin-Piping campaign and in the massive Hwai-Hai battle centered on Hsuchow, which put an end to Chiang's power north of the Yangtze.

Civilian officials of the Kuomintang did little better than the military in winning the support of the civilian population. The corruption that had accompanied the Nationalists' so-called takeover operations after the Japanese surrender had not gone unnoticed by the people of China; and ever-increasing inflation, which had begun during the Sino-Japanese war, brought many new hardships to the people. In a belated effort to restore social and economic order, Nanking undertook a reform which introduced a new gold yuan currency in August 1948. All holdings of gold, silver, and foreign currency were to be converted into the new currency. The reform soon proved to be a fiasco: the gold yuan fell almost immediately, taking with it the savings

of many thrifty Chinese. By the end of 1948, many of the areas of China that remained under National Government administration were but loosely controlled by a Kuomintang apparatus that was inefficient in performance and sometimes irrational in conduct.

In his 1949 New Year's address to the nation, Chiang Kai-shek offered, somewhat belatedly, to discuss a peace settlement with the Communists. The harsh conditions set forth in the Communist reply proved that a compromise settlement was out of reach, and, after the battles of Manchuria, north China, and Hsuchow had been lost, Chiang announced his retirement from the presidency on 21 January 1949. He left Nanking by special plane for his home in Fenghua, Chekiang. Li Tsung-jen then became acting President of China. Chiang Kai-shek retained his supreme office in the Kuomintang, and, irked by the assumption of power by his old Kwangsi antagonist, he consistently undercut Li Tsung-jen's efforts to preserve some measure of Nationalist control in south China. He exercised authority with the assistance of Chiang Ching-kuo, Ku Chu-t'ung (q.v.), chief of the general staff, and Ch'en Ch'eng (q.v.), who had been sent to Taiwan to prepare that island as a base for retreat. Often Li Tsung-jen was not informed of major decisions made by Chiang.

In July 1949 Chiang flew to the Philippines, where he conferred with President Elpidio Quirino at Baguio. That meeting led to a joint declaration against Communism. In August, Chiang went to Korea to confer with President Syngman Rhee; the two leaders confirmed their stand against international Communism. Later in August, Chiang and Chiang Ching-kuo flew to Szechwan, and Chiang Kai-shek visited Chengtu to pay his respects at the grave of Tai Chi-t'ao. Chiang made a trip to Kunming on 23 September to gain the support of Lu Han (q.v.), the Yunnan provincial governor. However, he was unsuccessful, and plans for a unified defense of southwest China proved to be useless.

Chiang Kai-shek and his son, who was his constant companion during 1949, returned to Canton at the end of September to confer with Li Tsung-jen. Plans for the defense of Kwangtung were abandoned, and in October 1949 the remnants of the National Government moved from Canton to Chungking. Li Tsung-jen became ill and left China in late November. Chiang Kai-shek left Chungking on the day that

it fell to the Communists and flew to Chengtu. On the early afternoon of 10 December 1949, with Communist forces fast approaching Chengtu, he was driven to the airport. Chiang boarded a military aircraft, and, after seven hours of flying over Communist-controlled territory, he landed on the island of Taiwan.

THE TAIWAN REGIME

The mainland refugees were not welcomed in Taiwan. Taiwanese resentment of the Nationalists stemmed from the 1945-47 administration of the island by Ch'en Yi (1883-1950; q.v.). Ch'en's government had been so corrupt and oppressive that on 28 February 1947 the Taiwanese had organized a huge demonstration in Taipei which had threatened to become an island-wide revolt. Ch'en Yi had retaliated by launching a brutal suppression campaign during which thousands of Taiwanese were massacred. In 1949, when the Nationalist refugees arrived, the economy of Taiwan had yet to recover from the effects of American wartime bombing, the forced repatriation of Japanese technicians after 1949, and peasant discontent stemming from the land tenure situation.

In Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek took steps to establish full control. He accepted responsibility for the mainland debacle, emphasizing that Nationalist failures had been the primary cause of disaster, and dedicated himself to the mission of recovering the mainland. Utilizing his command of loyal supporters as well as the national treasury, the armed forces, and the secret police, Chiang moved to consolidate and legitimize his political position. He appointed K. C. Wu (Wu Kuo-chen, q.v.), governor of Taiwan province. On 1 March 1950 Chiang resumed the presidency of the Government of the Republic of China.

Chiang confronted many grave political problems. The United States government, which had been Chiang's principal source of external support, had disassociated itself from what it regarded as a lost cause. On 5 January 1950 President Harry S. Truman, acting on the basis of American government staff studies, had stated that the United States would provide no military aid or advice to the Nationalist forces on Taiwan.

In one sense, Chiang Kai-shek was rescued from disaster by Joseph Stalin and by the Communist military action in Korea in June 1950.

Since that crisis sharply altered United States assumptions regarding Taiwan and increased the importance of the island in American military planning in the Far East, it had the effect of markedly improving Chiang Kai-shek's prospects. On 27 June 1950 President Truman announced an abrupt shift in United States policy and stated that he had ordered the United States 7th Fleet into the Taiwan Strait. After the Chinese Communists began to intervene in the Korean conflict in October-November 1950, Washington initiated a new program of large-scale military and economic assistance to the Chinese National Government. However, Chiang, always a proud and imperious man, was placed in the position of being overwhelmingly dependent on an external power, the United States.

Because Chiang believed that internal feuds had reduced his party to a loose coalition of factions and had caused many of the difficulties of the Kuomintang on the mainland, he began a major reorganization of the party in 1950. In June, he announced the dismissal of the large and unwieldy Central Executive and Central Supervisory committees that had served since 1945 and the appointment of a compact reform committee composed of only 16 men. The new group was assigned the task of drawing up plans to streamline the party's structure and to increase its efficiency. At the Seventh National Congress of the Kuomintang, held at Taipei in October 1952, Chiang was reelected tsung-ts'ai. He also was reelected to that post at the Eighth (October 1957) and Ninth (November 1963) National congresses of the Kuomintang.

In the National Government structure in Taiwan, Chiang continued to hold office as President of the Republic of China. Li Tsung-jen, the vice president elected in 1948, was expelled *in absentia* from the Kuomintang in 1952 and recalled by the National Assembly on grounds of "violation of the nation's laws and dereliction of duty"; Li was then in the United States. In March 1954 the National Assembly, which had been seated at Nanking six years earlier, was convened in Taiwan by extra-constitutional means, with about half of its members absent. That body reelected Chiang Kai-shek to the presidency and elected Ch'en Ch'eng to succeed Li Tsung-jen in the vice presidency. Although constitutional provisions limited the President of the Republic of China

to two six-year terms, such restrictions were waived during the period of "Communist rebellion." In March 1960 Chiang Kai-shek was reelected for a third six-year term. In March 1966, Chiang, then nearly 79, was elected President of the Republic of China without opposition. C. K. Yen (Yen Chia-k'an), who had been premier of the National Government, was elected vice president, succeeding Ch'en Ch'eng, who had died in March 1965.

Chiang Kai-shek also was commander in chief of the Chinese military establishment in Taiwan. After 1950, the Chinese Nationalist forces, with the assistance of American advisers in Taiwan, were well trained and well equipped. During the years of Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidency, United States policy emphasized the "unleashing of Chiang Kai-shek" and the doctrine enunciated by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that Communism was only a "passing phase" on the mainland of China. This commitment to Chiang resulted in the signing of the Mutual Defense Treaty with the Government of the Republic of China in December 1954; the United States pledged to give direct assistance in the event of an attack on Taiwan or on the Pescadores Islands. In January 1955, a joint resolution of the United States Congress authorized President Eisenhower to use American troops at his discretion to implement the provisions of the new treaty. In spite of this treaty, Chiang Kai-shek was unsuccessful in engaging American support for his avowed long-range objective: recovery of the mainland of China.

After 1955 there was a marked improvement in the economic situation in Taiwan: both agricultural and industrial production rose steadily and significantly. The rate of economic growth was very high, and, with the help of the United States, the island attained a very high standard of living for an Asian area. However, long-term economic planning and growth were limited by the high proportion of resources allotted to the military forces and by the high rate of population expansion. Although the Government of the Republic of China in Taiwan called itself a constitutional democracy, in some respects it was an authoritarian regime in which Chiang Kai-shek exercised almost unlimited personal power. Chiang Kai-shek's dedication to the goal of recovering the mainland may have impeded long-range programs devoted to building the island of Taiwan into an

autonomous political unit with a solid economic base and a government enjoying popular support.

Chiang Kai-shek, after assuming power in 1928, converted the Kuomintang from a party dominated largely by Kwangtung leaders to an organ that was responsive to him, with an emphasis on the men from his province of Chekiang. Chiang's political rule integrated many, seemingly contradictory elements. In sum, the most conspicuous characteristic of Chiang Kai-shek's career was that in spite of numerous difficulties and countless opponents, he preserved his personal and political identity. To the world, from 1928 to 1949 Chiang Kai-shek did not represent China, he was China. His stern and stubborn personality became the symbol of republican China. He was the principal figure in the rise of China to world estate before his career ended in eclipse. He was and will remain one of the major figures of twentieth-century world history.

PRIMARY RECORDS OF CHIANG'S CAREER

During the 1920's Chiang Kai-shek had some intellectual support in China, though that support was based on his role as a nationalist leader, not on his standing as an intellectual. By the time of the Second World War, however, many Chinese scholars had begun to regard his political practices as old-fashioned and his political philosophy as antediluvian. Chiang's basic philosophy of government was given expression in *Chung-kuo chih ming-yun*, published at Chungking in 1943. An official English-language summary was published at the time by the Chinese Ministry of Information. Portions of the book were translated by A. F. Lutley of West China Union University and were published in the *West China Missionary News* at Chengtu in 1943. A revised edition of *Chung-kuo chih ming-yun* was published at Chungking in January 1944. The first complete authorized English translation of the work, prepared by a group of Chinese working under the supervision of Wang Ch'ung-hui and assisted by Frank W. Price, an American Methodist missionary, was prepared from the 1944 revised Chinese text. That translation was published in the United States in 1947 under the title *China's Destiny*. A competing, unauthorized translation, with highly critical notes and commentary by Philip Jaffe, was published in New York the same year; the Jaffe volume appended

a shorter essay by Chiang entitled "Chinese Economic Theory," not available elsewhere in translation. A useful collection of wartime speeches and papers is *The Collected Wartime Messages of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, 1937-1945*, published in 1946 in New York in two volumes.

A substantial number of Chiang Kai-shek's speeches after 1949 have been published in Taiwan. One statement of importance, *Su-O tsai Chung-kuo* [Soviet Russia in China], published in 1956, summarized Chiang's postwar views on Chinese and international political questions. That book, a review and analysis of the Kuomintang's struggle against Communism, emphasized the role of Soviet intrigue and propaganda in the Communist victory in China; it depicted the Chinese Communists as instruments of Moscow. An English version of the book, *Soviet Russia in China: a Summing-up at Seventy*, was published in the United States in 1957. An abridged edition appeared in 1965. The most complete Chinese edition of Chiang's speeches to date, *Chiang tsung-t'ung chi*, was published in Taiwan in 1964.

An account of Chiang Kai-shek's early years is Mao Ssu-ch'eng's *Min-kuoshih-wu-nienchienshih Chiang Chieh-shih hsien-sheng* [Chiang Kai-shek before 1926], published at Nanking in 1937 and reprinted at Hong Kong in 1965. Mao Ssu-ch'eng used Chiang's diaries, letters, official papers, and other sources in preparing the book. Ch'en Pu-lei (q.v.), a member of Chiang's personal staff from 1934 until 1948, wrote his impressions of the events and personalities of the 1920's and 1930's in his *Hui-i-lu* [reminiscences], published at Shanghai in 1939. An unflattering account of Chiang from 1927 to 1947 is that of his antagonist Feng Yü-hsiang in *Wo so jen-shih te Chiang Chieh-shih* [the Chiang Kai-shek I knew], published at Shanghai in 1949. A bitterly critical Communist attack on Chiang's policies and on *China's Destiny* is that of Ch'en Po-ta (q.v.) in *Jen-min kung-ti Chiang Chieh-shih* [the people's enemy, Chiang Kai-shek], published at Kalgan in 1948 and at Peking in 1949.

An official biography for Westerners was written by Hollington K. Tong (Tung Hsien-kuang, q.v.) and published at Shanghai in 1937 as *Chiang Kai-shek: Soldier and Statesman*; it was issued in Chinese translation in 1941. A revised edition, entitled *Chiang tsung-t'ung chuan* [biography of President Chiang], was published at

Taipei in 1953. Other biographies of Chiang written in English include H. H. Chang's *Chiang Kai-shek: Asia's Man of Destiny* (1944) and S. I. Hsiung's *The Life of Chiang Kai-shek* (1948).

Information about Chiang Kai-shek appears in virtually every substantive book and in most articles dealing with Chinese politics after 1927. Book-length efforts include Gustav Amann's *Chiang Kai-shek und die Regierung der Kuomintang in China* (1939), Robert Berkov's *Strong Man of China* (1938), Sven Hedin's *Chiang Kai-shek: Marshal of China* (1940), and Paul M. A. Lineberger's *The China of Chiang Kai-shek* (1943). Emily Hahn's *Chiang Kai-shek: an Unauthorized Biography* (1955) is primarily anecdotal. A critical Western estimate of Chiang was given by Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby in *Thunder Out of China* (1946). White also edited the *Stilwell Papers* (1948), which includes Stilwell's version of the bitter feud between him and Chiang Kai-shek. A detailed study by Tang Tsou, *America's Failure in China, 1941-50*, published in 1963, gives information on Chiang Kai-shek's political position and policies during that critical decade. A doctoral dissertation completed at Harvard University in 1966 by Walter Gourlay, "The Kuomintang and the Rise of Chiang Kai-shek," deals with Chiang's initial move to political power in the 1920's.

Chiang K'ang-hu

江亢虎
Orig. Chiang Shao-ch'üan 江紹銓
Alt. Kiang Kang-hu

Chiang K'ang-hu (18 July 1883-?), scholar, teacher, and propagandist of various reform causes. He founded the first Chinese socialist party in 1912, but later became more conservative. His ineffectual political career was broken by a scandal concerning restoration of the Manchu empire, and Chiang later took part in the Japanese-sponsored government of Wang Ching-wei. He is known in the United States principally for his donation of a book collection to the University of California and for his collaboration with Witter Bynner in an anthology, *The Jade Mountain* (1929), in which his signature is Kiang Kang-hu.

A native of Shangjiao, Kiangsi, Chiang K'ang-hu was born into a scholar-official family. His grandfather, Chiang Chu-yün (1830-92;

T. Yün-t'ao) was a chin-shih of 1877 who served for some ten years at Peking and ended his career in Shantung province. His father, Chiang Te-hsüan (1854-1910; T. Hsiao-t'ao), was a chin-shih of 1886 who served for 20 years at the capital and ended his career as an acting prefect in Kiangsu. Chiang K'ang-hu was the only son of his father's second wife, *née* Hsü (1861-1889). In 1887 the family went to Peking. In 1890 Chiang K'ang-hu moved to Shantung, where his grandfather had been appointed to an official post as tao-t'ai. In 1892, at the time of his grandfather's death, he returned to his native district in Kiangsi. Two years later he went back to Peking.

Chiang K'ang-hu was a precocious youth. He reportedly was adept at composition in the classical style at the age of 10 and, when not quite 15, embarked on the study of the Japanese language at the T'ung-wen hsueh-she in preparation for study abroad. In 1900, after the Boxer Uprising, he went to Japan. In 1901, at the invitation of Yuan Shih-k'ai, who had just been appointed governor general of Chihli, he returned to China to head the Pei-yang pien-i-chü, where he was in charge of compiling textbooks for the primary and middle schools of the five northern provinces. Although Chiang soon tired of the bureaucratic routine at Peking, he appreciated the recognition that Yuan Shih-k'ai bestowed on him. Chiang then served as a secretary in the Board of Justice. In 1904 he accepted a position to teach Japanese at the Ching-shih ta-hsueh-t'ang, the predecessor of National Peking University. At the same time, he founded in succession a total of four women's schools at Peking to train future teachers. These schools, though private, were partially subsidized by Yuan Shih-k'ai, then the Pei-yang ta-ch'en, and by Tuan-fang, then the Nan-yang ta-ch'en. In 1909 they were handed over to the ministry of education, and one of the four schools later became Women's Higher Normal College.

Chiang went to Japan in 1907 to study English, French, and German so that he could read foreign publications and become familiar with Western social theories. By his own claim, he was the first Chinese to become acquainted with the writings of Henry George, who propounded the thesis that private appropriation of increases in land values was the sole cause of modern social inequities. In any event, Chiang

K'ang-hu did become acquainted with socialism following his 1907 trip to Japan. The Japanese Socialist party had been established a year earlier, and many Chinese students in Tokyo went to its public meetings. In 1909 he journeyed to Europe where, as an unofficial Chinese representative, he attended the Congress of the Second International held at Brussels. While studying in Japan and in Europe before 1910, Chiang became acquainted with the group of young Chinese radicals then interested in socialism and anarchism, including Wu Chih-hui, Chang Chi, Li Shih-tseng, and Ch'u Min-i (qq.v.), and with pioneer Japanese socialists, including Kōtoku Shūsui, Katayama Sen, and Sakai Toshihiko. While in Europe he also met leading European and American socialists. During this period, Chiang published two articles advocating the dissolution of the family and condemning free enterprise. Written under the pen name Hsu An-ch'eng, these articles appeared in April and May of 1909 in *Hsin shih-chi* [new century], the revolutionary paper then edited by Wu Chih-hui and published in Paris.

Chiang returned from Europe to China after the death of his father on 5 December 1910. He then lived in semi-retirement at Nanking to observe the conventional mourning period. He did give some public lectures, in the course of which he unexpectedly gained national prominence. When invited to speak at Hangchow, he addressed himself to the problem of the relation between women's education and socialism. That talk, delivered on 1 June 1911, was perhaps the first public lecture on socialism in China. It aroused the wrath of Tseng Yun, the governor of Chekiang, who at once sent a memorial to the throne demanding that Chiang be punished severely for his advocacy of heretical ideas. Thanks to a warning received from Ku Chung-hsiu, who was then secretary to the governor of Chihli, Chiang was warned of the government's wrath and was able to flee to the foreign concessions of Shanghai. Chang An-p'u, the governor of Kiangsu, who was acquainted with the Chiang family, spoke on his behalf, and Chiang avoided punishment.

After the Hangchow episode in the summer of 1911, Chiang K'ang-hu continued to work actively for the propagation of socialism. On 2 September of that year, he organized a mass meeting at Shanghai under the joint sponsorship

of the Hsi-yin kung-hui [women's progressive society] and the newspaper *T'ien-to pao*. The gathering was attended by some 400 people, of whom some 50 joined a socialist study society. The Chinese Socialist party was organized from the study society and was established in 1912 with its headquarters in Shanghai. Chiang claimed that it was the first political party and that its formation marked the beginning of free political association in China. The party, largely under his personal direction, issued an eight-point platform advocating support of the republican form of government, cessation of discrimination against ethnic minorities, improvement of legal protection for the individual person, abolition of private ownership of property, popularization of education, development of public enterprises, reform of taxes, and limitations on armament combined with emphasis on more constructive forms of international competition. As a token gesture of congratulation, Sun Yat-sen, who had been elected the provisional president of China, sent Chiang a number of recent European and American publications on socialism. Branches of the party, about 250 in all, were established in other cities of China, though the group encountered sharp suppression in Hunan, then governed by T'an Yen-k'ai, and in Hupeh.

Chiang K'ang-hu declared that the principal mission of the Socialist party during its early years was to propagate socialist ideas, not to engage in concrete activities. However, since popular understanding of socialism in China was minimal, he did plan one practical experiment in socialism to be conducted on Ch'ungming island at the mouth of the Yangtze river. Although Chiang reportedly secured the approval of T'ang Shao-yi, then the premier at Peking, to visit the island, the project proved abortive. The Chinese Socialist party, under Chiang's leadership, maintained contact with its Japanese counterpart, and the party's headquarters at Shanghai was visited by Korean and Indo-Chinese irredentists, who reportedly voiced the hope that the Chinese Socialist party would support and lead the weak nationalities of Asia.

Chiang K'ang-hu's concept of socialism in 1912 was generally unfamiliar in China, and it was criticized by other Chinese political figures who viewed themselves as socialists. One early problem which the Socialist party confronted

was whether it should remain a pure socialist party linked with the international socialist movement or become a domestic political party participating in the national government of China. Chiang's personal view in 1912 was to maintain the party's pure character in its commitment to the world socialist movement. Furthermore, in June 1912, Chiang went to Peking to call on Yuan Shih-k'ai to state his own moderate views on socialism in order to prevent any government suppression of the party. He emphasized that the party had only educational objectives and did not seek political power. He voiced the hope that Yuan Shih-k'ai would enforce national socialism, since it was, according to Chiang, the only way to develop strong government and a strong nation. Should Yuan do this, Chiang K'ang-hu guaranteed the support of his party, which allegedly had 20,000 members.

That action and other conflicts with regard to the proper definition of socialism led to much dissatisfaction among Chiang K'ang-hu's followers. In October 1912 a group within the Socialist party that advocated anarchist communism began a separatist movement. That group soon was suppressed by Yuan Shih-k'ai. In 1913, after the so-called second revolution broke out, Yuan Shih-k'ai on 7 August banned the Socialist party because of its radicalism. Recognizing that he could no longer rely on his personal ties with Yuan Shih-k'ai, Chiang K'ang-hu fled the country. He continued to be the acknowledged leader of the Socialist party, however, though Liu Ssu-fu (q.v.), the anarchist leader, made bitter attacks on his allegedly muddled views. Liu contested Chiang's assertions that Marxist collectivism was the only form of socialism and claimed that the Socialist party leader had only a limited understanding of socialism and was particularly weak in his knowledge of the anarchist-communist variety. Liu Ssu-fu also pointed to the political platform of the Socialist party, which called only for moderate reform of the existing social system, and concluded that Chiang K'ang-hu, like Sun Yat-sen, was no true socialist.

From 1913 to 1920 Chiang resided in the United States. He taught Chinese at the University of California in Berkeley. In 1916 he made an important contribution to its library resources when he presented to that institution some 13,000 volumes from his father's library,

which he had brought from China. For several summers he worked at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., cataloguing Chinese books and helping to build up its Chinese collection.

Chiang K'ang-hu returned to China in 1920. In the months following the May Fourth Movement of 1919, the cause of socialism had begun to interest the students and young intellectuals of China. These intellectuals were not all converted to socialism, but those who were converted brought more disciplined energy to that cause than had been characteristic of the earlier members of the rather loosely organized Socialist party. The early Communist leader Chang Kuo-t'ao (q.v.) later recalled his first encounter with Chiang K'ang-hu at Peking University in the autumn of 1920. Chiang showed little interest in the problem of labor organization or in joint action on the part of all socialists in China. Rather, he suggested that the best prospects for the development of socialism in China lay in parliamentary activity. Since Chang Kuo-t'ao and his associates regarded that course as impractical, the encounter virtually extinguished the possibility of political cooperation between the future Chinese Communist party and the socialists associated with Chiang K'ang-hu.

Chiang's principal concern after his return to China was planning a trip to Russia to investigate conditions there. In 1920, however, it was difficult in Peking to secure valid documents for travel to Russia. Chiang then sought the assistance of Hsu Shih-ch'ang (q.v.), who held the presidency at Peking. Since Hsu Shih-ch'ang and Chiang K'ang-hu's father had passed the metropolitan examination in the same year, and thus were linked in the t'ung-nien relationship, he helped Chiang to secure a passport for travel to Russia and Europe. Through the introduction of Yurin, then the representative at Peking of the Soviet Far Eastern Republic, Chiang became acquainted with Shen Ch'ung-hsun, who was about to be sent as Peking's representative to the Far Eastern Republic, and was able to obtain space on the special train reserved for Shen. They left for Harbin on the way to Russia in March 1921. In Russia, Chiang reestablished contact with a number of Russians he had previously met in the United States and who had become officials in the Far Eastern Republic.

From 22 June to 12 July 1921, Chiang

K'ang-hu attended the Third Congress of the Communist International in Moscow as a Socialist representative from China. At that meeting he was exposed to aggressive Communist (Bolshevik) policies. In January 1922 he attended the Congress of Far Eastern Revolutionary Parties at Moscow. That meeting, generally known as the First Congress of the Toilers of the East, had originally been scheduled for November 1921 at Irkutsk to counter the operations of the so-called imperialist powers at the Washington Conference. Circumstances in Russia, however, caused repeated postponement and the shift of the meeting site to Moscow. While in Russia, Chiang had formal and informal meetings with Bolshevik leaders, including Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Chicherin, Lunacharsky, and the Hungarian leader Bela Kun. In his travel account, Chiang said that he considered Adolf Joffe a first-rate negotiator and diplomat whose skill had already been demonstrated by his term as Soviet representative in Germany. At that time, Joffe had just been appointed to go to China to initiate discussions with Sun Yat-sen.

The most significant event of Chiang's trip in Russia, however, was his attempt to capture and use Outer Mongolia for socialist experimentation. His interest in Outer Mongolia dated back to January 1913, when Mongolia and Tsarist Russia had contracted a secret treaty at the expense of Chinese sovereignty over Outer Mongolia. Amidst the public furor in China aroused by this treaty, Chiang had published an article entitled "The Frontier Policy of the Socialist Party." That article advocated, among other things, that frontier areas such as Sinkiang, Tibet, and Mongolia be considered special territories, indirectly belonging to the Chinese republic but retaining autonomy in internal administration; that these areas be recognized by foreign powers as perpetual neutral zones; and that socialists be allowed to try out their programs in these areas. Despite Chiang's statement that his proposal was supported by the military governors of Anhwei, Chekiang, and Sinkiang, the Shanghai newspapers censured him for attempting to take advantage of the national emergency for his own political purposes. Eight years later, when in Russia, Chiang again proposed that Outer Mongolia should be used for socialist experimentation. In 1921 there were many Chinese

workers in Russia who had acquired some military training during the Bolshevik revolution. Chiang thought these workers in Russia could be organized into a Chinese contingent to be sent to Outer Mongolia with Bolshevik arms to drive out the White Russian occupation troops. The Chinese contingent was to establish Outer Mongolia as a neutral area (while allowing the Bolsheviks certain advantages) and to experiment with socialism. In connection with this scheme, Chiang called on Lenin and reportedly obtained some measure of agreement from the Russian authorities. However, after reaching an understanding with Chang Tso-lin (q.v.), the Bolsheviks were able to invade Outer Mongolia and drive out the White Russian troops before Chiang's contingent could be organized.

After a year in Russia, Chiang went to Western Europe in the spring of 1922. There he was stranded with insufficient funds to return to China. Hsu Shih-ch'ang, who still held the presidency at Peking, again came to his aid and paid for his passage home. While in Russia, Chiang had witnessed the end of military communism and the transition to the New Economic Policy phase of reconstruction. On his return to China, he reasoned that China, because the country and its recent history were unlike Russia, should chart its own course of development. Abandoning his former views, he began expounding what he termed new democracy and new socialism for China.

The concept of new democracy, which Chiang later renamed limited democracy, involved three basic principles. These were: political participation of educationally qualified citizens through voting; supremacy of the legislative power over the administrative and judicial powers to avoid deadlocks and inefficiency; and representative government through trade and professional organizations to avoid the dictatorship of any single class. New socialism, which Chiang subsequently renamed socialist capitalism, postulated: public ownership of property; workers' compensation; and public welfare. In order to propagate his system of new democracy-new socialism, Chiang K'ang-hu assumed the presidency of the Nan-fang ta-hsueh [university of the south] at Shanghai in 1923 when that institution was expanded from a technical college to a university. The new university, which also had a branch at Peking,

for a time was quite popular with the younger generation in China. Chiang made a fund-raising trip to Southeast Asia, where he was greeted with considerable enthusiasm in many overseas Chinese communities of that region. Because of his trip to Russia and his reported involvement with the affairs of Outer Mongolia, however, he was declared *persona non grata* in the Dutch colonies and was carefully watched by the British colonial authorities.

Chiang returned to China encouraged by the Chinese support which he had found. On 15 June 1924 he announced the revival of the Chinese Socialist party. In January 1925 he reorganized that party into the New Social Democratic party, with headquarters at Peking and branch offices at Shanghai and other cities. When lecturing duties took him to Hunan in 1924, he took part in discussions on revision of the Hunan provincial constitution. He later published his draft constitution with the hope that it would serve as a model provincial constitution should the federal system become a reality in China (*see* Chao Heng-t'i).

After Tuan Ch'i-jui had emerged from retirement to become chief executive at Peking, Chiang was invited to participate in the Shan-hou hui-i [aftermath conference], which met in February 1925. In the spring of that year, as Tuan's regime went through the motions of preparing for a new national assembly, Chiang was named to membership on the committee to draft a new national constitution. He appeared to be gaining moderate political momentum in north China when his fortunes suffered an unexpectedly sharp blow in 1925.

Earlier, in 1924, Chiang had conceived the idea of seeking an interview with the deposed Manchu emperor, P'u-yi (q.v.), apparently with the hope of converting him to socialism. To that end he wrote to Chin-liang, a Manchu close to P'u-yi and a former colleague of Chiang at the Ching-shih ta-hsueh-t'ang. The letter to Chin-liang, which expressed Chiang K'ang-hu's personal good will toward the Manchu court, was published in 1925 in a book entitled *Ch'ing-shih mi-mou fu-p'i wen-cheng* [documentary evidence on the secret plot of the Ch'ing house to restore itself]. Chiang's political sense was at once called into question, and he was accused of "putting on the cloak of modernity in order better to betray the youth of China." His

students at the Nan-fang ta-hsueh were vociferous in demanding that he be dismissed as the institution's president. Although Chiang attempted to argue that there was no other evidence to corroborate the charge that he favored the restoration of the Manchu dynasty, his refutation went unheard. His position as a responsible educator was undermined; and the provincial association of his native province, Kiangsi, refused to recognize him as a native and expelled him. Under heavy pressure, Chiang was forced to resign the presidency of the Nan-fang ta-hsueh. He remained for a time in Peking.

Recognizing that his political career had ended, Chiang later left for Canada. There he taught Chinese and related subjects at McGill University in Montreal. Although he continued to comment on the contemporary situation in China, he gradually turned toward traditionalism and became convinced that a reformed China could only be built on a foundation of classical Chinese cultural values. An indication of his changing outlook was the appearance in 1929 of *The Jade Mountain*, an English translation of the *T'ang-shih san-pai shou* [three hundred poems of the T'ang dynasty], a standard anthology of T'ang poetry. Prepared in collaboration with the American poet Witter Bynner, that volume also contained a discussion of Chinese poetry written by Chiang.

Chiang K'ang-hu's growing traditionalism was again in evidence at Shanghai in 1934, when he presented a series of lectures on Confucian philosophy. He then headed a cultural mission to the United States to display Chinese art objects and delivered lectures in Hawaii and Japan on the way back to the Far East. When the war with Japan erupted in July 1937, Chiang was living at Peking. He soon left for west China, where he lectured in Szechwan and Sikang. Most Chinese at that time viewed the war against Japan primarily as a patriotic struggle to defend China against her national enemy. Chiang K'ang-hu, however, held that the struggle against Japan was related to the cause of world peace and the preservation of East Asian civilization.

However, these lofty concepts failed to aid Chiang K'ang-hu in finding employment. Perhaps his reputation as a Manchu supporter prevented his finding a teaching post and placed sustained pressure on his finances. In any event, he moved to Hong Kong, where he became

noted for advocating "ten ways to good living," including vegetarianism. In Hong Kong, Chiang deserted modern subjects completely and attempted a return to the practice of tutoring disciples in the Confucian tradition, which required traditional trappings as well as stipulated payments presented to the so-called Master in ceremonial envelopes. But this type of instruction had lost its appeal, and ambitious Chinese middle school graduates were unlikely to turn to Confucian instruction in preference to modern university instruction.

Because this venture was unsuccessful, when Chiang was invited to go to Shanghai by men involved in the so-called peace movement, which was designed to work out a compromise settlement with the Japanese, he accepted. He later took a post in the Japanese-sponsored government established in March 1940 and headed by Wang Ching-wei. Chiang became deputy head of the examination yuan at Nanking, with responsibility for supervising civil service examinations. His latter-day philosophy, articulated as the concept of *hui-hsiang tung-fang* [return to the East], was sufficiently flexible to be adjusted to the political requirements of the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere evolved in Tokyo. In 1942 Chiang republished the lectures on the Confucian *Analects* which he had delivered at Shanghai in 1934. "As long as Confucian temples are preserved," he wrote, "the reconstruction of the Great East Asian civilization will soon come." Such statements expressed Chiang's exaltation of the traditional Chinese heritage and marked the distance he had traveled from his interest in socialism. There is no information on his fate after the Japanese surrender in 1945.

Vain, opportunistic, and volatile, Chiang K'ang-hu nevertheless demonstrated notable vision and courage during his early career in China. Before the fall of the imperial dynasty, he had advocated such heterodox causes as women's education, romanization of the Chinese language, and socialism. His personal contacts included republican revolutionaries such as Sung Chiao-jen, early Communists such as P'eng P'ai, and conservative classical scholars such as Yeh Te-hui. Chiang's early essays on socialism were published in 1913 under the title *Hung-shui chi* [the flood]. The title was apparently inspired by the 1911 memorial to the throne by the governor of Chekiang, who had

demanded severe punishment for Chiang for having advocated such a hung-shui meng-shou [destructive as flood waters and savage as wild beasts] ideology. His books on his journeys to Russia and Southeast Asia are entitled, respectively, *Hsin-Ou yu-chi* [journey to a new Europe] and *Nan-yu hui-hsiang chi* [recollections of the journey to the south]. Chiang's speeches on social and political problems were published in several volumes during the 1920's.

Chiang K'ang-hu married his first wife, *née* Liu (b. 1883), in 1898. He had seven children by her, four of whom died in infancy. Chiang married again in 1920 in the United States. His second wife, Lu Hsiu-ying, was an American-born Chinese whose field of interest was nursery-school education. They returned to China together in 1920, and she accompanied Chiang on his trips to the Soviet Union and Europe in 1921-22. In 1927, three children of the first marriage were alive: one son, then 25, and two daughters, one in college and the other in middle school. At that time two children of the second marriage were also living in Peking: a son, Lung-nan, who had been born in Moscow on 24 November 1921, and a daughter named Feng-nü.

Chiang Kuang-nai
T. Ching-jan

蔣光鼐
愷然

Chiang Kuang-nai (1887-), a Kwangtung army officer, was active as a commander in the warfare after 1924, but won particular renown in the stubborn resistance of the Nineteenth Route Army to the Japanese at Shanghai in 1932. Chiang became in 1952 an official in the government at Peking.

Born into a fairly prosperous landlord family in Tungkuan, Kwangtung, Chiang Kuang-nai received a traditional education in his boyhood, but decided on a military career and entered a military school. He then studied at Paoting Military Academy, where he was graduated with honors.

Chiang's active military career began in 1923 when he became a battalion commander in the 4th Regiment of the 1st Division of the Kwangtung Army. Ch'en Ming-shu (q.v.) was the regimental commander. In 1924 Ch'en Ming-shu was promoted to brigade commander, and

Chiang rose to become a regimental commander. At that time Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai (q.v.) became a battalion commander under Chiang. This marked the first association between Ch'en Ming-shu, Chiang Kuang-nai, and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, the trio who later became the acknowledged leaders of the Nineteenth Route Army. Li Chi-shen (q.v.) was then commander of the 1st Division of the Kwangtung Army.

After the army reorganization effected in 1925, Li Chi-shen became commander of the Fourth Army. Ch'en Ming-shu was promoted to commander of the 10th Division, with Chiang Kuang-nai as his deputy commander. The 10th Division, together with Chang Fa-k'uei's 12th Division, took part in the Northern Expedition in 1926, and the brilliant victories scored by these units laid the foundations for the success of the entire campaign. Both the 10th and the 12th divisions were then expanded into armies, Ch'en Ming-shu's becoming the Eleventh Army. Chiang Kuang-nai continued to be his deputy commander.

Toward the end of 1926, as disagreement grew between the Kuomintang leaders at Wuhan and those at Nanchang (who later moved to Nanking), a movement was launched in Wuhan to oppose Chiang Kai-shek. Ch'en Ming-shu found himself irreconcilably opposed to the Wuhan stand and left the Eleventh Army, placing it under the command of Chiang Kuang-nai. Chiang then found himself in a dilemma, and gathered his senior officers to discuss possible courses of action. The alternatives were to go along with the Wuhan leaders, thus keeping the army intact, or to leave Wuhan and to join Chiang Kai-shek, who was then in Kiangsi. The officers feared that the second course would be hazardous, since it would lead immediately to internecine fighting with Chang Fa-k'uei. Chiang Kuang-nai left the army unannounced, and it was taken over by Chang Fa-k'uei, who then commanded both his own Fourth Army and the Eleventh Army. He assigned Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, then deputy commander of the 24th Division, to be commander of the 10th Division. The commander of the 24th Division had also left the army, and the Communist Yeh T'ing (q.v.) was given the command of that division.

By mid-1927, after Chiang Kai-shek had established himself in Nanking, relations between Wuhan and Nanking had deteriorated so much that both sides decided to settle their differences

on the battlefield. Wuhan ordered an expedition against Chiang Kai-shek, and Chang Fa-k'uei soon took control of Nanchang. At that point the situation changed dramatically, and the Kuomintang leftists at Wuhan, led by Wang Ching-wei (q.v.), also decided to purge the Communists. On 1 August the Chinese Communists staged the famous Nanchang insurrection, which was led by Ho Lung and Yeh T'ing. Quick action by Chang Fa-k'uei suppressed the uprising within three days, and the rebels had to evacuate Nanchang. They made their way south with the objective of building a base in Kwangtung.

When the Nanchang uprising broke out, the Eleventh Army (actually the 10th Division under Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, since the other division, the 24th, led by Yeh T'ing, was the originator of the plot) was forced to join the rebels. However, Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, assigned to vanguard duty on the march southward, outmaneuvered the Communists and took his army to the Kiangsi-Fukien border. At this point Chiang Kuang-nai rejoined the army and resumed command. He marched the army into Fukien, and in November 1927 Ch'en Ming-shu rejoined the unit there. The trio—Chiang Kuang-nai, Ch'en Ming-shu, and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai—brought the army back to Kwangtung, where Li Chi-shen remained in control. Toward the end of 1928, Ch'en Ming-shu succeeded Li Chi-shen as governor of Kwangtung, and Chiang Kuang-nai took over the command of the Eleventh Army from Ch'en.

Early in 1929, when Li Chi-shen was imprisoned by Chiang Kai-shek at Nanking, Ch'en Chi-t'ang became the chief military power in Kwangtung, and Ch'en Ming-shu, for a time at least, remained the civil governor. Eventually, with the reorganization of the military units in the province, Chiang Kuang-nai became commander of the 61st Division, and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai commander of the 60th Division. These two divisions were the immediate predecessors of the Nineteenth Route Army. They took part in defeating the forces of Chang Fa-k'uei and Li Tsung-jen (q.v.), which attacked Kwangtung toward the end of 1930. The two divisions then were transferred north in 1930. By this time they had been organized as the Nineteenth Route Army, with Chiang Kuang-nai as commander in chief and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai as field commander.

After the defeat of the Yen-Feng coalition by early 1931, the Nineteenth Route Army took part in the first of the encirclement campaigns against the Chinese Communists, who were growing in strength in Kiangsi. Meanwhile, following Chiang Kai-shek's imprisonment of Hu Han-min (q.v.) in Nanking, a new secessionist movement was launched at Canton with the support of Ch'en Chi-t'ang (q.v.) and Li Tsung-jen, who was now in control of Kwangsi. Ch'en Chi-t'ang left his civil governor's post at Canton and was appointed to a post in the anti-Communist operations in Kiangsi. This move meant in effect that he was reunited with his troops, now the Nineteenth Route Army.

It is possible that at this period Chiang Kuang-nai began to resent the demands on his forces, which had been in continuous combat in the successive campaigns. There were rumors that Nanking intended to use the Nineteenth Route Army as the vanguard force in an expedition against the Canton insurgents, which meant that the men of the Nineteenth Route Army would be called upon to fight their former comrades of the original Fourth Army. Chiang Kuang-nai suddenly became ill and had to be hospitalized in Shanghai for several months. Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai assumed command of the Nineteenth Route Army in his absence, and it was for that reason that Ts'ai was even better known than Chiang in connection with that army.

The threat of civil war between Nanking and Canton was averted by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in September 1931, which led to the reunification of rival Kuomintang factions; the Canton separatist movement was called off. Nanking then transferred the Nineteenth Route Army to the Shanghai area, with Ch'en Ming-shu as garrison commander in chief of the metropolitan Shanghai zone and Chiang Kuang-nai as commander of the Shanghai-Woosung area. This transfer was sometimes interpreted as a gesture on the part of Nanking toward the Cantonese leaders, for though the Nineteenth Route Army had taken no part in the Canton secessionist movement, the army itself was basically a Cantonese force.

It was at this juncture that the Nineteenth Route Army gained international attention through the stubborn resistance it offered when the Japanese marines attacked Shanghai during the night of 28 January 1932. Chiang Kuang-nai and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai became the outstanding

individual heroes of the incident. But the action, while clearly patriotic, inevitably aroused suspicion at Nanking, and once more the army was sent to fight the Communists in Kiangsi. Later in 1932, it was again transferred to Fukien, where Chiang Kuang-nai was made pacification commissioner at Foochow, a position somewhat similar to the earlier post of military governor. Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai succeeded him as commander in chief, but the basic leadership and composition of the army remained intact.

Chiang Kuang-nai's growing dissatisfaction with the National Government was demonstrated by his delay in assuming the new post. He first paid a visit to his native district in Kwangtung and remained there for several months. Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai finally saw Chiang and persuaded him to return to Fukien and assume his duties. At the end of 1932, apparently in a further attempt to gain his confidence, Nanking appointed him governor of Fukien and made Ts'ai pacification commissioner. Ts'ai retained his command of the Nineteenth Route Army.

Meanwhile, Ch'en Ming-shu had resigned from his National Government position as minister of communications and had made a tour of Europe. He returned to China early in 1933, and there followed immediately rumors of unrest in Fukien. It has since been established that Ch'en Ming-shu was the prime mover in the Fukien revolt in late 1933, and that he had the support of the Nineteenth Route Army because its leaders, principally Chiang Kuang-nai, Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, and Tai Chi, had been united since the early days of the 10th Division during the Northern Expedition. They had all pledged unswerving loyalty to Ch'en Ming-shu.

Although the details are obscure, the evidence appears to indicate that Chiang Kuang-nai participated actively with Ch'en Ming-shu in launching the Fukien revolt. Chiang paid a special visit to Canton to discuss with the Kwangtung leaders the matter of a new coalition against Nanking. Although Ch'en Chi-t'ang, who held control of Kwangtung, refused to cooperate in the plan, Ch'en Ming-shu and his associates proceeded with renewed activity. The Fukien revolt against Nanking was launched on 20 November 1933, and a people's government was established at Foochow, with Li

Chi-shen as its chairman. Chiang Kuang-nai became a member of its 11-man council and headed the finance commission of the regime. The Fukien rebels publicly denounced Chiang Kai-shek and adopted a platform calling for resistance to Japanese aggression and for democratic government in China.

The Foochow venture collapsed in about two months. All its leaders, including Chiang Kuang-nai, fled to Hong Kong. The participants in the abortive revolt managed to maintain some organizational coherence in Hong Kong because Li Chi-shen organized a new political party called the Chinese National Revolutionary Alliance. In addition to the participants in the Fukien action, members of this new group allegedly included such anti-Chiang Kai-shek men as Feng Yü-hsiang. Other than his participation in this group, Chiang Kuang-nai remained inactive in Hong Kong until 1937.

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war brought unity to China's contending factions. Chiang Kuang-nai at once returned to China to offer his services to the war effort. However, he was not given any post of substantive responsibility, and he spent the war years as an aide, with the title of deputy commander, first under Chang Fa-k'uei and later under Yu Han-mou (q.v.), in various war areas. The surrender of Japan promptly revived the activities of political factions, several within the Kuomintang itself, opposed to Chiang Kai-shek's authority. In 1946 at Canton, Chiang Kuang-nai and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai founded the Kuomintang Democracy Promotion Association, the members of which were recruited chiefly, though not exclusively, from among the southern military leaders. Soon Chiang Kuang-nai again found it expedient to leave the mainland and take up residence in Hong Kong. It is interesting to note that although Chiang Kuang-nai previously had always taken precedence over Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, their positions were reversed in the new organization.

In the autumn of 1949, Chiang Kuang-nai and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai both attended the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference at Peiping as representatives of the Kuomintang Democracy Promotion Association. After the establishment of the Central People's Government in October 1949, Chiang was appointed a member of the Peking municipal government

council. The Kuomintang Democracy Promotion Association, along with other groups which had defected from the Nationalist, was merged with the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee headed by Li Chi-shen. Chiang then became a member of the central committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee.

In 1952 Chiang Kuang-nai was appointed minister of textile industry. In 1954 he was elected a delegate from Kwangtung to the First National People's Congress; in 1959 he was reelected to the Second People's Congress. He was also elected a member of the Peking municipal committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Chiang Meng-lin

蔣夢麟

Alt. Chiang Monlin

T. Chao-hsien

兆賢

Chiang Meng-lin (1886–18 June 1964), known as Chiang Monlin, educator. He served as dean (1919) and acting chancellor (1923–27) of Peking University and as minister of education in the National Government (1928–30). He then returned to Peking as chancellor of the university (1931–45). From 1948 to 1964 he was chairman of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction in Taiwan.

A native of Yuyao, Chekiang, Chiang Monlin was born into a gentry family. He had three older brothers and an older sister. His grandfather had made a modest fortune in Shanghai as a banker, and his father owned land as well as shares in a number of native banks in Shanghai. Chiang's mother, the daughter of a local scholar, died when he was very young, and his father remarried. Although his stepmother was an able and benevolent woman, Chiang's relationship with her was less than satisfactory.

At the age of six, Chiang began his formal education in the old-style village school, which he disliked because of the emphasis placed upon rote memorization. Soon his family sent him to a modern school, the Chung-hsi hsueh-t'ang (Sino-Western School), in the nearby city of Shaohsing. There, in addition to Chinese literature, classics, and history, he studied elementary science, English, and Japanese. One of his teachers was Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei (q.v.). After 1898 Chiang attended, in succession, a

French Catholic school in Shanghai, a local school in Yuyao, and an American missionary school at Hangchow. While attending the missionary school, Chiang participated in the first wave of student demonstrations in modern China.

After leaving the missionary school, Chiang Monlin, at the age of 16, entered the Chekiang Provincial College at Hangchow. That institution, which previously had been known as the Ch'iu-shih shu-yuan, had been established in 1897. Some of its teachers were sympathetic to the reform movements of the period. Chiang read the anti-Manchu writings of such men as Chang Ping-lin and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. At the age of 19 he passed the imperial examinations for the degree of sheng-yuan. He continued to study at the college until 1904, when he left Hangchow to attend Nanyang College in Shanghai in preparation for study in the United States. By that time he had come to the conclusion that Westernization was the only course open to China if she were to be saved from being partitioned by the great powers. Nanyang College had been established in 1896 with the advice of the American missionary Dr. John C. Ferguson. The curriculum of its preparatory department was similar to those of American high schools. Chiang was one of the outstanding students in the college.

In the summer of 1907 Chiang and a friend spent a month in Japan. He visited an exposition in Tokyo, and he was impressed by the industrial development and the general modernity of Japan. The following year he took, but failed to pass, a provincial examination held at Hangchow for a scholarship to study in the United States. However, his father provided him with the necessary funds, and he sailed for the United States in late August 1908.

Because he arrived in San Francisco after the autumn term at the University of California had begun, he spent the late months of 1908 improving his English. In 1909 Chiang matriculated at the Berkeley campus of the University of California. He spent his first semester studying agriculture. Then he transferred to education and continued his undergraduate studies in that field. Late in 1909 he met Sun Yat-sen, who was in San Francisco attempting to raise financial support and to establish a branch of the T'ung-meng-hui. Chiang Monlin, while a student at Berkeley, wrote editorials for the *Chinese Free*

Press in San Francisco, a newspaper which supported Sun's revolutionary cause.

Chiang received the LL.B. degree from the University of California in 1912 and then moved to New York to begin graduate studies in education at Columbia University. There his work was guided and influenced by John Dewey. He completed his thesis, entitled *A Study in Chinese Principles of Education*, in 1917. In it Chiang discussed similarities between traditional Chinese views of education and modern Western theories. He advocated the preservation of the best elements of Chinese culture as well as the incorporation into Chinese life of certain Western ideals. Although he recognized that China needed a strong and efficient government to protect itself from foreign aggression, he insisted that individual rights must be safeguarded by such a government.

Chiang Monlin returned to China in 1917 after nine years abroad. After spending a few months at home in Chekiang, he went to Shanghai, where he worked for about a year as an editor at the Commercial Press. In 1918 he became the editor of the *Hsin chiao-yü* [new education], a monthly journal published under the auspices of Peking University and the Kiangsu Educational Association (see Huang Yen-p'ei). In addition to editing this magazine and contributing many articles to it, Chiang frequently wrote on educational topics for the monthly *Chiao-yü tsa-chih* [educational review]. In the summer of 1918 he took a trip to Manchuria and Korea, where he found evidence of Japanese expansionism. The same year, he worked with Sun Yat-sen's wife, Soong Ch'ing-ling (q.v.), and David Yui (Yü Jih-chang, q.v.) in preparing for publication Sun Yat-sen's massive plan for the industrialization of China.

During this period, many Chinese intellectuals and students were groping for new values and ideas to replace those of traditional China. A major center of this intellectual ferment was Peking University; Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei was its chancellor. On 4 May 1919 the students of Peking demonstrated against the officials whom they thought responsible for China's failure to gain a favorable settlement of the Shantung question at the Paris Peace Conference. The demonstration gave rise to similar protests in other cities throughout China. Although Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei sympathized with the students, he was shocked by the ensuing violence, and he resigned from Peking University. After declining

repeated requests to resume the chancellorship, in July 1919 Ts'ai approved an arrangement whereby Chiang Monlin would take charge of the university in Ts'ai's absence. Chiang's association with Peking University, though interrupted at various times, lasted until 1945.

After Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei's return in September 1919, Peking University was reorganized and was placed under the control of the faculty. Chiang Monlin was appointed dean of administration and was assigned responsibility for business affairs. The highest legislative body of the university was the academic council, composed of members elected by the professors with the deans as *ex officio* members. Thereafter, whenever Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei was absent from Peking, Chiang Monlin assumed the duties of chancellor. In 1921 Chiang was sent as an unofficial observer to the Washington Conference by the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce and the National Federation of Educational Associations. In 1922, after the conference ended, Chiang made a tour of Europe.

From 1923 to 1927 Chiang served as acting chancellor of Peking University, which was a government university. It was a period of great strain for Chiang. Public finance was in such a chaotic state that funds for the university came only occasionally, often a year or two in arrears; professors received only part of their salaries. Further, Chiang had to attempt to mediate between the students, who became increasingly restive, and the government, which was inclined to suppress opposition by force. On 18 March 1926 Peking students held a public demonstration to protest the ineptness of the government headed by Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.) in handling the so-called Taku affair. Police guarding the executive mansion at Peking opened fire on the unarmed demonstrators. When the incident was over, 46 students were dead and 155 were wounded. Three of the dead and five of the wounded students were from Peking University.

The arrival in Peking of Chang Tso-lin and his Fengtien armies posed a new problem for Chiang Monlin. Sun Pao-ch'i informed Chiang that he was on the personal blacklist of Chang Tsung-ch'ang (q.v.), the general whose Shantung troops supplied the garrison force for Peking. Chiang Monlin left his post at Peking University and sought sanctuary in the Legation Quarter, where he remained until he was able to escape to Shanghai in the summer of 1926. In Shanghai, Chiang, Ma Hsu-lun (q.v.), and

other refugee intellectuals from Peking University remained inactive for a period. Chiang and Ma Hsu-lun visited their native Chekiang in 1926 in an attempt to persuade the provincial governor to align himself with the forces of the National Revolutionary Army, then advancing from south China. That move failed, but the Northern Expedition continued to advance, and in February 1927 its forces captured Hangchow. The entire province of Chekiang soon came under Nationalist control. Chiang Monlin was appointed a member of the interim provincial government of Chekiang and commissioner of education as well as secretary general of the Chekiang branch of the Central Political Council of the Kuomintang.

In 1928, after the National Government was established at Nanking, a new educational system, formulated in 1927 by a committee on educational administration of which Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei had been a member, was instituted on an experimental basis in Chekiang and Kiangsu. Under that system, the entire country was to be divided into university zones. The president of the national university in each zone was to be responsible for all educational matters within its territory. Chiang Monlin was appointed president of National Chekiang University. The office of commissioner of education was abolished, and Chiang was made an official of the Chekiang provincial government. In October 1928 Chiang was named minister of education in the National Government. In 1929 he gave up the presidency of Chekiang University to devote his attention to his new post. He abolished the university zone system, which had been criticized by professional educators, particularly in Kiangsu. In December 1930, Chiang resigned his post as minister of education because he disagreed with other officials at Nanking about educational policy.

Chiang returned to north China to become chancellor of National Peking University. Although Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei had been reappointed chancellor in 1929, he had never assumed office, and the university had been administered by Ch'en Ta-ch'i. From 1931 to 1937, Chiang Monlin's major problems were caused by increasing Japanese pressure on north China. As a prominent intellectual leader, Chiang was a natural target of Japanese intrigue. On one occasion, shortly after the signing of the Tangku Agreement of 31 May 1933, which permitted the Japanese to sponsor a new government in north-

ern Hopei, Chiang was invited to the Japanese garrison headquarters in the Legation Quarter at Peiping. He was locked in a room with a Japanese colonel, who accused Peking University of anti-Japanese activities and requested that Chiang, under the escort of Japanese gendarmes, go to Dairen that very night to see the Japanese military authorities there. Chiang refused to comply, and he was released. Thereafter, the Japanese changed their tactics and attempted to win over leading members of the university faculty and administration. The actions of the Japanese, however, belied their words. On 7 July 1937 the Sino-Japanese war began with military clashes near Peiping.

At that time Chiang Monlin was at Kuling attending a meeting of intellectuals who had been called together by Chiang Kai-shek to discuss national problems. He flew to Nanking some days later and tried unsuccessfully to get back to Peiping, which fell to the Japanese on 29 July. From Nanking, Chiang Monlin went to Hangchow, where he received news that the fighting had spread to Shanghai. Recognizing that there would be a protracted war, Chiang paid a visit to his father in his native village. It was the last time he saw the elder Chiang, who died in 1939 at the age of 80.

The government authorities at Nanking made plans to evacuate the three great universities of north China—Peking and Tsinghua of Peiping and Nankai of Tientsin—to Changsha in Hunan province. Chiang Monlin left Hangchow for Nanking and then went to Hankow and Changsha. On 1 November 1937 the joint institution composed of the three refugee universities held its first classes at Changsha. Some 200 professors and 1,000 students had gathered at the makeshift campus. At the end of February 1938, the institution was forced to move to Kunming in Yunnan province because the Japanese were advancing toward Hankow. After its removal to Kunming, it was renamed Southwest Associated University. Its first semester began in May 1938. The university was run by an executive committee composed of the three senior administrators of its constituent institutions: Chiang Monlin of Peking University, Y. C. Mei (Mei Yi-ch'i, q.v.) of Tsinghua, and Chang Po-ling of Nankai.

Just before the end of the war Chiang visited the United States and toured American universities, hoping to arrange for an increase in the exchange of teachers and students between the

United States and China. In June 1945 T. V. Soong, then premier, invited Chiang Monlin to serve as secretary general of the Executive Yuan. Chiang resigned from Peking University, and Hu Shih was named to succeed him. Chiang held the Executive Yuan post from 1945 to 1947. Then he became a councillor of the National Government.

By 1948 the Chinese Communists had won a series of important victories in the civil war that had broken out soon after the Japanese surrender in 1945. It was the opinion of many Chinese and of many American officials in China that rural poverty was one of the major causes of the Communist victories. Accordingly, on 1 October 1948 a Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction was established as a cooperative undertaking of the Chinese and American governments. It was composed of three Chinese and two American commissioners. The three Chinese members of the Commission were Chiang Monlin, Shen Tsung-han, and James Yen (Yen Yang-ch'u). The American commissioners were Raymond T. Moyer and John Earl Baker. The five commissioners elected Chiang Monlin chairman, and he held that post until his death 16 years later. The objective of the commission was to increase farm production and to raise rural standards of living through technological assistance and other means. The commission moved to Taiwan in 1949 and continued its program of rural reconstruction there. Under Chiang Monlin's direction, the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction in Taiwan gained international recognition through its programs for irrigation, water control, forestry and soil conservation, rural health and sanitation, improvement of crop and livestock strains, and the mechanization of agriculture. In Taiwan, Chiang Monlin was also known as an articulate advocate of birth control; he did much to focus attention on the problems posed by rapid and sustained population growth on the island.

In 1958 Chiang became the head of the Shihmen Development Commission in Taiwan; he lived to see the completion of the eight-year, US\$88 million Shihmen reservoir project. In 1963 he was awarded the Special Grand Cordon of the Brilliant Star and a certificate of merit in recognition of the contributions made by the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction to the successful land reform program in Taiwan.

In March 1963, as chairman of the board of directors of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, Chiang presided over the first board meeting to be held in Taiwan. The China Foundation, established in 1924 to administer the Boxer Indemnity funds returned to China by the United States, had moved its headquarters to New York in 1950 after the Communists had seized power on the mainland of China.

Chiang Monlin died of cancer of the liver in Taipei on 19 June 1964. His funeral, held on 23 June, was attended by Chiang Kai-shek, Ch'en Ch'eng, and other senior government officials. He was buried in the Yangmingshan Cemetery at the side of his first wife, who had died in 1957. He had remarried in 1960, but had divorced his second wife in 1964. He was survived by one daughter, Mrs. Wen-hui Wu, and by a son who lived on the mainland.

In his book *Tides from the West*, written during the late years of the Second World War and published by the Yale University Press in 1947, Chiang recounted the history of modern China as it was reflected in his own life. He stressed the merits of traditional Chinese culture, but pleaded strongly for the rapid development of science and for the fostering of democratic principles in China to safeguard national security. His doctoral thesis, *A Study in Chinese Principles of Education*, was published by the Commercial Press at Shanghai in 1924. A collection of speeches and articles from the 1918-25 period, *Kuo-tu shih-tai chih ssu-hsiang yü chiao-yü* [thought and education in a transitional period], was published in 1933. Chiang also wrote *Meng-lin wen-ts'un* [collected essays of Chiang Monlin] and *T'an hsueh-wen* [on academic knowledge], published at Taipei in 1954 and 1955, respectively.

Chiang Pai-li: see CHIANG FANG-CHEN.

Chiang Ping-chih: see TING LING.

Chiang Ting-wen
T. Ming-san

蔣鼎文
銘三

Chiang Ting-wen (1895-), Chekiang military officer, was an able field commander who served

Chiang Kai-shek in the Northern Expedition and in the campaigns against the Communists in the 1930's. During the Sino-Japanese war he held such offices as director of the Generalissimo's Sian headquarters, governor of Shensi, and commander of the First War Area. He went into retirement after being defeated in Honan in 1944 during the so-called Ichi-go operation.

Born into a peasant family in Chuchi hsien, Chekiang province, Chiang Ting-wen received his early schooling in a local private school. In 1909 he enrolled in the hsien middle school. About this time he became an adherent of the anti-Manchu cause. After the Wuchang revolt in October 1911, Chiang left his studies and went to Hangchow, where he joined the students' corps. In 1912 he entered the Ta-t'ung Army School at Shaohsing, where anti-Manchu revolutionary activities had been carried on covertly by his fellow-provincial Hsu Hsi-lin. A year later, Chiang transferred to the Chekiang Military Academy. After being graduated in 1914, he was made a platoon commander in the guard force at the headquarters of the Chekiang tutuh, Chu Jui. He continued to serve as a junior officer in Chekiang until April 1916, when elements opposed to Yuan Shih-k'ai forced Chu Jui from power and declared the province independent of the authority of Peking. Chiang Ting-wen participated in this coup, which was headed by T'ung Pao-hsuan, the commander of the 1st Division. Then Chiang went to Shanghai.

In May 1918 Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.), to further his campaign against the southern government, dispatched T'ung Pao-hsuan and his division to Fukien to support Li Hou-chi, the governor of that province, against the Kwangtung forces. Chiang Ting-wen went to Amoy and offered T'ung his services. His purpose was to subvert T'ung's troops. In November, Ch'en Chao-ying, a regimental commander of the Chekiang unit, defected to the Kwangtung side; Chiang later followed him to Kwangtung.

Nothing further is known of Chiang Ting-wen's career until 1923, when he served Sun Yat-sen as a staff officer in his headquarters. In April 1924 Chiang was selected to serve as an instructor and as chief of a section of cadets at the Whampoa Military Academy. He was given the rank of first lieutenant. He was

promoted to major in October and was appointed deputy commander of the 1st Battalion of the Whampoa Academy's newly organized model regiment.

Chiang participated in the action against the Canton Merchants Corps and then, in February 1925, in the first eastern expedition against Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.). After the 1st Battalion commander was wounded in an early action, Chiang was given command of the unit. He was severely wounded in the battle of Mien-hu in March, but upon recovery some six months later he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel and was made deputy commander of the regiment. Shortly afterwards, he became the commander of the 5th Regiment, 2nd Division. When the second eastern expedition against Ch'en Chiung-ming was launched in October 1925, Chiang was charged with the garrisoning of Canton. In March 1926, when Chiang Kai-shek suddenly imposed martial law and moved against Communists and Russian advisers at Canton, Chiang Ting-wen and his regiment participated in the action. Demands were made for the punishment of Chiang Ting-wen, but Chiang Kai-shek supported his action and explained that he had been following orders.

When the Northern Expedition was launched in July 1926, Chiang's 5th Regiment served as a reserve unit. After opposition forces in western Hupeh defected to the Nationalists after the capture of Wuchang in October, he was made a member of the committee charged with re-organizing the surrendering units. He went to Shasi and Ichang to undertake that task. In January 1927, Chiang Ting-wen was promoted to major general and was assigned to command a regiment directly subordinate to the Nanchang headquarters of the Nationalists. That force, composed of troops from a variety of units, was unruly and potentially troublesome. Under Chiang Ting-wen's command, however, the regiment performed well in the hard battle of late August 1927 at Lungtan, near Nanking. In mid-August, after Chiang Kai-shek had retired and had left Nanking, his lieutenant Ho Ying-ch'in (q.v.), commanding the First Army, in a precautionary move against the Kwangsi group that dominated Nanking concentrated his forces in southern Kiangsu and eastern Chekiang. Chiang Ting-wen was made garrison commander of the coastal town of Ningpo.

Then, on 22 September, he accompanied Chiang Kai-shek from Ningpo to Shanghai. Shortly afterward, he was given command of the 1st Division of the First Army, stationed at Hang-chow.

In October 1927 when Li Tsung-jen and Ch'eng Ch'ien drove westward from Nanking against T'ang Sheng-chih, Ho Ying-ch'in ordered Chiang's 1st Division to Nanking for garrison duty. After the advance of Feng Yü-hsiang's armies along the Lunhai rail line, however, the Northern Expedition was resumed. The advance in the direction of Shantung began in early November, and the 1st Division was ordered to move northward along the Tientsin-Pukow railway. Chiang Ting-wen participated in the capture of Pengpu and in the Nationalist victory at Hsuchow in December.

In the military reorganization that followed Chiang Kai-shek's return to power in January 1928, Chiang Ting-wen became deputy commander of the First Army, retaining command of the 1st Division. When the Nationalists resumed their northward advance in April 1928, Chiang fought in the battles along the Tientsin-Pukow railway. The forces of the First Group Army, now commanded personally by Chiang Kai-shek, clashed with the Japanese at Tsinan, and Chiang Ting-wen was ordered to withdraw south to Yehsien. In August, the Nationalist military establishment was reorganized; Chiang Ting-wen became commander of the 9th Division.

Chiang's unit participated in the April 1929 campaign against the Kwangsi forces in the Wuhan area. He received command of the Second Army, retaining command of the 9th Division. Feng Yü-hsiang's forces in Honan threatened to revolt against the National Government, and Chiang led his forces to northern Hupeh to defend the Wuhan area. After a false start in May, the Feng forces in western Honan, under the leadership of Sung Che-yuan and Shih Yu-san, undertook a general offensive in October. The major fighting took place on the plains of Honan. In November, however, flank pressure was exerted by the rebel forces against northern Hupeh. Chiang Ting-wen's men repulsed that attack. In December, T'ang Sheng-chih rebelled at Chengchow. Fighting broke out on the Hupeh-Honan border, and Chiang helped to suppress that revolt promptly.

In 1930 the National Government faced a major challenge from a coalition of forces led by Feng Yü-hsiang, Yen Hsi-shan, and Li Tsung-jen. The fighting began in May, and Chiang Ting-wen commanded an army of three divisions and one brigade which was deployed against Feng's forces on the Lunhai rail line. The fighting was fierce on that front, and the government position was threatened by the loss of Tsinan and by the occupation of Tsaohsien by Shih Yu-shan. Chiang was ordered to the Tsaohsien sector, and he defeated Shih Yu-san at Kaocheng.

Feng's army still held a strong position on the critical Lanfeng front. Chiang Kai-shek then organized an attacking force and put Chiang Ting-wen at its head. That force went into battle on 12 September 1930, but was unable to achieve its objectives. Chiang then was given command of the 9th column with the mission of advancing along the Peiping-Hankow rail line. He succeeded in cutting off Feng's forces from the rear on 30 September. Some of Feng's men surrendered, and others were disarmed. After the civil war ended in early October, Chiang Ting-wen advanced to Loyang. He was made garrison commander of the western section of the Lunhai rail line.

In June 1931 Chiang was assigned to command the Fourth Army Group of the Bandit-Suppression Army and was transferred to Nanchang to participate in the third campaign against the Communists. His 9th Division captured Hsinkuo at the beginning of August. The National Government, apparently assuming that the Communist threat had been reduced substantially, then ordered Chiang to move against the opposition Kuomintang forces centered at Canton. However, the Communists attacked Chiang's troops in the mountainous defiles of Kiangsi, and Chiang's unit was saved only by the arrival of relief forces commanded by Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai. Although Japanese military invasion of Manchuria beginning in the autumn of 1931 brought a halt to the Nationalist anti-Communist campaign, Chiang Ting-wen was assigned to consolidate the Nationalist position in northeastern Kiangsi.

When fighting between Chinese and Japanese forces began at Shanghai in January 1932, Chiang was given command of the right-flank forces, composed of two armies, deployed in support of Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai's Nineteenth Route

Army on the Shanghai-Hangchow front. After an armistice agreement was signed in May, Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai was sent to the south, and Chiang Ting-wen took over the defense of Shanghai. In June, however, he was moved to Pengpu and was given the concurrent appointment of garrison commander of the southern section of the Tientsin-Pukow railway. He then requested to be relieved of the position of commander of the 9th Division, a responsibility he had borne for four years. On his recommendation, Li Yen-nien was appointed to succeed him. Chiang remained in command of the Second Army. That winter, he and his army were transferred to Wuhan, and he was given the concurrent post of director of the water police bureau for the seven Yangtze River provinces.

In the spring of 1933, Chiang was made director of the Wuhan recruitment and training center. The fifth campaign against the Communists began that fall. In September Chiang was appointed commander of the Northern Route Bandit-Suppression Army, and he entered Kiangsi to fight the Communists. As the campaign developed, Ch'en Ming-shu and Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai in November raised the flag of revolt against Chiang Kai-shek in Fukien and set up a so-called people's government at Foochow. Chiang led nine divisions against the Fukien rebels, and the Foochow regime collapsed in less than two months. On Chiang's recommendation, the Nineteenth Route Army was reorganized as the Seventh Route Army, and the rebel officers and men thus were spared punishment.

In February 1934 Chiang Ting-wen took the field against the Communists in Kiangsi; he was made commander of the Eastern Route Bandit-Suppression Army, based at Lungyen. In that position, he commanded eleven divisions and three brigades. The strategy for that campaign called for the tight encirclement of the Communists in Kiangsi. In October, when their situation had become desperate, the Communist forces broke out of the encirclement and began their Long March. In the spring of 1935 Chiang was appointed director of the Fukien pacification bureau. He turned his attention to stabilizing the area, where local Communist guerrilla units were active.

Chiang's mother was due to celebrate her seventieth birthday on 4 December 1936, and

Chiang obtained leave of absence to attend the celebration. He was in Chekiang on his way home when he received a message from Chiang Kai-shek directing him to report at Sian. Chiang Ting-wen hurried home, paid his respects to his mother, and on 8 December flew to Sian. A new campaign against the Communists was about to be launched, and Chiang was made commander of the vanguard of the Bandit-Suppression Army. He was ordered to proceed to Pingliang, Kansu. Since Chiang Ting-wen's relations with Chang Hsueh-liang (*q.v.*) reportedly were cordial, it was anticipated that the juxtaposition of their military positions would be useful.

On 12 December 1936, however, Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng detained Chiang Kai-shek and other senior Nationalist military and political officials at Sian. When the complex political negotiations for the release of Chiang Kai-shek began, Chiang Ting-wen was selected to serve as intermediary with the Kuomintang authorities at Nanking. He left Sian by plane late on 17 December, arrived in Nanking the following day, and made his report. T. V. Soong then flew to Sian to begin the discussions that resulted in a peaceful settlement and in the release of Chiang Kai-shek on 25 December 1936.

When the Sino-Japanese war began in July 1937, Chiang Ting-wen was appointed director of Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters at Sian and was given the mission of consolidating defenses in that sector of the Yellow River valley. There his position abutted that of the Communists, who had established a new territorial base in northern Shensi and had united with the Nationalists in September 1937 against the common national enemy, Japan.

In April 1938, on the occasion of the traditional ceremony of offering sacrifices at the tomb of the Yellow Emperor in Shensi, Chiang Ting-wen represented the National Government and served as host to the visiting Communist delegation. The senior Communist leader Chang Kuo-t'ao approached Chiang and requested his protection. Chiang Ting-wen granted the request and escorted Chang Kuo-t'ao to Sian. Chang Kuo-t'ao's defection and his subsequent reports intensified mutual suspicions between the Kuomintang and the Communists, and relations between the two sides began to deteriorate. As a result of this situation, the

Nationalists moved to strengthen their military position in northwest China in an attempt to contain the Communists.

In June 1938 Chiang Ting-wen was appointed governor of Shensi and director of the Shensi provincial branch of the Kuomintang. In February 1939 he also was named commander of the Tenth War Area, which included Shensi province. In May 1941 he was replaced as governor of Shensi and named director of the Generalissimo's Sian office. The Yellow River defense line was then under heavy Japanese pressure. In October 1941 the Japanese crossed the river and captured Changchow, but they were later forced to abandon the city. In December, Chiang Ting-wen was named to command the First War Area and the Hopei-Chahar War Area, composed of territory then under Japanese control, with headquarters at Loyang. He attempted to utilize the T'aihang mountains in southeastern Shansi to reinforce the Yellow River defense line. Under Chiang's direction, P'ang Ping-hsun, commanding the Twenty-fourth Group Army, held that position until April 1943, when he was captured. Chinese Nationalist forces continued to hold out in that area until September 1943, when they withdrew south of the Yellow River.

In April 1944 the Japanese launched a massive drive, the so-called Ichi-go operation, designed to cut China in two by attacking southward across the Yellow River into Honan. The forces commanded by Chiang Ting-wen and his deputy, T'ang En-po (q.v.), suffered a shattering defeat on the Honan plain. Japanese units advanced southward as far as Kwangsi. In July 1944 Chiang Ting-wen resigned his posts and retired to live in Chungking. At the end of the war he moved to Shanghai.

Chiang took no active part in the civil war with the Communists which began in mid-1946. In January 1947 he left China for a trip to the United States and Europe; he returned to Shanghai in February 1948. He attended the meeting of the National Assembly at Nanking at which Chiang Kai-shek was elected President of China. Chiang Ting-wen moved to Taiwan in March 1949, but held no active position there. When the National Government was removed from the mainland to Taiwan, Chiang was appointed a national policy adviser in the office of President Chiang Kai-shek.

Chiang T'ing-fu

蔣廷黻

- West. Tingfu F. Tsiang

Chiang T'ing-fu (7 December 1895-9 October 1965), known as T. F. Tsiang, scholar and diplomat. After teaching diplomatic history at Nankai (1923-29) and Tsinghua (1929-35) universities, he became ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1936. After February 1938 he served as director of the political department of the Executive Yuan. He was named permanent representative to the United Nations in 1947 and was appointed ambassador to the United States in 1961.

Shaoyang, Hunan province, was the birthplace of T. F. Tsiang. His father, Chiang Hsu-hsueh, was an independent farmer who owned a small general store and lived in comfortable, though not affluent, circumstances. Although the family had the conventional Chinese respect for education, it was not known for scholarly attainments.

At the age of five, T. F. Tsiang, together with his brother and their cousins, was placed under a private tutor to prepare for regular schooling. A year later he was sent to a neighborhood school to study the Confucian classics. He was also required to read portions of a major historical work, the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* [comprehensive mirror for aid in government], and of the celebrated commentaries by the seventeenth-century Hunanese scholar and patriot Wang Fu-chih (ECCP, II, 817-19) entitled *Tu t'ung-chien lun* [on reading the comprehensive mirror].

In 1905, T. F. Tsiang left home for Changsha, the capital of Hunan province, to attend the Ming-te School. The founder of the school was Hu Yuan-t'an (q.v.), one of the most distinguished Hunanese educators of his time. In 1906, Tsiang transferred to a school run by American Presbyterian missionaries in Hsiang-t'an, Hunan, so that he could study English. He remained there until the outbreak of the 1911 revolution, when instruction was suspended. Mrs. William R. Lingle, the principal of the school, planned to return to the United States, and T. F. Tsiang decided to go with her. They had reached Shanghai when they learned that conditions in Hunan had so improved that it

was possible for the school to open again. Accordingly, Mrs Lingle returned to Hunan. T. F. Tsiang was determined to go to the United States, however, and he sailed alone.

He arrived at San Francisco in February 1912. A Chinese pastor from Chinatown put him in touch with a YMCA secretary, who arranged for him to go to Parkville, Missouri, to enter Park College, a self-help institution where needy students could defray part of their expenses by working part time for the school. T. F. Tsiang managed to complete his first year at Park College, but found himself unable to meet expenses during the second year. In desperation, he wrote to the Hunan provincial government to request scholarship assistance. The request was granted, and he was graduated from Park College in 1914.

In the autumn of 1914 T. F. Tsiang entered Oberlin College. He was graduated from Oberlin in 1918. He then went to France, where he served as a YMCA secretary for the Chinese labor battalion attached to the French army. He returned to the United States in 1919 and entered Columbia University as a graduate student in modern history. Unlike most Chinese seeking advanced degrees in history in the United States, Tsiang eschewed Chinese subjects and wrote his dissertation in the field of British political history. It was entitled "Labor and Empire: a Study of the Reaction of British Labor, Mainly as Represented in Parliament, to British Imperialism since 1880." He received the Ph.D. degree from Columbia in February 1923. During his years as a graduate student in New York, T. F. Tsiang also headed the Chinese students' club at Columbia and edited the *Chinese Students Monthly*, an English-language periodical circulated throughout the United States. In 1921, he was among the representatives of the Chinese Students Alliance who went to Washington to monitor the Chinese delegation to the Washington Conference in order to prevent the surrender of China's vital interests to Japan.

In 1923 T. F. Tsiang returned to China after an absence of more than ten years to join the faculty of Nankai University at Tientsin. While a graduate student at Columbia, he had developed a keen interest in the history of China's foreign relations. In reading Chinese diplomatic history, he had been struck by the fact that it usually had been reconstructed by

foreigners and, thus, the Chinese side of the story had never been told adequately. In the 1920's the subject gained new importance because of the availability for the first time of documents from the Ch'ing archives. The Palace Museum at Peking, repository of the archives of the Grand Council of State of the Ch'ing government and of the Tsung-li yamen, a special board that had been established in 1861 under the Grand Council to handle foreign affairs, began publishing documents relating to China's foreign relations in the nineteenth century. Studying these documents, Tsiang gained new insights into the conduct of China's foreign relations during the late imperial period and the forces that had hindered and delayed China's adjustment to the modern world.

After six years at Nankai, T. F. Tsiang in 1929 accepted an invitation to go to Tsinghua University at Peiping as chairman of the history department. The move afforded him greater opportunities for scholarly research, since the documents in the Palace Museum were close at hand. Moreover, Tsinghua, a wealthier institution than Nankai, could afford to allot more funds for the acquisition of books, historical documents from private collections, and papers of eminent families. During the next few years, he was able to build up at Tsinghua a collection of great value in the field of modern Chinese history. Tsiang was also successful in creating one of the best-balanced history faculties in China; it included such leading scholars as Ch'en Yin-k'o and Lei Hai-tsung (qq.v.). Tsiang reduced the teaching load of his staff so that the professors could devote more time to research. Through his efforts, Tsinghua also adopted a system of sabbatical leaves for its teaching staff, the first such system in China. T. F. Tsiang was a teacher who possessed the ability to convey to students his intellectual excitement and enthusiasm for the importance and relevance of his subject. Tsiang also assisted some foreign students in China. John K. Fairbank (later a professor of Chinese history at Harvard), who had come to Peiping in 1932 to study Chinese, began to work on Chinese documents under Tsiang's guidance.

After the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in September 1931, T. F. Tsiang and a group which included Hu Shih, V. K. Ting (Ting Wen-chiang), Wong Wen-hao, and Fu Ssu-nien (qq.v.) began publishing a political weekly,

the *Tu-li p'ing-lun* [independent critic]. The first issue appeared on 22 May 1932, and the magazine was an instant success. Many Chinese university students, patriotic intellectuals, and Communists clamored for war against Japan, but Tsiang counseled patience and cool-headedness. He believed that the Far Eastern crisis was the prelude to a global conflict which was already in the making. Since he did not consider it wise for China to attempt to fight Japan at the wrong time and without allies, he advocated a policy of temporizing. "Our humiliations at the hand of Japan," he wrote in an editorial on 13 March 1933, "cannot be wiped out by fighting one skirmish here and another skirmish there. Such sporadic fighting, unsupported by adequate preparations in the military, economic and diplomatic fields, is worse than useless; it only serves to allow the enemy to swallow us up by a piecemeal process. Let us never forget that the Sino-Japanese question is a world problem of the first magnitude. Should the Japanese militarists persist in committing aggressions against China, they will sooner or later dig their own graves."

T. F. Tsiang's articles attracted much attention. In the summer of 1934, Chiang Kai-shek, through the banker and politician Wu Ting-ch'ang (q.v.), asked Tsiang to come to Kuling, a mountain resort in Kiangsi, for consultation. The problems they discussed included national unification and Japanese aggression. T. F. Tsiang voiced strong opposition to unifying China by military force and to undertaking an all-out war with Japan. Later in 1934 he met with Chiang again, this time in Nanchang. It was his year of sabbatical, and he intended to leave for Europe on a study and observation tour. Chiang Kai-shek requested that he go to Moscow first as his personal representative to assess the possibilities of securing Soviet support against Japan. Tsiang consented to serve on a private basis. In Moscow, he had interviews with a number of responsible officials. He made it clear that the National Government of China hoped to obtain Soviet support against Japan, but noted that the domestic policies of the National Government would remain opposed to Communism. Stomaniakoff, the Soviet deputy commissar for foreign affairs, assured him that anti-Communism was no obstacle to friendly relations and cited Russian relations with France and with Turkey as examples. He also declared

that, so far as the Soviet Union was concerned, Chiang Kai-shek was China's only leader.

After a stay of three months, Tsiang left Moscow for Western Europe. He published his impressions of the countries he visited in a series of articles in the *Tu-li p'ing-lun*. When he returned to China in 1935, he summarized his observations in an article in the *Kuo-wen chou-pao* [national news weekly] of 30 September 1935. He described the conflict of ideologies in Europe and stated his belief that a showdown was imminent. He also ventured the opinion that the Western democracies were stronger, both materially and spiritually, than either Fascism or Communism.

In December 1935, not long after T. F. Tsiang's return, Chiang Kai-shek assumed the presidency of the Executive Yuan of the National Government at Nanking. At that time he invited two members of the *Tu-li p'ing-lun* group who were not members of the Kuomin-tang to join the new government; Wong Wen-hao became secretary-general of the Executive Yuan at Nanking, and T. F. Tsiang became the director of the political department of the Executive Yuan. Tsiang left Tsinghua University in December 1935 to go to Nanking.

In October 1936 Tsiang was appointed ambassador to the Soviet Union, with the mission of improving Sino-Soviet relations. The National Government hoped that the Soviet Union might be induced to come to the aid of China in the event of war with Japan. T. F. Tsiang soon discovered, however, that although Moscow was prepared to contemplate with equanimity China's entering into an all-out conflict with Japan, the Russian Communist leaders had no intention of becoming directly involved in the Far Eastern theater at that time.

In December 1936 Chiang Kai-shek was detained at Sian by Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.). In Moscow, *Pravda* published a lead article extolling Chiang Kai-shek's leadership, asserting that Chiang alone had the prestige and authority to lead a united China against Japan, and calling the Sian Incident a plot by pro-Japanese politicians headed by Wang Ching-wei. Bogomolov, the Soviet ambassador to China, was then in Moscow for consultation. He called on T. F. Tsiang and asked him to cable the *Pravda* article to the National Government in China. Tsiang did so, but he omitted the portion of the article that concerned Wang Ching-wei, then

one of the most prominent political leaders of the country. He feared that the publication in China of so sensational and ungrounded a charge would discredit the article as a whole and create dissension in the National Government at a time of grave crisis.

Chiang Kai-shek was released at Sian on 25 December 1936. War with Japan then became inevitable. Influential men at Nanking cherished great hopes for Soviet participation in the war. T. F. Tsiang, on the basis of his estimates of the situation in Moscow, did all he could to dispel such illusions. He thus incurred the displeasure and antagonism of some officials of the National Government.

The Sino-Japanese war broke out in July 1937. A Sino-Soviet non-aggression pact was signed on 21 August 1937, and in September a formal agreement was concluded for collaboration between the National Government and the Communists in China. T. F. Tsiang was assigned responsibility for seeking Soviet assistance to China. Shortly afterward, General Yang Chieh (q.v.) was sent to Moscow from Nanking to arrange for the purchase of Soviet arms and equipment. Yang reported that Russian participation was imminent. Many influential officials at Nanking believed him. T. F. Tsiang, China's ranking diplomatic representative in the Soviet capital, was accused of being misinformed. In February 1938 he was recalled from Moscow.

On his return, he found a China very different from the country he had left two years before. The coastal cities had been lost to the Japanese, and the National Government had evacuated to Hankow. The well-known financier H. H. K'ung, then president of the Executive Yuan, urged Tsiang to return to his former post as director of its political department. Tsiang hesitated for a time and devoted himself to writing. In 1938, after the National Government moved from Hankow to Chungking, T. F. Tsiang resumed his duties as director of the political department of the Executive Yuan in the wartime capital. In early 1940 he supervised the removal of government offices and hospitals to the outskirts of Chungking to escape Japanese bombing. The same year he was assigned responsibility for preparing and co-ordinating the national budget.

Beginning in late 1942 Tsiang became involved in preparations for postwar relief and

represented China at meetings of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in the United States (Atlantic City, 1943), Canada (Montreal, 1944), and England (London, 1945). In 1945 he was appointed director general of the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. He resigned from that post in 1946 because of disagreement about policy with T. V. Soong, then president of the Executive Yuan. Although Tsiang hoped to return to academic life and accepted a visiting professorship at the University of California, Chinese friends persuaded him to remain in China. The only government post that Tsiang wanted at that time, the governorship of his native Hunan province, was unavailable. He accepted the temporary assignment of representing China at meetings of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) held at Shanghai. In the summer of 1947, while in New York in connection with ECAFE business, he was instructed to represent China on the Security Council of the United Nations in the absence of the permanent representative, Quo T'ai-ch'i (Kuo T'ai-ch'i, q.v.). In September, he was one of the five Chinese delegates to the meeting of the General Assembly. Soon thereafter, when Quo T'ai-ch'i was appointed ambassador to Brazil, T. F. Tsiang was named as China's permanent representative to the United Nations.

China was then at the peak of her influence in the infant international organization, and Tsiang attempted to use that influence to press for orderly solutions to the many problems of postwar Asia. His thinking was determined by his belief that nationalism was the elemental force in the contemporary world. He argued that the Western colonial powers should take a liberal and far-sighted view of the national aspirations of the dependent peoples and that undue delay in settling colonial questions would make their eventual solution more difficult, more costly, and less rational. He also held that independence should be attained and followed by orderly progress, which could be achieved only in cooperation with the former metropolitan powers. He was the author or co-author of numerous resolutions which contributed in no small measure to Indonesian independence. He was personally disappointed that, after the Republic of Indonesia had become an independent state in December 1949, one of its first acts

was to accord diplomatic recognition to the new Communist regime in China.

After the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China was established in October 1949, T. F. Tsiang's position in the United Nations became increasingly difficult. His right to represent China in the international organization was challenged on 10 January 1950 at a meeting of the Security Council, when Yakov A. Malik, the Soviet representative, demanded his immediate withdrawal. T. F. Tsiang met the Soviet challenge with dignity. When the Security Council rejected the Soviet demand, Malik walked out of the meeting. His departure marked the beginning of a seven-month Soviet boycott of United Nations organs.

Trygve Lie, then the Secretary General of the United Nations, attempted to persuade the Soviet representative to return to the organization. He also worked for the seating of the Chinese Communists and circulated among members of the Security Council a confidential memorandum setting forth legal arguments for unseating T. F. Tsiang. Tsiang fought back by characterizing Lie's memorandum as "bad law and bad politics."

Beginning in 1950, the issue of Chinese representation in the United Nations became a thorny problem at sessions of the General Assembly. The issue led to bitter controversy over the right of the representatives of the Republic of China to represent China at the United Nations. As China's permanent representative, T. F. Tsiang bore the brunt of the battle to maintain his position and that of his government. With unflagging tenacity, he argued that the government headed by Chiang Kai-shek was the only legitimate government of China and that it was based on a constitution drafted and passed by duly elected representatives of the Chinese people. Although T. F. Tsiang's speeches at the United Nations gained relatively few converts, they won the respect of many, including some of his opponents in the organization.

In November 1961, T. F. Tsiang was appointed Chinese ambassador to the United States. He presented his credentials in Washington in January 1962, though he continued to serve concurrently as China's representative at the United Nations until July 1962, when Liu Chieh, China's ambassador to Canada, was appointed to succeed him. Tsiang served as his

government's ambassador at Washington until April 1965, when he was succeeded by Chou Shu-kai, who had been ambassador to Spain. He then moved back to New York, where he was hospitalized. He died of cancer at New York Hospital on 9 October 1965, at the age of 69.

Tsiang's published works include two volumes of *Chin-tai Chung-kuo wai-chiao shih tzu-liao chi-yao* [essential documents on modern Chinese diplomatic history]. This work was planned in three volumes, but only two volumes were published, in 1930 and 1934. During a brief period of respite from official duties in 1938, he produced *Chung-kuo chin-tai shih ta-kang* [outline of modern Chinese history], a concise and thoughtful survey of China's position in the modern world. He also published articles on Chinese diplomatic history in the *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* and was an editor of the *Chinese Political and Social Science Review*.

T. F. Tsiang's marriage to T'ang Yu-jui ended in divorce. He married Hilda Shen on 21 July 1948 and was survived by her and by the four children of his previous marriage.

Chiang Tso-pin

T. Yü-yan

蔣作賓
雨岩

Chiang Tso-pin (1884–24 December 1942), a Hupeh military man and Peking government official who became the Chinese minister to Germany and Austria in 1928. From 1931 to 1936 he served as Chinese minister to Japan.

Yingch'eng hsien in Hupeh province was the native place of Chiang Tso-pin. He received his early education in the traditional manner and at the age of 15 sui passed the official examination for the sheng-yuan degree. As part of the administrative reforms of Chang Chih-tung (ECCP, I, 27–32), the viceroy of the central Yangtze area, modern schools were established in Hupeh in 1902. Chiang enrolled in the Wen-p'u-t'ung Middle School in Wuchang at the same time as Sung Chiao-jen (q.v.). Military drill was included in the school's curriculum, and Chiang decided to follow a military career.

In the spring of 1905, he went to Japan and enrolled in the Seijo Gakkō in Tokyo. When the T'ung-meng-hui was organized, Chiang joined that society and became acquainted with

Sun Yat-sen and other republican revolutionaries. He continued his education and in 1907 enrolled in the fourth class, infantry section, of the Shikan Gakkō [military academy]. After he was graduated in 1908, he returned to China.

In October 1908, Chiang took the examinations at Peking for graduates of military schools. He placed second among the candidates and received the special chü-jen degree. He was appointed an instructor in the officers' training school at Paoting. In 1909 he was transferred to the military personnel division of the Board of War, where he prepared a Chinese translation of the Japanese *Hohei sōten* [infantry drill regulations]. Chiang Tso-pin was a strong advocate of the then popular idea of strengthening China by reorganizing the military. Specifically, he proposed that officers trained in the traditional manner be replaced over a period of five years by graduates from modern military schools in China or abroad. The program was also to apply to the Peiyang Army created by Yuan Shih-k'ai. The proposal was adopted and put into effect. In 1911 Chiang was made chief of the military personnel division. By that time, the plan for the replacement of old cadres by new men had been partly realized.

After the Wuchang revolt, Yuan Shih-k'ai began to play the Manchus against the reformers for his own political advantage. Chiang engaged in some planning for military action in north China, aroused the suspicion of the government, and made his way with some comrades to the Wuhan area just as Yuan's forces were pressing on Hanyang.

Hanyang fell to the government forces on 27 November, and Chiang went to Kiukiang, where Ma Yü-pao had become the military governor, with Li Lieh-chün (q.v.) as his chief of staff. When Li Lieh-chün went east to bring order to the confused situation in Anhwei, Chiang became chief of staff in the Kiukiang headquarters.

In December 1911 Chiang Tso-pin, at the invitation of Huang Hsing and others, went to Shanghai to participate in organizing a regime to succeed the Wuchang military government. The provisional government headed by Sun Yat-sen was inaugurated at Nanking on 1 January 1912. On 4 January, Huang Hsing became minister of war, and on the same day Sun designated Chiang Tso-pin a lieutenant general and made him vice minister of war.

Chiang submitted to Huang Hsing and Sun Yat-sen a three-point plan which stated that the revolutionary military forces must hold Nanking, Wuhan, and Peking to consolidate power. Huang and Sun approved the plan, and Chiang began to implement it at Nanking and Wuchang.

In February 1912 the Manchu emperor abdicated. By agreement with Sun Yat-sen, Yuan Shih-k'ai succeeded to power in Peking as provisional president, and Sun Yat-sen and other officials of the Nanking regime resigned. Chiang was among those who resigned. In April, after complicated bargaining between northern and southern leaders had taken place, he went north to become vice minister of war in the T'ang Shao-yi cabinet. However, the minister of war was not Huang Hsing, who had been sympathetic to Chiang's "three-point" plan, but Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.), a Peiyang Army man.

T'ang Shao-yi resigned as premier in June, as did the other T'ung-meng-hui men in the cabinet, with the exception of Chiang Tso-pin. Lu Cheng-hsiang succeeded to the premiership, and Chiang became minister of industry and commerce. However, that particular appointment was rejected by the Senate. Chiang continued to serve as vice minister of war. When Sung Chiao-jen reorganized the T'ung-meng-hui as the Kuomintang in August 1912, Chiang was not made a member.

When Yuan Shih-k'ai's monarchical movement took shape in the summer of 1915, Chiang left office on the plea of illness. He was placed under surveillance in the Western Hills, near Peking. In the spring of 1916, after growing national opposition had forced abandonment of the monarchical scheme, Yuan invited Chiang Tso-pin back to Peking and requested him to act as an intermediary in an effort to enlist the aid of Li Yuan-hung (q.v.). Chiang undertook the mission, but it proved fruitless. Tuan Ch'i-jui, who had become premier in April, replaced Chiang Tso-pin as vice minister of war with his own lieutenant, Hsu Shu-cheng (q.v.). Chiang then was elected to the College of Marshals, the customary sinecure of the period.

Li Yuan-hung's succession to the presidency after Yuan's death in June 1916 favored the advancement of Chiang's political career. Chiang acted as Li's official representative at memorial services for Yuan Shih-k'ai held at Changte, Honan. In July, Li appointed Chiang deputy chief of general staff. In that

position of little power Chiang maneuvered against Tuan to strengthen Li Yuan-hung's power. He came to be regarded by Tuan as one of "the four villains of the Presidential office."

In July 1917 Chang Hsün attempted a restoration of the monarchy. Chiang Tso-pin helped Li Yuan-hung to find refuge in the Legation Quarter at Peking. Chang Hsün put Chiang under house arrest. After the restoration attempt failed, Chiang was released; he left Peking and arrived in Shanghai in July.

In September 1917 Chiang left Shanghai for the United States. He remained there until November 1918. Then he went to France and visited battlefields. After traveling in the Balkans and Turkey, he returned to China in February 1919.

In 1921 Chiang Tso-pin was involved in a drive against the power of Wang Chan-yuan, a Peiyang general who had dominated Hupeh province since 1913. Chiang Tso-pin, Ho Ch'eng-chun (q.v.), Hsia Tou-yin, K'ung Keng, and other Hupeh men enlisted the support of the Hunan leaders Chao Heng-t'i and Lu Ti-p'ing and, aided by the Wuchang garrison forces, succeeded in ousting Wang Chan-yuan. Chiang Tso-pin had already been nominated provincial commissioner of Hupeh. However, Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.) blocked the Hunan-Hupeh effort in August and named his own subordinates to control Hupeh and the central Yangtze. The Hupeh party dispersed, and Chiang Tso-pin went to Canton and became chief counselor in Sun Yat-sen's headquarters.

When the revolt of Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.) took place in June 1922, Chiang escaped capture and, on orders from Sun, proceeded to Shanghai to meet with Lu Yung-hsiang, the governor of Chekiang, and others, to plan countermoves against the Chihli forces with whom Ch'en was collaborating. Li Yuan-hung had resumed the presidency in Peking on 11 June, and Chiang now resumed contact with his former chief.

After Sun Yat-sen arrived in Shanghai in August 1922, Chiang and others of the southern group went to Mukden to seek Chang Tso-lin's cooperation. Subsequently, after the expulsion of Ch'en Chiung-ming from Canton and the return of Sun Yat-sen to Kwangtung in February 1923, Chiang went back to Canton. At Sun's direction, he continued to maintain liaison with Lu Yung-hsiang.

Although Lu was thrust from the political stage in the wars of that autumn, in north China Chang Tso-lin, Tuan Ch'i-jui, and Feng Yü-hsiang overthrew the Chihli faction. The victors invited Sun Yat-sen to discuss national problems, and Sun departed for the north in November traveling by way of Japan. Chiang Tso-pin preceded Sun to north China and awaited his arrival at Tientsin to give him counsel on negotiations with Tuan Ch'i-jui.

Sun's mission failed, but the true dimensions of his defeat were veiled by his death of cancer at Peking in March 1925. Instead of returning to Canton, Chiang remained in Peking for six months "watching developments." Then, in the winter of 1925, he went to Honan province and contacted Yueh Wei-chün, the governor and a commander in Feng Yü-hsiang's Kuominchün. Feng was now in opposition to Tuan Ch'i-jui.

The coordinated move by Feng and Kuo Sung-ling against Chang Tso-lin began in November 1925. After the Kuominchün had been forced out of Chihli into Inner Mongolia, Chiang Tso-pin, after visiting Fang Peng-jen, the governor of Kiangsi, at Nanchang, returned to Canton, where the Nationalists, with the aid and advice of the Comintern, were preparing to begin the long-awaited Northern Expedition.

In July 1926, Chiang Tso-pin was appointed pacification commissioner of Hupeh, in anticipation of the services that he as a Hupeh man might be able to render the Nationalist cause. On 11 August, Chiang Kai-shek held a council of war at Changsha, and Chiang Tso-pin was sent to Mukden to persuade Chang Tso-lin to act against Wu P'ei-fu.

For a variety of reasons, one of which may have been Chiang Tso-pin's mediation, Wu P'ei-fu and the Fengtien group were unable to coordinate a defense against the advancing Nationalists, and Wuchang fell to the Southern armies on 10 October 1926. The event marked the end of Wu P'ei-fu's effective power in Hupeh. Traveling by way of Korea and Japan, Chiang Tso-pin returned to the Nationalist side of the lines, ending his journey in Hankow.

Chiang attended the Kuomintang meetings at Wuhan in December and January. In January 1927, he went to Nanchang to join Chiang Kai-shek. He was then assigned to go to Anking, where he succeeded in persuading his old friend Ch'en T'iao-yuan, the governor of Anhwei, to throw his support to the Nationalist

side at the beginning of March. Ch'en was named commander of the Nationalist Thirty-seventh Army; and Chiang Tso-pin, as the head of the Anhwei political affairs commission, began to organize a new provincial government.

Chiang then went to Nanking, where he served as a member of the Government Council and of the Military Affairs Commission. He remained at Nanking during the negotiations that followed the retirement of Chiang Kai-shek in August 1927. After an alliance of the Kwangsi generals and the conservative Western Hills faction of the Kuomintang had worked out a reconciliation with the Kuomintang group at Wuhan, Chiang Kai-shek returned to assume power in January 1928. Chiang Tso-pin, because of his experience and personal connections in north China, was named chairman of the War Areas Political Affairs Commission (*chan-ti cheng-wu wei-yuan-hui*), a new organization patterned on the National Government at Nanking and designed to coordinate administrative planning during the second stage of the Northern Expedition. He was also chairman of the newly established Shantung political affairs commission, and in that capacity he was involved in the Nationalist clash with the Japanese at Tsinan in May 1928 (*see Ho Yao-tsui*).

When the Nationalist forces captured Peking early in June 1928, Chiang, as chairman of the War Areas Political Affairs Commission, was given the authority to consolidate administrative control over the city. In late June, however, the commission was dissolved, and its functions were taken over by the appropriate ministries of the National Government at Nanking. Chiang was named a member of the Peiping branch of the political council, but his authority was overshadowed by that of Feng Yü-hsiang, Pai Ch'ung-hsi, and Yen Hsi-shan. In August, he returned to Nanking and indicated to Chiang Kai-shek and to T'an Yen-k'ai (q.v.) that he would be willing to accept a foreign assignment. Chiang Kai-shek became Chairman of the new National Government at Nanking on 10 October 1928. Two days later, Chiang Tso-pin was named Chinese minister to Germany.

He left China that autumn to assume his new office in Berlin. In November, he also was named minister to Austria. Chiang reportedly advocated China's entering a tripartite alliance with Germany and the Soviet Union in anticipation of a Japanese advance against China.

He informally discussed the matter of Sino-Soviet relations with the Soviet ambassador in Germany; and, when he was at Geneva in March 1929 attending a meeting of the League of Nations Preparatory Commission for Disarmament, he exchanged views on the subject with the Soviet foreign minister, Maxim Litvinov. Chiang then forwarded to his government at Nanking a proposal made by Litvinov that China and the Soviet Union sign a non-aggression pact, but he was instructed by Nanking that discussion of the matter should be temporarily postponed. The reason became apparent when the Nationalists attempted to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria in July 1929. Chiang Tso-pin counseled moderation from his post in Berlin. The affair soon ended when Soviet military forces went into action in November; and the Khabarovsk Protocol of 22 December 1929 provided for restoration of the *status quo ante* in Manchuria.

Chiang Tso-pin was a delegate to the eleventh meeting of the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva in July 1930. In the spring of 1931, after he had spent more than two years in Germany, he requested home leave, with the provision that he be permitted to travel through the Soviet Union. His request was granted, and Chiang went to Moscow in April at Litvinov's invitation. He made an official tour of the Soviet capital and then visited the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and Soviet Central Asia. He returned to the Far East on the Trans-Siberian Railway.

Chiang arrived at Nanking in July, where he urged that, in view of the growing tension in Sino-Japanese relations, negotiations be opened with the Japanese government to attempt to resolve outstanding problems. In August 1931 he was appointed minister to Japan. At the beginning of September he went to Peiping to discuss Manchurian defense plans with Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.). After arriving at Mukden on 15 September, Chiang Tso-pin met with Japanese officials. The governor of Liaoning province informed him that Japanese behavior was becoming increasingly antagonistic. Chiang continued his journey to Japan by train. When he passed through Pyongyang in Korea on the morning of 19 September, he learned of the Japanese attack at Mukden the night before.

Chiang Tso-pin's mission to Japan had been designed to prevent such developments. He hastened on to Tokyo and strove to retrieve the

situation by opening negotiations with Shide-hara Kijuro, the Japanese foreign minister, on the basis of Shidehara's professed policy of "harmonious diplomacy." He urged the Chinese ministry of foreign affairs at Nanking to attempt to settle the issue by direct Sino-Japanese negotiations rather than through the League of Nations, and he opposed the belief, then current in some Chinese circles, that the matter would be settled by a world war. Chiang held that such a war, regardless of the outcome, would not be to China's advantage.

Shidehara left the Japanese foreign office at the beginning of December 1931 and was succeeded by Inukai Ki. Chiang then returned to China for consultation with his government. Before returning to his post, he was elected to membership on the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang. Fighting between the Chinese and Japanese began at Shanghai in January 1932. Inukai was assassinated in May, and the actions of the Kwantung Army became more unbridled still. Despite Chiang's official protests, Japan recognized its political creation, Manchoukuo, in September 1932.

Although he was recalled to Nanking for a long period of consultation in 1933, Chiang continued to serve as Chinese minister to Japan. After Wang Ch'ung-hui (q.v.), on his way to his post as judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, stopped off in Tokyo in February 1935 for conversations with Japanese Foreign Minister Hirota Koki, the National Government took steps to eliminate possible causes of friction with Japan. In May the two countries raised their respective diplomatic missions to embassy status. In June 1935, Chiang Tso-pin presented his credentials to the Japanese emperor as the first Chinese ambassador to Japan.

In the autumn of that year, Chiang and Hirota exchanged proposals from their governments for settlement of Sino-Japanese differences. The two sides could not agree, however, because China demanded in effect a restoration of the *status quo ante* 18 September 1931. When Chiang returned to Nanking in October to attend Kuomintang meetings, he was unable to report any substantial success for Chinese policy.

It was anticipated in both China and Japan that Chiang would become foreign minister at Nanking. In early December, however, Chang Ch'ün (q.v.) received that post, and Chiang was

named minister of interior. Early in 1936 he was succeeded as ambassador to Japan by Hsu Shih-ying (q.v.), and he returned to Nanking. Chiang then traveled to various parts of China to supervise the institution of local administrative reforms. In early December 1936, he arrived at Sian, coincident with a visit by Chiang Kai-shek. When the Sian Incident took place, Chiang Tso-pin was detained there with Chiang Kai-shek and other Kuomintang officials. Chiang Tso-pin and the others held with Chiang Kai-shek were released at the end of the month.

The shift in Chinese policy that followed the Sian Incident led to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in the summer of 1937. Chiang Tso-pin was appointed governor of Anhwei province in November, after the removal of the National Government from Nanking. After the fall of Nanking in December 1937, he moved his provincial government from Anking to Liuan. Large Chinese forces moved into the area in preparation for the approaching battle at Hsuchow, and Li Tsung-jen, who was in overall command of these forces, was appointed Anhwei provincial governor in January. Chiang Tso-pin relinquished the governorship on 25 January 1938 and went to Chungking.

In the winter of 1940, Chiang Tso-pin was named head of the administrative section of the newly established commission for the examination of party and government work. Although he had developed high blood pressure, he continued to perform the duties of that post. After participating in the official ceremonies of New Year's Day 1942, however, he became ill and asked to be relieved of his official responsibilities. He died at Chungking on 24 December 1942.

Chiang Tso-pin wrote a book about his first trip to Europe and the United States. He also wrote *Chiang Yü-yen hsien-sheng tzu-chuan* [autobiography of Chiang Tso-pin], which was published at Chungking in 1945.

Chiang married Chang Shu-chia, the sister of Chang Mo-chün (q.v.) in 1912. She died in 1938. Chiang Tso-pin was survived by seven sons. Chiang Shuo-min (1913-), a mathematician who obtained his doctorate at Göttingen, became a professor at Nankai University, Southwest Associated University, and National Normal University in Peking. Chiang Shuo-ying (1914-), an army officer, served in Taiwan after 1950. Chiang Shuo-hao (Charles S. H. Tsiang, 1917-) served as senior technical officer

of the International Civil Aviation Organization, Montreal, Canada. Chiang Shuo-chieh (S. C. Tsiang, 1918-), an economist who obtained his doctorate from the University of London, became a professor of economics at Peking University and at the University of Rochester in the United States; he was also elected to membership in the Academia Sinica. Chiang Shuo-chih (Gabriel S. T. Tsiang, 1920-) became a mathematical analyst at the Boeing Aircraft Company, Seattle, Washington. Chiang Shuo-p'ing (1923-) was chief public relations officer of the Executive Yuan in Taipei. The youngest son, Chiang Shuo-chien (1923-) became a lecturer in chemical engineering at Tsinghua University in Peking.

Chiang Tso-pin and his wife also had five daughters. The eldest, Chiang Shou-te, married Li Te-yin, a professor at National Central University, and later lived in Shanghai. Chiang Shuo-chen, the second daughter, married Chen Yu-why (Ch'eng Yu-huai), professor of mathematics at the University of Massachusetts and academician of the Academia Sinica. The third daughter, Chiang Shuo-mei, died in 1950. Chiang Shuo-an, the fourth daughter, became a doctor of medicine; both she and her husband, also a doctor, lived and practiced in Mukden. Chiang Shuo-neng, the fifth daughter, was adopted as a baby by Shao Yuan-ch'ung (q.v.) and Chang Mo-chün. She married Wang Chen-chou, general manager of the Cooperative Bank in Taipei.

Chiang Wei-kuo 蔣緯國

Alt. Wego W. K. Chiang

Chiang Wei-kuo (6 October 1916-), the younger son of Chiang Kai-shek, military officer who held important posts in Taiwan.

Born at Shanghai, Chiang Wei-kuo was raised as the second son of Chiang Kai-shek. Little is known of his childhood or early education. Between 1934 and 1936 he studied physics at Tung-wu University at Soochow and also became a reserve officer in the Kiangsu provincial training corps.

In September 1937 Chiang went to Europe and enrolled at the Kriegshochschule in Munich, where he was known as Wego W. K. Chiang. He studied the German language and German

military science. After receiving an honorary commission as a second lieutenant, Chiang was assigned for training purposes to the 98th (Jäger) Regiment, and he participated with that unit in the German invasion of Austria in March 1938.

After the Second World War broke out in September 1939, Chiang left Germany for the United States, where he spent about a year as a cadet at the Air Corps School at Maxwell Field, Alabama, and at the United States Army's Armored Center at Fort Knox, Kentucky. On 31 March 1940 he addressed a rally in New York's Chinatown. He condemned the actions of Wang Ching-wei (q.v.) as the leader of the Japanese-sponsored government at Nanking.

Chiang returned to China in November 1940. After receiving political indoctrination, he was assigned in 1941 to the 1st Infantry Division of the First Army as a second lieutenant. Under the command of Hu Tsung-nan (q.v.), a favorite of Chiang Kai-shek, the First Army, with headquarters at Sian, stood guard against the Japanese forces deployed along the Yellow River bend near Tungkuan and against the Chinese Communist forces (which nominally were allied with the Nationalists) to the north. Because he spoke English, Chiang was selected to escort Wendell Willkie and his party on a tour of the Shensi front in 1942. Chiang became a Christian in June 1943, with the Methodist bishop of west China officiating at his baptism. In August, he went to India for advanced training at the tank center which the United States Army had established. A few months later, he returned to China and rejoined his unit at Tungkuan. He remained with the 1st Infantry Division until 1945 and advanced to the rank of major.

In 1945 Chiang was promoted to lieutenant colonel and was assigned to command a battalion of the 616th Infantry Regiment. During the civil war with the Communists, he served chiefly with armored units, notably the 1st Tank Regiment, in which he was executive officer and then deputy commander. The entire armored force of the Nationalists participated in the massive Hwai-Hai battle that began on the eastern segment of the Lunhai rail line in early November 1948, and Chiang Wei-kuo, by then a colonel, served as its deputy commander. In that critical battle, the Nationalists lost almost all of their equipment. Chiang Wei-kuo and other senior Nationalist officers escaped from Hsuchow and avoided capture by the Communists.

After the Nationalist removal to Taiwan, Chiang Wei-kuo served from 1950 to 1953 as commanding general of the Armored Force Command. In 1953 he went to the United States to attend the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. After his return to Taiwan in July 1955, he became deputy director of the G-3 (operations) division of the ministry of national defense, in which his brother, Chiang Ching-kuo (q.v.), held high office. In March 1958 Chiang Wei-kuo became director of the G-5 (planning) division and deputy chairman of the joint operations planning group in the ministry of national defense. Later that year he resumed command of the Armored Force Command, with the rank of major general. In 1959 he attended the United States Army Air Defense School at Fort Bliss. After his return to Taiwan, Chiang was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general and was named commandant of the Command and General Staff College of the Chinese Army. Despite his military background, Chiang Wei-kuo was not regarded as a figure of major political influence in Taiwan. After returning from the United States, he became an active member of the Taipei Rotary Club, which was composed primarily of Americans and English-speaking Chinese.

During the Sino-Japanese war, Chiang Wei-kuo married Shih Ching-i, the daughter of a prosperous businessman from the Northeast; she died in childbirth in Taiwan. Chiang later married Ellen Chiu, an attractive woman of Chinese-German parentage.

Chien Chao-nan 簡照南
Alt. Kan Chao-nan

Chien Chao-nan (1875-1923), industrialist, founded and ran the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company.

Nanhai (Namhoi) hsien, Kwangtung, was the birthplace of Chien Chao-nan. His family had lived in the district for generations. However, in the late nineteenth century some impoverished members of the family migrated to Siam (Thailand) and other parts of Southeast Asia. Chien Chao-nan had two younger brothers and two sisters.

He went to Japan as a young man and estab-

lished himself as a merchant, dealing principally in marine products. In 1894 his brother Chien Yu-chieh (Kan Yu-chieh), then 18 sui, went to Japan to help with the business. The youngest brother, Chien Ying-fu (Kan Ying-fu), remained at home in Kwangtung. About the turn of the century, the Chien brothers' business in Japan failed. Salvaging what they could of their assets, they left for Hong Kong. There the brothers established themselves as general merchants, trading not only with Japanese companies but also with the overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, particularly Siam, where an uncle, Chien Ming-shih (Kan Ming-shih), had become a prosperous restaurant owner.

Chien Chao-nan noticed that, increasingly, Chinese were smoking cigarettes, which had been introduced into China by the British-American Tobacco Company (BAT), which continued to dominate the market, although some Chinese businessmen had organized the Peiyang Tobacco Company in north China. Chien paid close attention to this growing industry. In 1905, when China boycotted American goods to protest discriminatory measures against the Chinese in the United States, Chien Chao-nan decided to implement his plan to establish a cigarette factory. In 1906 he organized the Nanyang Tobacco Company in Hong Kong. The name of the firm was selected because it was complementary to that of the Peiyang Tobacco Company in the north. In later years, however, it became identified with the other meaning of Nanyang, that is, Southeast Asia. The reason for this identification was that much of the success of the enterprise was due to the support given it, mainly for patriotic reasons, by overseas Chinese in that area.

The Nanyang Tobacco Company, one of the first Chinese firms to attempt the manufacture of a completely Western product, enjoyed some early success. But the boycott of American products soon ended, and the company's sales declined. The brothers persevered, however, and Chien Yu-chieh traveled to Southeast Asia in an attempt to boost sales. The youngest brother, Chien Ying-fu, joined the organization about this time, and he was later stationed in Singapore to handle the company's interests there.

Sales gradually improved, and with financial assistance provided by their uncle in Bangkok, the brothers reorganized their business, still

located in Hong Kong, in 1909. It then changed its name to the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company [Nan-yang hsiung-ti yen-ts'ao kung-ssu]. The success of the company during the next few years was helped by the rising tide of Chinese nationalism, which had the indirect effect of assisting its sales position in overseas Chinese communities. In Singapore, Chien Ying-fu, the youngest brother, made substantial donations to the republican movement headed by Sun Yat-sen. Although these contributions were made by him personally, the funds probably came from the company. The Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company became a public company in 1915; it was one of the first Chinese enterprises to take that step. At that time it was capitalized at HK\$1 million. Although the company established cigarette-manufacturing plants on the mainland, its business office remained in Hong Kong.

The enterprise was developing rapidly. In 1918 the Chien brothers decided on another reorganization and moved their headquarters to Shanghai. The capital was raised to HK\$5 million, and greater public participation was invited. Among the new investors was Lao Nien-tsu, a well-known Cantonese merchant in Shanghai. He became a director at this time. The Hong Kong factories continued to operate as before, but the Shanghai plant was greatly expanded, and factories were established at Hankow and in Manchuria. The Chien brothers were among the earliest Chinese businessmen to recognize the value of modern advertising methods. After the First World War, they began a new propaganda and sales campaign on a scale far more extensive than any previously attempted by Chinese entrepreneurs. In part the campaign relied on the distribution of trinkets, but the larger and more significant element was the company's sustained emphasis on patriotism. One of the most effective Nanyang Brothers sales slogans was "Chinese Smoke Chinese Cigarettes." Their campaigns also built good will by providing indirect advertising for other Chinese tobacco manufacturers, most of whom operated on a very small scale.

Chien Chao-nan, as head of the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company, became one of the leaders of the Chinese business community in Shanghai and was elected a supervisor of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. He built one of the finest residences in the city and became

known as a generous host. A devout Buddhist, he erected a private Buddhist shrine in his home. Chien died at Shanghai in 1923 when he was not yet 50.

After the death of his elder brother, Chien Yu-chieh assumed full control of the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company. Plants in various cities were expanded, and the company began the cultivation of tobacco in Honan province and other areas. Although its operations could not be compared to those of the British-American Tobacco Company, it was nevertheless responsible for about 20 percent of the total output of all Chinese cigarette factories. During the 1920's the company did present a growing threat to the foreign concern, which had previously had an overwhelmingly dominant position in the market. It designed its brands in such a way that each one would compete with a particular BAT brand.

By 1931, however, the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company was encountering difficulties. Its competitors included not only the more powerful Western interests but also new and aggressive Chinese-owned cigarette factories. By the eve of Sino-Japanese hostilities in 1937, the financial condition of the enterprise was stated to be precarious. After the Japanese occupied the coastal areas of China and Hong Kong, the Nanyang Brothers plants were placed under Japanese military control and operation. The plants were repossessed by the company at the end of the war in 1945, but it lacked the funds to restore machinery and equipment. Financial control of the enterprise reportedly passed into other hands, though Chien Yu-chieh remained the nominal head of the company.

In 1949 when the Chinese Communists gained control of the mainland, they gave their patronage to Chien Yu-chieh and acclaimed him as a member of the approved group called the national bourgeoisie. In the autumn of 1949, he was appointed a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, one of 15 representatives of industrial and commercial circles in China. After the establishment of the Central People's Government, Chien was named to membership on the financial-economic committee of the Government Administration Council. He was also made a member of the Central-South Military and Administrative Commission and a member of the provincial government council of Kwangtung. He was elected

a deputy to the National People's Congress as a representative from Kwangtung. Chien Yu-chieh died in 1957 at the age of about 80.

Chien Yu-wen

Alt. Jen Yu-wen
T. Yü-fan

簡又文

馭繁

Chien Yu-wen (8 February 1896–), Protestant minister and scholar, is best known for his studies of the Taiping Rebellion.

Little is known of Chien Yu-wen's childhood, but he was born in Canton. After completing his early schooling, he went to the United States for advanced education. He attended Oberlin College and received his B.A. in 1917. He then returned to China, where he became instructor in English and Bible at Lingnan University in Canton; he also served as general secretary of the Student Christian Association at Lingnan, a Protestant-supported college. He returned to the United States in 1918 to study at the University of Chicago and received an M.A. degree in 1920. He then attended Union Theological Seminary in New York in 1920–21.

From 1922 to 1924, Chien was acting pastor of the Church of Christ for Cantonese in Shanghai; he also served as editorial secretary of the national committee of the Young Men's Christian Association. In 1924 he left the ministry to go to north China, where he became an associate professor of philosophy and religion at Yenching University. He remained there until 1927, when the Northern Expedition swept northward from Canton to the Yangtze valley.

Chien then joined the staff of Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.), the so-called Christian General, and served as head of the political department of Feng's army. After the establishment of the National Government in 1928, Chien held a variety of official posts: salt commissioner in Shantung province, counselor in the ministry of railroads, adviser to the provincial governments of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and commissioner of social affairs in the Canton municipal government. He was a member of the Legislative Yuan from 1933 to 1946. Throughout this period Chien maintained his interest in education and helped to establish five schools in various parts of China, including one established in honor of his father in Hsinhui (Sunwui),

Kwangtung. He was also the publisher and editor of several magazines during the mid-1930's, including the popular *I-ching* and *Typhoon* magazines, which were published, respectively, at Shanghai and Hong Kong.

After the Sino-Japanese war, Chien became a professor of history at Chung-shan (Sun Yat-sen) University at Canton in 1946; he was also the founder and director general of the Institute of History and Culture of Kwangtung province. In 1949 Chien moved to Hong Kong, where he continued his research on aspects of modern Chinese history. He was a research fellow at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the University of Hong Kong from 1953 to 1959, when he became an honorary fellow. He also served as a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Oriental Studies*, published by the University of Hong Kong, and became a corresponding research fellow of the Academia Sinica in Taiwan in 1956. In 1964–65 he visited the United States, where he worked as a research associate in history at Yale University.

Chien Yu-wen's prominence as an historian rests on his studies of the Taiping Rebellion of 1851–64. That movement, which assumed the dynastic title T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo [the heavenly kingdom of great peace], issued from south China. It was led by Hung Hsiu-ch'üan (ECCP, I, 361–67), a native of Kwangtung who was influenced by Christian tracts obtained from early Protestant missionaries and who believed that he had a divine mission. The subject was one that attracted Chien's interest when he was still a young man. Despite the distractions and responsibilities of other duties, he continued to do research for many years and occasionally published his findings.

Chien's first important work, published in 1935, was *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo tsa-chi* [miscellaneous notices of the Taiping kingdom], which contained his translation, *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo ch'i-i chi*, of a pamphlet by Theodore Hamberg entitled *The Visions of Hung-Siu-Tshuen and the Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection* (1854). Also included were Chien's translations of M. T. Yates' lecture "The Taiping Rebellion," Chapter XIV of G. L. Wolseley's *Narrative of the War with China*, and other first-hand accounts of the Taiping Rebellion written by Western observers. In 1944 Chien published a second work, *Chin-t'ien chih-yu chi ch'i-i'a* [a trip to Chin-t'ien and other essays], which described his investigations

of localities associated with leaders of the Taipings. A notable assertion in this book was that the treaties of Tientsin (1858) and Peking (1860) were negotiated on the understanding that the Western powers would assist the Manchus in suppressing the Taiping Rebellion, but Chien did not cite any tangible evidence for this claim. In 1944 he also published *T'ai-p'ing chün Kuang-hsi shou-i shih* [history of the uprising of the Taiping army in Kwangsi], which was a carefully revised account of the early stages of the rebellion based on the two preceding works. Between 1958 and 1962 Chien published three more large-scale studies of the Taipings. In 1958 there appeared *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo tien-chih t'ung-k'ao* [institutional history of the Taiping kingdom] in three volumes. Of note is his contention that the Taiping Rebellion was a nationalist as well as a religious movement, which contradicts the current Communist interpretation. In 1961 Chien concluded his history of the Taipings with the publication of *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo ch'üan shih* [complete history of the Taiping kingdom], which carried the story down to 1866. The book contains many of Chien's mature conclusions about problems of Taiping history and is also of value for the many primary and secondary sources cited. Chien's sixth major contribution to Taiping studies was his "Hung Hsiu-ch'üan tsai-chi," an account of Hung's life which appeared in the 1962 *Ch'ing Dynastic History* published in Taiwan. In 1964 Chien published a long article reviewing Taiping historiography, "Wu-shih-nien-lai T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo chih yen-chiu" [the last fifty years in Taiping studies], which appeared in *Hsiang-kang ta-hsueh wu-shih chou-nien chi-nien lun-wen-chi* (Symposium on Chinese Studies Commemorating the Golden Jubilee of the University of Hong Kong 1911-1961).

Chien's wife, Mabel Yuk-sein Young, died in 1958. They had two sons and two daughters.

Ch'ien Hsin-chih: see CH'IEN YUNG-MING.

Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung
Orig. Ch'ien Hsia
T. Chung-chi

錢玄同
錢夏
仲季

Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung (12 September 1887-17 January 1939), applied the critical methods of

Hu Shih to the study of Chinese classical texts. He taught for many years at Peking University, where he contributed articles to the *Hsin ch'ing-nien* [new youth] and served as one of its editors. He was also a leader in the movement to devise a phonetic system for Chinese ideographs and to simplify Chinese script.

Wuhsing, Chekiang, was the birthplace of Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung. His father, Ch'ien Cheng-ch'ang (1825-1898), was a classical scholar who served as a secretary in the Board of Rites in the imperial government; in his later years, he taught at the Yangchow Academy. Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung's elder brother, Ch'ien Hsun (d. 1922), was a diplomat who served in the Chinese embassies in Russia, the Netherlands, and Italy; he later was appointed supervisor of Chinese students in Japan.

Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung was a precocious student who showed a keen interest in philological studies. Influenced by his reading of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (q.v.) and Tsou Jung, he cut off his queue in 1904 as a gesture of defiance against Manchu rule and refused to date a small journal, the *Hu-chou pai-hua-pao* [Huchow vernacular magazine], which he and friends had established at Wuhsing, according to the conventional chronology using the reign period of the Kuang-hsu emperor.

In 1906, when his elder brother went to Japan as supervisor of Chinese students, Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung accompanied him and began to study Japanese and education at Waseda University in Tokyo. There he came into contact with Chang Ping-lin and Liu Shih-p'ei and joined the T'ung-meng-hui. Ch'ien was particularly impressed by Chang Ping-lin and soon became one of Chang's most devoted disciples. In 1907 Ch'ien, together with Lu Hsün (Chou Shu-jen), Chou Tso-jen, Chu Hsi-tsui (qq.v.), and others, organized the Kuo-hsueh chen-ch'i-she [society for the promotion of national learning] in Tokyo and invited Chang Ping-lin, who was then editor in chief of the *Min Pao* [people's journal], to be its director and to teach them Chinese philology and literature. About the same time, influenced by Liu Shih-p'ei and Chang Chi in Japan and by the *New Century* group (see Wu Chih-hui) in France, Ch'ien also became interested in anarchism. He also began to study Esperanto.

Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung returned to China in

1910 and taught for a short period at a middle school in his native Chekiang before obtaining a post as a junior official in the provincial department of education. In 1913, on the recommendation of Huang K'an (q.v.), another disciple of Chang Ping-lin, he went to Peking to teach classics and philology at the Peking Higher Normal College. In 1915 he joined the faculty of Peking University. Ch'ien and Shen Yin-mo (q.v.) reportedly recommended Ch'en Tu-hsiu (q.v.) to Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, the new chancellor of National Peking University, for the post of dean of the college of letters. In any event, Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung was associated with Ch'en from 1917 to 1919 when Ch'en was one of the most prominent leaders of China's intellectual avant garde.

At Peking University, Ch'en Tu-hsiu gave full support to Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung and Hu Shih in advocating the use of *pai-hua* [the vernacular] in place of the classical Chinese language. In January 1918 the magazine *Hsin ch'ing-nien* [new youth], which had previously been edited by Ch'en Tu-hsiu alone, was placed under a six-man editorial committee. In addition to Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the group included Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung, Hu Shih, Li Ta-chao, Liu Fu, and Shen Yin-mo (qq.v.), one man editing the magazine each month in rotation.

Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung's principal scholarly contributions were made in the fields of classical studies and philology. In his early years, like Chang Ping-lin, he adhered to the *ku-wen* [old text] school of the Chinese classics. From about 1910 to 1917, however, Ch'ien was a partisan of the *chin-wen* [new text] school, which held that the old text versions of the Chinese classics were less authentic than the new text versions current during the Former Han dynasty. Ch'ien accepted the arguments of K'ang Yu-wei (q.v.) and of K'ang's disciple Ts'u-i Shih. After 1919 Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung and Ku Chieh-kang (q.v.) began new studies of the major Chinese classical texts to ascertain the authorship and authenticity of the ancient records. Both men had been influenced strongly by the critical methods of Hu Shih (q.v.), although they had been students of Ts'u-i Shih at Peking University. As a result of their research they rejected the conclusions of both traditional schools. Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung became so fervent in suspecting the authenticity of the ancient classics that in August 1925 he changed his family name to I-ku

[doubting antiquity]; in later years he regularly signed his name (in roman letters) as Yiku Hsuan-t'ung.

After the May Fourth Movement of 1919, Ch'ien also became an advocate of language reform. With Li Chin-hsi, Y. R. Chao (Chao Yuen-ren, q.v.), and Lin Yü-t'ang (q.v.), he compiled a dictionary of the Chinese language on phonetic principles and worked to standardize the romanization system for Chinese characters. Ch'ien advocated using a simplified form of Chinese script. Of a list of 2,000 abbreviated characters which he submitted to the ministry of education, more than 300 were officially accepted and recommended for public adoption.

In addition to his writings in the *Hsin ch'ing-nien* and in the *Ku-shih pien* [symposium on ancient Chinese history], Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung contributed articles to the *Tu-li chou-pao* [independent weekly], the *Yü-ssu* [thread of talk], the *Nu-li chou-pao* [endeavor weekly], and the *Kuo-yü chou-k'an* [national language weekly]. His "Ch'ung-lun ching chin-ku-wen wen-t'i" [re-examination of problems involved in the *chin-wen* and *ku-wen* classics], originally written in 1931, was later translated into Japanese by Tanaka Shinji and published in Tokyo. His *Shuo-wen Tuan-chu hsiao-chien* consisted of notes on the analysis by Tuan Yü-ts'ai (1735-1815; ECCP, II, 782-84) of the characters in the ancient dictionary, *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu*, completed in 100 A.D. Another etymological study, the *Shuo-wen pu-shou chin-tu* [rearrangement of the *Shuo-wen* radicals according to modern phonetic system], was completed in 1933, but was not published until 1958. Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung spent his later years in north China. He died of apoplexy at Peiping on 17 January 1939. The best known of his sons was the nuclear physicist Ch'ien San-ch'iang (q.v.).

Ch'ien Hsueh-sen: see TSIEN, HSUE-SHEN.

Ch'ien Mu
T. Pin-ssu

錢 穆
賓 四

Ch'ien Mu (30 July 1895-), scholar, known for his works on Chinese intellectual history and philosophy and for his history textbook, *Kuo-shih ta-kang*. From 1951 to 1965 he served as president of New Asia College in Hong Kong.

A native of Wusih, Kiangsu, Ch'ien Mu was born into a poor family. His father died when Ch'ien was very young, and his mother was unable to send him to the village school until he was 12. He was a quick student, and his teachers encouraged him to continue his schooling. It was only with the greatest difficulty that his family managed to support him through the Wusih Middle School. Since a college education was out of reach, Ch'ien became a village schoolteacher soon after being graduated from middle school in 1912.

Despite the heavy teaching load that was the common lot of primary school teachers in China, Ch'ien Mu continued to study Chinese history and literature in his spare time. In the spring of 1921, a friend recommended him for a teaching post at the private Chimei Normal School at Amoy, which had been founded by the overseas Chinese philanthropist Tan Kah Kee. Ch'ien Mu taught for one term at the Amoy school, and in the autumn of 1921 he returned to Kiangsu to join the faculty of the Wusih Provincial Normal School. His schedule now permitted him to spend more time on his own work, and he began to write articles for various newspapers and periodicals. However, it was not until his article on Mo-tzu, "Mo-pien t'an-yuan," appeared in the *Tung-fang tsa-chih* [eastern miscellany] in April 1924 that Ch'ien's serious writing became known to a large audience.

When Fengtien forces invaded the lower Yangtze area in January 1925, Wusih was in the battle zone. All schools were closed, and Ch'ien's house was sacked. Ch'ien managed to support his family during this difficult period by selling his work on the *Analects of Confucius* (*Lun-yü yao-lueh*) to the Commercial Press in Shanghai. The civil war dragged on and the schools remained closed; Ch'ien occupied himself with annotating the difficult text of *Kung-sun Lung tzu*, a task which he completed in three months. In 1926 Ch'ien resumed teaching, now at the Wusih Third Provincial Normal School. In 1928 the Commercial Press published his *Kuo-hsueh kai-lun* [essentials of sinology], which was based on his school lectures. The book was intended as an introductory text for the study of Chinese intellectual history, and it soon was adopted by middle schools throughout the country.

Tragedy struck the Ch'ien family in the autumn of 1928. Within a period of three

months, Ch'ien Mu's wife, son, and elder brother died. The heavy funeral expenses had to be met, and Ch'ien had to support his mother. Accordingly, he accepted an offer to teach at the Soochow Middle School in the autumn of 1929. His financial worries were alleviated when the Commercial Press published his detailed studies on two members of the group of ancient Chinese philosophers associated with the ming-chia [school of names]: Hui Shih, of the fourth century B.C.; and Kung-sun Lung, of the early third century. Ch'ien Mu also prepared essays on the philosophies of Mo-tzu and Wang Yang-ming for the encyclopedic compendium *Wan-yu wen-k'u* [library of universal knowledge], sponsored by the Commercial Press.

A new phase of Ch'ien Mu's career began in 1930. In the spring of that year, he married again. Later in the year, his nien-p'u [chronological biography] of Liu Hsin, a Confucian scholar and bibliographer of the Han period, and of Liu's father, Liu Hsiang, appeared in the *Yen-ching hsueh-pao* [Yenching journal]. Ch'ien's article contained a devastating critique of the *Hsin-hsueh wei-ching k'ao* [forged classics of the Wang Mang period], which K'ang Yu-wei (q.v.) had published in 1891. K'ang had set forth the theory that the "old text" versions of the ancient Chinese classics were all products of an elaborate program of falsification conducted by Liu Hsin. Ch'ien exploded K'ang's theory. Impressed by Ch'ien Mu's scholarship, Yenching University offered him an instructorship, which he accepted. In 1931 Ch'ien left Yenching to join the staff of Peking University as an associate professor.

In later years, Ch'ien recalled that the period at Peiping prior to the Sino-Japanese war had been one of the most serene in his life. As a university professor, he was financially secure. In the spring of 1933, Ch'ien completed a major work on ancient Chinese philosophy. Published in 1935 under the title *Hsien-Ch'in chu-tzu hsi-nien* [chronology of the pre-Ch'in philosophical schools], this study was considered by many Chinese scholars to be the definitive summary of the Ch'ing school of textual criticism. It was followed in 1937 by *Chung-kuo chin san-pai-nien hsueh-shu shih* [history of Chinese scholarship in the last three hundred years], an equally important contribution to the study of Chinese intellectual history. In that work, Ch'ien

emphasized the continuity of the Neo-Confucianism of the Sung period and Ch'ing scholarship, a relationship which had been obscured by the Ch'ing scholars' criticism of Sung learning and which had been overlooked by such scholars as Chang Ping-lin and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (qq.v.). In the introduction, Ch'ien also attacked contemporary advocates of total Westernization for seeking change for the sake of change. Ch'ien Mu was to express this attitude repeatedly in his later writings.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in July 1937, Ch'ien Mu went south to Hunan by way of Hong Kong to join the refugee university that had been organized in Changsha by the faculties of Peking, Tsinghua, and Nankai universities. In the spring of 1938, he followed the migration of that institution to Yunnan province. Ch'ien decided that, because of the lack of library facilities in west China, it would be useful to students if he published his lecture notes in book form. The result was the *Kuo-shih ta-kang* [outline of Chinese history], a history of China from ancient to modern times. Originally published in 1940, it was, for the next few years, probably the most widely used history textbook in China.

The *Kuo-shih ta-kang* was intended to show the way for the solution of China's problems through the clearer understanding of its past history. The book embodied the results of much creative thinking, but it also contained many debatable generalizations. Because it was written at a time of foreign invasion, it exaggerated the onerousness of alien rule and suppressed the contributions made by alien dynasties to the development of Chinese culture. After its publication, Ch'ien became known as one of the most eloquent and learned spokesmen of the conservative group of Chinese historians.

While the *Kuo-shih ta-kang* was being prepared for publication, Ch'ien received word that his aged mother was ill. He left Yunnan for Hong Kong and, using an assumed name, made his way to Soochow, where his mother was living. During his mother's last months, Ch'ien lived in seclusion in Japanese-occupied territory. In 1941 he made his way to Hong Kong, where he took a plane to Chungking. He then went to Chengtu, where he resided for almost six years. He became the director of the Research Institute on Chinese Culture of West China Union University.

In the summer of 1946 Ch'ien Mu returned

to Kiangsu. Finding that the postwar atmosphere there was hostile to academic pursuits, he accepted an offer to teach at the University of Yunnan at Kunming. In 1947 he was persuaded to return to Wusih to teach at Kiang-nan University, which was located on hills overlooking T'ai Lake. Ch'ien was very fond of the area and would have liked to help develop Kiang-nan University into an outstanding institution of higher learning. However, in the spring of 1949, the Communist military forces swept southward to Kiangsu, and he fled to Hong Kong.

In the autumn of 1950, to help solve the educational problems of the young Chinese refugees in Hong Kong, Ch'ien and a few colleagues founded a night school. They taught liberal arts and commercial subjects to some 50 students. Initially, the school's classrooms were rented from a local middle school and also served as bedrooms for the faculty members. In the spring of 1951 Ch'ien decided to transform the night school into a day school, and it became the Hsin-ya shu-yuan (New Asia College). His course on Chinese history was the college's greatest attraction. The school combined the spirit of traditional Chinese academies and the Western tutorial method. After 1954, New Asia College received financial assistance from Yale University, the Asia Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Harvard-Yenching Institute, the British Cultural Association, the Hong Kong government, and the Mencius Educational Foundation of Hong Kong. These contributions enabled the college to expand its physical plant and academic program.

Ch'ien's educational efforts were rewarded by the ministry of education of the National Government in Taiwan with a medal and a financial award in March 1955. In July 1955, Hong Kong University honored him with an honorary LL.D. degree. In 1960 he was invited to lecture at Yale University during the spring semester and was given an honorary D.Litt. in June of that year. While in the United States, he also visited other leading universities, including Harvard and Columbia. In the autumn of 1960, he visited England, France, Germany, and Greece before returning to Hong Kong. Ch'ien Mu resigned from the presidency of New Asia College in June 1965, but he continued to serve on its board of governors. In 1965-66 he served as professor of Chinese studies at the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur.

Ch'ien Mu wrote many other works on Chinese history, philosophy, and classical studies. His *Kuo-shih hsin-lun* [new discussions of Chinese history] was published in Hong Kong in 1955.

Ch'ien San-ch'iang 錢三強
West. Tsien San-tsiang

Ch'ien San-ch'iang (1913-), nuclear physicist. After 1949 he was the director of atomic energy research in the Academy of Sciences at Peking.

Peking was the birthplace of Ch'ien San-ch'iang, the son of the philologist Ch'ien Hsuantung (q.v.). Little is known about his childhood. After being graduated in 1936 from Tsinghua University, where he majored in physics, he was awarded a Sino-French Educational Foundation scholarship for study in France. He worked for several years at the Curie radiological institute in Paris under the guidance of Frederic and Irène Joliot-Curie. He completed his doctorate at the University of Paris in 1940. His thesis was entitled *Étude des collisions des particules avec les noyaux d'hydrogène*. Ch'ien remained in Paris to continue research on nuclear fission. In 1946 Ch'ien was awarded the physics prize of the French Academy for his work in nuclear physics. In December of that year he was attached as a technical expert to the Chinese delegation at the first session of the general conference of UNESCO held in Paris.

On his return to China after more than ten years in Europe, Ch'ien joined the staff of Tsinghua University as professor of physics and became the director of the institute of atomic research of the National Academy of Peiping. In 1949 he also was a member of the Chinese delegation, representing the Chinese Scientific Workers Association, to the World Congress of Partisans of Peace held at Paris and Prague. He also visited the Soviet Union at that time.

After the Central People's Government was formed at Peking in 1949, Ch'ien San-ch'iang became a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and of the culture and education committee of the Government Administration Council. He also was prominent in several new national organizations, notably the China Peace Committee and the All-China Federation of Democratic Youth, of which he became vice

chairman. During the 1950's he was a member of several Chinese delegations to Communist-sponsored meetings in Europe.

Ch'ien San-ch'iang's major role, however, was the planning and direction of important segments of the national program of scientific mobilization dedicated to developing the People's Republic of China into a nuclear power. In 1949 he was one of a handful of nuclear physicists, all trained in the West, available to the Central People's Government. During the early 1950's he was the director of the institute of modern physics of the Academy of Sciences at Peking, and he assumed responsibility for organizing a program of advanced research and for planning personnel requirements. Early in 1953 he led an important delegation from the Chinese Academy of Sciences to the Soviet Union. Ch'ien and his colleagues inspected the Russian atomic research program and pressed for Soviet technical assistance and for Chinese participation in the projected Communist bloc research activities in the field of nuclear energy. Ch'ien was also a member of the Chinese delegation to Stalin's funeral in March 1953. In February 1954 he headed an Academy of Sciences delegation to the Soviet Union.

Between 1955 and 1959 Ch'ien San-ch'iang played a leading role at Peking during the period when the Soviet Union provided Communist China with essential equipment and with assistance in the training of scientific personnel in the field of nuclear physics. The Joint Nuclear Research Institute, established in 1956 at Dubna, near Moscow, played an important role in providing advanced training for Chinese physicists. And the Soviet Union provided the Chinese atomic energy research program with an experimental reactor, a cyclotron, and other equipment.

At the same time that the People's Republic of China was acquiring some Russian equipment and sending scientists to Dubna, it was reorganizing its own nuclear research administration. In 1958 the institute of modern physics of the Academy of Sciences was replaced by a new institute of atomic energy, with Ch'ien San-ch'iang remaining as the director. That institute was given control over all aspects of nuclear physics, radiological chemistry, radiobiology, cosmic ray experiments, reactors, and accelerators. In October 1959, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the

People's Republic of China, Ch'ien wrote an article in the Peking *People's Daily* on "China's Great Advances in the Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy."

In 1954 Ch'ien became head of the Secretariat of the Academy of Sciences, and in 1955 he became a board member and a member of the standing committee of the department of physics, mathematics, and chemistry of the academy. When the Secretariat was reorganized in 1959 and party control of the Academy of Sciences tightened, Tu Jun-sheng replaced Ch'ien as head of the Secretariat. Ch'ien became the top-ranking deputy secretary general of that key organ. He also served as a member of the national committee of the China Science and Technology Association, vice chairman of the China Physics Society, a member of the Science Planning Committee of the State Council, and a delegate to the National People's Congress. In 1958, after he had openly criticized the "anti-socialist" attitudes of some other Chinese scientists, Ch'ien was admitted to membership in the Chinese Communist party.

China's nuclear research program encountered difficulties after 1960 because of the increasing political tensions between the Communist leadership at Peking and that in Moscow, and because of the withdrawal of Soviet scientists and technicians from China. Despite that obstacle, Ch'ien San-ch'iang and other top-ranking Chinese scientists pressed forward in their program to develop nuclear capabilities. The success of their efforts was demonstrated by the Chinese Communist nuclear explosions of October 1964, May 1965, and May 1966.

Ch'ien San-ch'iang's wife, Ho Tse-hui, studied nuclear physics in Europe. After 1949 she became head of the counter section of the low energy accelerator laboratory of the institute of atomic energy of the Academy of Sciences. In January 1957 she was awarded a national prize for outstanding research on the process of nuclear emulsion. Ho also served as a delegate to the National People's Congress.

Ch'ien Ta-chün

T. Mu-yin

錢大鈞

慕尹

Ch'ien Ta-chün (26 July 1893-), military officer, organized and trained many units of the National Revolutionary Army. He was an official of

the Whampoa Military Academy and dean of the Wuhan branch of the Central Military Academy. He was an aide to Chiang Kai-shek and later chief of his bodyguard. In 1942-43 he served as political vice minister of war and in 1945-46 he was the mayor of Shanghai. In Taiwan he devoted himself to promoting athletics.

K'unshan hsien in Kiangsu province was the birthplace of Ch'ien Ta-chün, the youngest of five brothers. His native place was Wuhsien, Kiangsu. When he was four sui, his father, Ch'ien Tzu-mei, moved the family to Soochow. At the age of six, Ch'ien Ta-chün began to study under the guidance of Ch'ien Sung-yao, his eldest brother, and by the time he was ten he had read all the basic classical texts required in the traditional curriculum. He then attended a series of primary schools.

When Ch'ien Ta-chün was 15, his father died, leaving the family in straitened financial circumstances. Ch'ien went to Shanghai to live with his older brother Ch'ien Ch'i-wen, who wanted him to go into business. Because he was not interested in a commercial career, Ch'ien Ta-chün returned to Soochow. The last educational institution he had attended before going to Shanghai, the Changchow Primary School, supported his application to take the examinations for the Kiangsu Military Primary School. He passed the examinations, and in 1909 he enrolled in the school's fourth class.

The school suspended classes when the 1911 revolution broke out, and Ch'ien Ta-chün went to Shanghai to join a students' cadet corps. When Niu Yung-chien (q.v.) founded a military cadres school at Sungkiang, Ch'ien enrolled. He was graduated six months later and was given command of a squad of bodyguards. The Kiangsu Military Primary School resumed classes, and Ch'ien returned to it for supplementary training. He was graduated in 1912, and he returned to the Sungkiang Army to serve as a platoon commander.

In the so-called second revolution of 1913, Ch'ien participated in the attacks on Lunghua and on the Shanghai arsenal. After being defeated, the Sungkiang Army retreated to Kiating and disbanded. At the suggestion of Niu Yung-chien, Ch'ien went to Japan. There he made the acquaintance of Sun Yat-sen and attended lectures sponsored by Sun's group in

Omori. After Japan occupied Tsingtao in 1914, indignant young Chinese in Japan began to return home to join the army. Ch'ien was among them. He enrolled in the Second Military Preparatory School at Wuchang.

In 1915 when Yuan Shih-k'ai launched his plan to become monarch, the various military schools undertook searches for revolutionaries. Ch'ien came under the suspicion of Wang Chan-yuan, the tutuh [military governor] of Hupeh, and he left secretly for Shanghai. Niu Yung-chien, at nearby Sungkiang, then was attempting to rally his former followers. Ch'ien worked as a Japanese-language translator on the Shanghai *Shih-shih hsin-pao* [China Times], but then, before a month had passed, joined Niu and traveled between Shanghai and neighboring areas to help organize and train Niu's new army.

After Yuan Shih-k'ai died in June 1916 and Li Yuan-hung became president, Ch'ien Ta-chün returned to school at Wuchang. He was graduated in December 1916 and was enrolled in the alternate corps of the Paoting Military Academy. In April 1917 he was sent to Japan for further study. He was admitted to the artillery course of the twelfth class for Chinese students at the Shikan Gakkō [military academy].

Ch'ien was graduated in June 1919, and he returned to China in early 1920. He was sent to Paoting, where he served first as branch column commander and then as column commander. The academy suspended operations when the Chihli-Anhwei war broke out in July. In October, plans were made at Peking for a resumption of the academy's work, and Ch'ien was a member of the preparatory committee. He thought that the Peiyang warlords did not consider Paoting important, and he apparently aroused suspicion again because of his political affiliations. He resigned his position as head of the artillery column of the ninth class in the summer of 1921 and went to Canton.

Ch'ien then joined the Kwangtung Army as a staff officer, with rank of major, in the 1st Division commanded by Li Chi-shen (q.v.). Ch'ien participated in various campaigns in south China and in Kiangsi, and in 1923 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel.

In 1924 Ch'ien became a member of the committee charged with organizing the Whampoa Military Academy. On 12 May he was sent to Whampoa as a weapons instructor; at the

beginning of November he became acting chief instructor. On 9 November he was made the director of the newly created staff office.

In January 1925 Chiang Kai-shek, commandant of the Whampoa Military Academy, led two training regiments on the first eastern expedition against Ch'en Chiung-ming, and Ch'ien Ta-chün served as chief of staff on that campaign. On 15 February he was designated acting commander of the 2nd Training Regiment, and in March and April he participated in actions at Mienhu and Hsingning. Late in April he was ordered back to Whampoa to organize the 3rd Training Regiment, and he became commanding officer of that unit. In June he participated in the action in the Canton area which succeeded in eliminating the Yunnan and Kwangsi commanders Yang Hsi-min and Lu Chen-huan as a threat. For a time, probably during Chiang Kai-shek's absence in the field, he acted as head of the Whampoa Military Academy.

At the time of the second eastern expedition in October 1925, Ch'ien Ta-chün commanded the 3rd Training Regiment and, under the direction of Ho Ying-ch'in, took up garrison duty at Poklo. After the capture of Waichow, Ch'en Chiung-ming's base, Ch'ien led the attack on Haifeng and Lufeng on 22 October and helped to consolidate the Canton regime's control over the East River area of Kwangtung. On 20 December he became deputy commander of Ho Ying-ch'in's 1st Division.

On 1 January 1926 Ch'ien Ta-chün succeeded Ho as commander of the 1st Division. A month later, he exchanged commands with Wang Po-ling and became commanding general of the 20th Division. When the Northern Expedition began in July 1926, Ch'ien was designated garrison commander of the Canton area.

When Chiang Kai-shek launched his drive against the Communists at Shanghai in April 1927, Ch'ien followed suit at Canton, declaring martial law on 16 April and arresting suspected Communists. He was also assigned to consolidate the security of northern Kwangtung, and he went to Kukong and Kanhsien to disband and reorganize troops that had shown themselves to be unreliable. After the Nanchang insurrection in August 1927, the Communist leaders Ho Lung and Yeh T'ing retreated to southeastern Kiangsi. Ch'ien Ta-chün fought a hard battle in an unsuccessful attempt to block

them. Ch'ien's forces then were transferred to Meihsien, where he attempted to destroy the Communist troops led by Chu Teh. By mid-October, the East River area of Kwangtung had been secured. Ch'ien's troops were reorganized as the Thirty-second Army, and in December 1927 he helped to suppress the rebellious forces of Chang Fa-k'uei and Huang Ch'i-hsiang in the Canton sector.

Ch'ien then went north by way of Fukien and Chekiang. On 1 April 1928 he received command of the Shanghai-Woosung garrison and assumed responsibility for security in that critical area. He also became a member of the Kiangsu provincial government. In July 1928 he established an academy at Shanghai to train security officers and secret police, the first of its kind in China. After the Northern Expedition ended, the Thirty-second Army and the 21st Division were reorganized as the 3rd Division, stationed at Soochow, with Ch'ien as commanding general. He also served as Kiangnan bandit-suppression commander and as a member of the Military Affairs Commission.

Early in 1929 Ch'ien became general counselor in the headquarters of the Armed Forces at Nanking. That spring he accompanied Chiang Kai-shek in the punitive expedition against the Kiangsi forces in the central Yangtze region, and, after the capture of Wuhan, he took over the army officers school that had been operated by Li Tsung-jen's Fourth Group Army and reorganized it as the Wuhan branch of the Central Military Academy. Ch'ien became dean of the branch.

In 1930 Ch'ien was appointed to organize and train the 3rd Division. That division's 1st Brigade participated in the battle of the central plain of that year. After the war against the northern coalition, the 3rd Division was renamed the 14th Division, with Ch'ien continuing as commander. In November, Ch'ien, in the company of Ch'en Ch'eng and others, went to Japan to observe the autumn military maneuvers.

In January 1931 Ch'en Ch'eng, then the commander of the Eighteenth Army, took command of the 14th Division. Ch'ien continued to serve as dean of the Wuhan branch of the Central Military Academy and took command of the 89th Division. In 1931 he was elected an alternate member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

The Wuhan branch of the Central Military Academy was closed in the spring of 1932, and its students were transferred to the Central Military Academy at Nanking. Ch'ien was relieved of command of the 89th Division and was given command of the Thirteenth Army. In June, he became the director of Chiang Kai-shek's Nanchang headquarters. In the spring of 1933, when the Chinese and the Japanese were fighting at the Great Wall, Ch'ien accompanied Chiang Kai-shek north and became the director of his Paoting headquarters. He established and directed a training office at Paoting to organize new military units. He also served on the Peiping branch of the Military Council, headed by Ho Ying-ch'in.

The Tangku Truce with the Japanese was signed on 31 May 1933, and the Paoting training office was abolished later in that year. The National Government was beginning another campaign against the Communists, and Ch'ien was transferred to be chief of staff of the Nationalist forces committed in the Honan-Hupeh-Anhwei area. Ch'ien acted for Chiang Kai-shek whenever Chiang was engaged elsewhere and strove to coordinate military and political efforts against the Communists. In February 1934 Chang Hsueh-liang was made deputy commander in chief for bandit-suppression, and his Manchurian troops were moved out of north China into the northwest. Chang thus came to hold dominant authority over Wuhan. Ch'ien offered his resignation, but it was refused. In January 1935, Chang Hsueh-liang was given the formal post of director of the Wuhan headquarters, and Ch'ien was made chief of staff there.

In the winter of 1935, after the Communist forces had fled to northwest China, the Nationalists disbanded their Wuhan headquarters. Ch'ien Ta-chün then became director of the first department of the Generalissimo's attendance office, with the concurrent position of chief of Chiang Kai-shek's bodyguard. In exercising his new security functions, Ch'ien became more closely associated with Tai Li (q.v.), the Nationalist secret service chief. At the Fifth National Congress of the Kuomintang, held in the spring of 1935, Ch'ien was elected a member of the Central Executive Committee.

In June 1936 Ch'en Chi-t'ang (q.v.), who held power in Kwangtung province in south China, began to oppose the authority of Chiang

Kai-shek and the National Government at Nanking. Yü Han-mou (q.v.), commander of Ch'en Chi-t'ang's First Army, was stationed in southern Kiangsi. He seemed to have an equivocal attitude toward Ch'en. Chiang Kai-shek then instructed Ch'ien Ta-chün, who had been a fellow student of Yü Han-mou at Paoting and a fellow officer in the Kwangtung Army's 1st Division, to make contact with Yü. A sum of money reportedly changed hands, and Yü shifted his allegiance to Nanking in early July. By that time the Canton air force had defected to the Nationalists, and the back of the southern revolt had been broken. Ch'ien Ta-chün, accompanied by Yü Han-mou, then went to Canton to consolidate power in Kwangtung.

When the Sian Incident took place in December 1936, Ch'ien Ta-chün was with Chiang Kai-shek at Sian. When the alarm was given, he ordered his bodyguards to resist the rebels. Ch'ien himself was wounded and taken prisoner. On the following day he met his former schoolmate Ho Chu-kuo, now the commander of a cavalry force under Chang Hsueh-liang. Ch'ien was detained in Ho Chu-kuo's quarters during the crisis. He and other captives were released on 27 December after Chiang Kai-shek had returned to Nanking. In February 1937 Ch'ien returned to his duties in Chiang Kai-shek's attendance office.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in July 1937, Ch'ien accompanied Chiang Kai-shek on official trips to various parts of China. When the National Government evacuated Nanking in December, Ch'ien went with Chiang to Wuhan. In February 1938, after the reorganization of the Aeronautical Affairs Commission, Ch'ien became its director. He held that position until 1940, by which time the National Government had moved to Chungking, and then relinquished it to Chou Chih-jou (q.v.).

In the spring of 1941, Chiang Kai-shek ordered the establishment of a transport control bureau under the Military Affairs Commission at Chungking. Ho Ying-ch'in, the chief of general staff, was appointed to direct the new organ, and Ch'ien Ta-chün became its chief of staff. In December 1941 he flew to Rangoon to survey the situation and to supervise the emergency transport of supplies from Burma to Yunnan. In March 1942 Ch'ien Ta-chün became political vice minister of war and chief of staff. Although Ho Ying-ch'in was minister

of war, the routine work of the ministry was supervised by Ch'ien and by Chang Ting-fan, the administrative vice minister.

In 1944 Ch'en Ch'eng succeeded Ho Ying-ch'in as minister of war. Since Ch'ien Ta-chün had headed a branch column at the Paoting Military Academy while Ch'en Ch'eng had been only a student, he was technically senior to Ch'en. Accordingly, Ch'ien was transferred to the Generalissimo's attendance office, where he again became head of the first department. He was closely associated with Ch'en Kuo-su and Ch'en Pu-lei (q.v.), who also held key positions in Chiang Kai-shek's entourage, and with Yeh Ch'u-ts'ang (q.v.), then the vice president of the Legislative Yuan. Ch'ien Ta-chün also directed the investigation and statistics bureau of the Military Affairs Commission, which was responsible for security measures against the Communists.

At the time of the Japanese surrender in August 1945, Ch'ien became the first postwar mayor of Shanghai, with the concurrent position of commander in chief of the Shanghai-Woosung garrison. In the company of General Stratemeyer, chief of the Far Eastern Command of the United States Air Force, Ch'ien flew into Shanghai on 9 September 1945 to assume his new duties. The task of establishing effective military and political control over China's largest city proved to be arduous. In May 1946 Ch'ien was replaced by K. C. Wu (Wu Kuochen, q.v.).

Ch'ien went to his home at Soochow, where he occupied himself with the affairs of his native district. In April 1946 he was elected to membership in the Wuhsien assembly. He later became speaker of that body. In 1947 he was elected a delegate, representing Shanghai, to the National Assembly. The Nationalist military position deteriorated in the face of Communist advances during 1948, and Ch'ien was named to membership on the Strategy Advisory Commission. In 1949 he became deputy commanding general for the southwest China region. The National Government retreated to Taiwan in December 1949, and in 1950 Ch'ien joined his veteran Kuomintang associates in Taiwan.

Ch'ien was prominent in the promotion of athletics and became chairman of the soccer association of the Taiwan provincial athletic federation. In 1953, at the Second Asian Games, held in Manila, the Chinese soccer team won the

championship. In 1957 Ch'ien became a member of the supervisory committee of the Chinese National Athletic Federation. In 1958 he accompanied the Chinese soccer team from Taiwan to the Third Asian Games, held in Tokyo, where the team again won the championship. Ch'ien supervised the Chinese team from Taiwan that went to Chile in 1959 to participate in the international competition in basketball; his team won fifth place. Ch'ien also accompanied the Chinese basketball team from Taiwan to the Seventeenth Olympic Games, held at Rome in 1960.

Ch'ien Tuan-sheng

錢 端 升

Ch'ien Tuan-sheng (25 February 1900–), political scientist, wrote major works on Chinese constitutional theory and government, notably *The Government and Politics of China*. Harvard-trained, Ch'ien was an independent intellectual as well as influential educator and dean of the law school of National Peking University. He opposed Kuomintang policies and in 1949 welcomed the Communist regime, but later came under Communist censure as a rightist.

Born in Shanghai, Ch'ien Tuan-sheng spent his childhood there, attending the Nanyang Middle School from 1912 to 1917. After his preparatory education, he studied for two years, from 1917 to 1919, at Tsinghua University in Peking. He then departed for the United States in the summer of 1919. He first studied at the University of North Dakota for one year, receiving his B.A. from that institution in 1920. After a summer at the University of Michigan, Ch'ien entered the graduate school of Harvard University. He spent the next four years at Harvard and received both the M.A. degree (February 1922) and the Ph.D. (February 1924) in political science. As was the fashion among many Chinese, Ch'ien assumed a Western given name while abroad, becoming Thomson S. Chien in the United States. He did not use that name after his return to China.

An early indication of Ch'ien's intellectual orientation was his Ph.D. dissertation: *Parliamentary Committees: A Study in Comparative Government*. The thesis reveals a strong commitment to representative government and parliamentary democracy. Ch'ien modified his

approach to the study of government over the next 25 years, during which he taught political science in China's leading universities. These modifications came not from accepting new analytical propositions or systems of interpretation, but from abandoning certain axioms of political science. The most important of the ideas which he discarded was the belief, current in the 1920's, that national or international law existed on a plane remote from politics and that Chinese problems could be alleviated in any satisfactory way merely by the enactment of legislation. As a result, Ch'ien's written works show a long-range trend toward increased emphasis upon purely descriptive analysis and toward the study of public administration.

When Ch'ien Tuan-sheng returned to China in 1924, however, international and constitutional law were still very important both to him and to China. Some of the most controversial issues in the developing Nationalist revolution of that period were extraterritoriality and the status of the foreign concessions in China—issues which traditionally had been treated in a legalistic manner. As a lecturer at National Peking University and National Peking College of Education, Ch'ien published articles and reviews in the influential *She-hui k'o-hsueh chi-k'an* [social science quarterly], which was edited at National Peking University. His writings at this time reveal the institutional and administrative bent of his interests. In 1925 he published a long article entitled "The Relation between the Legislature and Executive in Some Recent Constitutions" in *She-hui k'o-hsueh chi-k'an*, as well as reviews of books such as Malbone Graham's *New Governments of Central Europe*, Julius Hatschek's *Deutsches und Preussisches Staatsrecht*, and Léon Duguit's *Traité de Droit Constitutionnel*. Ch'ien was not, however, merely an academic observer. As a strong supporter of the Kuomintang's efforts to end the period of foreign-abetted warlord anarchy in China, Ch'ien championed China's national interests according to international law. In 1927 he contributed two articles to a liberal journal of opinion, the *Hsien-tai p'ing-lun* [contemporary review], concerning the status of the Shanghai concessions and the China policy of the United States. In these articles, he advocated the return of all foreign concessions to China and argued that foreign powers should support the Nationalist revolution.

At National Peking University, Ch'ien Tuan-sheng associated himself with the circle of liberal intellectuals around Wang Shih-chieh (q.v.), then a judge of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. Friendship with Wang Shih-chieh was to prove of great importance to Ch'ien's career, both academically and politically, in later years. In 1936 and again in 1942, Ch'ien revised and brought up to date Wang's major work, *Pi-chiao hsien-fa* [comparative constitutional law].

During the early 1930's Ch'ien Tuan-sheng moved to National Central University at Nanking, where he became assistant professor of political science in its college of law. In that period Ch'ien published a study entitled *Fa-kuo ti cheng-fu* [the government of France] and was active in Kuomintang affairs. Just prior to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, he completed the two-volume history which is his most important work in Chinese. The comprehensive *Min-kuo cheng-chih shih* [history of political institutions under the republic] was written under Ch'ien's direction by a committee of scholars of the public administration research institute of Central University's law department. The work is a detailed, factual survey of the shifts in government that had taken place after the 1911 revolution, and it remains today the major political history of the republican period in Chinese. The first volume is devoted to a study of the central government; the second deals with provincial, hsien, and urban affairs. The authors were aided by the party history compilation committee of the Kuomintang, and their long section on the Nanking government is one of the first objective studies of Kuomintang history based on official records. Published by the Commercial Press, *Min-kuo cheng-chih shih* went through three printings (Changsha, 1939; Chungking, 1945; and Shanghai, 1945). One indication of its usefulness is the fact that a subsidized translation was prepared and published in Japan in the midst of the Sino-Japanese war.

Ch'ien moved west with the universities as the Japanese occupation spread. Instead of remaining with Central University, which went to Szechwan, Ch'ien joined the faculty of Southwest Associated University at Kunming, the wartime amalgamation of Peking, Tsinghua, and Nankai universities. During the Japanese war, Ch'ien wrote many articles for such journals

as *Hsin ching-chi* [new economics] and began to devote more of his time to practical politics. Ch'ien was named a member of the People's Political Council, which had been established in Hankow in 1938.

Between 1937 and 1949, Ch'ien visited the United States four times and made several significant contributions in English to the study of Chinese politics. The first of these four visits took place in 1937, when Ch'ien accompanied Hu Shih (q.v.) in an effort to obtain both official and unofficial American assistance for China's war effort. Ch'ien next went as a participant in the Institute of Pacific Relations (I.P.R.) study meeting held at Virginia Beach, Virginia, from 18 November to 2 December 1939. He presented a paper to the conference entitled "China's National Unification: Some Political and Administrative Aspects." Six years later, Ch'ien was again a member of the China Committee attending an I.P.R. meeting, the ninth conference of that organization, held at Hot Springs, Virginia, from 6 to 17 January 1945. He was joined by such well-known figures as Chiang Mon-lin, Carsun Chang, and Chohming Li. On his fourth trip to the United States, Ch'ien went as a visiting scholar to Harvard. He arrived in the United States in December 1947 and returned to China at the end of 1948.

Ch'ien's writings in English during the 1940's are equal in importance to his Chinese works. He published several articles in *Pacific Affairs* which established his reputation among foreign scholars. In 1943, Ch'ien wrote on "Wartime Local Government in China," a valuable analysis of the restoration of the pao-chia system of local control. In 1948, however, he published a polemical article, "The Role of the Military in Chinese Government," which was actually an attack upon Chiang Kai-shek. This article typified Ch'ien's final appraisal of the Kuomintang before the Communist victory. "The nearest approach to a powerful check on military power in China since the Revolution of 1911 was the reorganized Kuomintang in its early years. But when Chiang Kai-shek acquired a position of leadership in the Kuomintang without at the same time outgrowing his military mentality, the party ceased to be such a restraining influence."

In 1950, after Ch'ien had left the United States to return to China, the Harvard University Press published Ch'ien's most important

work, *The Government and Politics of China* (reprinted 1961). That book, building upon the work which Ch'ien had already done in compiling the *Min-kuo cheng-chih shih*, presents a detailed treatment of the evolution and status of political institutions and parties in China up to the late 1940's. It differs from Ch'ien's earlier work in that, by 1948, he was able to offer critical judgments of such basic Kuomintang concepts as the Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen, the three-stage revolution, the theory of political tutelage, and one-party rule, all of which he viewed as being theoretically sound. In acknowledging the obvious failure of the "Kuomintang Government," he placed particular blame upon Chiang Kai-shek. In his preface, written at Harvard in September 1948, Ch'ien referred to the obvious shortcomings of his book in the following statement: "The next few years will witness the most fundamental and truly great transformation in a long period of change, begun about a century ago. But the Kuomintang Government is still in control of the greater portion of China. I cannot treat in any detail the way in which other parts of China are governed nor can I elaborate on what is in store for the future. This can only be done at a more opportune moment."

The unquestioned value of Ch'ien Tuan-sheng's *The Government and Politics of China* is not compromised by the observation that personal ambition affected and reinforced his conclusions. By the late years of the Sino-Japanese war, Ch'ien had been much interested in a political career, and he secured the recommendation of Wang Shih-chieh for the positions of vice minister of education in the National Government and ambassador to Australia. In both instances, however, Chiang Kai-shek personally rejected Ch'ien's appointment. Between 1945 and 1949, Ch'ien returned to his academic career as dean of the law school at Peking University, but he did not abandon his desire to participate directly in politics. Since he had no voice in Kuomintang affairs, his decision to return to the mainland in late 1948 was doubtless influenced by the hope of playing a larger part in the future political life of his country. Ch'ien was offered a position in one of America's leading universities, but he rejected the offer.

Ch'ien Tuan-sheng's experiences under the People's Republic offer an illuminating example of the dilemma encountered by liberal intellec-

tuals during a period of revolutionary change directed by the Communist party. Despite the fact that Ch'ien publicly supported the new Chinese government and its policies, he, along with many other non-party intellectuals with similar views, was compelled to undergo thought reform during the 1951-52 period. He performed that rigorous drill with apparent candor and realism; disavowing his capitalist education and bourgeois past and expressing his loyalty to the Chinese Communist party and its leader. Ch'ien emerged from the ordeal with his fortunes improved: in 1952 he was named president of the new Peking College of Political Science and Law, and he began to participate in many of the institutions of the Communist state. Besides serving as a member of the editorial board of the English-language propaganda journal *China Reconstructs*, Ch'ien was elected a deputy to the National People's Congress and to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. He also became a member of the central committee of the China Democratic League, one of the so-called political parties tolerated by the Communists as part of their united front program. He also devoted much time to such Communist front activities as the Chinese People's Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, and the World Peace Congress, in all of which Ch'ien was either a director or a vice president.

Nevertheless, Ch'ien did not receive a position of authority in the People's Republic commensurate with his own, self-appraised talents and interests. Dissatisfaction with his position led him, in the years after 1952, to associate with other non-Communist intellectuals who also felt themselves to be ignored or politically underemployed. Given this situation, the relaxation of the Communist policy of discrimination against intellectuals which occurred in 1956 and early 1957 prompted Ch'ien and others to agitate openly for a greater voice in policy formulation. The activities of Ch'ien and his associates—notably, Chang Po-chün, Fei Hsiao-tung, Lo Lung-chi, and P'an Kuang-tan—in the period between the Hungarian outburst of 1956 and the Hundred Flowers campaign were hardly counterrevolutionary. Rather, these activities were designed to take advantage of the Communist party's public offer to enlarge the scope of political participation by men who were

not members of the Communist party. However, after the unexpected surge of anti-Communist sentiment from many quarters during the Hundred Flowers period, the Communist party elite made scapegoats of non-Communist intellectuals in order to preserve its political and doctrinal authority. Ch'ien Tuan-sheng and his associates, identified as the Lo Lung-chi-Chang Po-chün clique, were accused of engineering an anti-party plot and of being rightists. Ch'ien was relieved of his academic and political posts, though he was not imprisoned. When the so-called Great Leap Forward encountered major setbacks during the late 1950's, the Chinese Communist party moved to reinstate some of the intellectuals whose services were required in the tasks of socialist construction. In December 1961 Ch'ien's name was included in a list of 370 rightists of the Hundred Flowers period from whom the Communist authorities had decided to relieve that designation. However, he did not regain a position of public prominence.

Ch'ien Yung-ming
T. Hsin-chih

錢永銘
新之

Ch'ien Yung-ming (1885-19 June 1958), financier, spent much of his career in the service of the Bank of Communications, of which he became chairman of the board of directors. After 1928 he held various economic posts in the National Government. He also rehabilitated the Chung-hsing Coal Mining Company, which became the second-largest colliery in China, and established the Chung-hsing Steamship Company and the Fu-hsing Steamship Company.

Although his native place was Wuhsing, Chekiang, Ch'ien Yung-ming was born at Shanghai. He received his early education at the Yü-ts'ai Academy, the predecessor of the Nanyang Middle School. After he was graduated at the age of 16 sui, Ch'ien worked for a foreign firm in Shanghai for about a year to earn money for further studies. He then went to Tientsin, where he studied for a year at Peiyang College. After his return to Shanghai, he was married. Nothing is known about his wife.

The next year Ch'ien received a government scholarship to go to Japan. From 1903 to 1908 he studied at Kobe Commercial College,

specializing in business and finance. Although many Chinese students in Japan were drawn into the anti-Manchu activities of such groups as the T'ung-meng-hui, Ch'ien avoided political commitments. After his graduation from Kobe, he returned to China and taught at Nanking Commercial College from 1909 to 1911.

In 1912 Ch'en Ch'i-meи, the minister of industry and commerce in the T'ang Shao-yi cabinet in the new republican government, sent Ch'ien Yung-ming to Peking to take over the defunct Board of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce of the Ch'ing government. After completing that mission, Ch'ien was made chief of the accounting section of the new ministry of industry and commerce. After a few months, he left Peking to go to Shanghai, where he co-operated with C. T. Wang (Wang Cheng-t'ing) in founding the China Express Company, a transport business. Two years later he went to Manchuria to conduct a survey of economic conditions for the National Industrial Bank of China.

In 1917 Ch'ien Yung-ming began his banking career; he joined the staff of the Shanghai branch of the Bank of Communications. In the previous year, that bank—a semi-governmental bank with the power of issue—had suffered a loss of public confidence by submitting to an order from Yuan Shih-k'ai to suspend the redemption of its notes, and it was being reorganized. Ch'ien was appointed assistant manager of its Shanghai branch. Two years later, in 1919, he became the manager. Under his direction, the Shanghai branch of the Bank of Communications adopted modern banking methods, revamped its internal organization, and expanded its operations. Thus, Ch'ien helped to reestablish public confidence in the bank and to consolidate its operations during a period of acute political unrest in China. He also served as chairman of the Chinese Bankers Association at Shanghai from 1920 until 1922.

The operations of the Bank of Communications were complicated during the early 1920's by political conflicts in north China which had a direct bearing on the career of its general manager, Liang Shih-i (q.v.). In December 1921, supported by Chang Tso-lin (q.v.), Liang Shih-i became premier of the government at Peking. That appointment was strongly opposed by Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.) and the Chihli clique, who forced Liang to resign. The ouster

of Liang Shih-i became the immediate cause of a war between the Fengtien and Chihli factions in the spring of 1922. When Chang Tso-lin was defeated, it appeared likely that the Bank of Communications would be taken over by political leaders in north China. Ch'ien Yungming then suggested an arrangement whereby Chang Chien (q.v.), the veteran industrialist and former minister of industry, would nominally succeed Liang Shih-i as general manager of the bank. This was done, and Ch'ien himself became assistant general manager. He directed the affairs of the Bank of Communications from 1922 to 1925, during which period he succeeded in maintaining its independent status. However, when Liang Shih-i, with the support of Chang Tso-lin, was reinstated as the bank's general manager in 1925, Ch'ien relinquished his post.

Already a well-known banker, Ch'ien Yungming won further recognition when the National Government headed by Chiang Kai-shek was inaugurated at Nanking in 1927. He was named vice minister and, later, acting minister of finance, serving under Ku Ying-fen, then the titular minister. Ch'ien was transferred in 1928 to Chekiang province, where he served as commissioner of finance under Chang Jen-chieh (q.v.). In 1930 the National Government appointed Ch'ien chairman of the board, representing China, of the Sino-French Bank. He was also named Chinese minister to France, but he did not accept that diplomatic post.

After leaving the Bank of Communications in 1925, Ch'ien Yungming became deputy director of the Joint Savings Society and Joint Treasury of the four major private banks of north China: the Yien-yieh Commercial Bank, the Kincheng Banking Corporation, the Continental Bank, and the China and South Seas Bank. The director was the prominent financier Wu Ting-ch'ang (q.v.). When Wu Ting-ch'ang became minister of industry in the National Government in 1935, Ch'ien Yungming took over the management of the joint reserve board of the four banks.

In addition to his banking responsibilities, Ch'ien Yungming was associated with important industrial enterprises in north China. The Chung-hsing Coal Mining Company in Shantung province was a notable example. Located at Tsaochuang, Ihsien, Shantung, the coal mine had been founded in the 1870's. By the mid-1920's, its production was the third largest

in China. By 1926, however, the Chung-hsing Coal Mining Company was in serious financial straits because of transportation and other difficulties caused by the recurrent internecine wars in north China; by 1928 production had come to a standstill. Ch'ien Yungming became general manager in 1929. Soon afterward a bank loan in the amount of CN\$5 million was made to procure new equipment, electrify operations, and restore output. Four years later, agreement was reached with the Lunhai railroad to build a feeder line from the site of the mines at Tsaochuang to Lien-yun-kang on the coast, making it possible to haul coal directly from the mines to coastal steamers. In the middle 1930's Chung-hsing produced some 2,000,000 tons annually; its output was exceeded only by the Kailan mines, which produced 5,000,000 tons annually.

In 1938 Ch'ien Yungming was appointed chairman of the board of the Bank of Communications. During the war years, that bank, which had been rechartered in 1935 as one of the three principal government banks, was assigned new responsibility for financing industrial development. Among the important enterprises launched with its support were the Yu-t'ien Cotton Mill in Kunming, the Yu-hsing Textile Company in Changsha, and the Kweichow Enterprises Company in Kweiyang. The bank established the Kin-wei Textile Machinery Company to manufacture equipment for medium-sized mills. Under Ch'ien Yungming's direction, the Bank of Communications not only expanded its operations within China but also established overseas branches in Calcutta, Rangoon, Manila, and Saigon. In addition to his banking posts, Ch'ien served as a member of the People's Political Council after 1938, and he was elected a delegate to the National Assembly in 1947. After the war, he served as chairman of the Board of the *Hsin Wen Pao*, one of the leading Shanghai newspapers.

Ch'ien Yungming also played an important role in the expansion of China's shipping industry. He recognized the importance of developing shipping facilities for hauling coal from north China to major distribution points. In 1930, therefore, he established a shipping department as a subsidiary of the company. In 1937 that department was reorganized as the Chung-hsing Steamship Company, Ltd., with nine vessels. All of these ships either were

sunk or were requisitioned by the National Government during the war. Ch'ien purchased surplus ships from the United States to revive the company after the war. He then operated ten vessels totaling 50,000 tons. He also established and became chairman of the board of the Fu-hsing Steamship Company. The National Government gave him a total of 11 ocean-going vessels aggregating 80,000 tons as restitution for wartime losses to the Chung-hsing Steamship Company. When the Communists gained power on the mainland of China in 1949, they took over most of the Chung-hsing vessels. The Fu-hsing ships continued to operate from Hong Kong and Taiwan, and the company's headquarters was moved to Taiwan.

After the Chinese Communist regime was established, Ch'ien Yung-ming retired and took up residence in Hong Kong. He later moved to Taiwan, where he died at Taipei on 19 June 1958.

Chin, Moon: see CH'EN WEN-K'UAN.

Chin Shu-jen

T. Te-an

金樹仁

德安

Chin Shu-jen (1883?–?), governor of Sinkiang province. His administrative methods resulted in a Muslim insurrection that lasted for more than three years. He was imprisoned in 1935 by the National Government for having negotiated a secret commercial agreement with the Soviet Union.

Little is known about Chin Shu-jen's childhood except that he was born in Taoho hsien, Kansu province. After being graduated from the Kansu provincial academy, he obtained the degree of chü-jen. He served for a time as the principal of a normal school. Then he entered official life in Kansu and gained the favor of Yang Tseng-hsin (q.v.).

Near the end of the Ch'ing period, Chin Shu-jen followed Yang Tseng-hsin to Sinkiang province, where Chin became secretary of the military affairs department and later served as a hsien magistrate. During the long tenure of Yang Tseng-hsin as provincial governor of Sinkiang after the revolution of 1911, Chin Shu-jen gradually rose in rank and eventually

became secretary general of the provincial government at Urumchi. In 1927 Chin became commissioner for civil affairs in Sinkiang. He was serving in that post at the time of the assassination of Yang Tseng-hsin on 7 July 1928. It was suspected that Chin had known of the plot to kill Yang. In any event, Chin took advantage of Yang's death to seize power. He promptly executed the assassins and took steps to prevent civil disorder. A telegram was sent to the National Government recommending that Chin be named provincial governor. After some hesitation, Nanking made the appointment.

During this period the Soviet Union was steadily increasing its influence over the economic life of Sinkiang, and the completion in 1930 of the Turkestan-Siberian railroad near the Sinkiang border forwarded its strategic domination of the province. On 1 October 1931 Chin Shu-jen signed a secret commercial agreement with the Soviet Union which increased and gave legal sanction to the growing economic control of Sinkiang province by the Soviet government. The pact was not announced, and the National Government of China did not know of its existence for many months.

Chin Shu-jen's internal policies had served to alienate the overwhelming majority of the non-Chinese population of Sinkiang. He had appointed his younger brother, Chin Shu-hsin, commissioner of military affairs, and his orderly, Ts'ui Chao-chi, commander of a brigade at Urumchi. Because of the actions of these and other officials, the provincial administration was marked by injustice, inefficiency, and corruption. Chin's economic policies, including heavy direct taxation and the establishment of government companies which controlled the principal export products of Sinkiang, also led to increased popular discontent.

Chin Shu-jen's administration was challenged in 1931, when an outbreak occurred at Hami, the most important garrison center in eastern Sinkiang and the only surviving native state within the province. The khanate of Hami had traditionally been a semi-independent Turki (Uighur) principality, with local affairs handled by its own ruling house. When the reigning prince had died in November 1930, Chin Shu-jen had attempted to impose his direct rule, on the pretext that hereditary principalities should not exist within the territory of the Chinese

republic, and had encouraged the movement of Chinese famine refugees from his native Kansu province into Turki farmlands. Rebellion broke out in March 1931; the Turki natives at Hami rose and killed all Chinese tax collectors in the area. The outbreak soon assumed major proportions when the Turki leaders sought and obtained the aid of the T'ung-kans [Chinese Muslims] of Kansu, their coreligionists. That move introduced the forces of Ma Chung-ying (q.v.) into the matter and led to bloody fighting at Hami. The revolt there was quelled temporarily in the autumn of 1931 by Chin Shu-jen, who relied principally on the conscription of White Russians who had taken up residence in Sinkiang after the revolution in Russia. Ma Chung-ying was by no means defeated, however; he spent most of 1932 in consolidating, equipping, and training his forces in Kansu.

Chin Shu-jen's ineptness in dealing with the native peoples of Sinkiang was demonstrated again in 1932, when he caused Seng Chen Rinpoche, the able regent of the Torgut Mongols from Karashar, to be assassinated. The Mongols, already antagonized by Chinese migration into their grazing lands, had refused to come to the aid of the Chinese when the Hami revolt broke out. Because Seng Chen Rinpoche was the spiritual head of all the Mongols of Sinkiang and one of the most important non-Chinese in the province, Chin's action, intended to intimidate the Mongols, made them more insubordinate than ever.

At the beginning of 1933, the T'ung-kan forces led by Ma Chung-ying, which again had moved northwest, reached the city walls of Urumchi itself. After bitter fighting, Ma and his rebels were repulsed again. The position of Chin Shu-jen was temporarily strengthened in March 1933 by the timely arrival at Urumchi of several thousand Chinese troops who had been driven from Manchuria into Siberia by the Japanese attack of 1931-32. That event coincided with a new political crisis at Urumchi. Despite the fact that the White Russian mercenaries had been the mainstay of the provincial government forces in the fighting since 1931, Chin Shu-jen begrudged them this success and gave them little or no recognition. The consequent dissatisfaction of the White Russians coincided with steadily growing opposition to Chin on the part of many Chinese. The situation was not improved by the actions of Chin Shu-

hsin and Ts'ui Chao-chi, who had cornered the grain supplies when the city was under siege and who were manipulating the market for private gain. Both political and popular unrest increased, and Chin Shu-jen notified the National Government at Nanking that the province was in revolt. He fled from Urumchi on 12 April 1933.

In a brief battle on the outskirts of the city, Chin's troops were defeated by a force composed largely of Chinese troops from Manchuria under the command of Sheng Shih-ts'ai (q.v.). Sheng proceeded to consolidate both military and civil authority as head of the Sinkiang provincial government. Chin Shu-jen attempted to salvage the situation, but at the beginning of May he telegraphed Nanking that he had been driven out of Sinkiang by the Russians and that the province was lost to China forever. After a long trek through Siberia, he reached Nanking in October 1933. There he was arrested and imprisoned by the National Government authorities, who charged him with secretly negotiating with a foreign power in October 1931. He was brought to trial in March 1935 and sentenced in April to three-and-one-half years' imprisonment. He began to serve his sentence in August. However, a government order for his pardon was issued on 10 October 1935, and Chin was released from prison the following day. Nothing is known of his life after that time.

Chin Yun-p'eng

T. I-ch'ing

靳雲鵬

翼青

Chin Yun-p'eng (1877-), a Peiyang Army officer of the Chihli faction who served Tuan Ch'i-jui as minister of war and premier (1919-21). After Chang Tso-lin established his influence in Peking, Chin retired from politics. In 1931 he became a Buddhist monk.

Little is known of Chin Yun-p'eng's family background or childhood; he was a native of Tsining, Shantung. Chin was graduated from the Peiyang Military Academy, and he held his first military posts in Chekiang, rising to become commander of the imperial forces stationed in that province. Toward the end of the Ch'ing period he served as military counselor to Li Ching-hsi, the governor general of Yunnan-Kweichow.

When Ts'ai O (q.v.) and others staged an uprising in Yunnan at the outbreak of the 1911 revolution, Chin Yun-p'eng escaped from that area and returned to north China. There, through the assistance of Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.), he was appointed a staff officer in the Third Imperial Army. After the consolidation of power by Yuan Shih-k'ai, Chin was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general and was made a military adviser in the President's office. In August 1913 he was given command of the 5th Peiyang Division and was assigned to his native province of Shantung, where he succeeded Chou Tzu-ch'i as military governor. Chin remained in that post until 1916. Although he did not openly oppose Yuan Shih-k'ai's monarchical scheme as it developed in late 1915, he did join with Feng Kuo-chang (q.v.) and others in March 1916 to urge Yuan to abandon the plan.

In June 1916, after the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai, Chin Yun-p'eng relinquished his Shantung post to Chang Huai-chih and went to Peking. He was by then an influential member of the Peiyang military clique, and at Peking he was soon drawn into the complex political maneuvers of that period in north China. In late 1916 and early 1917 Chin supported Tuan Ch'i-jui's quest for power and participated in the meetings held at Hsuchow with leading Peiyang figures, including Chang Hsün (q.v.) and others, to work out plans designed to deal with Tuan's principal opponents, Li Yuan-hung (q.v.) and the National Assembly. By the spring of 1917 Tuan's relations with both Li, then the president, and the National Assembly had become strained. The focus of the Peking government's interest at that time was on the question of China's relations with Germany. Well aware of the potential advantages to China of participation in the war on the side of the Allied powers, Tuan Ch'i-jui moved quickly to sever diplomatic ties with Berlin and to force the National Assembly to pass a formal declaration of war against Germany. Chin Yun-p'eng was a prime mover in supporting Tuan's campaign to bring China into the First World War.

Although the heavy pressures which Tuan Ch'i-jui and his associates exerted on the assembly in the spring of 1917 had no results, Tuan remained a dominant figure in the Peiyang military clique, and Chin continued to be closely involved in the interneccine struggles for

power and primacy among the military factions in the north. During his fourth and final term as premier (March-October 1916), Tuan continued to hold the upper hand in his struggle with Feng Kuo-chang in large part through his control of the powerful War Participation Board, of which Chin was the administrative director. Chin was also directly involved in the secret military assistance agreement with Japan concluded in May 1918, under which the Japanese agreed to finance, train, and equip a new Chinese military force in return for substantial Chinese concessions.

In January 1919 Chin took up the post of minister of war in the new cabinet headed by Ch'ien Neng-hsun, and toward the end of that year he became premier. However, animosity had developed between Chin Yun-p'eng and Hsu Shu-cheng (q.v.), Tuan Ch'i-jui's chief military subordinate. Hsu Shu-cheng's political position was bolstered by Tuan Ch'i-jui himself, and his ambitions were strengthened by the success of his November coup in Outer Mongolia. Therefore, Hsu was able to manipulate the cabinet headed by Chin Yun-p'eng and at the same time to deny Chin's military authority. Even in his capacity as minister of war, Chin was unable to control the Northwest Frontier Defense Army, which Hsu Shu-cheng headed. Relations between the two men became increasingly unfriendly and, despite the fact that Tuan Ch'i-jui headed the Anhwei faction of the Peiyang military group, Chin strengthened his ties with the Chihli faction.

After September 1919 Chin submitted his resignation as premier three times, without success. The apparent successes of Chin's opponent Hsu Shu-cheng were fostering suspicion and opposition to Hsu on the part of Chang Tso-lin (q.v.) and other powerful militarists. The Chihli governor, Ts'ao K'un (q.v.), soon organized an eight-province coalition in opposition to Hsu Shu-cheng, and in May 1920, noting this, Chin Yun-p'eng for the fourth time submitted his resignation as premier. It was accepted on 2 July. The next day Chang Tso-lin, Li Ch'un, and Ts'ao K'un declared war on the Tuan Ch'i-jui regime, particularly on Hsu Shu-cheng. The ensuing Anhwei-Chihli war of July 1920 marked the downfall of Hsu Shu-cheng and the end of Tuan Ch'i-jui's hegemony in north China. Chin Yun-p'eng then resumed his official posts with the backing

of both the Chihli group headed by Ts'ao K'un and the Fengtien group headed by Chang Tso-lin. He again became premier and minister of war in August and became a full general in October.

As premier, Chin Yun-p'eng faced two urgent problems: the satisfaction of the Chihli and Fengtien groups regarding the division of power in north China, and the financing of government—a problem because the unification of the northern (Peking) government and the southern (Canton) government was a prerequisite for obtaining any foreign loans. Canton ignored Chin's proposals for unification. When he turned to Chinese banking circles for government funds, Chin encountered opposition from two leading members of the so-called communications faction, Chou Tzu-ch'i, the minister of finance, and Yeh Kung-cho (qq.v.), the minister of communications. The dispute wracked the entire Peking government, and in April 1921 Chin met at Tientsin with Chang Tso-lin, Ts'ao K'un, and Wang Chan-yuan in an attempt to resolve the impasse. A reorganization of the cabinet followed in May, with Chin Yun-p'eng remaining as premier. Chou Tzu-ch'i and Yeh Kung-cho were dropped from the cabinet, and they then undertook to join forces with Chang Tso-lin, who arrived at Peking on 14 December 1921 to establish a position within the government there. Two days later Chin Yun-p'eng resigned. On 24 December, with the nominal cooperation of Ts'ao K'un, a new cabinet was formed with Liang Shih-i, the head of the communications clique, as premier and Yeh Kung-cho as minister of communications.

That development marked the end of Chin Yun-p'eng's career as an official. He then launched a commercial venture, the Lu-ta Company, in Shantung. In 1926, as the Nationalist revolution surged up from south China, Chin served as an intermediary between Chang Tso-lin and Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.), but without notable success. He then retired to the British concession in Tientsin, where he maintained a residence for several years. In the summer of 1931 he became a Buddhist monk. He reportedly was still alive in 1936, when he was 60, but his later years are obscure.

Chin Yun-p'eng had a younger brother, Chin Yun-o, a field commander of the Chihli faction. Chin Yun-o died in 1935.

Ch'in Pang-hsien

Alt. Po Ku
Ch'in Po-ku

秦邦憲
博古

Ch'in Pang-hsien (1907–8 April 1946), one of the Russian-trained intellectuals known as the 28 Bolsheviks, was the general secretary of the Chinese Communist party (1932–34). From 1936 to 1946 he served as a liaison officer in negotiations with the National Government. He also headed the New China News Agency (1941–45) and edited the official Communist newspaper at Yenan, the *Chieh-fang jih-pao* [liberation daily].

Born in Chekiang province, Ch'in Pang-hsien was the only son of a hsien magistrate. His father died before he was ten years old, and he was brought up by his mother in Wusih, Kiangsu, the family's ancestral home. After being graduated from the Kiangsu Provincial Technical School at Soochow at the age of 17, he went to study in the English department of Shanghai University in 1925. That institution had been founded two years earlier under Communist party auspices to recruit and train young cadres for organization work in factories, labor unions, universities, and other areas where the Communist party hoped to spread its political influence. Ch'in Pang-hsien's period of study at Shanghai University brought him into contact with Ch'u Ch'iu-pai, Teng Chung-hsia, Yun Tai-ying, and other Communists then teaching there.

Ch'in Pang-hsien joined the Chinese Communist party in the autumn of 1925 at the age of 18. Since this was the period of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist party, he was first assigned to the propaganda department of the Shanghai municipal headquarters of the Kuomintang. The following year he was selected by the Chinese Communist party to study at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow. He arrived in the Soviet Union in 1926 and remained there for four years. He soon became fluent in Russian, well acquainted with Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and active in the group of Chinese students at Sun Yat-sen University known as the 28 Bolsheviks.

That group, of which Ch'en Shao-yü (q.v.) was the leader, returned to China about 1930,

accompanied by Pavel Mif, the president of Sun Yat-sen University. Ch'in Pang-hsien was closely associated with Ch'en Shao-yü in the ensuing intraparty struggle against the leadership of Li Li-san (q.v.), then the dominant man in the central apparatus of the party in Shanghai. During the remaining months of 1930 Ch'in worked in the propaganda department of the All-China Federation of Labor and edited two labor papers, *Lao-tung pao* [labor newspaper] and *Kung-jen hsiao-pao*. In January 1931 he became director of the propaganda department of the Communist Youth Corps, and in April of that year he became general secretary of the Youth Corps.

After the execution in June 1931 of Hsiang Chung-fa (q.v.), who had been the nominal head of the Chinese Communist party since 1928, Ch'en Shao-yü became general secretary of the party at Shanghai. Ch'in Pang-hsien became a member of the new provisional political bureau of the party in September 1931. A year later, in the autumn of 1932, Ch'en Shao-yü returned to Moscow as Chinese representative to the Comintern. Ch'in Pang-hsien succeeded him as general secretary of the Chinese Communist party. Although the details of Communist party history during the early 1930's are obscure, he apparently held that position until January 1935, when he was replaced by Chang Wen-t'ien (q.v.) at the Tsunyi conference, which was held in Kweichow during the Long March. During the remainder of the Communist retreat to the northwest Ch'in Pang-hsien served as a political officer in the Red Army.

After the Communists had established their wartime base in Shensi and Mao Tse-tung had begun to consolidate control of the central apparatus of the party, Ch'in Pang-hsien was assigned to positions in which he was concerned more with the external relations of the party than with its internal policies and organization. In December 1936 he accompanied Chou En-lai, Li K'o-nung, and Yeh Chien-ying to Sian as a member of the Communist group which handled the negotiations leading to the release of Chiang Kai-shek, who had been detained forcibly by Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng (qq.v.). In June 1937 Ch'in participated in the Nationalist-Communist negotiations at Lushan, Kiangsi, attempting to work out terms for the anti-Japanese united front. Ch'in then

worked with Yeh Chien-ying as a Communist liaison officer assigned to the National Government at Nanking. When that city fell to the Japanese, he moved with the government to Hankow.

Early in 1938 Ch'in went to Chungking, again as a member of the Chinese Communist liaison mission. He also served as a member of the Ch'ang-chiang (Yangtze) bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist party, and later he became head of the south China bureau. Between 1938 and 1945 he served as one of the Communist delegates to the People's Political Council. He returned to Yenan late in 1940 to assist in planning an improved information and propaganda program for the party. When the New China (Hsinhua) News Agency was established in 1941, he became its head. He also was chief editor of the official Communist newspaper, the *Chieh-fang jih-pao* [liberation daily], which began publication in Yenan in May 1941.

When the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist party met in Yenan (April-June 1945), Ch'in Pang-hsien was elected to membership on the Central Committee. He went to Chungking in January 1946 to participate in the postwar negotiations with the Kuomintang. On 8 April 1946, while on his way from Chungking back to Yenan, he was killed when his plane, apparently off its course, crashed in northwestern Shansi. Teng Fa, Wang Jo-fei, and Yeh T'ing were among the others killed in the crash.

Ch'in Pang-hsien published a substantial number of translations from Russian and English under his pseudonym, Po Ku. His translations include such basic Communist texts as the *Communist Manifesto*, *Basic Problems of Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism*, and the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik)*, *Short Course*, as well as Lenin's *Karl Marx* and Plekhanov's *The Development of the Monistic Interpretation of History*.

In Peking's versions of party history, Ch'in has been identified as a political theorist. In the lengthy 1951 article by Ch'en Po-ta (q.v.), "Mao Tse-tung's Theory of the Chinese Revolution Is the Combination of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese Revolution," Ch'in Pang-hsien was linked with Ch'en Shao-yü, and both men were criticized sharply for their leftist adventurism in party leadership in the early 1930's.

Ch'in Pang-hsien married twice and had seven children. His first wife was Liu Ch'ünsien, one of the 28 Bolsheviks, whom he met at Sun Yat-sen University and married in Moscow in 1930. That marriage ended in divorce. His second wife was Chang Yueh-hsia.

Ch'in Te-ch'un

T. Shao-wen

秦德純
紹文

Ch'in Te-ch'un (1893-7 September 1963), military leader associated with Feng Yü-hsiang before 1930, served under Sung Che-yuan, becoming governor of Chahar, mayor of Peking, and deputy commander of the Twenty-ninth Army. He led his army in the first military action of the Sino-Japanese war. He held senior military posts in the National Government in China and in Taiwan.

Yishui, Shantung, was the birthplace of Ch'in Te-ch'un. He studied at the Shantung military elementary school and then enrolled at Paoting Military Academy. He was graduated from the infantry course with the second class in 1916. He was assigned to the Shantung 5th Division for field training, after which he held command and staff posts in the Shensi army. He entered Peking Staff College in 1920 and was graduated with the sixth class of that institution in 1922. Ch'in then was sent to Honan, where Feng Yü-hsiang (q.v.) served briefly as military governor, and was assigned as chief of staff of the eastern Honan defense headquarters.

Ch'in Te-ch'un thus became associated with the Feng Yü-hsiang military organization in north China. The deterioration of relations between Feng Yü-hsiang and Wu P'ei-fu (q.v.), who was then the leading military figure of the Chihli clique, led to conflict in 1924. In the autumn of that year, when the second Chihli-Fengtien war broke out, Feng, who was assigned to the Jehol front, suddenly led his men back to Peking and occupied the capital. Immediately after that coup and the downfall of Wu P'ei-fu, Feng Yü-hsiang assumed the post of commander in chief of the Kuominchün, or National Army. Ch'in Te-ch'un was assigned as chief of staff of the 24th Division under Feng. In 1925 he was promoted to command the 47th Infantry Brigade of that division. In 1926 he became

commander of the 27th Division and, soon thereafter, commander of the 14th Division. However, Feng Yü-hsiang's Kuominchün was forced out of north China, and he himself left China on a trip to the Soviet Union, only to return in September 1926 and announce his support for the Nationalist forces then advancing from south China.

Feng Yü-hsiang then began to reorganize his scattered troops into a force which could cooperate effectively with the National Revolutionary Army under Chiang Kai-shek. In the spring of 1927, when Feng's forces moved from Shensi into Honan to seize effective control of that province, Ch'in Te-ch'un became commander of the 1st Division of Feng's army and participated in the Honan fighting. He later was made commander of the 23rd Division of Feng's Northwest Army and deputy commander of the Second Area Army. During 1927 Feng's political maneuvers tipped the scale in the struggle between Chiang Kai-shek and the Wuhan government, and his forces nominally became part of the reorganized Nationalist military establishment. With the resumption in 1928 of the second stage of the Northern Expedition, aimed at Chang Tso-lin (q.v.), who held power at Peking, Ch'in Te-ch'un commanded the Fourteenth Army of Feng Yü-hsiang's Second Group Army. When the National Government was established at Nanking in October of that year, Feng Yü-hsiang and his lieutenant Lu Chung-lin (q.v.) became, respectively, minister and vice minister of war. The future seemed bright for Kuominchün officers, since Feng retained regional power through his control of Honan, Shensi, Kansu, and part of Shantung.

The tension between National Government authorities at Nanking and Feng Yü-hsiang, soon became evident. In 1930 Feng Yü-hsiang lost the power struggle with Nanking, and the units of the Kuominchün were reorganized into the National Government forces. Ch'in Te-ch'un, like most of Feng's senior commanders, was relieved of his posts. He went into temporary retirement. The 1930 conflict between Nanking and the northern coalition in effect had been decided through the inaction of Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.), the Young Marshal of Manchuria, who finally sided with the central government. Ch'in Te-ch'un allied himself with Chang Hsueh-liang, who was then based at

Peiping, and became a military counselor in his headquarters. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria beginning in September 1931, however, led to a swift decline in the Young Marshal's power. Ch'in Te-ch'un participated in battles against the Japanese on the Great Wall front at the beginning of 1933. However, Chang Hsueh-liang was forced to turn over control of his armed forces to Chiang Kai-shek in March of that year. Chiang's military lieutenant Ho Ying-ch'in (q.v.), was then given full authority in north China. Ch'in Te-ch'un then became commander in chief of the Third Army Corps and a member of the Peiping branch military council headed by Ho Ying-ch'in. Later in 1933 he was also made deputy commander of the Twenty-ninth Army under Sung Che-yuan (q.v.) and a member of the provincial government of Chahar province, which was then under Sung's direct jurisdiction.

In mid-1935, when Sung Che-yuan was moved to Peiping with his Twenty-ninth Army to attempt to hold north China in the face of the Japanese political advance, Ch'in Te-ch'un succeeded him as governor of Chahar, also taking the post of commissioner for civil affairs in that province. Later that year Ch'in was moved to Peiping to become mayor and a member of the Hopei-Chahar political council, which was headed by Sung. He was also elected to membership on the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang at its Fifth Congress in November 1935.

The Japanese situation in north China became increasingly tense after the implications of the commitments made by Chiang Kai-shek at Sian in December 1936 became clear. In 1937 Ch'in Te-ch'un was given the post of deputy commander of the Twenty-ninth Army of Sung Che-yuan. Caught between pressure from the Japanese and a corresponding resistance from Nanking to any political concessions, Sung Che-yuan retired to his native Shantung, leaving Ch'in Te-ch'un in charge of the north China situation. When the Japanese on 7 July 1937 demanded entry into the small town of Wan-p'ing near Peiping to search for a soldier who allegedly had disappeared, it was Ch'in's order that led to resistance by the Chinese regiment of the Twenty-ninth Army. Thus, the Sino-Japanese war began.

Both the Twenty-ninth Army and Sung Che-yuan's organization were destroyed during the

early stage of the conflict. Having lost his troops, Ch'in Te-ch'un was assigned to staff positions throughout the war. He became deputy director general of courts martial in 1940 and vice minister of military conscription in 1941, holding that post until 1945.

After the Japanese surrender and the resumption of civil war against the Communists in 1946, Ch'in Te-ch'un was named vice minister of national defense in the National Government, with the rank of lieutenant general. Although his erstwhile chief Feng Yü-hsiang moved into a position of open opposition to Chiang Kai-shek in the late 1940's, Ch'in remained with the National Government at Nanking; he was reappointed vice minister of national defense in May 1948 after the election of Chiang Kai-shek as President. In 1948 Ch'in was named governor of his native Shantung province and mayor of Tsingtao, but both the province and the city were occupied by the Communists in 1949. Ch'in Te-ch'un then moved to Taiwan, where he was rewarded with the appropriate sinecure posts conventionally allotted to retired Nationalist generals. He died in Taipei of lung cancer in September 1963.

Chou Ch'ang-ling

T. Shou-ch'en
West. Shouson Chow

周長齡
壽臣

Chou Ch'ang-ling (13 March 1861–24 February 1959), known as Shouson Chow, high official in the imperial government who became an outstanding businessman and civic leader in Hong Kong. He was knighted by King George V in 1928.

Although Shouson Chow was born in Hong Kong 20 years after the island had been ceded to Great Britain by the treaty ending the first Anglo-Chinese war, his native district usually is given as Paoan hsien, Kwangtung province; Hong Kong was a part of the province before it came under British jurisdiction. Chow's grandfather lived in the village later known in English as Aberdeen, and he was one of the village elders who assisted the British in posting their first official proclamations on the island of Hong Kong. The Chow family was in comfortable circumstances, and the boy Shouson received a traditional Chinese education.

Shouson Chow's promise found early recognition in 1873 when, at the age of 13 sui, he was selected by the Chinese imperial government as a student in the Chinese Educational Mission, which then was sending students to the United States. The mission selected a total of 120 Chinese students, all between the age of 12 and 14. The plan was that the boys would stay 10 or 15 years in the United States, where they would receive elementary, secondary, and college educations. The students left China in the summer of 1872. The third group included Shouson Chow.

In the United States, Shouson Chow, after a period of language study and orientation, entered Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts. After being graduated from that school, he went to Columbia University in New York. He was not to complete his study program because in 1881 the Chinese government suddenly ordered the recall of the entire Chinese Educational Mission. The Peking government had been influenced by conservatives who were alarmed by reports that the Chinese students in the United States were becoming excessively Americanized. These reports had led to concern that the students eventually would become revolutionaries.

On their return to China, the students were regarded with suspicion, treated with indignity, and confined to special quarters allocated to them in Shanghai. Shouson Chow was no exception. The potential usefulness of the Western-trained young men was soon recognized, however, and they were assigned to official posts appropriate to their backgrounds and qualifications. Shouson Chow, with some of his fellow students, was a member of the Chinese deputation sent to assist the Korean government in reorganizing its customs service. Yuan Shih-k'ai, as imperial resident, was then China's ranking representative in Korea, and Shouson Chow served under Yuan until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1894. In that year he also served for a time as Chinese consul at Inchon.

After the Sino-Japanese war, Shouson Chow returned to China and held numerous official posts. Several years later, in 1903, he was appointed to the important post of managing director of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company, with headquarters at Tientsin. He remained in this post for four years. In 1907

he was named managing director of the Peking-Mukden Railway. In 1908 Shouson Chow received the highly important appointment of customs tao-t'ai at Newchwang. In addition to supervising the customs administration there, he carried out many other duties, notably the handling of foreign relations in the region west of the Liao River, an area covering several hundred square miles with a population of several million people. As the representative of the viceroy of Manchuria, he entertained Field Marshal Kitchener when the latter visited the battlefields of Manchuria in 1909.

In 1911 Shouson Chow was recalled to Peking and was made a secretary in the Board of Foreign Affairs. In April the revolutionaries staged the famous Huang-hua-kang Uprising at Canton, now commemorated on 29 March each year (*see* Huang Hsing). Although the insurrection was abortive, it stirred revolutionary forces throughout the country to action and led directly to the Wuchang revolt of 10 October. Chow, accurately sensing the trend of the times, retired from official life in China and went to live in Hong Kong. Reportedly, he declined an offer from Prince Ch'ing, the president of the Board of Foreign Affairs, to become minister to a European country.

Shouson Chow was 50 years old when he went to Hong Kong in 1911. He had dedicated three decades to public service in the land of his ancestors, had established a distinguished and successful career, and had received many decorations. He did not enter politics in Hong Kong, in the sense that he held no official posts. He identified himself with the colony's varied commercial and industrial interests, became associated with a host of enterprises, and served as a director of many corporations, including the Hongkong Electric Company; the Hongkong Telephone Company; Hongkong Tramways; A. S. Watson & Company; the Bank of East Asia; the China Entertainment and Land Investment Company; the China Emporium; the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company; and the Hongkong Yaumati Ferry Company.

Shouson Chow's immediate and phenomenal success in Hong Kong and his illustrious record on the mainland made it natural for him to be called upon to work in the public interest as a responsible citizen. In 1920 he was made a justice of the peace. In 1921 he was appointed an unofficial member of the Legislative and

Executive councils of the Hong Kong government. The same year he was elected to the Council and Court of the University of Hong Kong, from which institution he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1935. He sat on many commissions appointed by the government, and in 1924 he was associate commissioner of the Hong Kong section of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley. He served on many public welfare and philanthropic organizations, among them the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, the Po Leung Kuk (an organization for the protection of women and children), and the Town Planning Committee.

In 1928, when he was 68, Shouson Chow was knighted by King George V and henceforth became known as Sir Shouson Chow. The investiture, held at Government House, was conducted by Prince George (later Duke of Kent), the son of George V, who was then serving in the Royal Navy in Hong Kong. It was the first time in the colony's history that a member of the British royal house had officiated at such a ceremony. Through the years, Sir Shouson also received various decorations from the British Government.

In the later years of his life, though he was retired from active business affairs, Sir Shouson Chow continued to give his service to public interests. When he retired from the Legislative and Executive councils in 1937, he was given the unprecedented privilege by King George V of retaining the title Honorable before his name, a title normally used in Hong Kong only by active members of these two councils. Despite advancing years, he retained his health and vigor and visited his office in the Bank of East Asia every morning. He built a mansion, called Pine Villa, on an incline at Shouson Hill, a site he had developed. Lady Chow died in 1933, and he did not remarry.

Toward the end of his life, Sir Shouson Chow was fond of reminiscing about his youthful days, particularly those which he had spent as a student in the United States from 1873 to 1881. He frequently reminded younger Chinese students who had studied in America that he was very much their senior. Indeed, by his ninetieth birthday he was reportedly one of three living members of the group of 120 pupils. Even in his later years, he was a lively and witty public speaker, invariably disdaining a microphone. He also delighted in enlightening young

Americans of conditions in their country as they had been three quarters of a century before.

Sir Shouson Chow died at his home in Hong Kong in 1959, at the age of 98. Following the example of Sir Robert Ho-tung (Ho Tung, q.v.), he was baptized an Anglican on his deathbed.

Chou Chih-jou

Orig. Chou Pai-fu

周至柔

周百福

Chou Chih-jou (1899-), military officer important in the development of the Chinese Air Force. He was commandant of the Central Aviation Academy in 1934, chairman of the Aeronautical Affairs Commission in 1936, and chief of staff of the Chinese Air Force 1943-52. After serving as chief of general staff 1950-57, he became governor of Taiwan. In 1962 he was appointed personal chief of staff to Chiang Kai-shek.

Born at Tung-teng-chen, Linhai hsien, Chekiang, Chou Chih-jou was the second of three sons and had one sister. His father, Chou Tzu-shan, who died when Chou was 12, held the first military degree under the Ch'ing government and operated an herb-medicine shop; his mother's name was Hou. After being graduated from the local primary school and from the Chekiang Sixth Middle School at Linhai, Chou went to north China in 1919 to enroll in the Paoting Military Academy. He was graduated from the infantry course at Paoting in 1922 in the eighth class, which also included Ch'en Ch'eng (q.v.) and Lo Cho-ying.

From 1922 to 1924 Chou served as a second lieutenant in training with the 2nd Division, stationed in Chekiang. In 1924 he went to Canton. There he was involved in a local incident and changed his name to Chou Chih-jou from Chou Pai-fu. In 1925 he joined the military unit headed by Ch'en Ch'eng, who commanded an artillery battalion in the first eastern expedition against Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.) in early 1925. Chou participated in that expedition, and in 1925 he became an instructor at the Whampoa Military Academy, where he served under Chiang Kai-shek.

In the Northern Expedition, launched in July 1926, Chou first served as executive officer of the 63rd (reserve) Regiment, 21st Division. In 1927-28, he commanded that regiment. When

the national military forces were reorganized after the overthrow of the Peking government in June 1928, Chou was made director of the administrative office for the upper Yangtze region, under the military and political bureau of the Military Affairs Commission. In 1930, with the outbreak of the war against the so-called northern coalition (*see* Yen Hsi-shan) he was appointed chief of staff of the 11th Division; soon afterward, he became commander of its 33rd Brigade.

In 1931, after participating in the third Nationalist military campaign against the Chinese Communists based in Kiangsi, Chou was made deputy commander of the 14th Division under Ch'en Ch'eng; at the end of 1932, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general and was given command of that division. The Eighteenth Army, commanded by Ch'en Ch'eng, then was divided into three columns. Chou's division was assigned to the column commanded by Wu Ch'i-wei, and Chou held the concurrent position of deputy column commander. One of the other columns was commanded by his old classmate Lo Cho-ying.

Chou then became deputy commander of the Eighteenth Army. However, he had disputes with Cantonese officers in the Eighteenth Army command, and with Lo Cho-ying in particular. Moreover, his force met defeat in the fifth campaign against the Communists, which began in 1933. He was relieved of his command and was sent abroad in 1933 on an inspection tour to study foreign methods of teaching military aviation. He visited Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, and the United States to survey military aviation schools, airfields, and airplane factories.

After returning to China in 1934 Chou Chih-jou became commandant of the Central Aviation Academy, located near Hangchow. The Japanese had established the new state of Manchoukuo in 1932 and were advancing into north China. The National Government began to build up the Chinese Air Force. In July 1936 the entire Canton air force of Ch'en Chi-t'ang (q.v.) defected to the Nationalist side, thus increasing the number of both men and planes in the Chinese Air Force. Later that year, Chou Chih-jou was made the director of the Aeronautical Affairs Commission, and the program for the development of air power in China was expanded. The Italian government sent an

advisory group to China to assist in the training of Chinese pilots and to sell Italian planes to the National Government. However, after Lieutenant Colonel Claire L. Chennault retired from the United States Army (air corps) to offer his services as a flying instructor to the Chinese Aviation Academy, the Aeronautical Affairs Commission decided to use, for the most part, British and American planes.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in July 1937, Chou Chih-jou was made commanding officer of the advance headquarters of the Chinese Air Force. Madame Chiang Kai-shek (Soong Mei-ling, q.v.) became secretary general of the Aeronautical Affairs Commission and held that post until 1938. Starting with the bombing of the Hangchow air base on 14 August 1937, the Japanese soon destroyed the Chinese Air Force. In 1938 Chou was appointed commandant of the Central Air Force Academy at Kunming. From 1938 to 1940, the Soviet Union supplied China with planes, spare parts, aviation fuel, and "volunteer" pilots to continue the air war against the Japanese. In 1941, Chou again became the director of the Aeronautical Affairs Commission, then located at Chungking. He retained that post until the Japanese surrendered in 1945.

In 1940, Chou also received command of the Air Staff College, which he directed until 1941. In addition, he served as the director of the first department of Chiang Kai-shek's attendance office. In November 1940, Mao Pang-ch'u, director of the operations division of the Chinese Air Force, accompanied by Colonel Chennault, went to the United States with the mission of obtaining 500 fighter aircraft—complete with American crews. From that mission, China obtained a loan of US\$100 million, which it used to purchase 100 P-40s. After the Lend-Lease Act was signed in March 1941, China requested 1,000 aircraft. When the United States entered the War in the Pacific in December 1941, the military group around Chiang Kai-shek and his wife, including Chennault, Chou Chih-jou, and Mao Pang-ch'u, began to compete with the military ground-force group supported by Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell for the American military supplies being flown into China from India. In 1943 Colonel Chennault was made chief of staff of the Chinese Air Force. Mao Pang-ch'u became deputy director of the Aeronautical Affairs

Commission under Chou Chih-jou. In November of that year, Chou accompanied Chiang Kai-shek to the Cairo Conference as an adviser. Under the direction of Chou, Mao, and Chen-nault, approximately 10,000 men were trained, in various technical categories, at the Air Force Academy (which was moved in 1942 from Kunming to Lahore, India) and in the United States. Ambitious plans were made for the establishment, after the war, of a national aviation industry in China. In May 1945 Chou was elected a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

In June 1946 the Aeronautical Affairs Commission was reorganized as the Headquarters of the Commanding General of the Chinese Air Force, and Chou Chih-jou received the commander's post. Mao Pang-ch'u was appointed his deputy. Chou worked to establish a permanent system of organization, training, and supply for the Chinese Air Force. Chou Chih-jou held that position throughout the civil war, during which the Chinese Air Force proved ineffective in the fight against the highly mobile Communists, who possessed no air power. In 1949 Chou handled the retreat of the Chinese Air Force and its personnel, including families, to the island of Taiwan. In 1950, after the National Government and large numbers of ground forces had gone to Taiwan, Chou was given the concurrent post of chief of general staff of the Chinese Armed Forces. In Taiwan he became director of the party affairs reorganization committee of the Chinese Air Force in 1950. In 1952, he was elected a member of the standing committee of the Kuomintang Central Committee, which had replaced the Central Executive Committee.

In 1952, because of the increasing weight of his duties as chief of general staff of the Chinese Armed Forces, he relinquished command of the Chinese Air Force. After the outbreak of the Korean war in June 1950 and the stationing of the United States 7th Fleet in the Taiwan Strait, the United States in May 1951 had resumed its program of aid to the Chinese Nationalists. As chief of general staff, Chou Chih-jou coordinated the allocation of American military aid to the Chinese armed services in Taiwan and laid the basis for the new Nationalist Army charged with the mission of recovering the mainland. In 1957, in his capacity as chief of general staff of the Chinese Armed Forces,

Chou Chih-jou visited the United States at the invitation of the Department of Defense to inspect military installations. He became governor of the province of Taiwan in August 1957, with the concurrent post of commander of the island's peace preservation headquarters. In May-June 1961, he visited the United States at the invitation of the Department of State. He was succeeded as governor of Taiwan in November 1962 by Huang Chieh (1903-), another veteran Nationalist general, a Whampoa graduate who had previously been commander of the Taiwan Garrison Command. Chou Chih-jou then became personal chief of staff to Chiang Kai-shek.

Chou married Wang Ch'ing-lien, and they had two children. Their daughter died at an early age. Their son, Chou I-hsi, studied in the United States from 1949 to 1957 and later worked in a textile company in Taiwan.

Chou En-lai
Alt. Shao-shan

周恩來
少山

Chou En-lai (1898-), the leading international spokesman for the People's Republic of China, served as foreign minister and as the principal executive officer in the Central People's Government.

Although his native place was Huaian, Kiangsu, Chou En-lai was born in Shaohsing, Chekiang, where his family belonged to the local gentry and owned a small business. He had a younger brother, Chou En-shou. Although his father, Chou Yun-liang, passed the civil service examinations, he never received an appointment. Chou's mother reportedly was well read in traditional Chinese literature. His father died while Chou En-lai was still a child, and the family finances became straitened after the turn of the century. Chou was sent to live with his grandfather in the Huaian district of northern Kiangsu, where he received a traditional education in the Chinese classics. Chou then was sent to Mukden to live with an uncle (his father's older brother), who was a police official. In Mukden, he attended the Hui-wen School.

After being graduated from primary school, Chou En-lai was sent to Tientsin in 1912 to attend the Nankai Middle School, directed by

the prominent educator Chang Po-ling. Like many of his contemporaries, Chou was attracted to the writings of strongly nationalist scholars of the early Ch'ing period, notably Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682) and Wang Fu-chih (1619-1692). Chou En-lai frequently contributed to school publications, and he took part in school theatrical performances. With several schoolmates, he established a small study group known as the Chin-yeh lo-chün [respect work and enjoy group life] society. He was graduated from the Nankai Middle School in 1917 in the same class with K. C. Wu, who later became a prominent official in the National Government.

With financial assistance provided by his uncle, Chou went to Japan in the autumn of 1917. He lived in Tokyo, where he studied Japanese and enrolled as an extramural student at Waseda University. Later, he moved to Kyoto, where he attended lectures given by Kawakami Hajime, the chairman of the department of economics at Kyoto University, who was becoming interested in Marxist economic theory. Chou also took part in the activities of the Hsin Chung-kuo t'ung-hsueh hui [new China students' association], made up of Chinese students in Japan, and through that organization he kept informed of the shifting patterns of student opinion in China.

After the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement of 1919, political activities among the students in north China increased, and the Tientsin students organized a student association. At the urging of his friend Ma Chün (who was executed as a Communist in 1927), a leader in the new student group, Chou returned to China and became the editor of a newspaper published by the Tientsin student association. In the autumn of 1919 he enrolled at Nankai University at Tientsin, founded that year by Chang Po-ling. However, like many other Chinese students of the period, Chou was at least as devoted to political activities as he was to his studies. In September 1919 he was prominent in the formation of the Chueh-wu she [awakening society], formed by students from Nankai and from the First Girls Normal School of Tientsin; it was dedicated to the belief that social progress should be based upon the self-awareness of the individual. Its program embraced humanitarianism, socialism, and anarchism. It began to publish a magazine, *Chueh-wu* [awakening], on 20 January 1920. In

the winter of 1919-20, Chou also joined a small discussion group established at Peking University under the guidance of Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao (qq.v.) for the study of Marxist theory. Mao Tse-tung was also a member of that circle. The activities of the Chueh-wu she attracted the attention of the Tientsin police, and Chou and a number of other leaders of the group were jailed after participating in an anti-Japanese student demonstration. After several months, the students were released, primarily as a result of the efforts of Chang Po-ling, the president of Nankai University; Yen Hsiu, Chang Po-ling's mentor and a prominent citizen of Tientsin; and Liu Ch'ung-yu (d. 1941), a lawyer and the editor of the Peking *Ch'en Pao* [morning post].

After his release from jail, Chou En-lai joined the group of Chinese students who left for France in October 1920 under the auspices of the work-study program (*see* Li Shih-tseng). When he arrived in France, Chou, who had not yet committed himself politically, set about exploring Western creeds that might be relevant to the needs of twentieth-century China. He became acquainted with Chinese students from Hunan province who had been associated with Ts'ai Ho-sen (q.v.) and Mao Tse-tung in the Hsin-min hsueh-hui [new people's study society] at Changsha in the 1918-20 period. Ts'ai Ho-sen was in France in 1920, and he was a leading figure in the group of Chinese studying at the College de Montargis south of Paris.

While in France, Chou En-lai did not enroll at any school. He apparently supported himself by working at odd jobs. His proletarian life in France apparently was limited to a two-week stint at the Renault automobile works in Paris. At some time he became a Marxist. After that time Chou devoted himself almost completely to political work. He traveled in France and Germany to influence Chinese student opinion. In Berlin, he first met Chu Teh (q.v.). Chou probably was not in Paris when a branch of the China Socialist Youth Corps was formed there in the winter of 1921, but he knew many of its original members well; most were young Chinese from Hunan and Szechwan. By July 1922, Chou had returned from Germany to France. When in an obscure Paris hotel a small group formally established the European headquarters of the Chinese Communist party, he was present. Others active in that nascent group were Chao Shih-yen, Li Fu-ch'un, Li Li-san, and Wang

Jo-fei, as well as Ch'en Yen-nien (q.v.) and Ch'en Ch'iao-nien, the two sons of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, then the general secretary of the Chinese Communist party. Chou did not work full time at headquarters, but he was a frequent contributor to its publications, notably *Shao-nien* [youth] and *Ch'ih-kuang* [red light]. He wrote under the pseudonym Wu-hao. Early in 1923 some of the Chinese students left France for the Soviet Union, where they were offered free education at the University for Toilers of the East. Chou became active in recruiting students for the university, and he traveled to Belgium and Germany for that purpose.

Chou's activities in Europe during 1923-24 consisted principally in promoting the interests of the Chinese Communist party and the Kuomintang; the Chinese Communists, on Comintern instructions, then were allied with the Kuomintang branch organization in Berlin. In March 1924, when the Kuomintang established a European headquarters at Paris, Chou and two other Communists, Jen Cho-hsuan (q.v.) and Li Fu-ch'un, joined its executive committee. Opposition groups among the Chinese students in Europe included the anarchists and a right-wing nationalist group which opposed the Kuomintang-Communist united front and the pro-Russian orientation of the two parties. The nationalist group headed by Tseng Ch'i and Li Huang (qq.v.), formed a separate political party, the Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien-tang [China youth party] at Paris in December 1923. In spite of disputes and occasional fights among the contending factions, the majority of the young Chinese in Western Europe during the early 1920's were united in advocating a strong and unified China and in assailing the ineffectual Chinese government at Peking and the foreign powers which exploited its impotence for their own purposes. The clashes among the factions, therefore, usually ended in peace talks. In such negotiations, Chou En-lai, often accompanied by Hsu T'e-li (q.v.), spoke for the Communists.

An entry in Tseng Ch'i's diary confirms Chou En-lai's presence in Paris as late as 7 June 1924. Soon thereafter, Chou returned to China, visited his family, and went to Canton, where Sun Yat-sen was planning a nationalist revolution based on the Kuomintang-Communist alliance and on military and other aid from Russia. At Canton, Chou was appointed in 1924 as a secretary of the

Kwangtung provincial committee of the Chinese Communist party. He also became deputy director of the political department of the Whampoa Military Academy. Chiang Kai-shek was commandant at Whampoa, and Liao Chung-k'ai (q.v.) was the senior Kuomintang representative in charge of political affairs. Tai Chi-t'ao (q.v.) served under Liao as head of the political department. Although Chou was only in his mid-twenties, he held a position of considerable responsibility. Tai often was absent from Whampoa; at such times, Chou directed the political department. He also acted as a secretary to General Bluecher (known as Galen), the Russian military adviser to Chiang Kai-shek.

In August 1925 the Kuomintang armed forces in Kwangtung were reorganized as the National Revolutionary Army, with Chiang Kai-shek in command of its First Army. The 1st Division of the First Army, composed of Whampoa cadets, was commanded by Ho Ying-ch'in (q.v.). Chou En-lai was appointed party representative and head of the political department of that division. In October 1925 the 1st Division was ordered into action in the second eastern expedition against the military forces of Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.) in Kwangtung. That campaign was brought to a successful conclusion in the winter of 1925, and Nationalist troops captured Swatow. Chou En-lai then became special commissioner of the East River district of Kwangtung and directed the organization of trade unions at Swatow to support Canton's political program.

During the winter of 1925 there was friction between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists. The tension became acute in March 1926 when Chiang Kai-shek arrested the captain of a naval gunboat at Canton on the charge that he was attempting a Communist coup. Chiang utilized the incident to remove all Communists at Whampoa from posts of responsibility. Chou En-lai, who was then at Swatow, according to report was arrested and detained for a short time in the aftermath of this affair, but was released on Chiang Kai-shek's orders. Chou privately agreed with Ch'en Tu-hsiu in contending against Chiang Kai-shek's urgency in undertaking a military campaign designed to break the power of the generals who controlled north and central China. Nevertheless, Chou continued to push compromise

measures intended to preserve the agreement reached and to participate in some sort of alliance at Canton.

After the Northern Expedition began in July 1926, Chou traveled secretly to Shanghai, where he worked for several months to organize labor unions and other groups as a preliminary step toward breaking the control of Sun Ch'uan-fang (q.v.) in the lower Yangtze valley. In March 1927 Chou directed the general strike of Communist-controlled unions at Shanghai, which laid the city open to the Nationalist military forces and which shocked the Western powers into recognition of the revolutionary potential of a Communist-controlled mass movement. A month later, when Chiang Kai-shek struck against the Communists, Chou En-lai, who was still using the pseudonym Wu-hao, was arrested and imprisoned. The Nationalist general Pai Ch'ung-hsi (q.v.), who was present at Chou's interrogation, reportedly was impressed by Chou's courageous bearing, did not probe his case, and permitted him to go free. A fictionalized account of the turbulence of Shanghai in 1927 is given in André Malraux's novel *La condition humaine* (*Man's Fate*), in which the Communist protagonist, Kyo Gisors, supposedly is modeled on Chou En-lai.

By the time the Chinese Communist party convened its Fifth National Congress at Hankow in April 1927, its Shanghai apparatus had been driven underground. The tensions between the Communists and the left-Kuomintang leaders of the Wuhan regime were reflected within the Chinese Communist party leadership, which gave birth to bitter debate about the Comintern-sponsored policy of continued alliance with the Kuomintang. Ch'en Tu-hsiu was reelected to the position of general secretary of the party, but he faced growing opposition from party members, notably Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (q.v.) and his associates. In 1927 Chou was elected for the first time to the Central Committee of the party and to its military committee. According to Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's 1928 book, *Chung-kuo ko-ming yü Chung-kuo kung-ch'an-tang* [the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Communist party], Chou also was elected to the Political Bureau in the spring of 1927. He apparently remained at Wuhan until July, when a purge of the Communists was carried out by Wang Ching-wei and the Kuomintang authorities there. On 22 July 1927 he went to Kiukiang.

Official Communist statements give Chou En-lai and Chu Teh the major credit for directing the insurrection of 1 August 1927 at Nanchang, an uprising which was later celebrated as the birthdate of the Chinese Red Army. In fact, the organizational structure and chain of command in the Chinese Communist party in the summer of 1927 were not clearly defined, and uprisings were directed primarily by men on the spot. By the time Chou En-lai reached Nanchang, most of the planning had been completed by Yeh T'ing, Ho Lung (qq.v.), and others. Because they were unable to hold Nanchang, the Communists retreated southward, hoping to establish a Kwangtung base. After marching through Kiangsi and Fukien, they attacked Swatow and held it from 23 to 30 September. Then the Nationalists recaptured it. At Swatow, Chou suffered an attack of malaria and was escorted by fellow-Communists to Hong Kong, where he received medical treatment. After the Communist attempt to seize Canton in December 1927 ended in debacle, he returned to Shanghai.

In 1928 Chou went to Russia to attend the Sixth National Congress of the Chinese Communist party. He was reelected to both the Central Committee and the Political Bureau and was named to direct the party's military committee and its organization department, though he later relinquished command of the organization department to Li Wei-han (q.v.). Chou was also a member of the Chinese Communist delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow. For a brief period he attended Sun Yat-sen University, and received formal indoctrination in Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary strategy.

Hsiang Chung-fa (q.v.) was elected general secretary of the Chinese Communist party in 1928. Its policies were, however, determined by Li Li-san. The central apparatus, operating underground in Shanghai, continued to stress urban uprisings rather than mobilization of the peasants. Chou returned from Moscow in 1929 to assume direction of the military committee of the party. In 1930 he went to Moscow, ostensibly as a representative of the Workers and Peasants Red Army, to brief the Comintern on the Chinese Communist view of the situation in China. He soon returned to China, where he played a leading role at the important third plenum of the sixth Central Committee, which

met in September 1930. Chou, presumably acting on Comintern instructions, criticized Li Li-san's political policies, but he argued that those policies differed from the Comintern line in degree rather than in basic conception. The Executive Committee of the Comintern soon took action which led to the political downfall of Li Li-san in November 1930.

At the fourth plenum of the sixth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party, which met at Shanghai in January 1931, a group of young Russian-trained Chinese Communists (*see* Ch'en Shao-yü) directed by Pavel Mif, the Comintern representative in China, gained control of the central apparatus of the party. At that meeting the so-called Li Li-san line was discredited, and Chou En-lai and Ch'ü Ch'iupai were charged with having treated Li's political errors too lightly. Chou recanted, confessed his "mistaken attitude," and called on the entire Chinese Communist party to "condemn my mistakes." He retained his membership on both the Central Committee and the Political Bureau and continued to head the military committee of the Central Committee.

The central apparatus of the Chinese Communist party, which was under increasingly heavy police pressure in Shanghai, necessarily turned its attention to strengthening relations with the rural bases that had been developed after 1928 under the direction of Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung. Chou En-lai was personally connected with the Communists in Kiangsi, and in the spring of 1931 he left Shanghai for the central Communist base area in southeastern Kiangsi. He was a delegate to the first All-China Congress of Soviets, which was convened at Juichin on 7 November 1931, the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Mao Tse-tung was elected chairman of the newly established Chinese soviet government, and Chou En-lai was elected to its central executive committee.

During the next three years in Kiangsi, Chou En-lai continued to hold prominent positions in the military and political councils of the Chinese Communist party. In 1932 he was named to a key post in Kiangsi: political commissar of the First Front Army, which was commanded by Chu Teh. At the fifth plenum of the sixth Central Committee, held at Juichin in January 1934, Chou En-lai was reelected to the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. The same month, he was reelected to membership on the

central executive committee of the Kiangsi government structure at the second All-China Congress of Soviets, which reelected Mao Tse-tung chairman. In Kiangsi, Chou worked closely with Chu Teh; at the same time he had little difficulty in maintaining cordial relations with such rising Communists as Ch'en Yi, Li Fu-ch'un, Nieh Jung-chen, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and others whom he had known in Europe or who had been subordinate to him as political officers at Whampoa.

Late in 1934 the combination of Nationalist military pressure and Communist errors forced the evacuation of the principal base in Kiangsi. As head of the military committee, Chou played an important part in planning the evacuation which preceded the Long March. According to official Chinese Communist reports, Mao Tse-tung gained control of the central apparatus of the Chinese Communist party at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau held at Tsunyi, Kweichow, in January 1935. Mao then became the director of the military committee, and Chou served as his deputy. In the summer of 1935, the Communist marchers from Kiangsi joined forces with the Fourth Front Army, headed by Chang Kuo-t'ao and Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien (qq.v.), which had moved to Szechwan from the Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei soviet base. Sharp differences arose between the two groups with respect to political policies and final destination. The controversy temporarily divided the Communist forces, and only those men accompanying Mao, as did Chou En-lai and other leaders of the First Front Army, proceeded northward to Shensi province. They arrived in Shensi in October 1935.

After the Chinese Communists had established a new headquarters in northern Shensi in 1935, they began to develop a national united front to resist Japanese aggression. Chou En-lai gained new prominence as a negotiator. In 1936 Chou held informal talks with Chang Hsueh-liang, who was stationed at Sian with the mission of containing the Communists in Shensi. Because Chang Hsueh-liang was more interested in recovering Manchuria than in continuing the Chinese civil war, Chou was able to convince him of the practicability of the Communist proposals for a united front against the Japanese. The result was the quiet termination of military operations against the Communists. In December 1936 Chiang Kai-shek himself flew to Sian

to assume personal direction of a new general offensive against the Communist forces. Because Chiang had rejected their proposals for a united front, Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng (q.v.) seized him and confronted him with political and military demands. (For the story of this incident, see Chang Hsueh-liang.) Shortly thereafter, Chang sent his own airplane to Paoan, then the Chinese Communist headquarters, to bring back a Communist delegation headed by Chou En-lai to discuss the situation. The delegation, which arrived at Sian on 15 December, included such ranking Communists as Yeh Chien-ying and Ch'in Pang-hsien. At Sian, the Chinese Communists, armed with the information that Moscow favored the preservation of Chiang Kai-shek as the national leader of China, helped to arrange a compromise settlement. Chiang Kai-shek was released on 25 December. It was generally believed in China that Chou En-lai's participation in the Sian discussions had helped to save Chiang's life.

The Sian Incident of December 1936 prepared the way for the establishment of a new political alliance between the Communists and the Kuomintang, and it virtually ensured the outbreak of war with Japan. During the first six months of 1937 Chou made frequent trips from Yenan to Nanking to conduct negotiations with National Government representatives. In September, two months after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang set forth the terms of their collaboration in a political agreement which provided for bi-party solidarity against Japan and for the formal integration of the Communist forces into the military establishment of the National Government.

In 1938, when the National Government established the People's Political Council as a forum for opinion regarding the war effort, Chou headed the Communist delegation. The same year he was named deputy director of the political department of the Military Affairs Commission. His official relationship to Chiang Kai-shek thus became roughly similar to what it had been at the Whampoa Military Academy in 1925. Chou remained at his liaison post at Hankow until that city fell to the Japanese. He then returned to Yenan to attend the enlarged sixth plenum of the sixth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party, which met in October 1938. When in Shensi, Chou broke his

arm in a fall from a horse. In September 1939 Chou went to Moscow for medical treatment. He remained in the Soviet Union for six months, and informed observers in China generally assumed that he utilized the interlude to confer with Soviet officials about Far Eastern problems. Chou returned to China in March 1940, went to Yenan for consultation, and then flew to Chungking, the wartime capital of the National Government, where he was named to membership on the Supreme National Defense Council. He also resumed his position as principal Chinese Communist liaison officer.

Affable and persuasive, Chou En-lai devoted himself primarily to activities designed to present the Yenan case and to mobilize maximum political support for the Chinese Communist cause. One obvious target was the small but relatively influential group of Chinese scholars and liberal intellectuals who, for various reasons, were disenchanted with the political policies and the programs of the Kuomintang. The creation of the China Democratic League (see Chang Lan), was generally conceded to have been a notable demonstration of Chou En-lai's ability to mobilize anti-Kuomintang sentiment. Through the New China News Agency, the Chinese Communist propaganda center in Chungking, Chou and others supervised a steady and subtle propaganda program designed to attract the loyalties of students and other young Chinese to the Communist cause. Chou also was aware of the potential importance of international journalism. He was always available to Western newsmen, and his quick intelligence and casual manner made him a popular figure with the foreign community at Chungking. He also invited selected correspondents to visit Yenan, with the result that generally favorable news reports about the Communist area began to appear intermittently in the Western press. Nor did Chou neglect the Western diplomats who were responsible for political reporting from Chungking.

In January 1941, the clash between Nationalist troops under Ku Chu-t'ung (q.v.) and the Communist New Fourth Army in the lower Yangtze area (see Yeh T'ing), marked the beginning of the end of the unstable political alliance between the Kuomintang and the Communists. Chou En-lai, who was then at Chungking, recognized the gravity of the incident, but continued to carry on his activities. Disregarding

his personal safety, he called press conferences and utilized the facilities of the Chinese Communist press at Chungking to present the Communist version of the clash and to denounce Nationalist provocations. His efforts were not unrewarded, for the Communist liaison delegation at Chungking received some public support. After the New Fourth Army Incident of January 1941, the Communists withdrew all members from the People's Political Council except Tung Pi-wu (q.v.), who continued to make token appearances.

After the summer of 1943, as a result of strained political relations with the Nationalists, Chou spent more time at Yenan with Mao Tse-tung and the other leaders of the Chinese Communist party. From July 1943 until November 1944 Lin Po-ch'ü (q.v.) acted for Chou as the Communist representative at Chungking. Because this was a period of unprecedented expansion of Communist political and military power behind the Japanese lines in north China, Chou worked to familiarize himself with the general political and military situation in the countryside and to strengthen personal ties with the top command at Yenan. Late in 1944 he returned to Chungking for discussions with Chiang Kai-shek about establishing a coalition government in China. The discussions, a result of an American mediation effort, were not successful. When the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist party met at Yenan in April 1945, Chou made a full report on negotiations with the National Government and on the international situation. At the conclusion of the congress in June, he was reelected to the Central Committee and to the Political Bureau of the party. He also was elected to the Secretariat, which, in addition to Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, then included Chu Teh, Jen Pi-shih, and Liu Shao-ch'i. Chou also became a vice chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, the party's top military planning organ.

As the Second World War drew to a close, the United States entered Chinese political life directly in an attempt to mediate the Kuomintang-Communist conflict. The United States government urged direct negotiations between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung. Shortly after the Japanese surrender, Patrick J. Hurley, the American ambassador, flew to Yenan and personally escorted Mao, accompanied by Chou En-lai and other advisers, to Chungking on 28

August 1945. In the working-level discussions of the next six weeks, the Communists were represented by Chou En-lai and Wang Jo-fei and the Nationalists by Chang Ch'ün (q.v.), assisted by Wang Shih-chieh and Shao Li-tzu (qq.v.). Although the real issues were not resolved and the talks reached a stalemate on the central issue of military forces, plans were made to convene a political consultative conference at which the major factions would be represented.

The arrival in China of General George C. Marshall as special representative of the President of the United States introduced a new element into the situation. Chou En-lai was at the airport at Chungking to welcome General Marshall on 22 December 1945; T. V. Soong (q.v.) represented the Nationalists. In the ensuing discussions with General Marshall, Chou En-lai served as the principal Chinese Communist negotiator, and Chang Ch'ün represented Chiang Kai-shek and the National Government. In January 1946 a Committee of Three, which included General Marshall, Chang Ch'ün, and Chou En-lai, was established to implement a preliminary cease-fire agreement negotiated under Marshall's direction on 7 January. Despite the lack of basic agreement, the Political Consultative Conference was convened in January 1946 to work toward the resolution of outstanding issues. The conference was composed of eight representatives from the Kuomintang, including Chang Ch'ün; seven from the Chinese Communist party, including Chou En-lai; fourteen from other minor political parties; and nine non-partisan. At its first session, a truce agreement was signed by Chou En-lai and Chang Ch'ün.

Although the Political Consultative Conference proved to be ineffectual, the Committee of Three continued to carry on negotiations in an attempt to work out practical terms for unification of the National Government and Communist military forces. The difficulties proved to be insuperable. The Chinese Communists then controlled regular military forces numbering over 900,000 men and administered areas of China inhabited by over 90,000,000 people, and they had no real intention of abandoning their holdings. In the ensuing negotiations, which began at Chungking and moved to Nanking in early 1946 after the National Government returned there, both Chou En-lai and his

opponents became increasingly intractable. In the countryside, where the decisive campaigns of the Chinese civil war were soon to be fought, cease-fire arrangements gradually broke down. In April 1946, a group of Chinese Communists, including several of Chou's close associates (*see* Wang Jo-fei), were killed while flying from Chungking to Shensi. Chou was deeply shaken because he suspected that the plane had been sabotaged. Despite the bitter mutual recriminations which clouded the Nationalist-Communist confrontations at Nanking, Chou persisted in his efforts to convince General Marshall of the validity of the Chinese Communist position. He also devoted regular attention to press relations, meeting both Chinese and Western correspondents at Nanking with unfailing tact and eloquence. Even after civil war broke out again in the summer of 1946, Chou remained at the seat of the National Government to preserve a channel of communications. He finally left for Yenan on 19 November 1946, after stating that he saw no possibility of early resumption of talks and that he did not know whether he would return to Nanking if such talks were to be held. However, the Chinese Communists did not completely close the door to renewed negotiations. A small liaison mission, headed by Tung Pi-wu, Chou's former deputy at Chungking, remained in Nationalist territory during the winter of 1946.

Chou En-lai spent the critical months of the Chinese civil war in the countryside of northwest China with Mao Tse-tung and the top political command of the Chinese Communist party. In March 1947, when an anticipated Nationalist drive forced the Communists to evacuate Yenan, Mao, Chou En-lai, and Jen Pi-shih remained in the Shensi hinterland, while Liu Shao-ch'i, Chu Teh, and an alternate working committee moved to the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei base area. In the spring of 1949 the top Communist leaders were reunited in Hopei at the second plenum of the seventh Central Committee. At the end of March 1949 Chou and the other top leaders moved to Peiping to press forward with the preparatory work required to organize a new national government in China. Chou played a key role in the planning meetings which took place in the summer months of 1949.

After the inauguration of the Central People's Government on 1 October 1949, Chou En-lai

was elected premier of the Government Administration Council. When the government at Peking was reorganized in the autumn of 1954, he became premier of the State Council, which replaced the Government Administration Council. Thus, Chou was the principal administrator of the large civil bureaucracy created by the Chinese Communists to carry out their major domestic tasks: consolidation of effective political control over the mainland of China and implementation of programs designed to reorganize Chinese society and to mobilize manpower, resources, and capital to gain national economic self-sufficiency and sustained economic growth.

In addition to his government responsibilities, Chou En-lai was the ranking member of the Chinese Communist party top command assigned to serve as spokesman for Peking's official policies in dealing with non-Communist groups in China. From 1949 to 1954 he served as vice chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and in December 1954 he succeeded Mao Tse-tung as chairman of that group. Chou also was the senior official at Peking who set forth and supervised the campaigns which the Chinese Communist party used to organize and direct public participation in and support of official programs. After 1950 Chou was also the principal spokesman of the Central People's Government on the accomplishments, shortcomings, problems, and programs of the regime, and his official reports constitute a comprehensive record of internal developments in the People's Republic of China.

Chou En-lai bore heavy responsibilities in the sphere of foreign affairs. He became the first foreign minister of the Central People's Government in October 1949 and was closely identified with all major international policies pursued by that government. Indeed, Chou became the public voice of the People's Republic of China throughout the world.

In November 1949 and in January 1950 Chou cabled the headquarters of the United Nations and demanded the ouster of the delegates from the Republic of China, whom he labeled "Kuo-mintang reactionary clique representatives."

Although he did not accompany Mao Tse-tung on Mao's initial journey to the Soviet Union in December 1949, Chou arrived in Moscow on 21 January 1950 and participated

in the later stages of the extended Chinese Communist negotiations with Stalin. On 14 February 1950 Chou signed the 30-year Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance concluded at the Kremlin. A. Y. Vyshinsky, the Soviet minister of foreign affairs, signed for the Soviet Union. The treaty (*see Mao Tse-tung*) and related agreements provided the basis for a new alliance between the two principal Communist powers and for Russian economic, technical, and military assistance to China.

The outbreak of the Korean war in June 1950 gave rise to new political and military problems in the Far East. For a time, the Chinese Communist leaders appeared to be more concerned with the Taiwan policy of the United States than with the fighting in Korea. On 27 June, President Harry S. Truman ordered the United States Seventh Fleet to position itself in the Taiwan Strait. Within 24 hours, Chou En-lai had denounced the American move as "armed aggression against the territory of China in total violation of the United Nations charter."

On 20 August 1950 Chou En-lai sent a cable to the United Nations which stated that "Korea is China's neighbor. The Chinese people cannot but be concerned about solution of the Korean question." However, several weeks passed without more precise definition of that concern. Then, on 30 September 1950, Chou, in a speech at Peking, implied that the crossing of the 38th parallel by United Nations troops would be deemed cause for war. He stated that "the Chinese people absolutely will not tolerate foreign aggression, nor will they supinely tolerate seeing their neighbors being savagely invaded by the imperialists." On 1 October, forces from the Republic of Korea crossed the 38th parallel, and General Douglas MacArthur broadcast an ultimatum to Pyongyang, calling upon it to surrender. Ambassador K. M. Panikkar, the Indian diplomatic representative at Peking, relayed specific warnings of possible Chinese intervention to the Western powers concerned. In his report on his ambassadorship, *In Two Chinas* (1955), Panikkar asserted that Chou En-lai summoned him to a midnight meeting at the ministry of foreign affairs on the night of 2 October and informed him that if United States troops crossed the 38th parallel and entered North Korean territory Communist China would be forced to intervene.

On 7 October 1950 the United Nations General Assembly in New York endorsed "all appropriate steps to ensure conditions of stability throughout Korea," units of the United States 1st Cavalry Division moved north of the 38th parallel, and the combined United Nations forces advanced rapidly toward the Manchurian border. On or about 16 October, "volunteer" units of the Chinese Communist Fourth Field Army began to move quietly into Korea. On 26 October, they went into action against South Korean troops along the Yalu River; on 2 November, the Chinese People's Volunteers committed themselves against United States troops. Beginning in late November, the Chinese Communist forces undertook a counter-attack that succeeded in restoring the military situation essentially to what it had been before the outbreak of war in June.

The conflict in Korea served to test Sino-Soviet relations; and Moscow provided substantial assistance to Chinese Communist military forces. However, the treaty and related agreements concluded in February 1950 had left pending certain issues between the two governments, notably the Chinese Changchun Railway and the status of the naval base at Port Arthur in southern Manchuria. In the late summer of 1952 Chou En-lai flew to Moscow, for new negotiations with the Soviet leaders. In mid-September, an official communique outlined the areas of agreement. Although Chou was successful in securing the return of the Chinese Changchun Railway to Chinese control, Soviet use of the naval facilities at Port Arthur was extended during the Korean war.

The death of Stalin in March 1953 introduced a note of uncertainty into relations between the two major Communist powers. Nonetheless, Chou En-lai, who headed the Chinese Communist delegation to Stalin's funeral in Moscow, was accorded precedence over all non-Russian Communist leaders at the funeral ceremony. He was permitted to walk abreast of the senior Soviet leaders just behind Stalin's bier—an unusual honor to be accorded to an Asian Communist leader at an official Soviet function.

After returning to Peking, Chou En-lai, on 30 March 1953, set forth new proposals concerning the Korean war. Negotiations were resumed, and Chou's proposals provided the basis for the agreement on the exchange of prisoners of war, signed on 8 June, and for the

armistice agreement concluded on 27 July 1953. Although the Chinese Communists did not win a clear-cut victory in Korea, neither did the United States, the strongest industrial nation in the world. Chou En-lai soon made efforts to derive maximum political advantage from that situation.

Chou's attempts to influence political leaders in the emerging nations had begun at least as early as the autumn of 1952, when an Asian and Pacific Area Peace Conference had been convened at Peking. Because the governments of most of the nations concerned had not established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, the foreign visitors to Peking had no official status. Despite that fact, Chou En-lai had applied himself with diligence and tact to the task of cultivating the Asian and African delegates and of appealing to their national pride and resentment against Western superiority. The 1952 meeting was one of the first notable demonstrations of the "people's diplomacy" that later became a major weapon in Peking's arsenal for international political warfare.

After the termination of the Korean war in 1953, the Chinese Communists, relieved of a severe drain on scarce resources, entered a new stage in foreign affairs. Chou En-lai made his debut in international conference diplomacy in April 1954, when the People's Republic of China participated for the first time in formal discussions involving Western governments on problems of major significance. In addition to Chou En-lai, the Chinese Communist delegation at Geneva included Chang Wen-tien, Wang Chiahsiang, Li K'o-nung, Wang Ping-nan, and other leaders.

The Geneva Conference, which included 19 participating nations, brought Chou En-lai, as Communist China's foreign minister, into direct contact with such prominent and experienced diplomats as Anthony Eden, Georges Bidault, V. M. Molotov, and John Foster Dulles. When no progress was made in the discussions regarding Korea, the Korean phase of the conference was terminated on the initiative of the United States. The nations with direct interest in the Indo-China conflict then turned to that problem. Chou En-lai helped to draw a distinction between Cambodia and Laos, on the one hand, and Viet Nam, which was clearly a more complex problem, on the other. He placed the

Chinese residence at Geneva at the disposal of the French delegation for private meetings with Pham Van Dong and other North Vietnamese representatives. Gradually, Bidault, Eden, Molotov, and Chou worked toward settlement of the outstanding issues. On 23 June 1954 Pierre Mendes-France and Chou En-lai drew up the framework of basic agreement. The Geneva Agreement on Viet Nam, signed by France and the Viet Minh, provided for the termination of fighting and for supervision of the cease-fire by an International Control Commission consisting of Poland, Canada, and India. It divided Viet Nam into two zones, roughly at the 17th parallel; established a demilitarized zone between the northern and southern sectors; and provided for the withdrawal of opposing forces across that line. The agreement was followed by a final declaration by other nations participating in the Geneva Conference, taking note of clauses prohibiting the presence of foreign troops and bases in Viet Nam and calling for free general elections throughout Viet Nam. The United States government did not sign the declaration. The elections, designed to bring about unification, were never held. Chou En-lai's performance at Geneva won praise not only from the French, who welcomed his assistance in escaping from the situation created by the victory of the Viet Minh over the French military forces, but also from more detached observers. The Geneva settlement of 1954 also served to buttress Chou's contention that settlement of Asian political problems necessarily involved direct negotiations between Western nations and the People's Republic of China.

Peking's approach to international affairs in the period after the Korean war became relatively moderate. Before this time, Chinese Communist diplomacy had tended to political condescension and the use of strong and belligerent language. During the temporary adjournment of the Geneva Conference in June-July 1954, Chou returned to Asia to hold talks with the prime ministers of India and Burma. Joint declarations were issued with the governments of those two countries; the agreements emphasized the desirability of peaceful coexistence based on five general principles: mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit,

and peaceful coexistence in international relations. Because Peking recognized that Nehru's policy of non-alignment coincided generally with its interest in establishing a buffer zone in Southeast Asia to safeguard its national security, Chou avoided controversial issues in his conversations with Nehru at New Dehli and emphasized the common interests of their two governments. Chou then returned to Peking by way of North Viet Nam and Hong Kong. On 9 July he left Peking. He went to Moscow and then proceeded to Geneva for the resumption of the conference, arriving in Geneva on 21 July. After the conference ended, Chou visited East Berlin, Warsaw, Moscow, and Ulan Bator (Urga) before returning to Peking on 1 August 1954.

A few months later, the new Chinese Communist emphasis on the theme of peaceful coexistence was reflected in the actions of Peking's delegation, headed by Chou En-lai, to the Afro-Asian Conference, which was held at Bandung, Indonesia, in April 1955. Chou En-lai scored a personal triumph at the conference as an advocate of reason and moderation in foreign affairs. Chou recognized that the desire of the new non-Western nations was to assert their independence of Western colonialism and their new maturity in international affairs, and he made a strong effort to identify the People's Republic of China with the dominant mood of the Bandung gathering. Before returning to Peking, Chou went to Jakarta, where, after an enthusiastic reception by President Sukarno, he signed a new Sino-Indonesian Treaty of Dual Nationality.

An unexpected result of the Afro-Asian Conference of April 1955 was the initiation of an extended diplomatic encounter between Communist China and the United States. At the Bandung meeting, Chou En-lai made a public offer to enter into negotiations with the United States government "to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East and especially the question of relaxing tension in the Taiwan area." This offer was accepted, and on 1 August 1955 the government of the People's Republic of China and the government of the United States began a series of talks at the ambassadorial level. The talks began at the Palais des Nations at Geneva, with Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson representing the United States and Wang Ping-nan (q.v.), who was then ambassador to Poland, representing China. The first 14 meetings, held

in August and September of 1955, led to agreement on the repatriation of Americans and Chinese from the two countries concerned. Although that brisk beginning led some optimistic observers to believe that the ambassadorial talks at Geneva might result in a meeting between John Foster Dulles, the American Secretary of State, and Chou En-lai, the talks took the form of regularly scheduled ambassadorial meetings.

The basic Chinese Communist objectives in these negotiations were undisputed recognition of their claim to Taiwan and United States withdrawal from its commitments made in that area in the 1950-55 period. The aim of the United States government was to honor such American legal commitments to the government in Taiwan as the Mutual Defense Treaty of December 1954 and the subsequent Taiwan resolution passed by the United States Congress. To these ends, the Americans sought a formal agreement in principle with Peking regarding the renunciation of force in settling disputes between the two parties. The Chinese Communists emphasized the desirability of reaching agreement on specific issues which they deemed "comparatively easy to settle" as a prelude to the essential issue of sovereignty over Taiwan. The Americans, however, stressed the primacy of general agreement. Little progress was made in resolving Sino-American differences, and after the transfer of Ambassador Johnson in December 1957, no talks were held for about nine months.

Throughout this period, Chou En-lai continued his efforts to settle disputes between China and her neighbors in Asia. When the prime ministers of Pakistan and Nepal visited Peking in 1956, Chou stressed the fact that Communist China would adhere strictly to the principles laid down at Bandung in dealing with friendly nations, regardless of differences in domestic political systems. The Burmese statesman U Nu also visited Peking for preliminary private discussions on delineation of the Sino-Burmese border. Chou's personal diplomacy scored a notable success with Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, who paid his first visit to Peking in 1956; he was clearly impressed by Chou's emphasis on maintaining friendly relations between China and Cambodia. In November 1956, Chou, accompanied by Ho Lung (q.v.) and other officials, left Peking for an extended tour of Southeast Asia, to confirm Communist

China's direct interest in the region and to attempt to convince the leaders of these nations that the new China, if treated with respect, harbored no aggressive intentions in Asia. The party arrived in North Viet Nam on 17 November, remained at Hanoi for several days, and then went to Cambodia. Chou arrived at New Delhi on 28 November, held talks with Nehru for several days, toured India in early December, and then visited Burma and Pakistan. He returned to New Delhi in late December for further discussions with Nehru.

Chou En-lai's tour was interrupted by the tumultuous events of 1956 within the Communist bloc. The concern of the Chinese Communist leaders with the possible results of Nikita Khrushchev's unanticipated denunciation of Stalin in February was reflected in the issuing of a long doctrinal statement from Peking at the end of 1956 and in the assigning of Chou En-lai to make an emergency trip to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Chou returned to Peking from India on 1 January 1957, spent several days in consultation, and then flew to Moscow. He was accompanied by Ho Lung, Wang Chiahsiang (q.v.), and a substantial delegation. Chou's mission was to seek the reestablishment of bloc solidarity. After three days of conferences with the Soviet leaders at Moscow, Chou flew to Warsaw on 11 January 1957. He conferred with Polish Communist leaders and then flew to Budapest for a day of talks. Chou emphasized the necessity for all responsible Communists to rally to the banner of Moscow's leadership and to support the "unity of the Socialist camp led by the Soviet Union" in the face of alleged threats from the "imperialist bloc of aggression." After returning to Russia, Chou issued a joint declaration with his Soviet hosts on 19 January 1957 affirming the full agreement of the two nations with respect to Sino-Soviet cooperation and to the international situation.

Chou En-lai then left the Soviet Union to resume his Southeast Asian trip. He went to Kabul, Afghanistan, and remained there until 24 January. He visited India, Nepal, and Ceylon before returning to China in early February by way of Calcutta. The following month, when U Nu, who had resumed office as premier of Burma, visited Kunming in Yunnan province, Chou flew from Peking to confer with him.

Chou En-lai's trip to Moscow and Eastern Europe in the winter of 1956 had marked the

emergence of the People's Republic of China as an influence in bloc affairs. Beginning in 1957, Chou and his associates emphasized both the necessity of unity and solidarity in the "Socialist camp" and the fact that various "paths to socialism" were unavoidable. The Chinese dual approach was demonstrated at Peking in the spring of 1957, when Chou En-lai successively received the prime ministers of Czechoslovakia and Poland, who were in disagreement about the post-Stalin Communist party leadership at Moscow.

In February 1958, after bearing major responsibilities for both internal and international programs for more than eight years, Chou En-lai relinquished the office of foreign minister to Ch'en Yi. Nonetheless, Chou continued to play a key role in the conventional diplomacy of the People's Republic of China and in the management of critical situations.

In the summer of 1958 the People's Republic of China began to threaten the offshore islands that lay between the mainland and Taiwan. At the same time, the Chinese Communists attempted to convince Nationalist leaders that the United States planned to abandon Taiwan and that the Nationalists would be well advised to make arrangements with the Chinese Communists. International tensions in the Far East rose to heights comparable to those which had prevailed after the outbreak of the Korean war. For a time, war seemed imminent. Then Chou En-lai, on 6 September 1958, took the diplomatic initiative and made a public offer to resume Sino-American ambassadorial talks "to safeguard the peace." He made no mention of negotiations or of Chinese Communist aims.

The Sino-American talks resumed on 15 September 1958 at Warsaw, with Wang Ping-nan again representing China and Ambassador Jacob Beam, the United States. However, because neither military threats nor political blandishments had caused the United States government to weaken its commitment to Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese Communists apparently did not believe that the Warsaw talks would resolve important issues. The 1958 Taiwan confrontation persuaded John Foster Dulles that significant negotiations with Peking were no longer possible. Chou En-lai, in turn, made no mention of the Taiwan crisis in his report to the Second National People's Congress, held in April 1959.

At Warsaw, Ambassador Beam continued to hold talks with Wang Ping-nan until November 1961, when he was succeeded by John M. Cabot. Wang Ping-nan returned to Peking in 1964 to become a vice minister of foreign affairs; he was succeeded at Warsaw by Wang Kuo-ch'uan. After 1961, the talks were held less often and were utilized by both parties primarily as a channel for secure exchange of communications rather than for the discussion of issues.

The alteration in the character of the ambassadorial talks at Warsaw reflected the change that had taken place by 1960 in the foreign policy estimates of the top command at Peking toward the United States. Reversing the position that Chou En-lai had taken in originating the ambassadorial talks, Peking pressed the line that the basic issue of Taiwan had to be settled before subsidiary issues could be discussed fruitfully. In a private interview with the American writer Edgar Snow on 30 August 1960, Chou articulated the new line: firm opposition to further negotiations with the government of the United States except with respect to Taiwan. Because Mr. Snow was then in China, the Department of State in Washington was not alerted immediately to the shift in Peking's position. Chou En-lai told Mr. Snow that a general "peace pact of mutual nonaggression" among the countries of Asia and those bordering on the Pacific could not be concluded without diplomatic relations between China and the United States and that such relations were inconceivable "without a settlement of the dispute between the two countries in the Taiwan region." After reiterating the conventional Peking position that a dispute between China and the United States is an international question, but a dispute between the Chinese government at Peking and the Chinese government at Taipei is an internal question, Chou went on to suggest that talks should be held separately between Peking and Washington and between Peking and Taipei.

Chou En-lai then set forth stipulations regarding Peking-Washington relations: "in the talks between China and the United States, agreement on principles must after all be reached first before concrete issues can be settled. The two points of principle on which agreement should be reached are: (1) All disputes between China and the United States, including the dispute between the two countries in the Taiwan

region, should be settled through peaceful negotiations, without resorting to the use or threat of force; and (2) The United States must agree to withdraw its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. As to the specific steps on when and how to withdraw, they are matters for subsequent discussion. If the United States Government ceases to pursue the policy of aggression against China and of resorting to threats of force, this is the only logical conclusion which can be drawn."

A detailed account of Mr. Snow's 30 August 1960 interview with Chou En-lai was published in the United States in *Look* in January 1961. Details of that interview and of an interview of 18 October 1960 are to be found in Mr. Snow's book *The Other Side of the River*, published in 1964. In both interviews Chou stated that the crux of the dispute between Communist China and the United States was the issue of Taiwan.

The year 1960 also marked an important turning point in Chinese efforts to resolve outstanding international issues by negotiating and by increasing Chinese contacts with the new nations of the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. Beginning in that year, the People's Republic of China signed formal treaties delineating her frontiers with Burma, Nepal, the Mongolian People's Republic, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. The agreement with Burma, signed in January 1960, was significant because the Sino-Burmese frontier had long been one of China's most troubled boundaries. In March 1960, Chou En-lai reached an agreement on the Sino-Nepalese border. In April 1960, Chou went to New Delhi for talks with Nehru on the Sino-Indian border issue, but failed to reach agreement with Nehru. He went on to Burma and Nepal. Chou's visit to Nepal resulted in the signing of a Sino-Nepalese treaty of friendship and mutual assistance, which prepared the way for a Chinese program of economic aid to Nepal. In 1960 China concluded new treaties of friendship and non-aggression with Afghanistan and Cambodia. Near the end of that year, Chou paid a visit to Rangoon to ask the Burmese government to act as mediator in the Sino-Indian border dispute.

Relations between the Communist party leaders at Peking and those at Moscow deteriorated after 1960. Nevertheless, Chou En-lai, who had served as chief delegate of the Chinese Communist party to the Twenty-first Congress

of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, represented Mao Tse-tung at the Twenty-second Congress, held in October 1961. However, Chou left abruptly before the end of the congress to express Peking's dissatisfaction with Khrushchev. When he returned to Peking, Mao and other top Chinese Communist leaders met him at the airfield.

The deterioration of Sino-Soviet party relations after 1960 led Peking to renew its attempts to gain support in Asia and in other parts of the world. In 1961 Chou conferred with political leaders from Burma, Laos, Indonesia, North Korea, and North Viet Nam. That summer he met with João Goulart of Brazil, and in September he received Field Marshal Montgomery. He attempted to convince Montgomery of China's sincere desire for world peace. Chou also received Queen Elizabeth of Belgium, the first member of a European ruling family to visit Peking in many years, and the King and Queen of Nepal. After the Sino-Indian border dispute erupted into military action in later 1962, Chou En-lai worked to preserve friendly relations with the other important nations of Asia. Border treaties were concluded with Pakistan and Afghanistan in 1963. In 1964 France established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.

The most notable new aspect of Peking's diplomacy, however, was the extension of Chinese Communist interests and investments in Africa. Chou En-lai played a significant role in relations with Africa, and he consistently emphasized that China and the new nations of Africa shared "common aspirations and demands." By late 1958 Peking had recognized the Algerian Provisional Government established at Cairo and had begun to send aid to the Algerian rebels. When Ferhat Abbas, then the head of the provisional government, visited Peking in September 1960, Chou En-lai spoke of the importance of the Algerian revolt in dissipating French military power in North Africa. In the early 1960's many independent states were formed in the sub-Saharan area, and non-African nations began to compete for the loyalty of the developing countries. Chinese Communist activity in Africa increased considerably. In the autumn of 1960 Sekou Touré, the president of Guinea, visited Peking. Chou En-lai participated in meetings with him which led to the signing of a Sino-Guinea treaty of friendship

and of the first economic and technical aid agreement between the People's Republic of China and an African nation. Chou also held several meetings at Peking with Kwame Nkrumah, the president of Ghana, who visited China and signed a treaty of friendship in August 1961.

In accordance with Peking's attempt to extend its political influence in the predominantly agricultural areas of Africa and to exploit the antagonism of African nations toward Western neo-colonialism, Chou En-lai made his first trip to Africa. Between December 1963 and February 1964 he visited ten African nations: Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana, Mali, Guinea, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia. In March and April 1965 Chou visited Algeria and Egypt. Early in June, he went to Tanzania to return the visit of President Julius Nyerere to Peking in February 1965. After returning to Peking, Chou went to Africa again in late June as the head of a large delegation to the Second Afro-Asian Conference, scheduled to be held at Algiers. However, a political coup in Algeria and persisting disputes among the nations involved in the conference led to its cancellation late in 1965. Chinese policy in Africa had to be readjusted.

In June 1966 Chou En-lai made an eight-day official visit to Rumania. There he met with Premier Ion G. Maurer and with Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Rumanian Communist party.

Chou En-lai has been recognized throughout the world as Peking's leading diplomat and international spokesman. Within China, however, he has been known best as the principal executive officer in the Central People's Government and as a senior member of the Chinese Communist party. Chou was the only man elected to the Political Bureau at the Fifth National Congress of 1927 who continued to serve as a member of that body after the Seventh National Congress of 1945. In September 1956, at the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist party, he was reelected to both the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. At that time, he also became a vice chairman of the Central Committee and a member of the prestigious standing committee of the Political Bureau. Although he deferred in public to the venerable Chu Teh, Chou En-lai came to be regarded as the third-ranking

member of the Political Bureau after Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-ch'i.

Chou En-lai has long been noted for his willingness to make the same demands of himself that he makes of subordinates, his physical vitality, and his tenacity of purpose. Since 1937 Chou has come in contact with more non-Chinese people and attitudes than any other man in the top command of the Chinese Communist party. General George C. Marshall, despite the failure of his mediation mission to China after the Second World War, paid high tribute to the abilities of Chou En-lai; and Dag Hammarskjold, who went to Peking in 1955 to make arrangements for the release of United States citizens detained in China, had an equally high opinion of Chou as a diplomat.

Chou En-lai's writings consist of Communist party political reports, most of them written in the 1930's under the name Shao-shan; a great number of unsigned reports on government work and current tasks; and official statements and interviews on foreign policy matters.

While participating in student activities in north China after the May Fourth Movement of 1919, Chou En-lai met a student named Teng Ying-ch'ao (q.v.). She was imprisoned with Chou in Tientsin in the winter of 1919. Chou and Teng were married at Canton in 1925.

Chou Fo-hai

周佛海

Chou Fo-hai (1897–February 1948), helped to establish the Chinese Communist party, but resigned from it in 1924. He became the most widely read theoretical writer of the Kuomintang and served Chiang Kai-shek for many years, eventually becoming acting director of the Kuomintang department of propaganda. He also edited the *New Life Monthly* and founded the New Life Bookstore in Shanghai. Because he helped to establish Wang Ching-wei's Japanese-sponsored regime and held high office in it, he was imprisoned after the war as a "national traitor."

Yuanling in western Hunan was the birthplace of Chou Fo-hai. His father, who had served with distinction in the Hunan Army during the Taiping Rebellion, died young, leaving his widow, two sons, and a daughter to be supported by some hundred mu of poor land.

From 1912 to 1917 Chou attended higher primary school and middle school at Yuanling. He apparently married young, for by 1917 he was the father of a son and a daughter.

Chou was a good student. In May 1917, just before his graduation, the principal of the Yuanling Middle School and Chou's classmates, knowing Chou's poverty and his talent, decided to send Chou to Japan for advanced education by making him a small gift. With this money, supplemented by a small loan from his relatives, Chou went to Japan, arriving at Tokyo in July. While he was studying Japanese and taking other preparatory courses at a private school, he participated actively in Chinese student activities. Sometime in 1918 he left Japan in protest of the Sino-Japanese agreements signed by the government of Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.) during the time of Allied intervention in Siberia. On the advice of an acquaintance, he went to Antung, on the Sino-Korean border, hoping to find work at a likin station. The station, however, was located on a desolate coast and could not possibly employ another worker. Despondent about his future, the penniless Chou even considered suicide. Finally, he borrowed some money for the trip back to Tokyo, where he studied furiously to prepare for the entrance examinations to the First Higher School. He passed the most difficult obstacle, the oral language test, by having someone proficient in Japanese prepare a report, which he memorized, on the Chihli-Fengtien war that was then going on in China. When the examiner asked him to discuss the war, as he had hoped would be the case, Chou gave an impressive performance. He was admitted to the school, which entitled him to a Chinese government grant, thus solving his educational and financial problems. After his graduation, he attended Kyoto Imperial University, where he studied economics and came under the influence of Professor Kawakami Hajime, the Marxist economist who translated *Das Kapital* into Japanese.

In July 1921, Chou was one of the dozen delegates to the First Congress of the Chinese Communist party, which was held in Shanghai. He represented Chinese students in Japan. Chou, who acted as secretary to the meeting, was elected vice chairman of the newly formed Chinese Communist party. During the short interval when he was in Shanghai, Chou also staged a whirlwind courtship of Yang Shu-hui,

the daughter of Yang Cho-mao, a wealthy Shanghai merchant who had studied in the United States. She was a student in the Ch'iming Girls School when she fell in love with the impecunious Chou Fo-hai, who was already married. The strong-willed girl, despite her parents' precautions, eloped with Chou to Japan, where they lived in poor circumstances until Chou finished his studies in 1924.

By then the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist party had entered into their period of collaboration. In May 1924 Chou sailed directly from Japan to Canton, where the Kuomintang had set up a revolutionary government. There he taught at Kwangtung University and at the Whampoa Military Academy. According to Chou, he left the Communist party in the winter of 1924. In 1925 he published his *Chung-shan hsien-sheng ssu-hsiang kai-kuan* [a general view of Sun Yat-sen's ideas], a book which attracted the attention of Chiang Kai-shek. In December 1925 Chou left Canton for Wuhan, allegedly because of his disapproval of Borodin's domination of the Canton government. He then spent several months teaching at Wuhan University and at Wuhan Commercial College. However, he was back in Canton in time to join the Northern Expedition, which set out in July 1926. After Wuhan fell to the Nationalist armies in October 1926, Chou was commissioned secretary general and, concurrently, head of the Wuhan branch of the Central Military Academy, of which Chiang Kai-shek was *ex officio* commandant and Teng Yen-ta (q.v.) acting commandant. Since both Chiang and Teng Yen-ta then were occupied with other matters, the actual administration of the academy at Wuhan fell to Chou Fo-hai. Later, Teng Yen-ta appointed Yun Tai-ying (q.v.), a Communist, as chief political instructor, and Yun took over practical control of the political department. Chou Fo-hai was then in a difficult position, since he was distrusted by both the Communists and the right wing of the Kuomintang. When the schism between Chiang Kai-shek and the Wuhan government deepened, Chou decided to flee Hankow. In April 1927 Chiang Kai-shek established a government at Nanking in opposition to the Wuhan regime. Early in May, while the Communists were being purged in areas under the control of the Nanking government, Chou, accompanied by his family and his father-in-law, secretly left Hankow for

Shanghai aboard a British vessel. His identity, however, was discovered by fellow Kuomintang passengers, who notified the Nanking government. As soon as he landed at Shanghai, Chou was arrested as a suspected Communist. Through the efforts of his wife and the mediation of influential friends, including Chang Chih-chung, Quo T'ai-ch'i (Kuo T'ai-ch'i), and Tai Chi-t'ao (qq.v.), Chou was released after almost three weeks of incarceration.

Following his release, Chou was appointed by Chiang Kai-shek as chief political instructor at the newly organized Central Military Academy at Nanking. It was then that Chou began writing a book which was to become very popular in Nationalist China, the *San-min-chu-i li-lun te t'i-hsi* [the theoretical system of the Three People's Principles]. In August 1927 factional rivalry at Nanking led to Chiang Kai-shek's resignation. Chou Fo-hai left his post to accept a teaching position at National Chung-shan University at Canton on the invitation of Tai Chi-t'ao, who was then the chancellor. As a result of the recent Kuomintang purges, political conditions at Canton and at the university were extremely unsettled, and Chou Fo-hai left in the autumn of 1927 to go to Shanghai. There the Kuomintang launched a new political review, the *New Life Monthly*, which began publication in January 1928 under Chou Fo-hai's editorship. Ch'en Pu-lei, Ch'en Kuo-fu, Shao Li-tzu (qq.v.), and Tai Chi-t'ao also contributed to the magazine. Later Chou also founded the New Life Bookstore in Shanghai, which published his *San-min-chu-i chih li-lun te t'i-hsi* in April 1928. Chiang Kai-shek, who had returned from Japan to direct the second phase of the Northern Expedition, recalled Chou to active service, naming him director of the political department of the Central Military Academy. The Northern Expedition was successfully concluded in the summer of 1928 with the fall of Peking to the Nationalist armies. In July, Chou was a member of the entourage which accompanied Chiang Kai-shek to Peking to pay respects at the temporary resting place of Sun Yat-sen in the Western Hills. On his return, Chou resigned from the Military Academy at Nanking to resume work in Shanghai.

In February 1929 Chiang Kai-shek summoned Chou Fo-hai to assist him at Nanking. When the Third National Congress of the Kuomintang was held in March 1929, Chou was

made a delegate from the Philippines. He then accompanied Chiang in the brief campaign against the Kwangsi generals based at Wuhan. Chou then was appointed director of the office of political training in the department of general training of the Nationalist military establishment and, concurrently, director of the political department of the Generalissimo's headquarters.

In November 1931 Chou was elected to the Central Executive Committee at the Fourth National Congress of the Kuomintang. A month later Chiang Kai-shek was forced to resign in the wake of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Before leaving the government, Chiang put a military man, Ku Chu-t'ung (q.v.), at the head of the Kiangsu provincial government. Ku requested the appointment of Chou Fo-hai as a member of the Kiangsu provincial government council and as director of the department of education. Chou held these posts until 1933, when Ch'en Kuo-fu took over the governorship of Kiangsu. After returning to Nanking, Chou Fo-hai assumed the direction of the department of people's training of the Kuomintang and participated in the activities of the Blue Shirt Society, whose leaders were mostly former Whampoa cadets. In 1935 he was reelected to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

In January 1937 Chou Fo-hai and Shao Litzu were sent by the National Government to Hong Kong, where they welcomed Wang Ching-wei back from Europe in the spirit of national unity that followed the Sian Incident of December 1936. Not long afterward, the government was reorganized, and Chou was transferred to the vice directorship of the Kuomintang department of propaganda. In 1938 he was promoted to acting director of the department. During 1938 Chou continued to serve as an aide de camp in Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters and was responsible for the drafting of important documents.

In view of Chou Fo-hai's close personal association with Chiang Kai-shek, his motives in turning to support Wang Ching-wei, a long-time political antagonist of Chiang, remain obscure. According to Chou's own account, he belonged at that time to the group known as the low-tune group, which included such figures as Hu Shih (q.v.), Mei Ssu-p'ing, and T'ao Hsi-sheng (q.v.). This group allegedly decried

the high tune of those who demanded immediate resistance to Japan. After the outbreak of war in July 1937, Chou Fo-hai, as a leading propaganda official of the Kuomintang, had established the I-wen yen-chiu-she [literary research society] at Hankow, for the purpose of presenting China's case to the world. Chou was general director of the organization, and T'ao Hsi-sheng was general secretary. Since T'ao Hsi-sheng was an intimate friend of Wang Ching-wei, Chou Fo-hai came to know Wang's circle during this period. After the fall of Hankow and the evacuation of the National Government to Chungking, Wang Ching-wei became extremely pessimistic about China's chances for victory and favored the conclusion of a peaceful settlement with Japan. On 18 December 1938 Wang left Chungking. When Chou Fo-hai heard the news, he went after Wang on the pretext of inspecting Kuomintang affairs. Chou found Wang's party at Kunming and accompanied the group to Hanoi in French Indo-China. On 29 December 1938 Wang Ching-wei made his position clear in a public telegram to the National Government at Chungking. Early in 1939, while Wang was still at Hanoi, Chou Fo-hai went to Hong Kong. There, with Ch'en Kung-po, Lin Po-sheng, Mei Ssu-p'ing, and T'ao Hsi-sheng, he helped to conduct a propaganda campaign for Wang Ching-wei's peace movement in the *Nanhua jih-pao*. On 25 April 1939 Wang Ching-wei secretly left Hanoi for Shanghai on a chartered French vessel. He transferred to a Japanese ship off the Swatow coast and arrived at his destination on 6 May. Chou preceded Wang to Shanghai. In early April he met with a Japanese agent and proposed that Japan sponsor the establishment of a rival Chinese government at Nanking under Wang's leadership for the purpose of bringing the Sino-Japanese conflict to an end. Chou argued strongly for this course of action at a conference of more than 50 of Wang's supporters held at Shanghai. The conference did not come to a decision, but Chou's proposal was accepted by Wang Ching-wei himself. On 4 June 1939 Wang took Chou Fo-hai and several close advisers to Tokyo for meetings with a Japanese group headed by Hiranuma Kiichiro, who was then premier. The talks dragged on, and Wang returned to Shanghai on 24 June, leaving Chou to effect an agreement with the Japanese.

After the negotiations were completed, Chou Fo-hai returned to Shanghai, where he began preparations for the establishment of a new government under Wang Ching-wei. On 1 September 1939 Wang convened the so-called sixth national congress of the Kuomintang. That gathering elected Chou chairman of the financial and secret service committee. Later in September he participated in the Nanking conference at which Wang and the heads of the Japanese-sponsored governments at Peking and Nanking attempted to come to an agreement on the establishment of a central government under Wang. In November, Wang Ching-wei and the Japanese began formal negotiations concerning the Japanese-proposed Principles for the Re-adjustment of New Sino-Japanese Relations. Chou Fo-hai, Kao Tsung-wu (q.v.), Mei Ssu-p'ing, and T'ao Hsi-sheng were Wang Ching-wei's representatives at the conference table. The negotiations were concluded on 30 December 1939.

Wang's movement suffered a setback in January 1940 when Kao Tsung-wu and T'ao Hsi-sheng, who had been privy to the effort from the beginning, defected to Hong Kong with copies of Wang's secret agreement with Japan. This failed to deter Wang, although publication of the terms of the secret agreement created a furor in China. On 23 January 1940 Chou Fo-hai attended the Tsingtao conference as a member of the Wang delegation. That meeting worked out procedures for the nominal amalgamation of the Peking and Nanking regimes under Wang's proposed government. The conference ended on the 26th; Chou flew to Japan on 28 January to discuss with the Japanese possible means of getting Chungking to end the war and future relations between Wang Ching-wei and Chiang Kai-shek should peace become a reality. Back in Shanghai on 26 February, Chou began organization of the new government, which came into being on 30 March 1940. In his diary Chou Fo-hai stated quite accurately that he was the central figure in that undertaking. He occupied the following posts at Nanking: vice president of the executive yuan, minister of finance, minister of police, vice chairman of the military affairs commission, and general director of the central reserve bank. Since he also controlled the secret police and acted as chief negotiator with the Japanese, he was without doubt Wang Ching-wei's most

powerful and versatile lieutenant. Chou reported that he was appreciative of Wang's personal warmth and of his complete trust, which was in marked contrast to the aloofness of Chiang Kai-shek.

Since Tokyo's original intention in supporting Wang had been primarily to force Chungking into entering peace negotiations, the Japanese government delayed granting formal recognition to Wang's government until all attempts to make peace with Chungking had failed. On 30 November 1940 Japan finally signed the Sino-Japanese Basic Agreement and exchanged ambassadors with Nanking. The agreement, contrary to what Wang Ching-wei and his followers had hoped, maintained strong Japanese control over the occupied territories. In an entry in his diary on 20 December 1940, Chou confessed that he had been mistaken in his view of Japanese intentions and that the advocates of resistance were right. When the Japanese began the War in the Pacific in December 1941, the Wang regime abandoned hope of inducing Chungking to accept peace conditions imposed by the Japanese. About that time Chou Fo-hai established contact with the Chungking authorities through two secret radio stations. One was in direct communication with the military intelligence service under Tai Li (q.v.) in Chungking; and the other maintained contact with the headquarters of the Third War Area commanded by Ku Chu-t'ung, Chou's former colleague in the Kiangsu provincial government.

On 9 January 1943 the Wang Ching-wei regime declared war on the Allied powers. Japan reciprocated by replacing the offensive 1940 Sino-Japanese agreement with a more favorable treaty of alliance, which was signed on 30 October 1943. On 3 March 1944 Wang Ching-wei went to Japan for medical treatment, leaving the affairs of the Nanking regime in the hands of Ch'en Kung-po and Chou Fo-hai. After Wang died on 10 November 1944 at Nagoya, Japan, Ch'en Kung-po succeeded to his posts, while Chou took over the position of mayor of Shanghai which Ch'en Kung-po had formerly held. As the War in the Pacific entered the decisive stage and Allied landings on the China coast became a distinct possibility, Chungking reportedly gave Chou Fo-hai the task of coordinating anti-Japanese uprisings behind the Japanese lines in the event of Allied attacks on the coast. The atomic bomb and the

Japanese surrender deprived Chou of the chance to prove himself, if indeed he actually had been given the assignment.

At the time of the Japanese surrender in August 1945, the National Government authorities at Chungking and the Chinese Communists both apparently made overtures to Chou Fo-hai. The Communist units commanded by Ch'en Yi (q.v.) had been steadily expanding their strength in east China during the war. Tai Li, however, struck a bargain with Chou to prevent the infiltration of Communist forces. On 14 August 1945, shortly after the Japanese surrender, Chou received an appointment from Chungking as commander of Nanking-Shanghai actions, with the mission of maintaining order in the Japanese-occupied areas until the arrival of National Government troops. After the Nationalist takeover of China's largest city had been secured, Tai Li arrested Chou Fo-hai and flew him to Chungking. There Chou was kept under house arrest with his wife and children. He was later moved to Nanking, where he was tried for treason. To a large extent Chou Fo-hai's fate was in the hands of Tai Li, who had been his most important link with Chungking during the war and who could, if he desired, secure favorable disposition of Chou's case. The death of Tai Li in a plane crash on 17 March 1946 made Chou's situation problematical, since no other senior official in the Kuomintang knew or cared enough about Chou's role in Chungking's strategy to attempt to influence the proceedings against him. Reportedly, Chou Fo-hai's wife, through the intervention of Ch'en Pu-lei, was granted an interview with Chiang Kai-shek, where she begged for her husband's life. Whatever the facts, on 26 March 1946 Chou Fo-hai's death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment on Chiang's order. He died in prison at Nanking in February 1948 after a prolonged illness.

Chou Fo-hai was a conscientious diarist. At the end of the war he placed seven volumes of his diary, which recorded events from 1939 to 1945, in a Shanghai bank. These volumes were confiscated by the Nationalist military intelligence and came into the hands of Teng Pao-kuang, director of the office of traitor's property of the government-controlled Central Trust. Teng refused the request of Chou's wife for their return, presumably because of details regarding the wartime activities of prominent figures in the

Kuomintang and the National Government. Teng Pao-kuang later defected to the Communists. He visited Hong Kong in 1950, taking with him the 1940 portion of the diary. In Hong Kong that document found its way into the hands of Ch'en Pin-ho, a newsman who had been active in the Wang Ching-wei regime. It was published in Hong Kong by the Ch'uang-ken ch'u-pan-she in 1955 as *Chou Fo-hai jih-chi* [Chou Fo-hai's diary].

Chou's reminiscences of his school days and of his career in the Kuomintang were collected in a book entitled *Wang-i chi*, published at Shanghai in 1944 and reprinted at Hong Kong in 1955. His serious writings include a number of articles which appeared in *Hsin ch'ing-nien* in 1921 and 1922 and three books dealing with the ideas of Sun Yat-sen, notably the Three People's Principles: *Chung-shan hsien-sheng ssu-hsiang kai-kuan* (Shanghai, 1925), *San-min-chu-i chih li-lun te t'i-hsi* (Shanghai, 1928), and *San-min-chu-i te chi-pen wen-t'i* (Shanghai, 1929). Chou Fo-hai also produced a translation of Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* entitled *Hu-chu-lun* (Shanghai, 1922), books on economic theory and finance, and translations, mostly from Japanese, of works on international economics, economic history, and international commercial policies.

Chou Fo-hai was survived by his wife, Yang Shu-hui, and by their two children. Chou Yu-hai, who was educated in Japan, went over to the Communists after his father was sentenced to death. The daughter, Chou Hui-hai, married twice.

Chou Hsueh-hsi

T. Chi-chih
Chih-an
H. Sung-yun
Yen-keng

周學熙
緝之
止庵
松雲
研耕

Chou Hsueh-hsi (12 January 1866–26 September 1947), industrial promoter and entrepreneur. He served Yuan Shih-k'ai in the field of economic modernization in north China and then as minister of finance. He organized the Ch'i-hsin Cement Company, established the Peking Water Works, and was one of the central figures in the successful Chinese efforts to regain control of the Kailan coal mines. After retiring from public office, he was active in developing the cotton textile industry in north China.

Born in Chiente (Ch'iup'u), Anhwei, Chou Hsueh-hsi was the fourth son of Chou Fu (1837-1921). Chou Fu had served on the staff of Li Hung-chang (ECCP, I, 464-71) during and after the Taiping Rebellion. His competence in managing post-Taiping rehabilitation programs, flood control, and river conservation works and in aiding such modernization projects in Chihli (Hopei) province as the establishment at Tientsin of the arsenal, the Naval and Military academies, and the telegraph office had enabled him to rise in office without having to take the civil service examinations. He became judicial commissioner of Chihli (1888), lieutenant governor of Szechwan (1899), lieutenant governor of Chihli (1901), governor of Shantung (1902), governor general of Liang-Kiang and Nan-yang ta-ch'en (1904), and governor general of Liang-Kwang (1906). In 1907 Chou was ordered to retire from public office because of his advanced age. He settled in Tientsin and devoted much of his time to studying the *I-ching* (*Book of Changes*). He died on 21 September 1921, in his eighty-fourth year.

Chou Hsueh-hsi spent the greater part of his youth at his father's residence in Tientsin. He received a traditional education, and at the age of 16 sui he became a sheng-yuan. As a young man, Chou Hsueh-hsi studied for a time under the noted scholar-official Li Tz'u-ming (ECCP, I, 493), and his interests included mathematics and geography. In particular, he was attracted to the practical moral philosophy of the Sung Neo-Confucians and to the application of this philosophy in public works such as those undertaken by his father. While still in his twenties, Chou Hsueh-hsi took a position in the Board of Works in Peking, and in 1895 he became a chü-jen.

Stirred both by the humiliation of China in the war with Japan and by Japan's impressive achievements in modernization, Chou, like many Chinese of his generation, became aware of the need for reform in China. Abandoning his efforts to advance through the examination system, he began to search for practical means to strengthen the country. Since the Chou family had set up several schools in Anhwei, Chou's first efforts were in the field of education. He began to compile two books for school use. These were the *Chung-hsueh cheng-tsung* [orthodox Chinese learning], consisting of texts selected from Chu Hsi's writings and from the works of

such Ch'ing dynasty Neo-Confucians as Wo-jen (ECCP, II, 861-63) and Ch'en Hung-mou (ECCP, I, 86-87); and the *Hsi-hsueh yao-ling* [the essence of Western learning] containing some of the writings of the reformers K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (qq.v.) and excerpts of translations from Western works on science and technology. These two books were published early in 1898 in Shanghai. From 1899 to 1900, while in Shantung as an expectant tao-t'ai, Chou was commissioned by Yuan Shih-k'ai, then the governor of the province, to establish Shantung College. Chou himself drew up the curriculum for the new school.

Like many other men who were later to play important roles in the early republican period, Chou Hsueh-hsi owed much to Yuan Shih-k'ai. In 1900, after the suppression of the Boxer Uprising, Yuan was promoted to governor general of Chihli, and Chou was transferred from Shantung to Chihli, still in the position of expectant tao-t'ai. Because the Boxer Uprising had disrupted the economic life of much of Chihli province, Yuan inaugurated a program of economic reconstruction and development. Chou became one of his most energetic assistants. In the summer of 1902, when commissioned by Yuan to set up a modern mint in Tientsin, Chou was given an opportunity to demonstrate his ability as an organizer and an administrator. Within a few months, the mint was in operation, and by the end of the year it had introduced into the Chinese currency system 1,500,000 coins in the new copper monetary unit, the ten-cash piece. Greatly impressed by Chou's achievement, Yuan sent him to Japan in 1903 to study and report on industrial conditions in that country and then entrusted to Chou the planning and organization of several new modernization projects in Chihli.

During the next four years, until his mother's death at the end of 1907 obliged him to retire from office, Chou Hsueh-hsi rose rapidly in the official bureaucracy, becoming acting tao-t'ai of Tientsin in 1905, salt commissioner of Ch'ang-lu early in 1907, and, shortly afterward, provincial judge of Chihli.

In this period Chou founded several enterprises. After his return from Japan in 1903, with the approval of Yuan Shih-k'ai he established a Peiyang bureau of industry to coordinate industrial establishments in Chihli. As head of this bureau, Chou sought to stimulate local interest

in modern industrial enterprise and to foster the development of handicraft industries. In the latter part of 1903, he set up an industrial exhibition in Tientsin to display domestic and foreign products to the public. The same year he established the School of Technology, which in 1904 was reorganized as the Higher Technical School of Tientsin. In 1928 it became Hopei College of Technology. Later in 1904 Chou founded a model workshop in Tientsin where students aged 12 to 22 were given training in the use of machinery; in carpentry, weaving, and dyeing; and in the manufacture of pottery, matches, candles, and soap. He set up a plant in the winter of 1905 which within a year was producing scientific apparatus for school use; and in 1906 he set up a machine shop in Tientsin. Under the supervision of the bureau of industry and through the training of personnel in the model workshop, a thriving spinning and weaving industry grew up in Chihli, especially in the Kaoyang district.

Another enterprise initiated by Chou Hsueh-hsi during this period was the Ch'i-hsin Cement Company at T'angshan. In 1899 a cement plant had been established there by one of Li Hung-chang's protégés, T'ang T'ing-shu (*see* T'ang Shao-yi). However, because the clay had to be transported from Kwangtung province, the enterprise had not been profitable and had been abandoned in 1893. In 1900 Chou engaged a German expert to test the clay and limestone in the T'angshan region with a view to reviving the industry. Although it was found that the clay and limestone in the locality were suitable for producing high-grade cement, Chou's plans were delayed by the Boxer Uprising, and it was not until 1906 that he organized the company and began building a factory near the site of the old plant in T'angshan. One of the most successful of all Chou's enterprises, the Ch'i-hsin Cement Company, became one of the leading firms in China's cement industry, surviving both the civil wars of the 1920's and the Sino-Japanese war.

After his return to official life in 1908, Chou Hsueh-hsi was appointed expectant councillor to the bureau of agriculture, industry, and commerce in Peking. At that time the imperial court was concerned about the frequent outbreak of fires in the capital. On the recommendation of Yuan Shih-k'ai, Chou was charged with organizing a modern water works. After an

initial period of planning and surveying, the Peking Water Works was formed, with Chou as its director. Within about a year, a running-water system had been installed in the city.

During the final years of the Ch'ing dynasty, Chou Hsueh-hsi was one of the leading figures in Chinese efforts to regain control of the Kaiping coal mines. The mines had been started in 1878 in the T'angshan area northeast of Tientsin as one of Li Hung-chang's modernization projects. The Chinese Engineering and Mining Company had been organized under the direction of T'ang T'ing-shu. Until T'ang's death in 1892, the Kaiping mining enterprise had prospered. Under his successor, Chang Yen-mou, the company had run into financial difficulties and had borrowed heavily. By 1900, therefore, foreign investors had provided the majority of capital in the company. During the Boxer Uprising and the ensuing occupation of the area by troops of the foreign powers, the company's financial problems were augmented by operating difficulties. At the time, it appeared advisable to put the mines temporarily under foreign protection by registering the company as a British firm. A complicated series of agreements were negotiated with foreign entrepreneurs (including Herbert Hoover, then a mining engineer). The result, unforeseen by Chang Yen-mou and his colleagues, was that control of the Chinese Engineering and Mining Company passed into foreign hands.

After the failure of subsequent Chinese attempts to recover partial control of the mines by law courts, Chou Hsueh-hsi and others, with the support of Yuan Shih-k'ai, decided to set up a rival company in the Kaiping basin. Early in 1907, the Lan-chou Official Mining Company was formed with the financial backing of the Tientsin Bank, of which Chou was an officer. In May 1908 Chou became manager of the new company, and in 1909 he was elected to its board of directors. Coal production began late in 1908, and by 1911 the foreign-controlled company, feeling the pinch of competition, had initiated a price war. By 1912 the rival companies were ready to come to terms, and on 27 January of that year an agreement was signed that led to a merger of the two companies. The result, which restored a measure of Chinese control over the coal mining operations in the Kaiping region, was the formation of the jointly operated Kailan Mining Administration. Chou

Hsueh-hsi was one of its first directors and later held the managing directorship of the organization for many years.

After the establishment of the republic and the inauguration of Yuan Shih-k'ai as president, Chou Hsueh-hsi served as minister of finance from July 1912 to May 1913 and from January 1915 to March 1916. During his first period in office, in the Chao Ping-chun cabinet, Chou was confronted with the task of putting in order the chaotic finances of the national government. To this end, he proposed a series of financial policies, including a national banking system that would issue a uniform bank-note currency for all of China; a modernized tax structure in which the likin would be abolished and direct taxation instituted in the form of income, inheritance, stamp, and other taxes; the expansion of the sources of tax revenue by stimulating the development of new industrial and commercial enterprises; and government operation of such basic industries as mines and railways.

Although Chou was unable to implement these policies, he did succeed in carrying out another of his proposals, the floating of a foreign loan, secured mainly on the salt gabelle, to finance the initial operations of the near-bankrupt government of the new republic. Negotiations with a five-power banking consortium, representing banks of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, and Japan, resulted in the £125 million Reorganization Loan Agreement, signed in April 1913 by Chao Ping-chun as premier, Lu Cheng-hsiang (q.v.) as minister of foreign affairs, and Chou Hsueh-hsi as minister of finance. However, when it became apparent that Yuan Shih-k'ai intended to divert the loan funds to finance his military plans to suppress the growing opposition to his regime, Chou, on 16 May 1913, resigned from Yuan's government. He resumed the cabinet post in 1915, reportedly at the insistence of Yuan Shih-k'ai. The men close to Yuan were split into two rival factions: the Anhwei clique, led by Yang Shih-ch'i; and the more powerful Kwangtung clique (Communications clique), headed by Liang Shih-i and Yeh Kung-cho (qq.v.). Chou Hsueh-hsi was a native of Anhwei, and Yang sought to strengthen his own position by securing Chou's appointment as minister of finance. Under pressure, Chou accepted the post.

In 1915 Chou Hsueh-hsi sought to develop the fiscal policies he had proposed during his

first term in office and gave special attention to the problems of increasing the sources of revenue through revisions in the land tax system, expansion of salt production, and institution of new government monopolies of tobacco and wine. Chou also concerned himself with the larger problems of national economic reconstruction. With a view to stimulating agricultural and industrial production, he advocated a system of agricultural and industrial banks to provide low-interest credit in rural areas and drew up a set of proposed government regulations for the formation of special developmental banks to finance new commercial and industrial enterprises. Some of these proposals were later to be implemented, although in substantially modified form, by the Dai Wen Agricultural and Commercial Bank [Ta-wan nung-kung yin-hang], founded at Peking in 1918, and the National Industrial Bank of China [Chung-kuo shih-yeh yin-hang], established at Tientsin in 1919.

Most of Chou's efforts during his two periods as minister of finance were either hampered or nullified by the policies pursued by Yuan Shih-k'ai and by the other officials in his regime. After the monarchical movement began in the summer of 1915, he took prolonged sick leave; however, his resignation was not accepted by Yuan until the spring of 1916.

Because he had been unable to obtain government support for his economic development projects, Chou Hsueh-hsi turned his attention to private enterprise. During his second term as minister of finance he had proposed various schemes for the expansion of native cotton production and of privately owned textile industries in north China, and he had ordered machinery from the United States for a new cotton textile mill. After his retirement from office in 1915, he and his younger half-brother, Chou Hsueh-hui, continued to work on this project. In 1916 they set up the Hua Hsin Cotton Spinning Mill in Tientsin as a privately owned enterprise, with Chou Hsueh-hsi as manager. Mills were subsequently established at Tsingtao in Shantung, at T'angshan in Chihli, and at Weihui in Honan. All of these mills continued to operate, with varying degrees of success, until the Japanese invasion of 1937. Chou also was active in promoting the expansion of cotton growing in north China to supply the Chinese textile industry with native cotton. He took part in organizing the Hsing-hua Cotton Industry Company, which planned

to set up new cotton mills throughout the provinces of north China and a large network of cotton gins, compresses, and warehouses in all the cotton-producing localities. However, because of the unsettled military conditions in north China after the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai, this venture soon had to be abandoned.

Because of his interest and experience in the cotton industry, Chou Hsueh-hsi was appointed national director of the Cotton Development Administration by Hsu Shih-ch'ang (q.v.) in 1919. He established a number of experimental farms where American strains of cotton were introduced to improve the quality of native-grown cotton. Following the example of Chang Chien (q.v.), who had sought to develop cotton enterprises in Kiangsu, Chou set up a technical school to train Chinese experts in the cultivation, spinning, and weaving of cotton and sought to reclaim coastal lands for cotton production. In 1920 he proposed the reclamation of some four million mu of land from the abandoned Ch'anglu salt farms, but the plan was not implemented.

Chou Hsueh-hsi was also noted for his philanthropy. During the severe droughts of 1921-22 in north China, he donated large sums for famine relief; and after the earthquake of 1923 in Japan, he also made substantial contributions to relief activities. Chou's main interest as a philanthropist, however, was his native district of Chiente, Anhwei. In accordance with the last wishes of his mother, a devout Buddhist, he set up and financed clinics, health stations, vocational schools, and agricultural experiment stations. Chou continued his philanthropic activities after he retired from business in 1925.

In his later years, Chou Hsueh-hsi gave increasing attention to Confucian moral teachings. After his retirement he set up a family school, the Shih-ku-t'ang, where members of his large family gathered to read the Confucian classics and traditional poetry. Chou Hsueh-hsi compiled several books designed to revive the popularity of the works of Confucian sages and scholars of antiquity, including the *Shih-ku-t'ang ts'ung-k'o*, privately published by Chou in 1929, and the *Ku-hsun ts'u-pien* [a selected anthology of ancient teachings], published in 1932. According to the biography written by his granddaughter Chou Shu-chen, he also left an autobiography and a collection of poems. A number of his public papers, prospectuses, and reports concerning his enterprises were published

as anonymous works. Though actively interested in Confucian learning, Chou also turned to Buddhism. In a note to a poem dated 20 May 1939 he stated that he had begun the daily practice of reciting the name of the Buddha in 1926 and that he had completed 10,000,000 repetitions in 13 years. He died on 26 September 1947.

Of Chou Hsueh-hsi's five brothers, the two eldest, Chou Hsueh-hai (d. 1906) and Chou Hsueh-ming (d. 1911), were both chin-shih of 1892; the youngest, Chou Hsueh-hui, was a chü-jen of 1903 and, during the early years of the republic, a member of the lower house of the National Assembly and an industrialist. One of Chou's sisters was the wife of Yuan K'o-chen, the eighth son of Yuan Shih-k'ai. Chou Hsueh-hsi had five sons, one of whom died in childhood.

Although a native of Anhwei, Chou Hsueh-hsi spent most of his life in north China. As leading promoters of industrial and commercial enterprises in modern China, Chou and Chang Chien were known together as "Nan-pei liang-szu hsien-sheng" because both were the fourth among their brothers and because one was active in the south and the other in the north.

Chou I-ch'un

T. Chi-mei
Alt. Y. T. Tsur

周詒春, 周貽春
寄梅

Chou I-ch'un (1883-30 August 1948), known as Y. T. Tsur, educator, public administrator, and government official. He was the principal of Tsinghua College from 1913 to 1918. He held office as a Senator (1918-20), as secretary general of the financial readjustment commission (1923-24), and as executive director of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture (1924-28). He served under Wu Ting-ch'ang (q.v.) in several National Government posts.

A native of Hsiuning, Anhwei, Y. T. Tsur was born in Hankow. After being graduated from St. John's University in Shanghai, he went to the United States, where he received a B.A. from Yale University in 1909. He then went to the University of Wisconsin for graduate work and received his M.A. in 1910.

After returning to China, Tsur in 1913 was appointed principal of Tsinghua College at Peking. That institution had been organized in

1911. Its students were chosen through competitive examination and were prepared for study in the United States on scholarships. The scholarship funds came from the portion of the Boxer Indemnity Fund that had been returned to China in 1908. During the years of the First World War, Tsur laid the foundation for the institution's growth into one of the outstanding universities of China. Tsinghua's physical facilities were expanded, and a fine academic program was established. Nevertheless, Tsur was forced to resign from Tsinghua in 1918 after a disagreement with the ministry of foreign affairs of the Peking government, which had jurisdiction over the school because of its connection with the Boxer Fund.

From 1918 to 1920 Tsur served in the Parliament at Peking. Although the Parliament was dominated by Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.) and manipulated for his personal ends, Tsur emerged from his sally into politics with his reputation unscathed. He had no direct connection with the warlords; rather, he was associated with the group of American-educated civilian leaders in Peking, including C. T. Wang (Wang Cheng-t'ing, q.v.), whom he had known at Yale, and W. W. Yen (Yen Hui-ch'ing, q.v.).

Y. T. Tsur continued to be interested in education after he left Tsinghua, and he entered into what was to be a long relationship with Peking Union Medical College. With American assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation, channeled through the China Medical Board, Peking Union Medical College became one of the best medical centers in the Far East. About 1915 Y. T. Tsur had accepted an invitation to serve on its board of trustees.

Tsur also was known as a public servant and philanthropist. He worked tirelessly to relieve the suffering in the north China countryside after a series of droughts from 1919 to 1921. As a director of the International Famine Relief Commission, Y. T. Tsur did much to alleviate the sufferings of the peasantry. He also gained respect as a public administrator in 1923-24 when he served as secretary general of the commission for the readjustment of finances, under the chairmanship of W. W. Yen. That commission was charged with the following duties: to ascertain and verify the actual amounts of the principal and interest of domestic and foreign loans contracted by various departments of the central government and

inadequately secured; to study methods of readjustment and redemption on the basis of data thus obtained; and to formulate a financial policy for the government after the readjustment of loans had been made. According to many observers, the commission's successful completion of its work was due largely to Tsur's work as W. W. Yen's chief deputy.

Y. T. Tsur's organizational talent also served to make him one of the leading industrial promoters of north China. He was a close friend of Sun To-hsi, whose family owned a number of industrial firms in Tientsin and Shanghai. The Chung-fu Bank, established by the Sun family to provide credit facilities for its holdings, developed into one of the important private commercial banks of China. Y. T. Tsur directed its Peking branch for a number of years. He was also the founder and chairman of the board of the Jen-li Rug Company of Tientsin and a consultant to the Yung-li Chemical Works and other industrial enterprises.

In 1924 a new organization, the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, was established to take charge of administering the Boxer Indemnity funds returned to China by the United States. The money was to be returned to China in 20 annual installments and was to be devoted to the development and application of scientific knowledge in China, as well as to the advancement of cultural institutions. Y. T. Tsur was asked to become the first executive director of the China Foundation. He held that post from 1924 until 1928 and remained a member of its board of trustees for many years.

In 1926, Yenching University asked Tsur to become a member of its board of managers. His cordial personal relations with bankers and other prominent men in Peking proved to be of great value to Yenching in its fund-raising drives. When the National Government came to power at Nanking in 1928, it enacted a law requiring that all heads of institutions of higher education be Chinese citizens. That decree created difficulties for many of the Christian colleges in China, which were generally headed by Westerners. Yenching resolved the dilemma by creating the titular position of chancellor. In 1933-34 Tsur served as acting chancellor of Yenching.

In 1935 Y. T. Tsur's old friend Wu Ting-ch'ang (q.v.) was named minister of industry in the National Government. At Wu's invitation,

Tsur accompanied him to Nanking to serve as his administrative vice minister; he held that post from 1935 to 1937. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937 and the subsequent reorganization of the National Government, the ministry of industry was absorbed by the ministry of economic affairs, headed by Wong Wen-hao (q.v.). Wu Ting-ch'ang then was sent to Kweichow as governor. Tsur again accompanied him, serving first as a member of the provincial government council and then as commissioner of finance of the provincial government. Because Kweichow was one of the poorest provinces of China, its public finance system was chaotic. Tsur worked hard under the difficult wartime circumstances to bring order to the province's financial situation. In December 1944, when the Japanese neared Kweichow, the central authorities at Chungking assigned a military man, Yang Sen (q.v.), to replace Wu Ting-ch'ang as governor. Wu was recalled to Chungking to serve as secretary general of the Central Planning Board, under the chairmanship of Chiang Kai-shek. Tsur accompanied Wu to Chungking. In 1945, after the Japanese surrender, Tsur was given the portfolio of minister of agriculture and forestry. In 1947 he was named minister of health at Nanking. He resigned from his government post in December 1948 and retired to Hong Kong, where he stayed until his lifelong friend Wu Ting-ch'ang died in August 1950. Y. T. Tsur then retired to Peking.

Despite his wartime service in the National Government, Tsur had no formal connection with the Kuomintang. His government positions had been given him because of his connection with Wu Ting-ch'ang. Tsur was a specially invited delegate to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1956. He died at Shanghai in the summer of 1958. One of his sons, Chou Hua-k'ang, a Yenching graduate who received his M.D. at Peking Union Medical College, became a senior physician in the department of medicine there.

Chou Pao-chung 周保中
Orig. Hsi Shao-huang 奚紹黃

Chou Pao-chung (1902-22 February 1964), Communist general, was best known as a guerrilla leader in Manchuria from 1932 to 1945.

Born in Tali, Yunnan, Chou Pao-chung belonged to the ethnic minority in Yunnan known as the Pai or Min-chia. The youngest son of a shoemaker father and a peasant mother, he completed primary school, but left junior middle school to join the army. In the 1915-16 campaign against Yuan Shih-k'ai, he served as a platoon leader under Ts'ai O (q.v.). In 1918 he became a company commander. Chou entered the Yunnan Military Academy in 1921 as a member of the seventeenth class. He specialized in logistics, and he was graduated with distinction two years later. He then went to Moscow and studied at the University for Toilers of the East from 1923 to 1925.

Chou Pao-chung returned to China in 1925 and became a cadet officer at the Whampoa Military Academy. When the Northern Expedition began in mid-1926, Chou served as a deputy regimental commander in the Sixth Army, commanded by Ch'eng Ch'ien (q.v.). He participated in the capture of Nanchang and Nanking.

Despite his Moscow training, Chou did not become a Communist until 1927, when he was deputy commander of the 18th Division of the Sixth Army, in which the Communist Lin Po-ch'ü (q.v.) was political commissar. In 1928, when Chou was serving as garrison commander in eastern Hunan, he ignored orders to suppress Communist-led peasant uprisings. After being dismissed from his position and interned by the authorities, Chou managed to escape to Shanghai, where he remained in hiding for about three years.

When the Japanese began military operations in Manchuria in September 1931, the Chinese Communist party ordered Chou to go there and attempt to organize anti-Japanese resistance. At this time he changed his name to Chou Pao-chung. Chou arrived in Manchuria in January 1932 to work under Lo Teng-hsien (1904-33), who was then in the Harbin area as secretary of the Northeast branch of the Chinese Communist party. Finding the indigenous resistance movement led by Ma Chan-shan (q.v.) to be ineffectual, Chou joined the non-Communist National Salvation Army [Chiu-kuo-chün], commanded by Li Tu, and became Li's chief of staff. Most of the anti-Japanese forces in Manchuria suffered severe defeats during 1933, and such guerrilla leaders as Li Tu and Wang Te-lin were forced to leave the area.

Chou Pao-chung then rallied the remnants of the National Salvation Army. He placed these troops under Communist control and marched them to the Liaoning-Kirin border area. In 1934 Chou gradually incorporated other guerrilla units into his forces and extended his activities into the east Kirin area. In 1935 these troops were designated the Fifth Army of the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army. When the entire Communist-directed guerrilla force in Manchuria was reorganized in 1936, Chou became commander of the Second Route Army. During that period he also served as secretary of the Manchurian provincial committee and of the Kirin committee of the Chinese Communist party underground organization. He remained in Manchuria as a guerrilla leader until 1945; the Chinese Communists later used that fact to substantiate their claim that the Communists had been in the vanguard of the "anti-Japanese patriotic movement."

After the Japanese surrender in 1945, Lin Piao (q.v.) was assigned by the top Chinese Communist command to assume over-all direction of Communist military operations in Manchuria. Lin Piao and the substantial number of Communist officers assigned to that theater made contact with Chou Pao-chung's guerrilla forces and used them as the nucleus of the military forces which were gradually developed in Manchuria. By 1946-47 the Communist forces in Manchuria had been designated the Northeast Democratic United Army. They were commanded by Lin Piao, with three deputy commanders, Chou Pao-chung, Hsiao Ching-kuang, and Lü Cheng-ts'ao. Hsiao and Lü had accompanied Lin Piao from Yenan to Manchuria in 1945. Chou continued to work in eastern Manchuria and became chairman of the Kirin provincial government and commander of the Kirin military district when these were formally established by the Communists. The Communist forces in Manchuria were later renamed the Northeast People's Liberation Army and, in 1948, the Fourth Field Army of the People's Liberation Army. Chou remained with these forces, commanded throughout by Lin Piao, as they completed the military occupation of Manchuria and swept southward across China in 1949.

After the Communists consolidated their control of the mainland, Chou was assigned to positions in the southwest and in his native

Yunnan province. He became vice chairman of the Yunnan provincial government at Kunming and a member of the regional Southwest Military and Administrative Committee. However, Chou Pao-chung never gained national prominence during the final years of his life. As a result of his long guerrilla experience in Manchuria, he was in poor health. He became very ill in the winter of 1952-53. In 1954, as a representative of the Min-chia in Yunnan, he was invited to Peking to serve on the nationalities committee of the National People's Congress. In September 1954 he was named to membership on the National Defense Council, and in 1955, when the Chinese Communists for the first time awarded military honors, he received a number of decorations. In September 1956 he was elected an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party at its Eighth National Congress, but he was given no substantive position at Peking. When a North Korean military mission visited Peking shortly before Chou's death, at the official banquet, Chou was extolled as a wartime hero who had fought shoulder to shoulder with the Koreans against the Japanese in Manchuria. Some members of the visiting Korean delegation had served under him during the war. However, no major public tribute was paid him at the time of his death in February 1964.

Chou Pao-chung married Wang I-chin, a guerrilla fighter who was known for her expert marksmanship.

Chou Shu-jen

Alt. Lu Hsün

周樹人

魯迅

Chou Shu-jen (1881-19 October 1936), known as Lu Hsün, a writer and social critic of such prominence that he became an almost legendary figure.

Shaohsing, Chekiang, was the native place of Lu Hsün. He was born into a family of commercial and minor official background. Like his two younger brothers, Chou Tso-jen (q.v.) and Chou Chien-jen, he received an early classical education in a school maintained by the Chou clan. Browsing in the family library first attracted him to the subjects which became his central interests in adult life: popular literature, folklore, natural science, and art, particularly woodblock illustrations.

The family financial situation declined sharply after 1893, when Lu Hsün's grandfather, Chou Fu-ch'ing, a chin-shih and the first scholar of consequence in the family for centuries, was arrested for the attempted bribery of a provincial examination official. That scandal, combined with the prolonged illness of his father, Chou Feng-i, seriously impaired the family's finances and resulted in Lu Hsün's having to leave the clan school. After the death of his father in 1897, he was sent to the country to live temporarily with his eldest maternal uncle. His mother, a capable country woman who had taught herself to read, did much to hold the family together during that difficult period, and her indomitable character influenced Lu Hsün throughout his life. Her maiden name had been Lu, and it was from his mother's name that Lu Hsün derived his pen name.

Aside from short stays in the countryside, Lu Hsün spent his formative years until the age of 17 in Shaohsing, where he also acquired a solid grounding in traditional Chinese history and literature and studied the history of his native district and its illustrious roster of scholars. Shortly before the reform movement of 1898, Lu Hsün left Shaohsing for Nanking to take the entrance examinations for the government supported Kiangnan Naval Academy. He passed the examinations and enrolled at Kiangnan, but was dissatisfied with the institution. In the following year, he transferred to the School of Railways and Mines, which was run in connection with the Kiangnan Army Academy at Nanking. He read translations of foreign books and in so doing he discovered the new world of Western science, literature, philosophy, and history. From the works of Charles Darwin and Thomas Henry Huxley he learned about the doctrine of evolution, which became an important theme in his later political and social thought. Such works encouraged him to believe that man, through rational action, could improve himself and his environment and that the Chinese, therefore, could build a strong China free of foreign encroachment. In 1901, after four years at Nanking, Lu Hsün was graduated from the School of Railways and Mines.

Because he believed that he could do most for China as a physician, Lu Hsün sought access to a modern medical school. He obtained a government scholarship to study medicine in Japan, and in February 1902 he sailed for Tokyo.

During two years of language study in Tokyo, Lu Hsün avoided political activities and devoted himself to continued study of Western learning. At the same time he attempted, through articles on popular scientific subjects published in Chinese student magazines in Tokyo, to expand the horizons of his countrymen, whom he called upon to emulate the self-disciplined "spirit of Sparta."

In the autumn of 1904, Lu Hsün entered the Sendai Provincial Medical School in Japan. However, he left the school after less than two years. Early in 1906 he witnessed a news slide of the Russo-Japanese war which showed a Chinese, bound and awaiting execution by the Japanese as a Russian spy, surrounded by other able-bodied but apathetic Chinese. Seeing the slide helped to convince him that a fundamental change in the spirit of the Chinese people was necessary to avoid such "futile spectacles" and that literature, which reaches the masses, and not medicine, which treats only individuals, was the best means to effect this change. Thus he left Sendai and, after a brief trip to China to submit to an arranged marriage, returned to Tokyo in June 1906, accompanied by his brother Chou Tso-jen, to devote himself to literature.

Lu Hsün was one of a small number of Chinese in Tokyo concerned with the rigorous study of literature. During this period he read and was most influenced by Nietzsche, Darwin, Gogol, and Chekhov. With his brother, Lu Hsün started a short-lived periodical, *New Life*, devoted to expounding Western ideas in classical Chinese. Essays published in 1907-8 summarize his observations on the development of Western civilization and the relevance of Western ideas to China. Having abandoned the opinions of his pre-Sendai days, he concluded that science should not be emphasized at the expense of moral, aesthetic, and spiritual values; that industrialization, materialism, and democracy—which he termed "the tyranny of a million unreliable rascals"—should not be blindly adopted by China; and that, in the realm of literature, engagé writers like Byron were needed to lead China out of desolation and into beauty and strength. These essays reveal obvious conflicts in the thinking of the young Lu Hsün. He was attracted both to the material promise of science and to the essential vitality of spiritual values; he pitied the plight of the masses but was impatient with their submissiveness; he

wanted a modernized China yet desired to retain the "established blood vessels" of her traditional culture. During the years from 1906 to 1909 in Tokyo, Lu Hsün read many Japanese translations of the works of the "oppressed peoples" of Russia, Eastern Europe, and the Balkans. With his brother Chou Tso-jen, he published two volumes of European and Russian short stories. Their objective was to portray to the Chinese the spirit of resistance to autocracy shown by peoples in other unfortunate lands. The translations were written in an archaic classical Chinese. At that time Lu Hsün was most strongly influenced by the Russian authors Gogol and Andreyev and by the Polish novelist Henryk Sienkiewicz.

For nine years after his return to China from Japan in 1909, Lu Hsün virtually abandoned his crusade to rescue China from her moral and physical ills. He taught science for a year at Hangchow and then served as school principal in Shaohsing in 1910-11. He found that the masses were still indifferent to social change, and he was also depressed by the lack of interest in his short story translations. A feeling of futility began to overtake him, and it was deepened by the results of the 1911 revolution. After the establishment of the republican government at Nanking in January 1912, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ai (q.v.), also a native of Shaohsing, invited him to Nanking to serve in the ministry of education, which Ts'ai headed. After the resignation of Sun Yat-sen in favor of Yuan Shih-k'ai, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ai went to Peking, where he held the post of minister of education in the first cabinet formed there. Lu Hsün also moved to Peking, where he served, with brief interruptions, in the ministry of education until the summer of 1926.

The politics at Peking soon made Lu Hsün suspicious of all reform efforts, and he retreated from public life to concentrate on the study of ancient Chinese texts and inscriptions, in which, as he wrote, "there were no political problems." The resulting sinological studies, done in the best tradition of Ch'ing dynasty philology, included compilations of biographical, anecdotal, and historical material relative to Shaohsing, as well as studies on natural history. More significantly, his studies embodied extensive research on the history of Chinese literature, especially the traditional tales, which he had loved from childhood. He published a volume

of ancient stories of the pre-Chin period, *Hsiao-shuo pei-chiao* [ancient tales collected]; a volume of tales from the Han, Wei, Chin, and Six Dynasties period, *Ku hsiao-shuo ko-ch'en* [ancient tales reclaimed]; and a volume of T'ang and Sung short stories, the *T'ang Sung ch'u-an-ch'i-chi* [short stories from T'ang and Sung]. Lu Hsün also produced an annotated edition of the works of the third-century poet Hsi K'ang (223-262), whose terse style strongly influenced him. He later systematized his treatment of Chinese literary history from its beginnings to the end of the Han dynasty in his *Han wen-hsueh shih-kang* [outline history of Chinese literature] and through the Ch'ing period in his *Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih-lueh* [brief history of Chinese fiction]. From miscellaneous anecdotes about, and notes on, old fiction and writers gathered in preparing these works, Lu Hsün compiled the *Hsiao-shuo chiu-wen ch'ao* [notes on old tales]. He also amassed an outstanding collection of rubbings of early inscriptions and carvings and worked on an as yet unpublished listing of Han stone portraits and Buddhist carvings and tomb inscriptions of the Six Dynasties (420-589) period.

Lu Hsün was roused from his creative apathy only by the Literary Revolution of 1919. His friend of Japan days Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung (q.v.) prevailed upon him to contribute some poems and a story to the May 1918 issue of *New Youth*. The story, "A Madman's Diary," reminiscent of Gogol's tale of the same title, was a potent indictment of the traditional Chinese family system, which was revealed through the fantasies of a madman as a self-serving cloak for "cannibalism." "A Madman's Diary" was a tour de force which attracted immediate recognition. In a sense, it set the theme with which Lu Hsün was inextricably identified during the last portion of his life: abhorrence of the "putrid morals and death-stiff language" of the old China. It was the first story written in Chinese which was wholly Western in conception and execution. In subsequent issues he contributed short essays on the current Chinese scene, *tsa kan* [random thoughts], which laid the foundation for his later fame as an essayist.

"The Story of Ah Q," published in 1921, brought Lu Hsün national prominence and became the best known modern Chinese story abroad. It also gave to the modern Chinese language the term "Ah Q-ism" as a satiric term

for the Chinese national penchant for self-deceiving rationalization of defeat and frustration into "spiritual victory." Ah Q, an illiterate, poverty-stricken village outcast living in the period of the 1911 revolution, is constantly humiliated. He comforts himself with the idea that, in defeat, he is the most humble of men and argues that excessive humility is in effect a virtue, for "is not a superlative, the first or most of anything, a distinction to be achieved and envied?" Ah Q convinces himself that he is better than those about him, that the sons he does not have would have been greater scholars than the village literati. By the same token, China, prostrate before Western military and technological superiority, argued that her "national essence" was superior to "barbarian culture."

In the years between 1918 and 1926 Lu Hsün wrote some two dozen short stories, which were published in two collections, *Na-han* [call to arms], which appeared in 1923, and *P'ang-huang* [hesitation], which appeared in 1926. These tales, according to Lu Hsün, were based "almost entirely on the lives of unfortunate people living in a sick society" and were intended to stimulate social reform. His style was terse, tight, and realistic; his influence on young Chinese students and writers was enormous. Interestingly, liberal scholars like Hu Shih and Ch'en Yuan were among the first to recognize his talents. Communists and other left-wing elements, however, were uniformly hostile until 1929, when Lu Hsün became openly sympathetic to their cause.

Lu Hsün's stories of rural life sharply portray the tragedies of life in the Chinese countryside; for the most part, they are based on his childhood experiences in Shaohsing and on a journey he made there in the winter of 1919-20. In "Benediction," the widow's small son is eaten by a wolf as surely as she herself is devoured by the inhumanities of Chinese superstition and by China's outmoded code of social ethics. The boatman in "Storm in a Teacup" and the discarded wife of "The Divorce" symbolize the helplessness of the peasantry before the unchecked power of vicious landlords. The protagonist of "My Old Home" is simply crushed by "too many sons, famine, oppressive taxes, soldiers, bandits, officials, and gentry" until life is drained from him, and he is scarcely more than a "wooden image." Lu Hsün sympathized with figures like the hero of "K'ung I-chi," a

broken victim of the useless examination system; with the young rebels in "Regret for the Past," whose lives are crushed by economic pressure; and with the hero of "In the Wine Shop," who lets his ideals wither rather than confront the reality of unfulfilled dreams. At the same time Lu Hsün condemned the selfish, old-style gentry and hypocritical pseudo-modernists like the protagonist of "Professor Kao," who, beneath a veneer of new knowledge and feigned concern for the salvation of China, opposed women's education on the grounds that it subverted public morals. These stories comprise a condemnation of traditional China in the guise of Shaohsing and its denizens. After 1926, the year *Hesitation* appeared, Lu Hsün wrote only brief satirical tales that were gathered together as *Ku-shih hsin-pien* [old legends retold] in 1935. The stories in *Hesitation* are Lu Hsün's finest creation and rank as the most profound writing done in the early period of the Literary Revolution. Why Lu Hsün then abandoned the writing of stories is difficult to explain. Certainly his departure from north China in 1926 for an unhappy interlude in Amoy and Canton played a part, along with the grueling controversies he had with the Communists until late in 1929. After that date and his espousal of a kind of Communism, Lu Hsün may have settled, as C. T. Hsia put it, for emotional sterility in the interests of ideological consistency.

In essays written during the years following the May Fourth Movement of 1919, Lu Hsün called on China to shake off her lethargy, to discard the submissiveness which had enslaved the Chinese people throughout their history, to borrow courageously from abroad, and to create a rational society. He argued for the emancipation of women and children and against the traditional family system with its constricting conventions governing chastity and remarriage. He sternly criticized the Chinese concept of "national essence," with its veneration of past over present, of artificial classicism over the living language, of native medicine over modern science, and of traditional constraints on individual rights. Let those who want the past "go back," he held; "the earth today should be inhabited by men with a firm hold on the present." At the same time he brought to perfection his most characteristic prose style, terse and impassioned, witty and well larded with the vocabulary of ridicule and abuse.

From 1920 to 1926, Lu Hsün, in addition to his work in the ministry of education, taught Chinese literature at National Peking University and at other institutions in the capital. In 1925 he sided with the students of the Peking Women's Higher Normal School in a dispute with the government which had begun because of the appointment of a conservative woman as the new principal. That action led to his temporary dismissal from the ministry. The Women's Normal School affair also led to a spirited exchange of views between Lu Hsün, writing in the weekly *Yü-ssu* [thread of talk], of which he had been an original sponsor in November 1924, and Ch'en Yuan and others, writing in *Hsien-tai p'ing-lun* [contemporary critic] to support Chang Shih-chao (q.v.), the minister of education. During 1925 Lu Hsün also was active in assisting young writers and in forming the Wei-ming Society to publish reliable translations, chiefly, though not exclusively, of recent Russian works.

After the massacre of demonstrating students by the Tuan Ch'i-jui government on 18 March 1926, an incident which Lu Hsün called the "blackest day in Chinese history," he was forced into hiding for two months and soon was listed as a dangerous radical. In August 1926 he left Peking for Amoy University, where he taught unhappily under Lin Yü-t'ang (q.v.), the dean, for a few months before proceeding to Sun Yat-sen University in Canton in January 1927. Now nationally acclaimed both as creative writer and as fearless social critic, Lu Hsün was followed to Canton by many students from Amoy and elsewhere and was given an enthusiastic welcome at the university. He taught Chinese literature and served as academic dean for three months. He resigned in April 1927 because he was disgusted by the purges that followed the break between the right-wing Kuomintang forces and the Communists.

Until that time, faith in evolutionary progress toward a better China had sustained Lu Hsün through all discouragement, but the bloody violence of the 1927 massacres, during which some of his students were killed or arrested, and the spectacle of Chinese youth split against itself severely troubled him. He remained in Canton for a few months before leaving with Hsü Kuang-p'ing (q.v.), a former student who had become his common-law wife, for Shanghai. He remained in Shanghai, except for two brief trips to Peiping in 1929 and 1932, from October 1927 until

his death from tuberculosis on 19 October 1936.

Lu Hsün's first two years in Shanghai were of crucial significance in his relations with the political left. Despite an early interest in Russia dating from his years in Japan, Lu Hsün had paid little attention to the Russian Revolution; despite his contacts with Ch'en Tu-hsü (q.v.) and Li Ta-chao (q.v.) through *Hsin ch'ing-nien*, he had not participated in Communist political activities in China before 1927. Apparently, it was in Canton that he came into indirect contact with the Chinese Communist party and concluded that it was the driving force in the Chinese revolution. Greatly disappointed by the events of 1927, he sought new insights and, immediately after arrival in Shanghai, began to read translations from works on modern Russian literature, Marxism, and Russia. He never pretended to systematic study, never read *Das Kapital*, and his scant works of this period show little reflection of his reading. He was close to Jou Shih (Chao P'ing-fu), Feng Hsueh-feng, and a few other young Communist writers, but he seemingly had no connections with the underground organizational apparatus of the Communist party. At the same time, the Communist party itself was by no means completely committed to Lu Hsün. Official Communist party organs intermittently characterized him as an outsider to the proletariat and criticized his political and intellectual attitudes. In 1928 the Creation Society and the Sun Society, both Communist groups, began a concerted attack on him in rebuttal to his caustic observations on revolutionary literature. A polemic ensued which ended only with his capitulation to his Communist critics.

During 1928-29 while publicly replying to his Marxist critics, Lu Hsün privately reappraised his past individualistic stand. He read Japanese translations of Marx and literature of Soviet Russia. Lu's grasp of dialectic always remained shaky, but by the end of 1929 Lu Hsün and the Chinese Communist party were ready for closer cooperation. In February 1930 he joined the Freedom League, a group organized to protest increasing restrictions on freedom of speech, news, assembly, and publication. In March 1930 he participated wholeheartedly in preparations for the establishment of the League of Left-Wing Writers. He became affiliated with the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, which had its headquarters at Moscow. In early 1933

he served on the executive committee of the China League for Civil Rights, a group which was anti-Kuomintang, but primarily non-Communist; and in the autumn of that year, he was named to the presidium of the Communist-front Far Eastern Conference of the Congress against Imperialist War, convened secretly in Shanghai, but found it too dangerous to attend. He was close to Ch'ü Ch'iü-pai (q.v.), former general secretary of the Chinese Communist party, who was then in Shanghai, and on three occasions he provided Ch'ü with refuge from arrest. Lu Hsün also had contact with Li Li-san and Ch'en Yi (qq.v.). In 1935 he was the channel through which the final letter of Fang Chih-min (q.v.) from his Nanchang prison was forwarded to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party. Similarly, in early 1936 he was the individual through whom a secret Communist report on work in north China, brought by messenger from Peiping, was forwarded to the central authorities of the Chinese Communist party.

Never a serious student of dialectical materialism, and too skeptical to embrace Marxist-Leninist dogma, Lu Hsün never became a member of the Communist party. His sympathy with the Chinese Communists derived primarily from his longstanding hatred of the injustices inherent in the traditional Chinese social system, his spirited nationalism and hatred of foreign privilege in China, and his emotional revulsion to the brutality, persecution, and censorship perpetrated by the Kuomintang authorities associated with Chiang Kai-shek. He was an independent, undisciplined, and non-doctrinaire supporter of the Chinese Communist party as the only effective opposition to the Kuomintang and, under the circumstances then existing in China, as the sole agent for national regeneration. His non-doctrinaireposition, which in many ways resembled that of his friends Soong Ch'ing-ling (q.v.) and Mao Tun (Shen Yen-ping, q.v.), conflicted with the rigid dictates of Chou Yang (q.v.), the young secretary general of the League of Left-Wing Writers with whom he came into conflict in the Battle of Slogans of 1936.

From the Chinese Communist standpoint, the major focus of Lu Hsün's social criticism was unorthodox, since, in the last analysis, it placed the blame for China's humiliations on China herself rather than on her "imperialist foes." By the time Lu Hsün reached Shanghai, his

creative years as an author were over. Since he believed, however, that the basic obligation of literature was to criticize society and thereby to improve it, he then devoted himself to comments on the contemporary social, political, and literary scene. Using the pen which, he said, "gold cannot buy," he produced essay after essay in which he attacked the increasingly oppressive censorship of the Kuomintang, its indiscriminate campaign of terror against Communists and other critics, and its policy of non-resistance to Japanese aggression. He accused the National Government of betraying China's national interest and of exploiting the Chinese people. China, he declared, was a desperate spectacle of misery and sham; her people were dumb and unquestioning slaves resigned to fate. "We in China . . . [live like] fish in a muddy stream, incoherent and confused," he wrote, "neither living nor dead." Nor did Lu Hsün soften his indictment with consoling references to positive virtues. To him the Chinese, in addition to being Ah Q rationalizers of their own superiority, were deceitful, cruel, hypocritical, and opportunistic, concerned more with face and form than with substance. "Things in China are often considered completed when the sign board is hung up China is really too lacking in earnestness." With respect to the future, Lu Hsün was a realist, not a pessimist. With China a "black vat of human flesh" corrupting everything it touched, the road to national rebirth would be long and tortuous. Yet Lu Hsün was confident: "to say that there is no place for us on the twentieth century stage is nonsense."

Lu Hsün's hostility to the Kuomintang made him a marked man. Particularly after 1930, he lived constantly with the possibility of arrest; his greatest protection was his enormous personal prestige. Only reliable and trusted friends knew the location of his house in Shanghai; others he saw outside, often at the bookshop of a Japanese friend, Uchiyama Kanzo. After May 1933 he could no longer publish articles under the name Lu Hsün, and his style perforce became more elliptical. Collections of his articles were banned; but they were published in 1934-35 through extra-legal channels and were circulated clandestinely.

Although Lu Hsün produced no original creative work in Shanghai, he continued to be regarded as China's leading literary figure. In

1928 he founded an important monthly, *Pen-liu* [the torrent]. Later that year, with some young friends, he launched the Chao-hua Society. After 1930 he was connected with but did not lead, as was claimed in left-wing circles, the League of Left-Wing Writers. In 1934 he was one of the founders of *I-wen* [translation magazine].

Lu Hsün's real contribution to Chinese letters during this period was the final perfection of his tsa-wen, or essay, which was characterized by a laconic yet multileveled style. Lu Hsün's ability to camouflage his meaning in an unexpected phrase, a scintillating twist, a deft allusion as well as his economy and refinement of language, all reached their fullest development during the last decade of his life and were never equaled by his many imitators.

As a prolific translator and as a sponsor of organizations and periodicals devoted to translation, Lu Hsün sought to introduce fiction and literary theory which he considered useful to the development of China and of modern Chinese literature. Much of this work was retranslation from Japanese and German, the only foreign languages he knew. In the Peking period up to 1926, his translations of Russian and Japanese works reflected his preoccupation with questions of social morality and the social role of literature. His study of Marxist cultural theory in Shanghai between 1928 and 1930 led to translations from Lunacharsky and Plekhanov on theories of literature and art and of a brief but systematic Japanese work by Katakami Shin entitled, in translation, *Some Questions of Proletarian Literature*. To acquaint Chinese readers with recent developments in Russian literature, he translated basic documents of the 1924–25 Soviet controversy on literary policy as well as works to represent the Russian proletarian writers (Fadeyev's *The Rout*) and fellow travelers (Yakovlev's *October*). In the last two years of his life, he translated a selection of Chekhov's stories, some of Gorky's *Russian Fables*, and Gogol's *Dead Souls*. Lu Hsün also wrote poetry, both in the vernacular and in traditional style. His vernacular verse is weak, but his classical poems, in the words of one of his greatest critics, T. A. Hsia, "at least equal his best pai-hua prose in terseness, bitterness, sardonic humor, and the strange beauty of 'frozen flames' and the 'intricate red lines forming patterns like coral beneath the surface of bluish-white ice.'" Lu Hsün's poems were collected in *Dead Fire*.

Graphic art was a lifelong interest of Lu Hsün, who himself had minor talents as a draftsman-designer. He was knowledgeable about traditional Chinese crafts and acquired an impressive collection of Han, Wei, Six Dynasty, and T'ang rubbings. As a result of his interest in Chinese woodblock printing, he became increasingly preoccupied with wood engraving as a contemporary medium used by Western artists. He recognized that woodblock printing was preferable to the imperfectly developed mechanical printing methods then available in China and that, as an economical method of mass communication, it could serve the cause of social education. In 1929 Lu Hsün published a volume of reproductions of wood engravings by British artists and a second collection containing French, American, Russian, and Japanese examples. By this time, several young Chinese artists had begun to practice Western-style wood engraving, and some of the earliest works in this genre were produced by the Mu-to-she [wood bell club] of Hangchow.

From the Hangchow group, disbanded in 1929, grew the 18 Club of Shanghai, which adopted the slogan, "out of the salons, into the streets." The club's aims reflected Lu Hsün's idea of a truly popular art, and he wrote a foreword to the catalogue of its first exhibition, which was held in the Chinese YMCA at Shanghai in the early summer of 1931. Lu Hsün then decided to encourage more artist-engravers. In August 1931 he organized a class in wood engraving under a Japanese teacher, with himself serving as interpreter. In 1932 the class developed into a new art club, and Lu Hsün patronized its first exhibition, also held in the Chinese YMCA at Shanghai. He also began to collect for safekeeping samples of the works of many of the younger Chinese artists, and in 1934 he published selected pieces in a volume entitled *Mu-k'o chi-ch'eng* [the woodcut record].

In addition to publishing the work of many contemporary Western artists for the instruction of young Chinese, Lu Hsün did much to help them know their own tradition. To that end, he published jointly with Cheng Chen-to (q.v.) two collections of traditional-style stationery bearing lightly inked woodblock engravings. These were the seventeenth century work by Wu Cheng-yen, *Shih-chu-chai chien-p'u* [letter papers of the bamboo studio], run from specially recut woodblocks, one volume of which

appeared before Lu Hsün's death in 1936; and the *Peip'ing chien-p'u* [Peiping letter papers], arranged and edited from modern examples and printed in 1938 from the original blocks.

Beginning with respect for the technical accomplishments of European wood engravers, particularly the thriving British school, Lu Hsün later developed a deep admiration for the Russian engravers and for European socialist artists, notably Käthe Kollwitz in Germany. In 1931 he was greatly moved by the woodcut illustrations to the Russian novel *Iron Current*, which was published in the magazine *Graphika*. Their stark and powerful portrayal of industrial civilization gave Lu Hsün a new conception of the use of engraving in depicting contemporary realities. This portrayal, he argued, should be the aim of contemporary Chinese artists. His ambition was to encourage a new national art which, by retaining its Chinese spirit while drawing upon the superior technique of Western artists, could make a major appeal to the young people of China.

Lu Hsün's literary reputation rests on a relatively small body of published work: two volumes of short stories, some of his retold classical tales, and a small but highly regarded collection of prose poems collectively titled *Yeh-ts'ao* [wild grass]. His larger fame, however, stems from his role as a social critic, particularly during the last years of his life at Shanghai.

Lu Hsün's defiant indictment of the Chinese character and Chinese tradition had great impact on the young Chinese intellectuals of the 1920's and 1930's. They recognized the truth of Lu Hsün's words, they shared his passionate desire for a better China, and they honored his consistent and outspoken dedication to the basic libertarian goals of the May Fourth Movement. Their admiration was strengthened because Lu Hsün, in the face of official hostility after 1927, dared to remain uncompromising and because he articulated their protests against political terror, censorship, and Kuomintang temporizing in the face of Japanese aggression. Lu Hsün's political sympathies made him a national symbol of left-wing opposition to the Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-shek's domination, but his underlying appeal was much broader. Essentially, Lu Hsün's concern was the development in China of a new spirit of self-respect and self-confidence to serve as the basis for genuine national regeneration. His essays, mostly too

topical for later readers, became the province of the specialist in later years; but his name as a symbol of the quest for a mature, modernized China will long survive.

Despite his controversies with the Communists over literary matters, Lu Hsün was accorded major status as literary patriot by the Chinese Communists soon after his death. Writing in January 1940, Mao Tse-tung lauded Lu Hsün as the "giant of China's cultural revolution." In the cultural section of his influential essay *On New Democracy*, Mao Tse-tung created a near-legendary figure and depicted Lu Hsün as the most articulate and influential social critic to emerge from the May Fourth Movement of 1919: "and Lu Hsün was the greatest and most militant standard-bearer of this new cultural force. He was the supreme commander in China's cultural revolution; he was not only a great man of letters, but also a great thinker and a great revolutionary. Lu Hsün had the most unyielding backbone and was totally free from any trace of obsequiousness and sycophancy; such strength of character is the greatest treasure among the colonial and semi-colonial peoples."

Shortly after Lu Hsün's death in 1936, a special committee was organized at Shanghai to prepare a comprehensive edition of his writings. Its members included Cheng Chen-to, and Hu Yu-chih as well as his widow, Hsü Kuang-p'ing. The result of their labors was the collection entitled *Lu Hsün hsien-sheng ch'u'an-chi* [complete works of Lu Hsün], published in 20 volumes at Shanghai in 1938, with an introduction by Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei. Since 1949 countless memoirs, biographies, studies, and tributes have been devoted to Lu Hsün. Two additional supplements to the *Lu Hsün hsien-sheng ch'u'an-chi* were published, respectively, in 1946 and 1952, under the editorship of T'ang T'ao. The *Lu Hsün shu-chien* [letters of Lu Hsün], edited by his widow, was published in two volumes (second edition, Peking, 1952). The *Lu Hsün jih-chi* [diaries of Lu Hsün] was published at Peking in 1959. The Foreign Languages Press at Peking published several volumes of Lu Hsün's works in English translation. In addition to *The True Story of Ah Q*, eighteen early stories were issued in 1954 as *Selected Stories of Lu Hsün*, and eight stories from his *Old Tales Retold* were issued in 1961. Peking's English-language edition of the *Selected Works of Lu Hsün* comprises four volumes. The first, including short stories, prose poems,

and reminiscences, with a biographical and critical introduction by Feng Hsueh-feng, appeared in 1956. It was followed by three volumes of essays grouped chronologically: volume 2 (1957), covering the period 1918–1927; volume 3 (1959), the period 1928–1933; and volume 4 (1960), the final period from 1934 to 1936, with an appended chronology of Lu Hsün's life and writings. A translation of his *Brief History of Chinese Fiction*, containing reproductions of ancient woodcuts and some facsimiles of rare editions, was published at Peking in 1959.

Chou Tso-jen

Orig. Chou K'uei-shou	周作人
T. Ch'i-ming	周槐壽
H. Chih-t'ang	啟明
	知堂

Chou Tso-jen (1885–), essayist, scholar, and translator of Western works into pai-hua [the vernacular]. With his brother Lu Hsün (Chou Shu-jen, q.v.), he brought new prominence to the essay form in the 1920's and 1930's.

Born in Shaohsing, Chekiang, Chou Tso-jen, like his two brothers, Lu Hsün (Chou Shu-jen, q.v.) and Chou Chien-jen, received his early education in the traditional Chinese classics. However, the family's financial position was impaired by the arrest and conviction of his grandfather in 1893 on charges of attempting to bribe a provincial examination official and by the death of his father in 1897. Chou Tso-jen was forced to leave the private school he had been attending and was sent to live with more fortunate relatives in Hangchow.

In 1898 and 1899 he passed the initial qualifying examinations for the sheng-yuan degree. However, he did not pursue an official career. Rather, he entered the Kiangnan Naval Academy at Nanking. He learned English at the academy, as well as marine engineering and military technology. At this time, Yen Fu, Lin Shu, and others were translating Western works into Chinese, and Chou became more interested in Western social and cultural history than in naval studies. His translation of *The Gold Bug* appeared in the magazine *Hsiao-shuo lin* [a forest of fiction] in 1905. He also produced an undistinguished novelette, *Ku-erh chi* [the orphan], which reflected his reading of Su Man-shu's translation of *Les Misérables*.

Late in 1905, Chou Tso-jen went to Peking, where he competed successfully in examinations for a government scholarship to study abroad. Six months later he was graduated from the naval academy at Nanking. He then accompanied his elder brother, Lu Hsün, to Japan, where he studied Japanese at Hosei University. Later, he transferred to Rikkyo University to begin the study of English literature. He also studied classical and modern Japanese literature and classical Greek literature.

Chinese political refugees in Japan stirred student interest in political and social problems. Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung (q.v.) arranged for Chou Tso-jen, Lu Hsün, and a few of their associates to meet regularly with Chang Ping-lin (q.v.), who lectured to the group on both political and philological matters. Chou, Lu Hsün, and a few friends attempted unsuccessfully to found a literary magazine which would also aid national survival. Chou translated one of H. Rider Haggard's novels and Maurice Jokai's *Egyaz Isten*. These were published in Shanghai in 1907 and 1908, respectively. In 1910 he translated Jokai's *A Sarga Rozsa*, but his translation was not published until 1920. Chou's *Yü-wai hsiao-shuo chi* [a collection of foreign fiction], to which Lu Hsün contributed a preface and a few translations, appeared in 1909 in two volumes. The selections were drawn mainly from the works of Eastern European authors, and the work was intended to arouse the people of China by making known the spirit of resistance of other peoples who suffered under oppressive rule and outmoded social institutions. Although the collection attracted little attention at the time of its publication, it was later to win the acclaim of literary critics.

Chou returned to China in 1912 with his Japanese wife, Hata Nobuku, and joined the Chekiang provincial education bureau as an inspector of schools. Six months later, he accepted employment as a teacher at the Provincial Fifth Middle School in Shaohsing. In addition to his teaching duties, in 1914 he translated *Charcoal Sketches* by Henryk Sienkiewicz; he wrote a number of essays which were later included in the *Erh-t'ung wen-hsüeh hsiao-lun* [essays on children's literature], published in 1932; and he cooperated with Lu Hsün in the compilation, editing, and private publication of old literary records and notes relating to their native place in Chekiang.

In January 1917, Chou Tso-jen moved his family to Peking, where he worked in the National History Compilation Office. In August of that year, he joined the academic staff of the college of arts of National Peking University. Under the administration of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, National Peking University was becoming a center of intellectual ferment. Ch'en Tu-hsiu (q.v.), the fiery radical and founder of the *Hsin ch'ing-nien* [new youth], was head of the college of arts; and Hu Shih (q.v.), an advocate of the language reform movement, was a member of the staff of the philosophy department. Chou Tso-jen began to write essays on current social and cultural issues, which regularly appeared in the *Hsin ch'ing-nien* and similar journals. As a proponent of language reform, he began to use the vernacular language in his essays, poems, translations, and scholarly publications. As early as January 1919, he began to experiment with new poetic forms. Many of his early experiments in *pai-hua* were written for children, and some had originally been written in Japanese. In 1922, a number of his vernacular poems were included in a book which also contained poems by Chu Tzu-ch'ing, Yü P'ing-po, Yeh Sheng-t'ao, Cheng Chen-to, and others. Although his poems were well received, Chou Tso-jen disclaimed any understanding of the requirements of poetic expression and henceforth devoted himself mainly to writing essays. The need for a Chinese literature freed from classical restraints and encumbrances and invested with a spirit of social realism was argued in many of his critical writings. Clear statements of the humanitarian principle that literature should strive to reflect the whole life of man, not avoiding the negative aspects of the human condition, were contained in essays entitled *Jen ti wen-hsueh* [humane literature] and *P'ing-min ti wen-hsueh* [literature of the common man]. His concern for the broader social aspects of the so-called Chinese renaissance movement was also clearly set forth in an essay in 1918 which advocated the emancipation of women and constituted one of the first clear expressions of principle in the movement to attain equality of the sexes. At the height of the anti-Confucian polemics following the May Fourth Movement, he deplored the superstitious and irrational elements of established doctrines, but recognized the human need for spiritual and moral nourishment.

The search for new values to replace the old stimulated interest in non-Chinese history and literature. The publication in 1918 of Chou's *Ou-chou wen-hsueh shih* [history of European literature], which dealt primarily with the Greek and Roman periods but also described pre-eighteenth century European literary developments, was followed during the next 15 years by 11 volumes of translations. These translations were significant for their use of the vernacular language but, even more, for their exploration of national literatures which had been ignored by the previous generation of Chinese translators. *A Collection of Modern Fiction* (1922), to which Lu Hsün and Chou Chien-jen also contributed, was drawn mainly from the shorter fictional works of Eastern European and Russian writers. A translation of *Makar's Dream* by V. G. Korolenko was published in 1926. These volumes were among the first of the great flood of translations of Russian and Eastern European novels, poetry, and drama produced in China in the 1920's and 1930's. *A Collection of Modern Japanese Fiction* (1923) was also a joint venture with Lu Hsün and contained 30 selections from the works of such writers as *Mushakōji Saneatsu*, Mori Ogai, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Natsume Sōseki, Doppo Kunikada, and others. The attraction which ancient Greek literature had for Chou was reflected in his volume of translations of the lyric poetry of Herodes and Theocritus. Chou Tso-jen's stature as an authority on foreign literature was greatly enhanced by these publications and he was much in demand as a teacher and lecturer. During the years before the outbreak of war in 1937, he taught at Yenching University, National Peking University Women's College of Arts and Sciences, and Sino-French University.

Chou Tso-jen's prominence in modern Chinese letters was not solely attributable to his written works; he also played a major role in literary societies, which influenced the main literary trends of the period. In early 1921, the *Wen-hsueh yen-chiu hui* (Literary Research Society) was organized. Its constitution, drafted by Cheng Chen-to, and its inaugural manifesto, written by Chou Tso-jen, set forth the basic principles of the society. Other prominent members of the society were Mao Tun (Shen Yen-ping, q.v.), Kuo Shao-yü, Yeh Sheng-t'ao, and Sun Fu-yuan. In the early 1920's Sun Fu-yuan was the editor of the literary supplement

of the Peking *Ch'en Pao* [morning post], to which Chou Tso-jen and Lu Hsün regularly contributed articles. A collection of Chou Tso-jen's essays, the *Tzu-chi ti yuan-ti* [one's own garden], which borrowed its title from *Candide*, was published in 1923. Containing some 50 essays embracing an extremely wide range of social and cultural comment, it became one of his most popular works. In November 1924, when the Literary Research Society was showing signs of disintegration, Chou Tso-jen, Lu Hsün, Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung, Liu Fu (q.v.), Lin Yü-t'ang (q.v.), and Sun Fu-yuan formed the *Yü-ssu she* [threads of talk society]. In its founding statement of principles, the group denied any collective interest in the promotion of political ideals and declared its support of free thought and individual action. However, the contributors to its weekly journal, among whom Chou Tso-jen figured prominently, expressed themselves freely and frequently on cultural and political problems of the day. Chou strongly supported a literature which would encourage a revival of national morality and consciousness in order to restore international prestige to China. In other essays he lamented the corruption, self-deceit, lewdness, and self-abasing ways of the Chinese people, which, he argued, were responsible for social and political disorder.

In March 1926, following riots and labor strife which resulted in the death of 50 students, Chou Tso-jen and other Peking teachers and intellectuals were blacklisted for radical activities by the government of Tuan Ch'i-jui. Following the entry of Chang Tso-lin into Peking in April 1927, the Pei-hsin Book Company, the publisher of many of Chou Tso-jen's essay collections, was closed; the *Yü-ssu* journal was banned; and Li Ta-chao was arrested and executed. In October, Chou and Liu Fu were forced to take refuge in the home of the Japanese military attaché. These experiences, combined with harsh attacks from leftist writers for his criticism of class and propaganda literary doctrines, resulted in Chou's gradual withdrawal from the main scene of literary life. Thereafter, he lived quietly in Peking, studying foreign and Chinese literature. He founded the magazine *Lo-t'o ts'ao* [camel grass] with his friends Yü P'ing-po and Hsu Tsu-cheng and continued to write essays, but the burden of his comment became increasingly narrow and personal. The essay *Pi-hu tu-shu lun* [on reading behind closed doors],

dated 1927, reflected this shift from the critical essay to personal reflections on recondite matters and recollections of the past. In the work *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsueh ti yuan-liu* [the origins of modern Chinese literature], which grew out of a series of five lectures delivered at Fujen University in March 1932, Chou argued that the emergence of the so-called proletarian literature movement in China represented a reversion to authoritarian concepts of the past.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in the summer of 1937, Chou Tso-jen remained in north China. Late in 1939 he was appointed dean of the faculty of literature at Peking University. A year later, he was named to head the bureau of education in the Japanese-sponsored government in north China. Chou's reasons for remaining in north China during the period of the Japanese occupation remain a matter of dispute. He doubtless was influenced by personal and family considerations, and may have felt that his presence there would help to preserve Peking University from Japanese depredations. He also had a deep regard for some aspects of Japanese culture. In any event, he continued to write essays, and several volumes of his writings were published at Shanghai, Tientsin, and Peking during the war years. That he also retained his interest in traditional Chinese culture was evinced by his detailed review of a book translated by Derk Bodde, *Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking*, which appeared in the first number of the *Kuo-li hua-peh pien-i-kuan kuan-k'an* [journal of the north China translation bureau] in October 1942.

After the cessation of hostilities in 1945, Chou Tso-jen was arrested by the National Government authorities, tried in Nanking as a collaborator, and sentenced to death. He was not executed, however; his sentence was reduced to 15 years imprisonment, allegedly on the intercession of Li Tsung-jen and Hu Shih. A full pardon was accorded him by acting President Sun Lien-chung in February 1949. After his release, he lived in Shanghai for a time and then moved back to his old house at Peking. His wife died at Peking in 1962. Advancing years did not dim Chou's interest in literary matters, and in 1953-54 he published two volumes dealing, respectively, with Lu Hsün's early life in Chekiang and with the prototypes of Lu Hsün's fictional characters. He published a new Chinese translation of the *Kojiki* [record of

ancient matters], an eighth-century Japanese work dealing with early Japanese myths and legends.

In the course of a varied and versatile literary career, Chou Tso-jen completed some 30 separate collections of prose essays, upon which his fame as a writer rests. In essays published before 1930 Chou helped to define the new literature in moral and psychological terms, much as Hu Shih had done in historical perspective. Chou's writings of this period reflected the influences of Freud, Frazer, and Havelock Ellis. As a member of Lin Yü-t'ang's circle in the 1930's, Chou became a spokesman for a skeptical Confucianism, tolerant of everything except stupidity and barbarism. With Lu Hsun, Chou Tso-jen brought the essay to new prominence in the 1920's and 1930's and thereby made a distinctive contribution to his era. An analysis of Chou's literary development by D. E. Pollard, "Chou Tso-jen and Cultivating One's Garden," appeared in *Asia Major* in 1965.

Chou Chien-jen (1889-), Chou Tso-jen's younger brother, was trained as a biologist and worked as an editor of the Commercial Press at Shanghai. His Chinese translation of Darwin's *Origin of Species* appeared in 1947. In 1948 he served in the education department of the Communist North China People's Government. After 1949 Chou Chien-jen held editorial, scientific, and cultural posts in the Central People's Government. From 1954 to 1958 he served as vice minister of higher education at Peking. In January 1958 he succeeded Sha Wen-han as governor of his native province of Chekiang. That year he also became president of the provincial branch of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Chekiang. During the post-1949 period Chou played a prominent role in two non-Communist political parties, the China Democratic League and the China Association for Promoting Democracy, rising to become a vice chairman of the latter organization in 1955. He became head of the China-Nepal Friendship Association in 1956.

Chou Tso-min

周作民

Chou Tso-min (1884-8 March 1956), founder of the Kincheng Banking Corporation, was noted for his pioneering efforts in the development of modern banking practices in north China.

Huaian, Kiangsu, was the birthplace of Chou Tso-min. His father was a scholar who had obtained the chü-jen degree. Chou received his early education at home from private tutors. About the turn of the century, he went to Shanghai, where he enrolled at the Nanyang Academy, the predecessor of Communications University. Although he was not graduated from Nanyang, he went to Japan and studied law at Kyoto Imperial University from 1905 to 1911.

After his return to China, Chou went to Peking, where he served as a section chief in the treasury department of the ministry of finance in the newly established republican government. Soon he was made director of that department. In 1916 he became the manager of the Bank of Communications branch at Wuhu, Anhwei. Then he was transferred to Peking as chief auditor in the head office of the bank.

Chou Tso-min recognized the need for developing modern commercial banking in north China to meet the growing demands of economic development there. He therefore founded the Kincheng Banking Corporation at Tientsin in 1917. Chou served as general manager and in 1920 also became chairman of the board of directors. The bank was initially capitalized at CN\$500 thousand; soon it had CN\$4.6 million in deposits.

When the Kincheng Banking Corporation was established in 1917, there were only three private commercial banks in the area. Under Chou Tso-min's vigorous direction, the Kincheng Banking Corporation set a pattern of modern banking practices. In the five years after 1917, eleven new commercial banks, all emulating Kincheng, were established in north China.

In 1923 the Kincheng Banking Corporation, the Yien-yieh Bank, the China and South Seas Bank, and the Continental Bank pooled their resources to establish a Joint Savings Society and Joint Treasury. Chou Tso-min served as an executive director of the joint operation. These four banks came to be known as the pei ssu-hang [four northern banks]. Chou also became a member of the board of directors of the Bank of China and of the Bank of Communications. In addition, he served as chairman of the Peiping Bankers Association and the Peiping Chamber of Commerce.

By 1937 the Kincheng Banking Corporation had increased its capital to CN\$7 million and

its deposits to CN\$170 million; it had become a leading private commercial bank in north China. Its volume of deposits compared favorably with the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank, directed by K. P. Ch'en (Ch'en Kuang-fu, q.v.). In the years before 1937 the bank had established 65 branches in China, of which some 60 percent were located in north China.

The Kincheng Banking Corporation contributed to the economic development of China by investing in industrial, mining, and transportation enterprises; loans in these three fields comprised about 40 percent of the bank's total loans during the period before the outbreak of war in 1937. In the industrial field, it cooperated closely with the Yung-li Chemical Works of Tientsin, the largest chemical enterprise in republican China, and with its affiliates, the Chiu-ta Refined Salt Company and the Golden Sea Industrial Research Institute. Textile mills financed by the Kincheng Banking Corporation included the Yu-yuan and Peiyang cotton mills at Tientsin, which together operated some 80 percent of China's spindles, and the Sing-yu Mill at Shanghai, operating about 5 percent of China's spindles. In the shipbuilding field, the bank gave financial support to the Chung-hua Shipbuilding and Engineering Company at Shanghai. The Liu-ho-kou Coal Mining Company, located at Anyang, Honan, also received loans from the Kincheng Banking Corporation. The fifth largest colliery in China, Liu-ho-kou produced about 1,000,000 tons of coal annually before the war. After the reorganization of the Chung-hsing Coal Mining Company in Shantung after 1929 (*see* Ch'ien Yung-ming), the Kincheng Banking Corporation became a member of the consortium that made a substantial loan to modernize Chung-hsing's operations and to restore production. Kincheng investments in railroads and railroad improvements in China also were significant.

Although it was a commercial bank, the Kincheng Banking Corporation was a pioneer in the field of agricultural credit in north China. In 1934 the bank lent funds to establish the North China Agricultural Improvement Institute, with the objective of improving cotton production. The institute was established in cooperation with Nankai University at Tientsin (*see* Chang Po-ling) and the Mass Education Promotion Association headed by James Yen (Yen Yang-ch'u, q.v.). Other universities,

including Tsinghua and Cheeloo, soon came to support the organization. In 1935 the Cotton Improvement Association of Hopei province also joined the institute. Through the initiative of the Kincheng Banking Corporation, a joint rural credit group was established to extend loans to agricultural production and marketing cooperatives in the provinces of Hopei, Shansi, Shensi, Honan, and Anhwei. In this undertaking, the Kincheng Banking Corporation assumed responsibility for all cotton loans in Hopei province, where funds were advanced to more than 300 cooperatives.

Chou Tso-min was also a pioneer in the field of insurance in China. In 1929 he established the Taiping Insurance Company as a subsidiary of the Kincheng Banking Corporation with an initial capital of CN\$500 thousand. The company specialized in fire, marine, and automobile insurance. Four years later, the company was enlarged, with the Bank of Communications, the Continental, the China and South Seas, the Kuo-hua (China State), and the Tung-lai banks joining in the financial operation; it increased its capitalization to CN\$3 million and added life, war risk, and casualty insurance. The Taiping Insurance Company, with Chou Tso-min as its general manager, became a leading Chinese insurance company of the pre-1937 period.

In addition to his other responsibilities, Chou was the leading figure in the organization of the Tung-chen Produce Company in 1920, and he later served as its general manager. Operating three departments—trading, storage, and shipping—that company dealt in cotton, coal, and cereals. It owned ten small steamers and had warehouses in the principal commercial ports of China.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, the Kincheng Banking Corporation gradually established 30 new branches in the provinces of west China and continued to provide financial assistance to industrial, mining, and transportation enterprises in the interior. Particularly notable was the aid provided to the Ming-sung Industrial Company of Szechwan, operated by Lu Tso-fu (q.v.), and to its related enterprises, including the Ming-sung Machine Works, the Ta-ning Textile Company, and the T'ien-fu Coal Mining Company. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, Chou Tso-min and Lu Tso-fu collaborated in establishing the

Pacific Steamship Company, which bought and operated three ocean-going vessels for the China coastal trade.

When the Chinese Communists occupied the mainland in 1949, Chou Tso-min was in Hong Kong. As the banking business declined under the new dispensation, labor demands rose. In an attempt to save the situation, Chou returned to the mainland in 1950 to resume charge of the operations of the Kincheng Banking Corporation, to which he had devoted more than three decades of his life. However, in September 1951 the private banks of north China were amalgamated. In November 1952, all private banks in the People's Republic of China were converted into joint state-private enterprises, and the Kincheng Banking Corporation lost its legal and financial identity. Chou Tso-min then retired. He died in Shanghai on 8 March 1956 after suffering a heart attack.

Chou Tzu-ch'i
T. Tzu-i

周自齊
子廙

Chou Tzu-ch'i (1871–20 October 1932), government official, served Yuan Shih-k'ai's government as minister of finance. Because of his complicity in Yuan's monarchical plot, Chou was forced to live in Japan (1916–17) to avoid arrest. He later served as minister of finance (1920) and as acting premier (1922).

Although his native place was Shanhien, Shantung, Chou Tzu-ch'i was born at Canton, where his father was serving as a government official. Because he was brought up in the south, he spoke the Cantonese dialect, which later enabled him to establish and maintain close relations with important Cantonese financial men, of whom Liang Shih-i (q.v.) was the most prominent.

After receiving his early schooling in the Chinese classics at Canton, Chou returned to his native district in Shantung to prepare for the imperial examinations. He obtained the shengyuan degree at an early age and became a senior licentiate in 1894. After studying English at the T'ung-wen-kuan at Peking, he went to the United States to attend Columbia University.

After completing his studies at Columbia, Chou Tzu-ch'i in 1896 was appointed a secretary in the Chinese legation at Washington, where

he served under Wu T'ing-fang (q.v.). He remained there until 1899, when he was transferred to New York as consul. After two years in New York, he went to Cuba, where he was chargé d'affaires at the Chinese legation in Havana in 1901 and 1902. In 1903 Chou was made Chinese consul general at San Francisco, where his familiarity with the Cantonese dialect was an asset to him in dealing with the large Chinese community. In 1904 he was assigned to the Chinese legation at Washington with the rank of first secretary. He remained in Washington for about four years before being recalled to China.

After his arrival at Peking in 1908, Chou was appointed a junior secretary in the Board of Foreign Affairs. Promotion came rapidly, and in two years he rose to become senior secretary, junior counselor, and senior counselor. In 1910 he was sent to the United States to head the Chinese educational mission which supervised Chinese students in that country. The same year, Chou was appointed an attaché on Prince Tsai-hsun's mission to Japan and England for the study of naval affairs (*see* ECCP, I, 376). In 1911 he again went on a mission to England, led by Prince Tsai-chen, to attend the coronation of King George V.

Soon after Chou Tzu-ch'i returned to China, the revolt at Wuchang broke out. As the republican revolutionary forces gained power in many parts of China, Yuan Shih-k'ai was called upon to form a cabinet in Peking. Chou Tzu-ch'i was appointed vice minister of finance.

When the republic was formally inaugurated in 1912, Sun Yat-sen resigned from the provisional presidency in favor of Yuan Shih-k'ai. In March, Yuan appointed Chou Tzu-ch'i tutuh [military governor] of Shantung. Chou held that post for slightly more than a year. In August 1913 he was called to Peking and was named acting governor of the Bank of Cahin. In the meantime, the so-called second revolution had been suppressed, and Yuan was slowly consolidating his power and eliminating his opponents. As a transitional step toward the realization of his plan to gain dictatorial power, Yuan in August 1913 appointed Hsiung Hsi-ling (q.v.) premier. Hsiung proceeded to form the so-called first-caliber cabinet, which included such notable figures of the day as Chang Chien, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Sun Pao-ch'i, and Tuan Ch'i-jui (qq.v.). Some of the key positions in

the cabinet, however, were assigned by Yuan personally. Chou Tzu-ch'i was selected by Yuan to serve as finance minister, but later was shifted to the post of minister of communications because Hsiung Hsi-ling insisted on assuming the finance portfolio himself.

The Hsiung Hsi-ling cabinet served its purpose by pushing through the adoption of the 1913 election law (as part of the proposed constitution) and the election of Yuan Shih-k'ai to the presidency. Yuan proceeded openly with his measures to suppress the Kuomintang and to suspend the Parliament. In 1914 Yuan promulgated a new provisional constitution, abolished the premiership, and created the post of secretary of state. In February, Hsiung Hsi-ling resigned as premier and concurrent finance minister. Chou Tzu-ch'i then was appointed finance minister, the post which Yuan had originally allotted him. When the new provisional constitution was enforced, Hsu Shih-ch'ang (q.v.) was appointed secretary of state, and Chou was reappointed minister of finance.

A further revision of the election law, toward the end of 1914, had the effect of making Yuan Shih-k'ai president for life. Yuan's ambitions were unsatisfied, however, and his monarchical aspirations became increasingly apparent. Reportedly, it was Chou Tzu-ch'i who persuaded Frank J. Goodnow, the American consultant on constitutional law, to prepare a memorandum for the government at Peking. Goodnow, a Columbia University professor who later became president of The Johns Hopkins University, reported to Yuan Shih-k'ai that a monarchy was a more suitable form of government for China than a republic. Goodnow's memorandum established the framework for Chinese theorists, who continued discussion of the issue and prepared the ground for a full-scale monarchical campaign during the second half of 1915.

Yuan Shih-k'ai completed his arrangements to ascend to the imperial throne. Chou Tzu-ch'i then was entrusted with another important task. To circumvent possible Japanese opposition to the monarchical scheme, Yuan Shih-k'ai decided to cultivate Japan's good will by conferring the highest decoration of the Chinese republic on the Japanese emperor. In October 1915 Chou Tzu-ch'i was selected as Yuan's special envoy to Japan, and preliminary arrangements were made for the trip. However, in January 1916, just as Chou was about to leave for Tokyo,

the Japanese government announced its rejection of Yuan's offer and refused to admit Chou as a special envoy. The cancellation of the trip was reportedly a great relief to Chou, since it removed from him the onus of being the man selected to carry out this mission.

In May 1916 Yuan formally revived the cabinet system and appointed Tuan Ch'i-jui premier. At the same time Chou Tzu-ch'i was reappointed minister of finance and director of salt administration affairs. After Yuan died in June 1916, Chou immediately resigned from the government. He was a member of the official committee that arranged Yuan's burial.

Li Yuan-hung (q.v.) succeeded to the presidency, and Tuan Ch'i-jui was called upon to form a new government. On 14 July 1916 the new government announced that all men who had been involved in the monarchical scheme would be treated leniently, and, in fact, no action was taken against most of them. Only eight men were charged with being directly responsible for the movement; orders were issued for their arrest. Chou Tzu-ch'i was one of the eight. He fled the country and sought refuge in Japan. Chou's life as an exile lasted until February 1918. When Feng Kuo-chang (q.v.) became acting president, he rescinded the orders for the arrest of Chou Tzu-ch'i, Liang Shih-i, and Chu Chi-ts'en. Liang and Chu were elected speaker and deputy speaker of the Senate in the new Parliament.

Chou Tzu-ch'i resumed his active political career in 1919, when he was appointed director of the currency bureau. In August 1920, under premier Chin Yun-p'eng (q.v.), Chou Tzu-ch'i was appointed finance minister. The financial situation of the Peking government was shaky and confused. Chou, together with Yeh Kung-cho (q.v.), the minister of communications, believed that the only practical measure would be to float additional domestic loans. Before attempting that, he and Yeh felt it necessary to restore public confidence by placing the old domestic loans on a proper basis. They drew up a plan for the adjustment of the old loans, but it was opposed by other members of the government, who convinced the premier of its undesirability. In May 1921 Chin Yun-p'eng reorganized his cabinet and replaced both Chou Tzu-ch'i and Yeh Kung-cho. Chou then went to the United States as an adviser to the Chinese delegation to the Washington Conference.

In December 1921 Liang Shih-i replaced Chin Yun-p'eng as premier. Liang, however, encountered the opposition of the Chihli clique and about a month later was forced out of office. W. W. Yen (Yen Hui-ch'ing, q.v.) then became acting premier. In March 1922 war broke out between the Chihli clique and the Fengtien clique led by Chang Tso-lin (q.v.), and the latter was defeated in May. Before that time, however, W. W. Yen resigned from the acting premiership, and Chou Tzu-ch'i was appointed his successor. The Chihli clique demanded that Hsu Shih-ch'ang, then the president, order the arrest of Liang Shih-i, Yeh Kung-cho, and Chang Hu (the finance minister under Liang) because they had the support of Chang Tso-lin. Hsu Shih-ch'ang had to issue the orders, and Chou Tzu-ch'i, as premier, had to countersign them. Chou, a close political ally of the three men, was greatly embarrassed. He communicated privately with Liang, tendered his apologies, and told Liang to leave at once. Liang Shih-i reportedly was rather amused that Chou, his close colleague, should now sign an order for his arrest. Later, shortly before he died, Chou Tzu-ch'i asked a friend to tell Liang Shih-i that countersigning the order for Liang's arrest was the only act of his entire life that he regretted. Chou resigned in June 1922 when Hsu Shih-ch'ang was forced into retirement by the Chihli clique and Li Yuan-hung was restored to the presidency. After relinquishing the acting premiership, Chou was given a sinecure position as a member of the commission for financial reorganization. However, he decided to retire from politics, and he left China to tour the United States.

In the United States, Chou became interested in the motion picture industry. After returning to China, he organized the Peacock Motion Picture Corporation, which was to distribute foreign films and produce Chinese films. Before he could implement his plans, Chou became ill. He died in Shanghai in October 1923.

Chou Yang

周揚

Chou Yang (1908-), literary theorist better known for his advocacy of Chinese Communist theories than for his literary achievements. After 1949, he became responsible for issuing Chinese Communist party directives in cultural

matters and for detecting deviations from party doctrine in literature and the arts.

Nothing is known about Chou Yang's childhood or his family background. A native of Iyang, Hunan province, as a young man he was also known as Chou Ch'i-ying. After completing his secondary education in Hunan in 1926, Chou entered Ta-hsia [great China] University in Shanghai, where he came in contact with Marxist ideology. He left Ta-hsia in 1928 and went to Japan, where he did research on Marxism and literature. In 1929 he was arrested for participating in leftist demonstrations. He returned to China in 1930.

From 1931 to 1936 Chou was secretary general of the League of Left-Wing Writers, led by Lu Hsün (Chou Shu-jen, q.v.), and he probably joined the Chinese Communist party at this time. Chou's rapid rise to such an important post is hard to explain. At any rate, Chou's power in the league increased and after 1933 brought him into conflict with Lu Hsün. Two literary cliques were formed. Lu Hsün, in failing health and concerned by the factionalism of leftist writers, became increasingly embittered by what he probably regarded as the flouting of his authority as Chou began leading the league into paths which had been ordained by the Comintern, including ultimately disbanding the league and cooperating with non-Communists in a united front. Chou's partisans included Hsu Mou-yung and T'ien Han (q.v.), while Lu Hsün was supported by Hu Feng, Feng Hsueh-feng, Mao Tun, and Pa Chin.

During this period Chou published literary essays, the most noted of which was an article entitled "Literature in the Present Stage." In addition, he translated Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* and some short pieces by Soviet writers and wrote articles on recent Russian literature. Most Chinese writers at this time were interested in Western as well as Russian writers, but Chou seems to have been preoccupied with Russian and socialist literature. He began to espouse the principles which, with minor variations, later became the basis of Communist policy in literature and art. He believed that literature was primarily a political weapon and that a writer should create with this aim in view. Chou Yang expounded these theories in articles and in debates on the popularization of literature, and he figured prominently in the controversies over

mass literature that wracked the Chinese literary world from 1930 to 1932. Following the lead of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (q.v.), he argued that the literary revolution following the May Fourth Movement had not been completed and that the "vernacular style" could be understood only by the middle classes. A further revolution would be necessary to produce literature in forms accessible to the ordinary people. The writing of short simple stories and poems in popular old literary styles that could be understood by the workers and peasants was most important. Chou denied that this popularization would debase literature (as some of his opponents claimed) and maintained that it would educate the people and make them aware of class problems. The mass language movement of 1934 implemented many of Chou's ideas, while some of his assertions, such as the need for literature to describe the life of workers and peasants and the emphasis on popularization over quality, became orthodox doctrine when restated in 1942 by Mao Tse-tung at Yenan.

As a result of the formation of the united front against Japan, Chou in the spring of 1936 disbanded the League of Left-Wing Writers without consulting Lu Hsün and replaced it with an organization called the Writers' Association, becoming the editor of its journal, *The Literary Fighting Front*. Instead of confining its activities to a special group within a limited geographical area, Chou's new association sought to organize writers on a nation-wide scale by setting up branches in the army, in schools, and in factories, methods of organization which subsequently were adopted by the Chinese Communist party when it gained control of the mainland. Chou wanted to encourage as many people as possible to serve the resistance through literary activities. Proclaiming the slogan "Literature for National Defense," the Writers' Association in June 1936 called for a realistic style of writing and declared that its central theme should be resistance to the Japanese. Writers with other political views were encouraged to enroll, but once they had become members of the Association they were expected to conform to its requirements. Chou conceded the need of writers to engage in free debate and criticism, but only as a means to political unanimity. Thus, as early as the mid-1930's, the techniques of the Chinese Communist rectification campaigns of later years were beginning to evolve.

Chou Yang's dissolution of the League of Left-Wing Writers and his formation of the new organization led to the violent controversy with Lu Hsün that became known as the Battle of Slogans. In July 1936 Lu Hsün and 66 other writers formed the Chinese Literary Workers Association and issued a rival declaration calling for "People's Literature for the National Revolutionary Struggle." Hu Feng (q.v.), a sophisticated Marxist critic and a close friend of Lu Hsün in his last years, made the new call to action in his article "What Do the Masses Want from Literature?" This was not the first time that Hu Feng had crossed Chou's path: earlier they had engaged in polemics on the question of "typical characters" in Chinese literature. During the controversy, Lu Hsün wrote a long public letter in which he defended Hu Feng against charges of spying for the Kuomintang and bitterly attacked Chou Yang as a brash and conscienceless slanderer. The quarrel was finally resolved in October 1936 with a proclamation of unity by the rival groups. The struggle brought to the fore literary men who were to be important in the coming ideological battle over the place of art in the Communist state, and it was symptomatic of the deep suspicion that even dedicated left-wing writers had of total obedience to Communist party domination.

In 1937 Chou left Shanghai for the Communist stronghold of Yenan, where he was raised to a prominent position in the centralized education administration. Chou served simultaneously as head of the department of education in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Government, dean of the Lu Hsün Arts Institute, and president of Yenan University. He was president of North China Union University in 1946-47 and vice president of the North China Associated Universities from 1945 to 1949. He was also a member of the government council of the border region.

Chou's ideas about education were identical in spirit with his literary views, and his anti-intellectual, anti-Western approach foreshadowed the tone of Communist education policies in the 1950's. In Chou's mind, education was inextricably linked to politics. He stressed the need for mass indoctrination and disapproved of any emphasis being placed on technical and intellectual achievement because it diverted people from practical political action. He

declared that educational specialization was the result of Western middle-class influence. In its place he fostered "proletarian education," which was largely the study of Marxism-Leninism and its practical applications.

An important element in the Yenan education system was the ideological remolding movement; the Chinese Communist party sought to establish control over people through training and indoctrination rather than through physical force or administrative procedures. The re-education of intellectuals was for the most part in Chou's hands. According to Chou, almost all intellectuals were petty bourgeois who required ideological remolding to eliminate their individualism and to prepare them to accept Communist doctrines. Chou stated the case for intellectual control, which was to become official party policy.

Chou advanced his cause in 1942-43 by attacking the author Wang Shih-wei, who had been sharply critical of Yenan policies. Wang accepted Marxism-Leninism in politics but not in literature, and he looked at events in terms of universal human nature rather than in terms of class struggle. Chou used Wang as an example to hammer home his doctrine of political control over all creative and intellectual endeavor.

Next to Mao Tse-tung, Chou was the principal policy maker for literature in the Communist-controlled areas. He was chairman of the All-China Literary and Art Resistance Association (the successor of the Writers' Association), whose members included such writers as Ai Ch'ing (Chiang Hai-ch'eng) and Ting Ling (qq.v.). Chou and Ting Ling established the Border Area Cultural Federation, which was designed to carry out propaganda in the villages and in the army.

During the Yenan period, Chou edited a compilation of political essays by Marx, Lenin, Engels, and Stalin and an anthology of stories and reports from the areas under party control. He also translated into Chinese *The Aesthetic Relationship Between Art and Reality* by N. G. Chernyshevsky, a Russian literary theorist.

After Mao set forth Chinese Communist literary policy in his Yenan talks of 1942, Chou led a new assault against Western influences and "deviationism" among Chinese writers. He continued to advocate a new literature in traditional folk forms which, he argued, would

be effective propaganda because folk literature still had a strong hold on the people. Chou condemned Western-oriented writers who imitated European styles and aimed their writing at a select group of intellectuals. Folk art was also to serve as a vehicle with which to familiarize the Chinese middle class with the customs of the common people and with the national heritage. Chou declared that poetry and drama were to receive more stress than fiction. He then undertook to discover a writer who could carry out party objectives in these areas. In 1943 Chou found such a writer, Chao Shu-li (q.v.). Chao's stories and songs written in the tradition of Shensi balladry soon won recognition in Communist-controlled areas. Chou gave prominence to Mao's dictum that intellectuals should participate in the struggle of the masses. He urged writers to go to villages, factories, and front lines in order to establish an organic relationship between their creative work and the practical world of the peasants, workers, and soldiers. The creativity and intelligence of the masses was an article of faith for Chou, as was his recurrent theme that all art was to be found in the lives of the people.

When the Communists took power, Chou was appointed to new and more important cultural positions. In the summer of 1949 he became vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and a member of its presidium. In 1953 he became vice chairman of the Union of Chinese Writers. He was also a directing force behind such principal cultural publications as the literary section of the *Jen-min jih-pao* [people's daily], *People's Literature, Poems*, and *Harvest*. He controlled these magazines through his loyal followers from Yenan days; among them were Yuan Shui-po, the literary editor of *Jen-min jih-pao*; Lin Mo-han, the chief of the literary division of the party propaganda department; Shao Ch'u-an-lin, the vice chairman of the Writers' Union; and Ho Ch'i-fang, a leading poet and critic.

In 1949 Chou was a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Soon he was made vice chairman for cultural affairs and a member of the culture and education commission. When the government was reorganized in the autumn of 1954, the ministry of culture became part of the State Council. Chou was relieved of his post and subsequently became the most active of the

deputy directors of the propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party, which formulated the policies of the ministry of culture. He was also a deputy to the National People's Congress. At the Eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist party in 1956 he delivered a speech on socialist literature and art and became an alternate member of the Central Committee. He served on several cultural delegations to the Soviet Union and became a member of the board of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

Whatever Chou's official positions, his chief importance during the first decade of Chinese Communist government was his unofficial responsibility for an evolving pattern of ideological control in every sphere of intellectual activity. He worked to insure that the "bourgeois survivals" among Western-educated intellectuals and left-wing writers and artists did not assert themselves, while at the same time he educated them in the current orthodoxy. Throughout the 1950's he organized ideological campaigns which set the pattern for the fields of music, opera, theater, films, and fine arts as well as in the universities and technical institutes. Chou's major theoretical work during this period was "Chien-chüeh kuan-ch'e Mao Tse-tung wen-i lu-hsien" [thoroughly implement Mao Tse-tung's line on literature and the arts].

In the first nation-wide remolding movement of the new regime, Chou and his colleagues, presumably at the instigation of Mao himself, used a new film, *The Story of Wu Hsun*, to warn intellectuals of the perils of heterodoxy. The hero of the film, Wu Hsun, attempted to educate the poor through such philanthropic activities as setting up schools. These activities were attacked as sponsoring individual effort and evolutionary change through education and culture rather than through class struggle and revolution. Chou emphasized that the revolutionary masses and not a small coterie of educated individuals would be the creators of a better world.

In 1954 Chou was one of the leaders of the campaign against Hu Shih and Yü P'ing-po (qq.v.) for their interpretation of the eighteenth-century novel *Hung-lou-meng*. Both Hu and Yü read the novel as an indictment of the evils of the extended Chinese family of traditional times. Chou insisted that a popular literary work such as this must be interpreted as a description of class struggle. This campaign led to an attack

on Feng Hsueh-feng, the chief editor of the important cultural periodical *Literary Gazette*, because he had defended the non-Communist analysis of the *Hung-lou-meng*. Feng, a disciple of Lu Hsün, had clashed with Chou when both were members of the League of Left-Wing Writers. Feng apparently did not submit readily to Chou's management, and he and his assistant Ch'en Ch'i-hsia were replaced by Chou's followers.

The attack on Feng Hsueh-feng soon developed into a national campaign, with Hu Feng, the literary critic who had clashed with Chou Yang during the Battle of Slogans, as the scapegoat. Hu Feng was the last formidable champion of a literature free of party dictation. He was accused of being a Kuomintang agent and was banished from all party posts. Hu lost the rights of citizenship, as did Ting Ling, Ai Ch'ing, Li Yu-jan, Ch'en Ming, Lo Feng, and Pai Lang.

When the Hundred Flowers campaign began in 1956, Chou conformed to the new party line. Contradicting his views of a few months earlier, he upheld the writer's prerogative to choose his own subject matter and urged assimilation of the best of Western culture. Although socialist realism was still considered to be the most advanced form of art, Chou acknowledged that other forms could portray life and that great culture could develop out of the competition of diverse forms of art. He even concluded that literary and artistic development might be impeded by the intervention of state authority. In June 1956, when the party, disturbed by the effects of this emancipating policy, swung around to a completely opposite point of view, Chou was the first to support the anti-rightist movement.

Chou's most important theoretical work of the second half of the 1950's was the address "The Great Debate on the Literary Front," which was presented on 11 March 1958 at the conclusion of the anti-rightist campaign against writers. It was an effort to update Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Literary Conference* of 1942 in response to the criticism of it during the Hundred Flowers campaign. Actually, Chou's work added little to Mao's original concepts other than to provide them with examples of more recent vintage. Nevertheless, this work served to reindoctrinate writers in the party's official line. After it was published, writers and intellectuals in the creative arts gathered together in study groups

to discuss it, write related essays, and criticize themselves accordingly.

After the inauguration of the Great Leap Forward, Chou became a leader of the mass poetry movement. He provided the ideological framework for this movement by introducing a purportedly new literary theory formulated by Mao: the union of revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. Actually, it was merely a restatement of the Soviet concept of socialist realism, which prescribed that literature focus on things to come rather than on existing problems. That Chou introduced a theory attributed to Mao indicates that he had reached the point where he could speak directly for Mao. Chou was also active in the early 1960's in condemning Soviet revisionism, particularly the concept of peaceful coexistence. His speeches were directed to party members and intellectuals in the Afro-Asian countries and within his own country. Chou also set forth Maoist orthodoxy for senior Chinese intellectuals and scholars in the socialist education campaign that began in 1963. Speaking in his role as deputy director of the propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party, Chou delivered a major speech on 26 October 1963 at the fourth enlarged session of the committee of the department of philosophy and social science of the Chinese Academy of Science, the national organization sponsoring advanced research in the People's Republic of China. Entitled "The Fighting Task Confronting Workers in Philosophy and Social Sciences," Chou's statement was an attack on virtually every aspect of Chinese scholarly and intellectual output of the preceding decade which might be interpreted as obviating the necessity for continued political struggle or as expressing sympathy with Communist doctrine and practice in the Soviet Union.

Chow, Shouson: see CHOU CH'ANG-LING.

Chu Ch'i-hua

Alt. Chu Hsin-fan
Li Ang

朱其華

朱新繁
李昂

Chu Ch'i-hua (28 December 1907-1945), a professional Communist agitator from 1921 to 1929, left the Chinese Communist party and

began to write in the field of modern Chinese social history. He served (1938-41) under Hu Tsung-nan at the Sian training center for political workers. In 1941 he was arrested and imprisoned as a Communist spy; he was executed in 1945.

Although Chu Ch'i-hua's ancestral home was Haining, Chekiang, his family probably had lived at Shanghai for some time before his birth. Little is known of his early years except that the family was poverty stricken. In 1914, at the age of 12 sui, he became an apprentice in a printing shop, learned to set type, and taught himself to read. About 1920 he came in contact with the new Communist group in Shanghai. When the Chinese Communist party was formally established in 1921, Chu was one of the first group of workers to join the party.

Chu soon became a liaison worker in the party, then operating underground in Shanghai. Meanwhile, he had made notable progress in educating himself and had become proficient in writing propaganda and in delivering political speeches. He soon left his job as a printer to become a professional Communist agitator. He was arrested three times in the early 1920's.

During the first period of collaboration between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang, Chu Ch'i-hua, under orders from his party, joined the Kuomintang and went to Canton. He was assigned to work in the political department of the Whampoa Military Academy, first as a section member with the rank of captain, then as a section chief with the rank of major. One of his colleagues at that time was Ch'en Li-fu (q.v.), then a secretary with the rank of major.

When the Kuomintang launched the Northern Expedition in the summer of 1926, Chu Ch'i-hua accompanied the 12th Division (later and better known as the Fourth Army), commanded by Chang Fa-k'uei (q.v.), on the march northward. Chu was attached to the political department of division headquarters, and he participated in the battles of Ting-ssu-ch'iao and Ho-sheng-ch'iao in Hupeh, which made Chang Fa-k'uei famous. After the capture of Wuhan, the Chinese Communist party transferred Chu to work in its central apparatus there. He remained in Wuhan for several months.

In the meantime, the Kuomintang government, or at least the left-Kuomintang faction of

the government, had moved to Wuhan. Chang Fa-k'uei's armies, which then included his own Fourth Army, the Eleventh Army under Ch'en Ming-shu (q.v.), and the Twentieth Army under the radical Ho Lung (q.v.), formed the first column on the continued march northward toward Honan. Chang Fa-k'uei's chief political officer at the time was Kao Yü-han, who had been a Communist comrade of Chu Ch'i-hua since 1921. Chu directed political workers on the front lines and in the newly occupied areas. He later stated that this period was the most rewarding of his life. After the capture of Kaifeng, Chang Fa-k'uei moved his army back to Wuhan.

In the summer of 1927 the left-Kuomintang leaders, headed by Wang Ching-wei (q.v.), broke with the Communists. To forestall action by the Wuhan government to remove Communists from the army, the Communists moved their officers and men to Nanchang. On 1 August 1927 they staged an insurrection, led by the men under Ho Lung (q.v.) and Yeh T'ing. Although most Chinese Communist political workers left Wuhan with the troops, Chu Ch'i-hua remained behind for awhile because of his position in the Central Committee of the party. He was present at the 7 August meeting which established the authority of Ch'u Ch'iu-pai (q.v.) and which led directly to the series of insurrections launched by the Communists in various parts of China. After the conference ended, Chu went south to join the forces that Ho Lung and others, after the defeat at Nanchang, were leading toward Kwangtung. The main force of the Communists was defeated in the Swatow area, and the leaders, including Chang Kuo-t'ao and Chou En-lai (qq.v.), fled to Hong Kong and then went to Shanghai.

Chu Ch'i-hua escaped to Hong Kong, but he did not proceed to Shanghai immediately. By that time the Communists had made plans for an insurrection to be staged at Canton in December 1927, and Chu was among those ordered to participate in it. The principal leaders of the Canton Commune were Chang T'ai-lei (q.v.), the secretary of the Kwangtung provincial committee of the Chinese Communist party; Yeh Chien-ying (q.v.), and Yeh T'ing. After the Communists were defeated at Canton, Chu went to Shanghai. He then participated in a few unsuccessful insurrections in Chekiang. In 1928 he was sent to the Soviet Union to attend

the Sixth National Congress of the Chinese Communist party. However, for reasons that are unclear, he went only as far as Irkutsk and then returned to Shanghai. In 1929, when the Communists began to establish rural base areas, Chu Ch'i-hua was named commander of the Fourteenth Red Army, with Nan-t'ung, Kiangsu, as his base. When he discovered that his army was composed of 200 men armed with swords and spears, he returned to Shanghai and severed his connections with the Chinese Communist party.

Chu turned his attention to the serious study of Chinese society. He shared a small room with Yeh Ch'ing (Jen Cho-hsuan), and T'ao Hsi-sheng (qq.v.), and he came to know Kuo Mo-jo, Liu Ya-tzu, Lu Hsün, Mao Tun, and Chou Fo-hsi. Chu Ch'i-hua specialized in modern Chinese history and produced three books, all published under the name Chu Hsin-fan. These were *Chung-kuo tzu-pen chu-i te fa-chan* [development of capitalism in China], *Chung-kuo nung-ts'un ching-chi kuan-hsi chi ch'i t'e-chih* [China's rural economy and its special characteristics], and *Chung-kuo ko-ming yü Chung-kuo she-hui ko chieh-chi* [the Chinese revolution and the classes in Chinese society]. All were published in 1930.

Late in 1930 the Kuomintang arrested and executed many Communists and men suspected of being Communists. Chu was arrested and, although his life was spared through the intervention of Shao Li-tzu (q.v.) and others, he was kept in prison for some time. While imprisoned he wrote *Memoirs of the Great Revolution of 1925 to 1927*, which attacked the policies and leaders of the Chinese Communist party. He was released in 1931. He then was invited to join the Kuomintang, but he declined to do so. He was placed under the control of the security apparatus of the Kuomintang.

After his release from prison, Chu married a student from Futan University who had been introduced to him by Shao Li-tzu. He continued to write and produced another book, *Chung-kuo chin-tai she-hui shih chieh-p'ou* [analysis of the history of modern Chinese society]. He also participated in the discussions of Chinese social history published in the magazine *Tu-shu* [study] and became a major contributor to the *She-hui hsin-wen* [social news], a newspaper published every three days by Ting Mo-ts'un for the so-called CC faction (see Ch'en Kuo-fu). Chu, using a variety of pen names, wrote articles

for the *She-hui hsin-wen* which purported to analyze Chinese politics and to report the machinations of prominent political and military men, with the notable exception of Chiang Kai-shek. Chu reportedly admitted that much of his information was unreliable.

In 1934 Chu visited rural areas north of the Yangtze to study social conditions in the countryside. He showed keen interest in the rural reconstruction movement led by Liang Shuming (q.v.) and others. He did not share the views of the reformers, but he thought that their rural surveys were useful.

After the outbreak of war between China and Japan in 1937, the small Trotskyist group in Shanghai called a meeting to discuss the crisis. Chu Ch'i-hua attended the meeting, but he did not agree with the Trotskyist appraisal of the situation. He went to Sian at the end of 1937 and became a political instructor in the Chinese army. Chu and his colleague Yeh Ch'ing frequently contributed articles to the biweekly magazine *K'ang-chan yü wen-hua* [resistance and culture], which was supported by the Nationalist general Chiang Ting-wen. One of the pen names used by Chu was Liu Ning (the second character was taken from the Chinese rendering of Lenin). The Chinese Communists apparently failed to identify him; their list of China's "ten major Trotskyists" included both Chu Ch'i-hua and Liu Ning.

In 1938 the Youth Training Corps commanded by Chiang Ting-wen at Sian was taken over by Hu Tsung-nan (q.v.) and was reorganized as a training center for political workers. Chu Ch'i-hua became a political instructor. In 1939, after a disagreement with the dean of the training center, Chu was imprisoned for three weeks on charges of being a Communist spy. Hu Tsung-nan transferred him to a training corps at Lanchow. Later, he was sent back to Sian and was given the title of senior instructor. However, he was given no teaching responsibilities. Hu Tsung-nan reportedly respected Chu's energy and ability, but Hu's followers consistently spoke ill of Chu. In the spring of 1941 Chu was arrested and imprisoned on charges of being a Communist spy.

During the next four years, Chu was treated well and was permitted to read and write. It has been estimated that during his imprisonment Chu read more than 1,000 books and wrote nearly 1,000,000 words. Most of his articles

were published pseudonymously in Chinese magazines. Two of his best-known works of this period were issued at Chungking as pamphlets: *Hung-se wu-t'ai* [the red stage] and *Hsi-pei shan-chi* [random notes on the northwest]. Chu reportedly wrote two other important works. The manuscript of one, an analysis of the Communist technique of political struggle, was confiscated by the authorities. The fate of the other, an autobiography entitled *Ta-shih-tai te ying-tzu* [the shadow of a great age], is unknown.

Chu Ch'i-hua was executed on the order of Hu Tsung-nan in the autumn of 1945. After the war ended, Chu's wife brought her three children to Sian to seek a reunion with her husband, from whom she had been separated for eight years. The authorities told her that Chu had been sent to Manchuria. She remained in Sian for several months, but finally returned with the children to Shanghai in despair.

Chu Chia-hua
T. Liu-hsien

朱家驥
驥先

Chu Chia-hua (30 May 1893–3 January 1963), held office in the National Government as minister of education (1932–33; 1944–48), minister of communications (1932–35), and vice president of the Examination Yuan (1941–44). From 1939 to May 1944 he headed the organization department of the Kuomintang. He also served as secretary general (1936–38) and acting president (1940–58) of the Academia Sinica.

A native of Wuhsing hsien, Chekiang, Chu Chia-hua was born into a mercantile family. When Chu was only ten sui his father died, and his mother died the following year. The boy was raised by his elder brother. Since there were no schools in their immediate area, Chu was sent to a primary school in Nanhsun.

In 1907, at the age of 15 sui, Chu Chia-hua was sent to Shanghai, where he enrolled in the T'ung-chi Medical School, a German-sponsored institution. The Wuchang revolt in the autumn of 1911 caused great excitement among the youth of Shanghai. Chu Chia-hua joined a student corps dedicated to opposing "foreign imperialist aggression" in China, and the group played a minor part in the attack on the Kiangnan arsenal at Shanghai by republican forces. In the winter of 1911 Chu interrupted his school

work to join a Chinese Red Cross mission that went to Wuhan. When he returned to Shanghai in 1912, an engineering course had been inaugurated at the T'ung-chi School, and he transferred from the medical course to engineering. During the so-called second revolution in 1913, Chu worked with the republican forces in the attempt to dislodge Yuan Shih-k'ai from power.

Chu then resolved to seek an advanced education abroad, and in March 1914 he left Shanghai for Berlin, traveling through Russia on the Trans-Siberian Railway. After gaining some practical experience in a mine in the Ruhr district, Chu enrolled at the Metallurgical Institute in Berlin in November 1914. Because of the war he was unable to get money from China and was obliged to subsist on a small allowance paid him by the manager of the mine where he had worked. The Metallurgical Institute later was amalgamated with the University of Berlin. The German students were drafted for the army, and Chu and two overseas Chinese students from the Netherlands East Indies were the only ones left in the class. When the two overseas Chinese left the school, Chu followed suit. He returned to Shanghai early in 1917.

Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei (q.v.), the chancellor of Peking University, offered Chu Chia-hua a post teaching German. A year later he received a scholarship from the ministry of education to study in Europe. After traveling through the United States and stopping in Paris, Chu arrived in Switzerland at the end of 1918. During the first half of 1919, Chu studied geology at the University of Bern. He fell while climbing in the Swiss Alps and was hospitalized for several weeks. After his convalescence, he attended the University of Zurich for one semester. He transferred to the University of Berlin in 1920, continued to study geology, and completed his doctorate in 1922. He remained in Germany until 1924, conducting advanced research in Berlin and visiting England and France during vacations.

In August 1924 Chu Chia-hua resumed teaching at Peking University, where he served as professor of geology and as head of the German department. Like other members of the Peking University faculty, Chu was disturbed by the policies of the government in power at Peking and was increasingly outspoken in support of the new forces of Chinese nationalism then gaining

strength at Canton. After the May Thirtieth Incident at Shanghai in 1925, he was one of the leaders in organizing student demonstrations against imperialism. In November 1925 he was a sponsor of a mass demonstration at Peking that supported the Nationalist regime at Canton and demanded the resignation of Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.). In March 1926 he was identified as a leader of student demonstrations and had to take refuge in the French Hospital at Peking. Chu Chia-hua surreptitiously left Peking in the summer of 1926 and went to Canton, where the military forces for the Northern Expedition were being trained under the guidance of Chiang Kai-shek.

In the autumn of 1926 Chu was named professor of geology at National Chung-shan (Sun Yat-sen) University, then headed by Tai Chi-t'ao. Increasing political dissension between the Kuomintang and the Communists at Canton, however, soon disrupted the operations of the university, and a five-man board was named to assume charge. The board was composed of Tai Chi-t'ao, Ku Meng-yu, Hsu Ch'ien, Ting Wei-fen (qq.v.), and Chu Chia-hua. Because the other members of the board all had substantive official posts in the National Government at Canton, Chu was the only man actually concerned with the affairs of the university during that troubled period.

Chu Chia-hua made his entry into politics in 1927, following the initiation of the so-called party purification movement at Shanghai, which was designed to eliminate the Communists from the Kuomintang. When the Kwangtung provincial government was reorganized in the spring of that year, Chu was named acting chairman of its standing committee, commissioner of civil affairs, and a member of the Canton sub-council of the Central Political Council. Three months later, the Kwangtung provincial government was reorganized again. Chu was named commissioner of education and vice chancellor of Chung-shan University, of which Tai Chi-t'ao had been reappointed chancellor. As a result of the Kuomintang purges, political conditions at Canton and at the university were very unsettled, and in December 1927 during the Communist-led insurrection known as the Canton Commune, the university campus suffered extensive physical damage. Chu Chia-hua was obliged to leave his government and university posts.

The National Government at Nanking then named him commissioner of civil affairs in

Chekiang, which had come under the jurisdiction of the Kuomintang. Chu served under Chang Jen-chieh, who headed the Chekiang provincial government from late 1928 until January 1930. Because he was a native of the province and had the personal support of his superior, Chu was able to introduce a series of administrative reforms in Chekiang, including the reduction of land rents, the organization of a census, the establishment of some local self-government, the holding of civil service examinations for district magistrates, and the establishment of a police school. Chu was elected to membership on the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang at its Third National Congress in 1929.

After resigning from his post in Chekiang in the autumn of 1930, Chu Chia-hua returned to Canton, where, for a short time, he held the chancellorship of Chung-shan University. In November 1930 he was summoned to Nanking to head National Central University. In the spring of 1931 he was named chairman of the Sino-British Educational and Cultural Endowment Fund, which not only selected and sponsored Chinese students for higher education in British universities but also allotted the Boxer Indemnity funds remitted by the British government for the development of railroads and for other construction in China. He held that influential post for many years. In February 1932 Chu left National Central University to become minister of education, succeeding Li Shu-hua (q.v.), who had been interim minister during the late months of 1931. Chu was responsible for the enactment of a series of laws and regulations aimed at modernizing China's educational system. In November 1932 he was also named minister of communications at Nanking. He continued to serve as minister of education until April 1933, when he was succeeded by Wang Shih-chieh (q.v.). As minister of communications Chu helped to expand China's communications facilities, including civil aviation, steam navigation, and telecommunications, and also helped to streamline the postal and postal savings systems.

After leaving the ministry of communications at the end of 1935, Chu Chia-hua was named secretary general of the Academia Sinica early in 1936, succeeding V. K. Ting (Ting Wen-chiang, q.v.). At the end of that year he was named governor of Chekiang. The outbreak of

the Sino-Japanese war made Chekiang an important military area. During the early stage of the hostilities, Chu was credited with preserving Hangchow by checking the plans of overzealous Chinese officials to destroy parts of the city in the face of the enemy advance. The provincial government soon was reorganized in accordance with the new military situation, and Chu relinquished the governorship.

In the wartime period from 1937 to 1945 Chu Chia-hua's influence in the Kuomintang rose steadily and substantially. At the Fifth National Congress in 1935 he had been elected not only to the Central Executive Committee but also to the Central Political Council. He was present at the Extraordinary Conference of the Kuomintang at Hankow in March 1938, at which Chiang Kai-shek became tsung-ts'ai [party leader]. The San Min Chu I Youth Corps was established as a new apparatus for recruiting and training party workers. In April 1938 Chu Chia-hua was named secretary general of the central headquarters of the Kuomintang and acting chief secretary of the new youth corps. In December 1939 he was named to succeed Ch'en Li-fu (q.v.) as head of the organization department of the Kuomintang. Chu Chia-hua held that key post in the central party structure until May 1944, when he was succeeded by Ch'en Li-fu's elder brother, Ch'en Kuo-fu (q.v.). Although Chu Chia-hua was associated with the faction of the Kuomintang led by the two Ch'en brothers, he gradually gained strength and came to have his own personal following. At Chungking, Chu also served as vice president of the Examination Yuan from 1941 to 1944.

In November 1944 Chu Chia-hua became minister of education, and Ch'en Li-fu resumed direction of the organization department of the Kuomintang. Chu served as minister of education during the final period of the Japanese war and the ensuing civil war against the Communists. When he finally left office in December 1948, he could look back upon a period of 17 years during which that key post in the National Government had been held by only three men: Wang Shih-chieh (q.v.), Ch'en Li-fu, and himself. In the summer of 1949 he became vice president of the Executive Yuan. In 1950, after the removal of the National Government to Taiwan, he resigned from that office and became a senior adviser to the President.

Despite the demands of Chu Chia-hua's many

official positions, throughout his career he engaged in many outside activities. In the summer of 1935 he founded the Sino-German Cultural Association. He also was influential in Sino-British cultural circles. Chu was vice president of the international League of Nations Union from 1937 to 1946. After 1946 he was chairman of the Chinese Association for the United Nations and an honorary vice president of the World Federation of United Nations Associations. Chu was an original sponsoring member of the Academia Sinica when it was founded in 1928. He held the post of secretary general of the Academia Sinica from 1936 to 1940. He then became its acting president in 1940, after the death of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, and helped to develop the principal research institutes of the organization. After his resignation from that office in 1958, the members of the Academia Sinica elected Hu Shih to succeed him. Chu remained in Taiwan until his death of a heart ailment on 3 January 1963 at the age of 70 sui. Ho Ying-ch'i served as chairman of the committee in charge of his funeral arrangements.

Chu Chia-hua was a handsome and affable man. His taste ran to Western dress at a time when the great majority of his colleagues still favored either the traditional gown or the Sun Yat-sen uniform.

Despite his long association with academic institutions and circles, Chu, preoccupied with official duties, produced no original scholarly work. A memorial volume entitled *Chu Chia-hua hsien-sheng shih-shih chi-nien ts'e* was published in Taiwan in 1963.

Chu Chih-hsin

Orig. Chu Ta-fu

Pen. Che-shen

Hsien-chieh

朱執信

朱大符

蟄伸

縣解

Chu Chih-hsin (12 October 1885–21 September 1920), anti-Manchu revolutionary and protégé of Sun Yat-sen, was active as a T'ung-meng-hui propagandist and as an organizer of anti-Manchu uprisings in Kwangtung. He later helped to organize resistance to Yuan Shih-k'ai. A leading figure in developing and popularizing Sun Yat-sen's political and social ideas, he founded the *Chien-she ta-chih* [reconstruction magazine].

Although his family's native place was Hsiao-shan, Chekiang, Chu Chih-hsin was born in Panyü hsien, Kwangtung. He was the son of Chu Ti-ch'a, a scholar who had served in the secretariat of Chang Chih-tung (ECCP, I, 27–32) when Chang was viceroy of the Liang-Kuang provinces from 1884 to 1889. Chu Ti-ch'a had moved to Kwangtung, where he was a legal secretary, personally employed by officials of the imperial civil service. Chu Chih-hsin's mother was the daughter of Wang Ku-an, the famous scholar under whom Chu Ti-ch'a had studied. Wang Ku-an was an uncle of Wang Ching-wei, and, therefore, Chu Chih-hsin's mother was Wang Ching-wei's cousin. Although the Chu family was not wealthy, Chu Chih-hsin received a conventional education in the Chinese classics and studied mathematics with his maternal uncle, Wang Chung-chi. Chu then attended a semi-modern school, the Chiaochung hsueh-t'ang, where he continued to study mathematics and undertook, as a related subject, the study of the ancient Chinese calendar.

In 1904, at the age of 19 sui, Chu passed an examination for admission to the preparatory department of Peking University. He also ranked first among 41 candidates who took the Kwangtung provincial examination for the selection of students to study in Japan. In Tokyo, he became closely associated with several other students from Kwangtung who were to become his comrades in anti-Manchu revolutionary activities: Hu Han-min, Ku Ying-fen (q.v.), Li Wen-fan, and Wang Ching-wei. At the time, his colleagues in Japan failed to understand Chu's persistent refusal to cut off his queue. Later, when his career as an active revolutionary began, they appreciated his foresight; Chu's queue made him less conspicuous and thus enhanced his freedom of action.

In 1905 Chu Chih-hsin was a member of the original group to join the T'ung-meng-hui when it was organized by Sun Yat-sen and Huang Hsing (q.v.). Later that year, when the *Min-pao* [people's journal] began publication as the official organ of the T'ung-meng-hui, Chu became a frequent contributor. Under the pen name Che-shen, he wrote for the inaugural issue of the journal a forceful article arguing the impossibility of achieving constitutional government in China while the country remained under Manchu rule, "Lun Man-chou sui yu li-hsien erh pu neng." Only with the overthrow

of the Manchu regime, Chu asserted, would the Han Chinese have the opportunity to attain true constitutionalism. Chu Chih-hsin's *Min-pao* statement was a direct challenge to the tenets of the constitutional monarchist group, formulated by K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (qq.v.) and published in the *Hsin-min ts'ung-pao* [new people's miscellany].

During the early *Min-pao* period, Chu Chih-hsin also gained notice for his recognition of the interaction of political and economic factors in accelerating the process of social change in modern China. In June 1906, writing under the pen name Hsien-chieh, he stressed the need for carrying out social as well as political revolution in an article entitled "Lun she-hui ko-ming tang yu cheng-chih ko-ming ping-hsing." This article supported Sun Yat-sen's economic platform, which specifically advocated nationalization of land ownership in China, and rejected the criticisms of the economic principles of Sun's program made by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and others. Chu Chih-hsin was also responsible for the earliest recorded introduction of a portion of the Communist Manifesto into China. In an article entitled "Short Biographies of German Social Revolutionaries," which appeared in the second and third issues of the *Min-pao* in 1906, he introduced Karl Marx as a "scientific socialist" and translated the ten-point program of the Communist Manifesto. Chu at that time believed that the Chinese revolutionaries could learn more from the German socialist movement than from any other non-Chinese reform effort.

Pressure by the Japanese authorities forced the T'ung-meng-hui to suspend most of its activities in Japan by the end of 1907, and many members of the society returned to the mainland to work clandestinely for the overthrow of the Manchu rule. After returning to south China to teach school at Canton, Chu Chih-hsin gradually was drawn into the practical tasks of planning and preparing revolutionary uprisings. Because he still wore a queue and the mandarin gowns left by his father, he was able to escape notice. He first took part in an uprising in December 1908 when the revolutionaries, attempting to take advantage of the death of the empress dowager and the Kuang-hsu emperor in November of that year, sought to win over military forces in the Canton area for a concerted attack on Manchu authority. This plot was betrayed, and the uprising failed.

The 1908 plan provided the basis for new revolutionary activities in 1909. Ni Ying-t'ien, an army officer, was assigned the task of inciting the men of the army to rebel, and an uprising was planned for 10 February 1910. On the eve of the coup, Ni spent the night at Chu Chih-hsin's house to make final arrangements. The next day, Ni's recruits attacked the arsenal, seized some arms, and turned toward Canton city. On 12 February, however, Ni Ying-t'ien was killed, and his men were scattered. Chu Chih-hsin had raised a supporting force, but had no opportunity to use it. Because he had retained his queue, Chu was able to evade the attention of the Ch'ing officials. On the recommendation of Tsou Lu (q.v.), he took a teaching position at the Kwangtung-Kwangsi Language School.

Chu Chih-hsin demonstrated his valor as a revolutionary activist in April 1911, when the T'ung-meng-hui made its most ambitious military move up to that time. The leader of this Canton uprising was Huang Hsing. Chu served as Huang's chief assistant in planning the attack and in selecting men for the assault. On 27 April 1911 the Huang-hua-kang insurrection took place. Huang Hsing and Chu Chih-hsin attempted to capture the governor general's yamen, and Chu suffered chest wounds in the ensuing hand-to-hand fighting. After the insurgents had been defeated, Chu fled from Canton to Hong Kong. Although the insurrection failed, it served to heighten the unrest which culminated in the successful uprising at Wuchang in October 1911.

After the Wuchang revolt broke out, Chu Chih-hsin worked among the militia in areas near Canton to persuade them to rise in support of the republican revolutionaries. After the establishment of the republic, Chu served in 1912 as director of the audit bureau in the provincial administration of Hu Han-min in Kwangtung. He then cut off his queue.

Yuan Shih-k'ai soon afterward sought to gain political and military dominance in China and began to suppress the activities of the republican revolutionaries. Late in 1913, after the defeat of the so-called second revolution by Yuan's forces, Chu Chih-hsin joined the general exodus of revolutionaries to Japan. There he worked with Sun and his immediate entourage, including Ch'en Ch'i-me (q.v.), Hu Han-min, Liao Chung-k'ai, and Tai Chi-t'ao, in reorganizing

the Kuomintang into the Chung-hua ko-ming-tang, which was inaugurated in June 1914. Chu was associated with Hu Han-min and Tai Chi-t'ao in editing the party's new propaganda organ, the *Min-kuo tsa-chih* [republican magazine]. During the 1913-14 period in exile in Japan, Chu developed a close intellectual association with Tai Chi-t'ao and began his friendship with Chiang Kai-shek.

Sun Yat-sen dispatched a number of his lieutenants to China to organize armed resistance to Yuan Shih-k'ai. Chu Chih-hsin and Teng K'eng (q.v.) were assigned to their native province of Kwangtung to induce quasi-bandit groups known as min-ping [militia men] to rise against Yuan's power, then being imposed in Kwangtung through the agency of the notorious Lung Chi-kuang (q.v.). Chu was active in the southwestern part of the province and staged two minor uprisings in October and November 1914. Although his irregular forces were no match for those of Lung Chi-kuang, he became increasingly adept at persuading and inciting quasi-bandit forces to serve the revolutionary cause.

In December 1915 Ts'ai O (q.v.) led his forces from Yunnan into Szechwan, and Li Lieh-chün (q.v.) launched a thrust against Lung Chi-kuang in Kwangtung. Chu Chih-hsin seized this opportunity to begin new military operations early in 1916. An attempt to seize Canton was halted by Lung Chi-kuang's superior artillery, but Chu then launched an offensive against the fortress at Humen, which controlled the approaches to Canton on the Pearl River. In June 1916, however, Yuan Shih-k'ai's death at Peking brought the military campaigns in the south to a halt.

From mid-1917 to mid-1918 Chu Chih-hsin, Hu Han-min, and Wang Ching-wei were members of Sun Yat-sen's personal entourage in the so-called constitution protection regime at Canton. Chu, Ch'en Chiung-ming, and Hsu Ch'ung-chih were the men designated to develop a loyal Cantonese army to bolster Sun's military position. In March 1918 Chu was sent by Sun on a mission to Tokyo in an effort to enlist Japan's support for the constitution protection movement. In the early summer of 1918, Sun Yat-sen relinquished his title of generalissimo in the Canton regime and left for Shanghai.

Chu Chih-hsin joined Sun Yat-sen at Shanghai and became a leading figure in developing

and popularizing Sun's political and social ideas. Chu resolved to abandon military activities and to devote himself exclusively to social reform. Writing to Chiang Kai-shek, Chu stated in the summer of 1918 that "after observing conditions in China, I am convinced that it is necessary to make ideological reforms. I have decided to devote my energies from now on to such reforms and will no longer concern myself with military affairs." In August 1919, together with Tai Chi-t'ao, Chu established the *Chien-she tsa-chih* [reconstruction magazine], the journal in which much of the ideology of the Kuomintang was formulated, expounded, and discussed.

During the last period of his life at Shanghai, Chu Chih-hsin, writing in the *Chien-she tsa-chih* and other periodicals, attained a national reputation. Although he had been trained in the classical style and had a flair for elegant Chinese prose, he became an enthusiastic supporter of the literary reform efforts of Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Hu Shih (qq.v.) and began to write in the vernacular. He was well versed in Japanese and read English with some facility. After noting the interest shown by Chinese intellectuals in the Russian Revolution, he began to study Russian.

Chu and other Kuomintang intellectuals conducted a vigorous academic debate with Hu Shih on the ancient Chinese ching-t'ien system, a sort of early commune. Hu Shih doubted the existence of the system, while Chu and his colleagues in Sun Yat-sen's entourage believed in it and supported it. Of greater political significance was Chu Chih-hsin's growing emphasis on the importance of rallying mass support for social and economic programs designed to spur modernization in China. In later years, after Chu Chih-hsin's death in 1920, other leading figures in the Kuomintang, including Sun Yat-sen, became increasingly aware of the potential political influence of the Chinese masses, a crucial change in attitude that was an important prerequisite to the 1924 reorganization of the Kuomintang and to the attempt to collaborate with the Communists.

After the First World War, Chu planned a trip to the United States. However, early in 1920 some Chinese students in the United States sent messages to the Peking government and to provincial authorities in China which, in Chu's view, promoted the cause of militarism. Because Chu believed that the students in America had

not profited by their stay there and because he wanted to learn more about Russia, he then planned a European trip. However, military affairs in south China prevented him from going. In June 1920 Sun Yat-sen sent Chu to Fukien to persuade Ch'en Chiung-ming to move his forces back to Kwangtung and to reestablish a territorial base in the Canton area. Chu then accompanied Ch'en on his successful thrust toward Canton. When they were approaching that city, Chu was assigned the mission of arranging the surrender of the fortress at Humen. Although Chu's negotiations were successful, a local misunderstanding led to skirmishing, in the course of which he was fatally wounded. He died on 21 September 1920 at the age of 36 sui.

Chu Chih-hsin's untimely death shocked Sun Yat-sen and his comrades in the Kuomintang. On coming south to Canton after Ch'en Chiung-ming had expelled the Kwangsi generals in October, Sun declared that "although the Kwangsi clique has been expelled, we have paid too great a price in the sacrifice of Chu Chih-hsin." Writing to Chiang Kai-shek, Sun lamented, "Chu Chih-hsin's sudden death is like the loss of my right and left hands. There are now few left in our party who know military strategy so well or are as trustworthy as he." On another occasion Sun told comrades, "Ying-shih [Ch'en Ch'i-me, q.v.] had revolutionary zeal and courage, but was lacking in knowledge and scholarly accomplishment. Chih-hsin had the revolutionary spirit of Ying-shih, but his knowledge surpassed that of Ying-shih."

Largely through the efforts of Wang Ching-wei, Chu Chih-hsin was honored by the establishment of a school bearing his name at Canton. Originally co-educational but later converted into a secondary institution for girls, the Chih-hsin Memorial Middle School was located opposite the Huang-hua-kang mausoleum. Its campus was considered the most beautiful in the city. Chu Chih-hsin's widow was the principal of the school, and Wang Ching-wei taught there for a time.

The most comprehensive edition of Chu's collected essays, the *Chu Chih-hsin chi* [the works of Chu Chih-hsin], contains many of his *Min-pao* and *Chien-she tsa-chih* articles with notes by Wang Ching-wei, Shao Yuan-ch'ung, and Tai Chi-t'ao. The *Chu Chih-hsin wen-ts'un* [collection of Chu Chih-hsin's essays], compiled by Shao Yuan-ch'ung, is a less extensive collection.

Chu Ching-nung
West. King Chu

朱經農

Chu Ching-nung (14 August 1887–9 March 1951), educator, one of the founders and later the president of the China Academy and of Kuang-hua University. An educational reformer, he edited a major textbook series for the Commercial Press, served the National Government in such posts as vice minister of education, and created a fine school system in Hunan as commissioner of education (1932–42). After 1948 he lived in the United States.

Although he was a native of Paoshan, Kiangsu, Chu Ching-nung was born in P'u-chiang, Chekiang. His paternal grandfather, Chu K'uei, was a scholar who had gone to Hunan to teach. His father, Chu Ch'i-shu (T. Jen-fu), was the magistrate of P'uchiang. Chu Ching-nung was the second child in the family; he had two brothers and one sister. After being transferred to Shihmen, Chu Ch'i-shu died in 1894. Chu Ching-nung's mother, T'ien Hsi, then returned to Paoshan, where she struggled to raise her children. In 1897 she moved the family to Hunan, where her husband's brother, Chu Ch'i-ji, was serving as an official.

Chu Ch'i-ji was a prominent scholar who had served as prefect in several districts in Hunan and who had trained many classical scholars in the province. Chu Ching-nung arrived in Hunan at a time when the province was one of the leading centers of reform activity in China. Chu's uncle Hsiung Hsi-ling (q.v.) was then in Hunan, and both Hsiung and Chu Ch'i-ji were active in the reform movement. Hsiung Hsi-ling had organized the Nan-hsueh-hui [southern study society], and Chu Ching-nung often went to meetings to hear lectures by such prominent young scholars as Huang Kung-tu, Ou-yang Chi-wu, P'i Lu-men, and Hsiung Hsi-ling. In 1898, however, the Hundred Days Reform ended when the imperial government sternly repressed the movement and executed several of the leading reformers.

Both Chu Ch'i-ji and Hsiung Hsi-ling survived the disaster, and in 1902 Chu Ch'i-ji founded a middle school at Ch'angte, where he was serving as prefect. Chu Ching-nung was enrolled in the first class at his uncle's school. While there he met T'an Chen (q.v.),

began to read anti-Manchu periodicals, and acquired a sympathetic attitude toward the revolutionary movement.

In the summer of 1904, Chu Ch'i-yi decided to send him to Japan for further study. He first entered the Kobun Gakkō at Sugamo to study Japanese. In 1905 he transferred to the Seijō Gakkō. When Sun Yat-sen came to Tokyo to head the T'ung-meng-hui, Chu became a member of that society through the sponsorship of a close friend, Kung Lien-pai.

In the winter of 1905 the Japanese government adopted regulatory measures against Chinese students. Chu was among the many students who left Japan and went to Shanghai to establish a new institution called the Chung-kuo kung-hsueh, or China Academy. Because of the shortage of Chinese teachers of mathematics and science, the school had to hire Japanese teachers. Chu Ching-nung helped to pay his educational expenses by serving as an interpreter. His classmates at the China Academy included Hu Shih, Jen Hung-chün, and others who later became prominent educators. The China Academy was a center of anti-Manchu activity, and the imperial government authorities watched it carefully. In 1908 the viceroy of the area attempted to reorganize the China Academy as a government institution. The students responded to this action by withdrawing from the China Academy and establishing the New China Academy. Chu Ching-nung was elected one of the three managers of the new institution. The New China Academy operated successfully for a year. Then, because of financial difficulties, it was dissolved, and the students returned to the China Academy. In 1910 Chu Ch'i-yi died, and Chu Ching-nung returned to Hunan to help support the family. He taught English at the Kao-teng shih-yeh hsueh-t'ang, or senior industrial school.

After the Wuchang revolt of October 1911, Chu took part in establishing the initial independence of Hunan from imperial rule. In 1912, in response to invitations from Sung Chiao-jen (q.v.) and T'an Chen, he went to Peking to edit the *Min-chu pao* [democratic newspaper], an organ of the republican revolutionaries. Later, he also became chief editor of the *Ya-tung hsin-wen* [East Asia news]. After the so-called second revolution broke out in the summer of 1913, the two papers were closed by the police, and an order was issued for Chu

Ching-nung's arrest. He fled to Tientsin. Under the protection of Hsiung Hsi-ling, who had become the premier, Chu Ching-nung returned to Peking, where he worked for a time in the ministry of agriculture and commerce, then headed by Chang Chien. He remained in Peking until the end of 1915. Then, because Yuan Shih-k'ai made public his plan to become monarch, Chu decided to leave China. With financial assistance from friends, Chu was able to leave for the United States.

From 1916 to 1919 he worked in Washington as a part-time clerk in the Chinese embassy while he studied at George Washington University. After obtaining the B.A. degree, Chu continued his studies and received an M.A. in 1919. In 1920 he obtained a scholarship from the Kiangsu provincial government which permitted him to resign his post at the Chinese embassy and go to New York to study education at Teachers College, Columbia University. During his years in the United States, Chu renewed his contacts with other young Chinese scholars, including Hu Shih, Yang Ch'uan, and Jen Hung-chün, and thus was involved in the intellectual activity that led to the Chinese literary revolution. While in the United States, Chu became a Christian. Although the precise date of his conversion cannot be determined, it is known that he remained a devout Christian for the rest of his life.

In 1920 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, the chancellor of Peking University, invited Chu Ching-nung to return to China to teach education at Peking University. Chu accepted and taught at Peking for two years. In 1923 the government introduced a major reform of the Chinese school system. To support the new curriculum, an entire set of textbooks, teachers' manuals, and homework materials had to be prepared for elementary and middle school use. The Commercial Press invited Chu to Shanghai to become chief editor of their textbook project. The series had a great influence on the thought and training of an entire generation of young Chinese and proved to be a great financial success for the Commercial Press.

During this period, James Yen (Yen Yang-ch'u, q.v.) began the so-called mass education movement, an attempt to extend basic literacy to the rural areas of China. Chu was an enthusiastic supporter of Yen's program and helped to edit the first set of materials, the *P'ing-min*

ch'ien-tzu-k'e [lessons for the common people to learn the first thousand basic characters]. Chu also found time to edit a special supplement on rural education for the *Shun Pao* [Shanghai news daily], Shanghai's oldest and most prominent newspaper. In the autumn of 1924 Chu became head of the Chinese department of Shanghai College.

In the aftermath of the May Thirtieth Incident of 1925 the students of St. John's University in Shanghai staged a mass withdrawal on 3 June 1925. Their decision to establish a new university won public support in Shanghai. Chu Ching-nung was appointed dean of Kuang-hua University, and he managed to create a university program in a few weeks. Classes began in the autumn of 1925, and Kuang-hua, enthusiastically supported by both the students and the faculty, soon matched the high academic standards of St. John's. During this period, Chu Ching-nung managed to maintain his relationship with the Commercial Press and to teach evening classes at Ta-hsia University.

In 1926 Chu visited Canton and made contact with the central authorities of the Kuomintang. After returning to Shanghai, Chu worked secretly for the Kuomintang cause with Wu Chih-hui (q.v.) and Yang Ch'uan. As the Northern Expedition advanced, the Shanghai authorities began executing without benefit of trial men suspected of being covert Kuomintang workers. Chu was not discovered, however; he remained in Shanghai and continued working. In 1927, after the Nationalist forces had occupied Shanghai, Huang Fu (q.v.) was appointed mayor. Huang made Chu Ching-nung commissioner of education, and Chu drafted plans for the reform of both primary and secondary education.

In 1928 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, then head of the newly established Ta-hsueh-yuan in the National Government at Nanking, named Chu Ching-nung to take charge of the office of general education, with responsibility for planning and supervising elementary and secondary education throughout China. When the Ta-hsueh-yuan was reorganized in the winter of 1928 as the ministry of education, Chu continued to hold the same post under Chiang Monlin (Chiang Meng-lin, q.v.), the new minister of education. He was promoted to vice minister of education in 1930. Near the end of that year, however,

when Chiang Monlin resigned from the ministry, Chu Ching-nung left his government post.

Chu went to Shanghai and became acting president of the China Academy in the absence of its president, Shao Li-tzu. In June 1931 he was appointed president of Cheeloo University in Tsinan, Shantung.

In September 1932 Chu took a leave of absence to become commissioner of education in Hunan, where he had begun his formal education some 30 years earlier. A year later, he resigned from the presidency of Cheeloo University. Chu remained in Hunan for more than ten years and built up the educational system of that province to a notably high level despite the pressures and the difficulties of war. When he left his post in 1943, there was, on the average, one four-year elementary school for every hundred families and one complete six-year elementary school in each local administrative district. The number of secondary schools increased from about 100 in 1932 to more than 250 in 1943, and a decisive effort was made to improve the quality of teaching. Chu improved the academic standards of Hunan University to such an extent that it was given the status of a national university in July 1937. After the Sino-Japanese war began, he helped to establish a temporary university at Changsha to accommodate the students and faculty of Peking, Tsinghua, and Nankai universities, which had been forced to leave their campuses by the Japanese invasion. Hsiang-ya, or the Yale-in-China Medical College, at Changsha was nearly destroyed. Chu helped to reestablish it and made it a national college. In 1941 he founded three provincial professional colleges (agriculture, engineering, and business) at Hengshan.

In February 1943 Chu Ching-nung became deputy chancellor of National Central University in the wartime capital of Chungking. This was the leading government university of China. The chancellorship was an honorary designation reserved for the Chairman of the National Government; the university was run by the deputy chancellor. In March 1944 Chu was appointed political vice minister of the ministry of education. In May 1945 he was elected a member of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang, and later he served on its standing committee.

After the Japanese surrender in 1945, Chu took charge of moving the ministry of education

from Chungking back to Nanking. In October 1946 he resigned from the service of the National Government to succeed Wang Yun-wu (q.v.) as general manager of the Commercial Press at Shanghai. He also became president of Kuang-hua University. In November 1946 Chu attended the National Assembly at Nanking as a representative of the educational profession. He was elected to the presidium. In March 1948 he attended the first National Assembly, which put the new constitution into effect.

In November 1948 Chu Ching-nung was sent as China's chief delegate to the third session of UNESCO, meeting in Lebanon. On his way back to China, he visited the United States. Shanghai fell into the hands of the Communists when Chu was in America. Because he was not willing to cooperate with the Communists, Chu resigned from both the Commercial Press and Kuang-hua University. He remained in the United States and began work on a history of Chinese educational thought. In 1950 Chu joined the faculty of Hartford Theological Seminary. On 9 March 1951 he suffered a heart attack and died in his suite at the seminary. He was survived by his wife, Yang Ching-shan, by four sons, and by one daughter. His eldest son, Chu Wen-djang, received his Ph.D. at the University of Washington and later taught at Yale University and at the University of Pittsburgh.

Chu Ching-nung wrote or edited many textbooks, books, and articles on education and educational theory. He was the chief editor of the *Chiao-yü ta-tz'u-shu* [encyclopedia of education], published in 1930; the author of *Chin-tai chiao-yü ssu-ch'ao* [modern educational theory], published in 1941, and of a book on the philosophy of education, published in 1942; and the translator of John Dewey's *School of Tomorrow* (*Ming-jih chih hsueh-hsiao*). All of his important books were published by the Commercial Press. Chu also contributed the chapter on education to the *Symposium on Chinese Culture*, edited by Sophia H. Chen (Ch'en Heng-che, q.v.); his last article, written in English, was on the Confucian tradition. It appeared in the 1951 *Yearbook of Education* published in London. Most of Chu Ching-nung's articles on pedagogical and curriculum problems appeared in *Chiao-yü tsa-chih* [education magazine] between 1923 and 1925 and in *Chiao-yü yü jen-sheng* [education and life] between 1924 and 1926. A collection of

his verse, entitled *Ai-shan-lu shih-ch'ao* [poems by Chu Ching-nung], was published by the Commercial Press in Taiwan in 1965. That volume also included a full bibliography of Chu Ching-nung's publications, as well as biographical materials concerning his public career.

Chu, Coching: see CHU K'O-CHEN.

Chu Hsi-tsü

T. T'i-hsien

朱希祖
邊先

Chu Hsi-tsü (1879–5 July 1944), historian, taught at such universities as Peking (1913–26; 1928–30), Chung-shan (1931–33), and National Central (1934–44). After 1939 he served as executive secretary of the Kuo-shih kuan [bureau of national history].

Little is known about Chu Hsi-tsü's childhood. His native place was Haiyen, Chekiang. After receiving his early education in the Chinese classics, in 1905 Chu won a Chekiang provincial scholarship for study in Japan. In Tokyo, he enrolled at Waseda University and took courses in history and geography. He also studied phonetics with his fellow-provincial Chang Ping-lin (q.v.), who then was editing the *Min-pao* [people's journal] and lecturing on Chinese studies. The two men formed a lasting friendship.

After the revolution of 1911, Chu Hsi-tsü was appointed magistrate of his native district of Haiyen in Chekiang province, but he soon left that office to serve in the provincial department of education. In 1913 he went to Peking to attend a conference on the standardization of spoken Chinese. There he proposed the use of a phonetic alphabet as a preliminary step toward linguistic unification, an idea which earlier had been proposed by Chang Ping-lin. After that conference, Chu Hsi-tsü was invited to teach at National Peking University, where he soon became chairman of the department of Chinese. After Chang Ping-lin was placed under house arrest by Yuan Shih-k'ai, Chu Hsi-tsü was one of the few former students to continue to pay regular visits to Chang. Chu Hsi-tsü joined the Ch'ing-shih kuan [bureau of Ch'ing history], headed by Chao Erh-sun (q.v.), but soon resigned from that post to protest Chao's affiliation with Yuan Shih-k'ai.

In 1926 Chu left his teaching position at Peking University when Chang Tso-lin (q.v.) proclaimed himself commander in chief at Peking and began to interfere with academic freedom. Since Tsinghua and Fu-jen universities were less involved with politics, he taught at those two institutions instead. He did, however, handle the purchase for Peking University of the archives in the Ch'ing palace. Chu was known for his advocacy of the theory that Chinese students of history should be equipped with a richer knowledge of modern social science theories. He also collaborated with Hu Shih (q.v.) in popularizing the *pai-hua* [vernacular] movement. Chu Hsi-tsü rejoined the faculty of Peking University in 1928, after the demise of Chang Tso-lin, and became a research fellow of the Academia Sinica in 1930.

In 1931 he left north China and moved to Canton to teach at Chung-shan University, where he gathered materials for a study of Ming history after 1644. In 1934 he went to Nanking to join the faculty of National Central University. At the same time he served as a member of the council for the preservation of China's ancient cultural objects and visited ancient sites in Nanking, Anyang, and Tangt'u to supervise archaeological excavations. That work led to the publication of *Liu-ch'ao ling-mu tiao-ch'a pao-kao* [a report on the investigations of tombs of the six dynasties]. In the 1930's, while teaching at Nanking, he made monthly journeys to Soochow to attend lectures given by Chang Ping-lin.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937 Chu Hsi-tsü moved with National Central University to Chungking. His activities, however, were not limited to classroom lectures. In 1938 he submitted a long memorandum to the ministry of education of the National Government advocating curriculum standardization in institutions of higher education. The following year he assisted Chang Chi (q.v.) in drafting plans for the establishment of a *tsung tang-an k'u* [bureau of general archives] and a *kuo-shih kuan* [bureau of national history]. After the government authorities accepted this proposal, Chang Chi was named chairman of the *Kuo-shih kuan*, and Chu Hsi-tsü became its executive secretary. Chu died in the summer of 1944 at Chungking.

Chu Hsi-tsü's writings on Chinese history

frequently are marked by a strong nationalistic feeling. In this category are his wartime works intended to expose the evils of puppet regimes: *Wei-Ch'u-lu chi-pu* [a study of the records of the puppet regime Ch'u], *Wei-Ch'i-lu chiao-pu* [a study of the records of the puppet regime Ch'i], and *Wei-Ch'i kuo-chih ch'ang pien*. Before the war he wrote the *Chan-kuo shih nien-piao* [a chronology of the period of the warring states], the *Chi-chung-shu k'ao* [an investigation of the Chi-chung-shu], and the *Yang Yao shih-chi k'ao-cheng* [an investigation of Yang Yao's life]. In the field of bibliography he produced the *Wan-Ming shih-chi k'ao* [an investigation of the history of the late Ming dynasty], the *Li-t'ing ts'ang-shu t'i-chi* [on the Li-t'ing collection of books], and the *Hsin Liang-shu i-wen-chih* [on the section on arts and literature in the Hsin Liang-shu]. In 1944 he published the *Chung-kuo shih-hsueh t'ung-lun* [a general discussion of Chinese historiography], a revised edition of lecture notes he had used at Peking University in 1919.

Chu Hsi-tsü had four sons. The eldest, Chu Hsieh (1907-; T. Po-shang), received his doctorate in economics from the University of Berlin in 1932. On his return to China he served in a number of government posts, but later became chairman of the department of economics at National Central University. Chu Hsi-tsü's daughter, Chu T'an (1910-; T. Chung-hsien), a historian specializing in the late Ming period, married Lo Hsiang-lin (1905-; T. Yuan-i), another professor of history.

Chu Hsiang
T. Tzu-yuan

朱湘
子沅

Chu Hsiang (1904-5 December 1933), poet, was noted for his use of a variety of traditional and Western forms in writing Chinese vernacular poetry.

Born into a family of twelve children in T'aihu, Anhwei, Chu Hsiang was the youngest of five boys. His father, Chu Yen-hsi, was a salt tao-t'ai. Both his father and his mother died while he was very young, leaving him to be brought up by an elder brother. This brother seems to have regarded Chu as an unwelcome encumbrance and to have mistreated him throughout his boyhood. At the age of six, Cuh

began classical studies with a private tutor. Although he was not an exceptional student, by the time he was 11 he had mastered the rudiments of the classical curriculum and was trying his hand at original composition. His brother, however, saw no point in Chu's continuing a traditional education, which the abolition of the examination system had rendered unnecessary, and enrolled Chu in a so-called modern school. Thereafter, Chu's boyhood schooling was highly irregular, including a period spent studying engineering in a vocational school and taking English courses at night. In 1922, at the age of 18, he enrolled in Tsinghua College.

Chu Hsiang had become seriously interested in literature while still a schoolboy. His one sustained interest had been the reading of novels. He was particularly taken with historical tales and eagerly devoured translations of Scott and Stevenson. He also read widely in Chinese fiction and came to regard *Hung-lou-meng* (*Dream of the Red Chamber*) as the greatest of all Chinese novels. When he turned 18, however, he gave up fiction entirely and vowed to read nothing but poetry. On entering Tsinghua, Chu took up with the new literature movement, then in its heyday. Soon he was drawn into the circle of Wen I-to, Hsu Chih-mo (qq.v.), and Liu Meng-wei, poets of the "Crescent School," who were concerned with defining new forms and rhythms for a poetry which was the only thing, they held, that could liberate and adequately express the new spirit of the Chinese people under the republic. Chu's early efforts appeared in *Wen-i tsa-chih* [literature magazine], *Hsiao-shuo yueh pao* [fiction monthly], and the literary supplement of the *Ch'en-pao*. In 1925 his first collection of 26 poems, *Hsia-t'ien* [summer], was published with the editorial advice of Wen I-to. The poems range from two to fifty-two lines and reveal the exquisite craftsmanship that was to become the hallmark of Chu's style. In the preface Chu explained his title as meaning the end of adolescence and the beginning of adult life, in this case a life of art. In 1926 Chu, together with Wen, Hsu, Liu, and other Crescent poets, established the poetry journal *Shih-chien* [poetry weekly], which they edited at regular meetings in Wen's home. *Shih-chien* lasted only two months (April-May), but proved to be highly influential, largely because of the high caliber of its contributors. In 1927 Chu's second volume of poems, *Ts'ao-*

mang chi [grasses and flowers], appeared and was well received. Notable among its contents was the 900-line "Wang-chiao," the dramatic retelling of an ancient legend about a Chinese beauty forced into marriage with a barbarian king. With the publication of *Ts'ao-mang chi*, Chu's reputation as a poetic craftsman was firmly established. Contemporary criticism afforded him a place beside Hsu, Wen, and Kuo Mo-jo (q.v.) as a leading writer of vernacular poetry.

Following his graduation from Tsinghua in 1928, Chu, like many Peking students, went abroad to study. Enrolling first at Lawrence College in Appleton, Wisconsin, where he studied Western literature, Chu soon transferred to the University of Chicago, where until 1930 he studied French and German and especially German fiction. While at Chicago, Chu translated a number of Chinese poems and published them in *Phoenix*, a student literary journal. He also undertook a translation of *Chin-ku ch'i-kuan* [stories new and old], a famous collection of 40 vernacular tales dating from the early seventeenth century. Chu's sojourn in the United States was marred by frequent clashes with his American teachers, some of whom he thought harbored racial prejudice against him. One of his favorite recreations was to challenge such teachers to *tou-chih* [battles of wit] and then scathingly to reveal their errors and inadequacies.

From the autumn of 1930 to the summer of 1932, Chu served as chairman of the Western languages department of Anhwei University at Anking. Here his manner grew markedly eccentric, and, while popular with his students, he was drawn into frequent disputes with the university administration, often over trivial matters or wholly imaginary slights. As a result he was forced to resign his post. Embittered by this experience, Chu refused to continue teaching as a profession. Thereafter, he was often dependent on the assistance of friends for the support of himself and his family. Equally unsuccessful were his attempts to publish new work. Chu even attempted to solicit testimonials as if he had never written or published a word, but to no avail. The collapse of Chu's career as a teacher and a man of letters, combined with his constant sense of persecution, came to a climax on the night of 4 December 1933, when he vanished overboard from a

Yangtze steamer. In 1934, a posthumous collection of his later poetry, *Shih-men chi* [stone gate], was published, as was a collection of essays and literary criticisms, *Chung-shu chi* [letters from the heart]. Also in 1934 his widow, Liu Ni-chün, published *Hai-wai chi Ni-chün* [letters from abroad], a collection of Chu's letters written to her while he was in the United States. A second volume of essays, *Yung-yen chi* [last words], appeared in 1936.

As a poet, Chu Hsiang was notable for the dexterity with which he adapted a variety of forms, traditional and Western, to the new vernacular poetry. "Wang-chiao," his early masterpiece, was a successful attempt to develop poetry along the lines of the popular ballad, especially the *t'an-tz'u* [strummed songs], a rhymed narrative having both spoken and sung parts. Chu exploited the irregularity of the ballad stanza to achieve a variety and suppleness of line denied him by the traditional forms with their stereotyped syllabic patterns, but at the same time he relied on recurrent rhyme and an underlying musical rhythm to give his verses shape and coherence. Chu was singularly alive to the tendency of "free verse" to formlessness and was severely critical of even Wen I-to and Hsu Chih-mo for a certain diffuseness of form as well as imprecision of diction. Chu spent considerable time translating Shelley and made an interesting attempt to duplicate the original meters in Chinese. Typically, his later verses were brief lyrics showing the influence of both Chinese and Western technique and characterized by short lines and stanzas and simple direct diction. Chu's gradual alienation from the world reflected itself in poetry which came more and more to treat of the themes of winter, rain, separation, loneliness, and death. His own death at 29 concluded a sad career, but he left a body of poetry and criticism which remained influential.

Chu Hsueh-fan
T. P'ing-an

朱學範
屏安

Chu Hsueh-fan (5 October 1901-), labor leader. Chairman of the Kuomintang-sponsored General Labor Union in 1928, he later headed the Chinese Association of Labor and often represented China at international labor meetings. He started cooperating with the Chinese Com-

munists in early 1948, and in 1949 he became minister of posts and telegraphs at Peking.

Born in Shanghai, Chu Hsueh-fan was the youngest of seven children. His native place was Chiashan, Chekiang. His mother died when he was 3, and his father, the owner of a small department store in Shanghai, died when Chu was 8. Despite the loss of his parents, Chu was able to continue his schooling with the assistance of his eldest brother, Chu Hsueh-mo. Later, he entered the St. Francis Academy in Shanghai, where he learned English. After graduation, he became a clerk for a Western company in Shanghai.

In 1923 Chu took the examination for entrance into the Chinese government postal service. He passed it with distinction and became a junior postal clerk in Shanghai. He enrolled in the evening classes at Shanghai Law College, where he was a student of the well-known Shanghai lawyer Shen Chün-ju (q.v.).

Chu was promoted to second-class postal officer in 1926. One of his colleagues was Lu Ching-shih (1908-), who had been one of his classmates at Shanghai Law College. The two young men began organizing their fellow workers into the Shanghai Postal Workers Union. Chu became general secretary. In 1927 they expanded the union to become the All-China Postal Workers Union, with Lu Ching-shih as managing director of the national organization.

In organizing the Postal Workers Union, Chu Hsueh-fan and Lu Ching-shih at first were encouraged by the Kuomintang, which was preparing for the Northern Expedition and hoped to utilize the strength of organized labor to help the Nationalists take over Shanghai. At this time Chu joined the Ch'ing-pang [green gang], a secret society which in the spring and summer of 1927 helped Chiang Kai-shek win control of Shanghai. Chu and seven of his close associates at the Shanghai post office, known as "The Eight Sworn Brothers," became disciples of Tu Yüeh-sheng (q.v.), the influential Ch'ing-pang leader in Shanghai. With the support of Tu Yüeh-sheng, Chu in 1928 became chairman of the Kuomintang-sponsored Shanghai General Labor Union. He then organized the China Association of Labor and became its first chairman. He also formed the Yi-she, an organization which combined some of the elements of

the traditional Chinese secret society with those of the Western social club. The Yi-she was composed mainly of postal clerks, other urban workers, and small merchants. It functioned in later years as Chu Hsueh-fan's pressure group, helping to extend and consolidate his influence in the labor field.

Because of his growing prominence and the role of the China Association of Labor as the principal non-Communist labor organization in China, Chu went abroad several times between 1936 and 1938 to represent Chinese workers at conferences of the International Labour Organisation at Geneva. He also visited France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and England to observe labor conditions and to establish direct contact with labor organizations and leaders in those countries. Chu Hsueh-fan continued to be closely associated with Lu Ching-shih in directing the affairs of the All-China Postal Workers Union and the China Association of Labor. In 1937, just after the Japanese attack on Shanghai, the two men were assigned by the Military Affairs Commission of the National Government to direct special units in an attempt to inhibit the activities of the invading Japanese. After the Japanese military forces completed their occupation of Shanghai, Chu left on a French ship for Hong Kong. From there he went to Hankow and, later, to Chungking, the wartime capital of the National Government.

In the spring of 1940, Wu K'ai-hsien, the deputy director of the organization department of the Kuomintang, sent Chu Hsueh-fan and Tu Kang (Tu Shao-wen) to Ningpo, Chekiang, to organize a special training class for covert agents to be sent to Shanghai. When that task was completed the following winter, Chu returned to Chungking. He then was sent to Hong Kong to direct Chinese undercover activities there. In recognition of his achievements, Wu K'ai-hsien recommended Chu for a seat in the Legislative Yuan of the National Government at Chungking.

Chu went to the United States in 1939 and talked with American labor leaders. In November 1941 he attended the special conference of the International Labour Organisation in New York. He was elected to its governing body. During his second sojourn in the United States, he took a course in labor law at the Harvard Law School in the spring of 1942. He then was sent to London as the Chinese delegate to the

Joint Maritime Commission. Late in 1942 he returned to China and formed the China Labor Welfare Society. From 1942 to 1946 he was chairman of the board of custody of the American Labor Fund for Aid to China, and adviser to the ministry of social affairs of the National Government.

Chu Hsueh-fan went to the United States in 1944 to attend an International Labour Organisation conference in Philadelphia. The next year he was in London for the meeting of the governing body. Chu remained in Europe to participate in preparatory meetings for the establishment of the World Federation of Trade Unions. In September-October 1945 he and Teng Fa (q.v.), a delegate from the Communist areas, represented Chinese labor at the Paris conference of the federation, and both men were elected to the executive committee. Chu attended the executive committee meeting held in Moscow later that year.

During the later years of the Sino-Japanese war, Chu resided in Chungking. He found Kuomintang rule to be oppressive and became increasingly sympathetic to the Chinese Communist cause. His political outlook was influenced by Shen Chun-ju, his teacher at Shanghai Law College, and by Yi Li-jung, a former Communist who had become the secretary of the China Association of Labor. His dissatisfaction with the Nationalists increased when Kuomintang secret police in Chungking brutally beat a number of alleged Communist sympathizers, many of them members of the China Association of Labor. In turn, the National Government became dissatisfied with Chu's leadership in the association. When he returned to Shanghai after the Japanese surrender he was asked to make a public anti-Communist declaration to confirm his loyalty to the Kuomintang. He refused to make such a declaration and fled to Hong Kong. Chu's trips to Shanghai after this time were made secretly.

When Chu Hsueh-fan was in Hong Kong in 1947, a car struck his ricksha and injured him. The incident, though possibly an accident, strengthened his suspicion that he was under surveillance by the Kuomintang security authorities and that his life was in danger. As soon as he was released from the hospital, he left for Switzerland. He returned to the Far East early in 1948 and went to northern Manchuria, which

was then under Chinese Communist control. There, in a statement made at Harbin, he declared his intention to cooperate with the Communists in establishing a new government in China.

When the Communist-sponsored All-China Federation of Trade Unions held its sixth congress at Harbin in August 1948, Chu Hsueh-fan was the highest-ranking non-Communist elected to senior office in the organization. He was elected second vice chairman, ranking just below Ch'en Yün and Li Li-san (qq.v.). Later in 1948, Chu returned secretly to Hong Kong. There, in cooperation with Li Chi-shen, Li Te-ch'üan (qq.v.), and others, he helped to form the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, a separatist group organized by Kuomintang dissidents who opposed the authority of Chiang Kai-shek and who planned to cooperate with the Chinese Communists. Chu became a member of its central committee and head of its organization department. He then went to north China, where he served as chairman of the preparatory committee for the Communist sponsored Postal and Telecommunications Workers Union. When that union was organized, he became a member of its national committee.

In September 1949 Chu Hsueh-fan was a member of the group representing the All-China Federation of Trade Unions at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. When the Central People's Government was established at Peking in October 1949, Chu became its first minister of posts and telecommunications. In addition to his government office, Chu continued after 1948 to hold senior positions in the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. In May 1953, when the federation held its seventh national congress, he became the senior-ranking vice chairman. During the late 1940's and the 1950's Chu attended many meetings of the World Federation of Trade Unions at Prague, Warsaw, Berlin, Sofia, Leipzig, and other cities. In 1958 he led a delegation from the ministry of posts and telecommunications to the Soviet Union. Chu was also a deputy, representing Shantung province, to the National People's Congress at Peking.

About 1924 Chu Hsueh-fan married the daughter of a merchant family named Hua from the Ningpo district of Chekiang. Four sons and one daughter were born of the marriage.

Chu K'o-chen

T. Ou-fang
Alt. Coching Chu

竺可楨
藕舫

Chu K'o-chen (1890-), known as Coching Chu, meteorologist, became president of National Chekiang University, director of the institute of meteorology of the Academia Sinica, and president of the China Meteorological Society. After 1949 he served in Peking as a vice president of the Academy of Sciences.

Shaohsing, Chekiang, was the birthplace of Coching Chu. He completed his primary schooling in his native Shaohsing and his middle school education in Shanghai. In 1910, while attending the T'angshan Engineering College in Hopei province, he won a Boxer Indemnity Fellowship for study in the United States.

Chu enrolled at the University of Illinois, and he received a B.S. degree in 1913. He then went to Harvard University for graduate work. He gained an M.A. degree in 1915, won the Emerson Scholarship in 1917, and received the Ph.D. degree in 1918 after writing a dissertation entitled "A New Classification of the Typhoons of the Far East." A two-part summary of his thesis was later published in the *Monthly Weather Review* in Washington in 1924 and 1925. Chu also published his other early professional papers in the United States. These included "Rainfall Distribution in China," which appeared in the *Monthly Weather Review* in 1916, and "Some Chinese Contributions to Meteorology," published in the *Geographical Review* in 1918. He was elected a fellow of the American Geographical Society in 1917. While in the United States, Coching Chu was also an active member of the Science Society of China, a group founded in 1914 by Chinese students in the United States with the goal of introducing Western scientific knowledge to China and promoting scientific research. Others active in that organization, which in later years did much to promote the advancement of science in China, included Y. R. Chao (Chao Yuen-ren), Jen Hung-chün, and Yang Ch'uan (qq.v.).

Coching Chu returned to China in 1918. He taught meteorology and physical geography at the Nanking Higher Normal School. He then joined the staff of National Southeastern

University at Nanking and became chairman of the department of geology in 1921. His article on the climate of Nanking from 1905 to 1921 was published in 1922. Chu resigned from his position at Nanking in 1924 and served for a time as chairman of the history and geography section of the translation department of the Commercial Press at Shanghai. He helped to prepare the Chinese translation of J. Arthur Thomson's *Outline of Science* which was published at Shanghai in 1923. An important article by Chu on "Climatic Pulsation during Historic Times in China" appeared in the *Geographical Review* in New York in 1926. That year Coching Chu represented China at the third meeting of the Pacific Science Congress, held at Tokyo, where he presented a paper, "A Preliminary Study of the Weather Types of Eastern China."

In 1927 Coching Chu returned to academic life as chairman of the department of geology at National Central University, the successor to Southeastern University. He also became the director of the National Meteorological Station at Nanking. When the institute of meteorology of the Academia Sinica was established, Coching Chu was appointed director; he held that office until 1949. He became president of the China Meteorological Society in 1928, and he also served as a member of the board of directors of the Science Society of China and as a council member of the Academia Sinica. In the years between 1928 and 1936 Chu published several professional papers on the climate of China. He also attended the fourth meeting of the Pacific Science Congress, held at Batavia, Netherlands East Indies, in 1929; and the fifth, held at Vancouver, British Columbia, in 1932. He visited the United States in 1933.

In 1936 Coching Chu was appointed president of National Chekiang University at Hangchow. When Hangchow was lost to the Japanese in 1937, Chu moved with his university, first to Chiente in Chekiang, then to Kiangsi, Kwangsi, and, finally, to Tsunyi, Kweichow, where he remained from 1938 until 1946. Despite wartime privations, Chekiang University, under Coching Chu's leadership, sustained its reputation as one of the outstanding institutions of higher education in west China. Chu's earlier scientific work indirectly assisted the war effort against Japan. A paper he had written in 1932 on the circulation of atmosphere over China was reprinted by the Weather Division of the

United States Air Force in Washington in 1944.

After the Japanese surrender, Coching Chu returned to Hangchow with Chekiang University. The results of his long-term study of climate as a key to human activities appeared in a massive compilation entitled *The Temperature of China*, of which he was joint author with John Lee and Chang Pao-kun. This work was published in 1947 at Nanking. In 1947 he visited the United States at the invitation of the Department of State. In 1948 Chu was elected to membership in the Academia Sinica. His political sympathies were revealed when he was elected president of the leftist-oriented National Association of Science Workers in 1948. Coching Chu was a member of the group of well-known scientists and educators who participated in the new Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference convened by the Chinese Communist party in September 1949.

After the establishment of the Central People's Government, Coching Chu, then nearly 60, began a second career as senior science administrator at Peking. When the National Government fled to Taiwan late in 1949, only a small portion of the equipment and personnel of the Academia Sinica was evacuated to that island. The Communist authorities immediately began to reorganize the Academia Sinica, and in the autumn of 1949 the Chinese Academy of Sciences was established as a constituent part of the new government at Peking. Kuo Mo-jo (q.v.) was appointed to head the Academy, with Ch'en Po-ta (q.v.) as the top-ranking vice president. Coching Chu was also named a vice president of the Academy of Sciences, ranking just below Ch'en Po-ta in the administrative hierarchy. As one of the senior professional scientists at Peking, Chu played an important role in national research planning after 1949. In 1954 he became the director of the academy's department of biology, geology, and geography, which supervised some 20 research bodies, including the institute of geophysics and meteorology at Peking. He also headed the committee in charge of planning large-scale scientific expeditions, notably those concerned with investigation of water resources and soil conservation in the central Yellow River basin and with investigation of the Tsaidam basin in Tsinghai between the Nan Shan and K'un-lun mountain ranges.

Chu's role as senior scientist also embraced activities in other new national organizations

established to advance science and scientific knowledge. From 1951 to 1958 he was a vice chairman of the Association for the Dissemination of Scientific and Technical Knowledge; and from 1953 to 1958 he was a member of the national committee of the All-China Federation of Scientific Societies. When these two organizations were merged in 1958 to form the Scientific and Technical Association of the People's Republic of China, Chu was elected one of its vice presidents. He continued to serve as president of the China Meteorological Society until 1960, when he reached the age of 70. In 1956 he served as chairman of the China national committee established for the International Geophysical Year. Although China later withdrew from formal participation in the International Geophysical Year, its scientists carried out the programs planned by the national committee.

Coching Chu was elected a delegate from his native Chekiang to the National People's Congress in 1954 and again in 1959, and he made important reports on scientific work at its meetings. In addition to his responsibilities at Peking, Chu visited the Soviet Union in 1953 and 1956 and East Germany and Poland in 1954. In 1958 he became chairman of the China-East German Friendship Association.

Coching Chu's first wife, Jean Chang, whom he had married in 1919, and one of their three children died in 1938. In 1940 he married Catherine Ch'en. At least one child was born of the second marriage.

Chu P'ei-te
T. I-chih

朱培德
益之

Chu P'ei-te (29 October 1888–17 February 1937), Nationalist military officer. He was commander of the Third Army during the Northern Expedition in 1926–27 and governor of Kiangsi in 1927–29. Later, he served as chief of general staff, director general of military training, and director of the administrative office of the Military Affairs Commission.

Yehsing hsien, Yunnan, was the birthplace of Chu P'ei-te. When he was five sui, his paternal grandmother took him to Anning to enter school. His father died when Chu was only seven sui, and the boy was raised by his grandmother.

He enrolled in an army battalion military school at Kunming at the age of 18 sui. When the Yunnan Military Academy was established in 1910, it incorporated the battalion school. At the Yunnan Military Academy, Chu was influenced by anti-Manchu periodicals and by the military precepts expressed by Ts'ai O (q.v.), who became an instructor there in the spring of 1911. In October 1911, Ts'ai O led his 37th Brigade in a successful revolt against Manchu authority in Yunnan. Chu P'ei-te at once left the academy to become a staff officer in the revolutionary forces. He served in the T'eng-ch'ung area and later commanded a unit stationed at Tali in western Yunnan. After a few months, Chu returned to the Yunnan Military Academy; he was graduated at the top of his class in 1914.

He then was assigned to the newly organized 3rd Infantry Regiment in Yunnan, and he served successively as company and battalion commander in operations designed to pacify Miao tribesmen in the area. He lost many of his men to malaria and nearly succumbed to the fever himself. In the winter of 1915 T'ang Chi-yao (q.v.), the Yunnan military governor, and Ts'ai O organized a so-called National Protection Army (Hu-kuo chün) to oppose the plan of Yuan Shih-k'ai to make himself monarch at Peking. Chu P'ei-te at once joined the Second Army, commanded by his former instructor at the Yunnan Military Academy Li Lieh-chün (q.v.), and received command of a column. During the early months of 1916, while the Second Army was marching through Kwangsi, Chu P'ei-te was promoted to command its 25th Regiment. After the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai in the summer of 1916, Li Lieh-chün was forced to resign his command. His forces were renamed the Yunnan Army in Kwangtung, and Chu P'ei-te was assigned to command its 7th Mixed Brigade.

Sun Yat-sen was then making a new attempt to consolidate power in south China, and Chu P'ei-te took part in that effort. He won recognition for his action in southern Kwangtung in 1917, was promoted to command the 4th Division of the Yunnan Army in Kwangtung, and was designated garrison commander at Canton. In the spring of 1918, control of the Yunnan Army in Kwangtung passed into the hands of Li Ken-yuan (q.v.), a Yunnan man who had played a prominent role in that

province at the time of the 1911 revolution. Although Sun Yat-sen lost power at Canton in 1918 and left for Shanghai, Chu P'ei-te remained on duty at Canton, where the local authorities attempted to gain control over the Yunnan Army in Kwangtung. In the winter of 1919 Chu P'ei-te married Chao Hui-chun, the younger sister of the wife of the prominent military strategist Yang Chieh (q.v.). Many prominent people attended the wedding. Chu had been approached with the proposal that Li Ken-yuan and his lieutenants be seized at the wedding celebration and removed from power, but he had rejected the idea.

In February 1920, T'ang Chi-yao in Yunnan issued orders removing Li Ken-yuan from command of his troops in Kwangtung. T'ang himself planned to exercise direct authority; and Li Lieh-chün, then a staff officer at Canton, was to serve as T'ang's deputy. Li Ken-yuan resisted the order, however, and removed the partisans of Li Lieh-chün, including Chu P'ei-te, from their posts. Chu took his family to Hong Kong and then participated in the March 1920 attempt of Li Lieh-chün to wrest power from Li Ken-yuan. The attempt failed, and Chu P'ei-te, having lost contact with Li Lieh-chün, retreated with his 4th Division into southern Hunan.

In June 1920 Chu collaborated with T'an Yen-k'ai (q.v.) to overthrow Chang Ching-yao, a Peiyang general of the Chihli faction. Then, on orders from T'ang Chi-yao, Chu marched to Szechwan, where fighting between Yunnan and Szechwan forces was in progress. He arrived in Chungking in October 1920. By that time, however, the Yunnan forces had been defeated at Suifu and Luhsien; Li Lieh-chün, who had entered the engagement with reinforcements, had been driven back into Kweichow; and Chungking had been surrounded. Chu P'ei-te resigned his command and went to Shanghai.

Chu's services were still needed for the wars in south China. Sun Yat-sen invited him to return to Canton and participate in a campaign against Kwangsi; T'ang Chi-yao wanted him to return to Yunnan; and Li Lieh-chün also sought his help. Chu went to Kweichow to join Li Lieh-chün.

Sun Yat-sen, after assuming the position of provisional president at Canton in May 1921, made plans to destroy Lu Jung-t'ing's power in Kwangsi province as a preparatory step toward

undertaking the northern expedition. Chu P'ei-te, Ku Cheng-lun (q.v.), and Yang Yi-ch'ien, commanding Yunnan and Kweichow troops, and in collaboration with a Cantonese force led by Hsu Ch'ung-chih (q.v.) captured Kweilin in August and thus brought the campaign to a triumphant end.

T'ang Chi-yao, who had lost power in Yunnan in February 1921, now ordered the Yunnan forces in Kwangsi (commanded by Yang Yi-ch'ien) to drive back to their home province. The order was refused, and Sun Yat-sen appointed Chu P'ei-te commander of the Yunnan forces. In the ensuing clash of interests, Chu offered the Yunnanese troops that had entered Kwangsi from Szechwan the option of returning to Yunnan or serving with him. He reorganized those who remained with him into three mixed brigades and devoted himself to the service of the Nationalist cause.

Sun Yat-sen then proposed a military expedition from Kwangsi into Hunan. Ch'en Chiung-ming opposed the plan, but Sun established his headquarters at Kweilin and set about the undertaking. However, because of the continuing opposition of Ch'en Chiung-ming, the attack upon Hunan, scheduled for the spring of 1922, was never made at all. The expeditionary army, including Chu P'ei-te's forces, followed Sun back to Kwangtung in April 1922 and proceeded to Shaokuan for a projected advance into Kiangsi province. That expedition was launched in mid-May, and Chu P'ei-te's army participated in the capture of Kanchow in southern Kiangsi on 13 June 1922.

In the meantime, Sun Yat-sen had returned to Canton to deal with the political threat created there by Ch'en Chiung-ming's opposition. On 16 June Ch'en staged a coup at Canton, and Sun Yat-sen summoned his military forces to recapture the city. That force was defeated by Ch'en's troops at Shaokuan and was split into two groups. The group commanded by Hsu Ch'ung-chih and Li Fu-lin retreated to the Fukien border; the second group, led by Chu P'ei-te, made a forced retreat into southern Hunan and then to Kwangsi. Chu took up a new position at Kweilin.

In January 1923 Ch'en Chiung-ming was driven out of Canton. When Sun Yat-sen returned there in February, he ordered Chu P'ei-te and his troops to Canton. Chu's force

was reorganized into a guard unit at Sun's headquarters. Chu was made acting minister of war in the Canton regime, as well as guards commander and headquarters adjutant general. In October 1923 Chu's force participated in the defense of Canton against a new drive by Ch'en Chiung-ming. Ch'en's forces at first were victorious, and the Canton forces retreated toward Sheklung. Chu P'ei-te escaped by crossing a river hanging to the tail of his swimming horse. He rallied some of his fleeing troops, established a new defensive position, and eventually staged a flank attack on Ch'en's forces and routed them. Chu P'ei-te's military actions played an important role in defending the Canton base, and his personal prestige rose accordingly. When Canton's military establishment was reorganized in 1924, he was given command of the First Army of the National Construction Army (Chien-kuo-chün).

At the time of the organization of the National Government at Canton in July 1925, Chu P'ei-te became a member of the Government Council and quartermaster general. He served as the officer in charge of rear-area security during the second eastern expedition in late 1925, which finally broke Ch'en Chiung-ming's power and consolidated Nationalist control over Kwangtung province. At the Second National Congress of the Kuomintang, held in January 1926, Chu P'ei-te was elected a member of both the Central Executive Committee and the Central Political Council. He remained a member of the Central Executive Committee until his death.

When the Northern Expedition began in the summer of 1926, Chu P'ei-te was assigned to command the Third Army of the National Revolutionary Army. His Yunnanese troops went into action in September in Kiangsi province, which was then under the control of Sun Ch'uan-fang (q.v.). The Nationalists won control of Kiangsi province only after heavy fighting. Chu P'ei-te, commanding the right wing of the attacking forces, participated in the operation against Nanchang, the provincial capital. When that city was taken in November 1926, he was assigned to garrison the area, and he became a member of the political council established at Nanchang to govern the province.

Chu P'ei-te's position thus came to be of key importance in the sharp struggle that developed in the Yangtze valley during 1927 between the right and left wings of the Kuomintang. Chiang

Kai-shek, commander in chief of the National Revolutionary Army, established his military headquarters at Nanchang. In the countryside, the Communists, then formally allied with the Kuomintang, worked actively during the winter of 1926 to extend their political influence among the Kiangsi peasants. In January 1927 Chu P'ei-te, as commander of the Third Army at Nanchang, received a visit from Chu Teh (q.v.), who had been senior to him at the Yunnan Military Academy and during his early career as a junior officer in southwest China. Chu P'ei-te accepted Chu Teh's offer of service, adopted his proposal to establish an officers training regiment, and appointed him to command the new unit. The training of some 1,000 cadets in the program began at the end of January, and by March 1927 graduates of the training regiment were being assigned to work among the Kiangsi peasants.

The Wuhan regime appointed Chu P'ei-te to succeed Li Lieh-chün as governor of Kiangsi, and Chu formally assumed that position on 5 April 1927. On the same day he appointed Chu Teh director of the public security bureau at Nanchang. The breach between Chiang Kai-shek and the Wuhan authorities came shortly afterward, and Chiang Kai-shek set up an opposition government at Nanking on 18 April. Wang Ching-wei (q.v.), who had recently returned from Europe, went to Wuhan. Because of his personal acquaintance with Wang, Chu P'ei-te continued to take his orders from Wuhan. Li Tsung-jen (q.v.), commanding the Nationalist Seventh Army in Anhwei, had planned to move into Kiangsi province. However, Chu P'ei-te had temporarily commanded Li Tsung-jen's men in 1921-22 and was thus regarded as Li's superior. In accordance with the conventional Chinese rules of courtesy, Li requested a meeting with Chu. The two generals met at Hukow on 14-15 May 1927, and a temporary agreement was reached whereby Kiangsi for the time being was declared neutral territory.

After the break between Chiang Kai-shek and the Wuhan authorities, relations between the Kuomintang members and the Communists within the Wuhan government became strained. In May, Chu P'ei-te began to take action against the Communists in Kiangsi province. Early in June he imposed martial law, disarmed labor unions and peasant associations, ordered them to suspend activities, and arrested and deported

leading political workers. He still supported the Kuomintang authorities at Wuhan, however; in July, he joined with Chang Fa-k'uei and Ch'eng Ch'ien (qq.v.) to begin preparations in the Kiukiang area for a drive against Nanking.

The Communists had their own plans for independent action, however, and acted first in staging the Nanchang uprising of 1 August 1927. Forces led by Ho Lung and Yeh T'ing (qq.v.), with the help of Chu Teh's men, surrounded and disarmed two regiments that Chu P'ei-te had left behind and occupied the city. The Communists' victory was short-lived; they were forced to evacuate Nanchang within a few days. Since Chu P'ei-te had stationed troops at key points on the main road to the south through Kiangsi, the Communists had to proceed through the mountainous eastern portion of the province. Chu P'ei-te moved elements of his Third Army to intercept Chu Teh's force in the Tayü area, and struck them hard. Ho Lung and Yeh T'ing went on to take Swatow and to threaten Canton, but their strength had been substantially reduced.

Chu P'ei-te played an important role in the complex negotiations during late 1927 that eventually brought a measure of peace to the warring factions within the Kuomintang. Chu P'ei-te continued to serve as governor of Kiangsi. Chiang Kai-shek made plans for continuing the Northern Expedition to overthrow the Peking regime, and, in March, the expeditionary forces were reorganized into group armies to accommodate the addition to the Nationalist armies of new units, notably those of Feng Yü-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan. Chu P'ei-te was named commander of the general reserve forces. After the May 1928 clash with the Japanese at Tsinan and Chiang Kai-shek's subsequent return to Nanking, Chu P'ei-te was named field commander of the First Group Army. That force, after skirting Tsinan, took Techow in northern Shantung during the final Nationalist drive on Peking. In the meantime, the remnant Communist forces, under the command of Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung, had assembled at Ching-kang Mountain in western Kiangsi. On 9 November 1928 the National Government at Nanking assigned Chu P'ei-te to command anti-Communist operations in Kiangsi and Hunan. He held that position for only a few weeks, however, and on 1 January 1929 Nanking transferred the command to Ho Chien (q.v.).

At the Third National Congress of the

Kuomintang, held in March 1929, Chu P'ei-te was reelected to membership on the Central Executive Committee and was made a member of its standing committee. However, because most of his allies within the Kuomintang were the veteran Kwangtung leaders, notably Wang Ching-wei and Hu Han-min, and the Kwangsi military men Li Tsung-jen and Pai Ch'ung-hsi, Chu's power and influence decreased steadily as Chiang Kai-shek began to consolidate his position at Nanking. The so-called Whampoa clique, along with officers from Chekiang, became the dominant military group.

In August 1929 Chu P'ei-te resigned his post as governor of Kiangsi. In September, he was named chief of general staff at Nanking. From 1929 to 1931 he was a member of the State Council. Like T'an Yen-k'ai (q.v.), Chu P'ei-te was known for his attempts to mediate clashes between prominent Kuomintang leaders, notably Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei. However, Wang Ching-wei's participation in the so-called northern coalition of 1930 against Chiang Kai-shek further undermined Chu's personal position at Nanking. When the National Government reorganized its top military structure in March 1931, Chiang Kai-shek himself became chairman of the Military Affairs Commission and chief of general staff. Chu P'ei-te was assigned to the lesser position of director of the administrative office of the Military Affairs Commission.

In September 1931 the Japanese began their program of military conquest on the mainland with the occupation of Manchuria. In the governmental reorganization that took place at Nanking in December, Chu P'ei-te regained the post of chief of general staff after Chiang Kai-shek retired from active duty. He held that office for only a short time; and Chiang Kai-shek resumed it in March 1932 after he returned to power. Chu was reelected to both the Central Executive Committee and the Central Political Council of the Kuomintang in 1932.

In March 1933, when Ho Ying-ch'in (q.v.) was assigned to north China to take charge of the newly formed Peiping branch of the Military Affairs Commission, Chiang Kai-shek proposed to appoint Chu P'ei-te minister of war. Chu declined the post. Later in 1933, however, he assumed the office of director general of military training. When a further military reorganization took place in December 1934, Chu also was

appointed acting chief of general staff. In that capacity he acted in place of Chiang Kai-shek at provincial military reviews and similar ceremonial occasions. Chu's principal responsibility continued to be the direction of the administrative office of the Military Affairs Commission, but he also served on the committees on military discipline and on the care of Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum at Nanking. In the autumn of 1936 he assisted in the political maneuvers between the authorities of the National Government, on the one hand, and Li Tsung-jen and Pai Ch'ung-hsi, on the other, that brought Kwangsi military power into alignment with Nanking and helped to bring a measure of unity to China to confront the external Japanese threat.

Five months before the actual outbreak of hostilities between China and Japan in 1937, however, Chu P'ei-te died suddenly at Nanking. His death resulted from blood poisoning after an injection of medicine which he had been using to combat anemia.

Chu was survived by his widow and by two sons, Chu Wei-liang and Chu Wei-hsin; they later moved to the United States.

Chu Shao-liang
T. I-min

朱紹良
一民

Chu Shao-liang (1890-25 December 1963), military officer who helped extend Kuomintang control into Sinkiang by negotiating with Sheng Shih-ts'ai (q.v.) for the withdrawal of Russian influence in that province. Commander of the Eighth War Area in 1938-40, he also served as governor of Kansu in 1933-35 and 1938-40 and of Fukien in 1948-49.

Although his ancestral home was at Wuchin (Ch'angchou), Kiangsu, Chu Shao-liang was born in Foochow, Fukien, where his father was a government official. He received his early education at the military primary school in Fukien and then went to the Nanking Army Middle School. After being graduated from Nanking in 1910, Chu was selected by the government for advanced military training in Japan.

He entered the Shimbu Gakkō at Tokyo in 1910 and soon joined the T'ung-meng-hui. In 1911 he returned to China, participated in the

actions at Wuchang following the revolt, and served in the headquarters of Ch'en Ch'i-me (q.v.), the republican military governor of Shanghai. In 1913 Chu took part in the so-called second revolution, which attempted to dislodge Yuan Shih-k'ai from power. After its failure, he took refuge in Japan and enlisted in the 14th Field Artillery Corps of the Japanese Army as a candidate for entry into the Shikan Gakkō [military academy]. He entered the academy's artillery course in 1914 as a member of its eleventh class, which included three other Chinese students with whom Chu was to be associated in later years: Ho Yao-ts, Ho Ying-ch'in, and Ku Cheng-lun.

After graduation in 1916, Chu Shao-liang returned to China. He became an officer in the 1st Kweichow Division, commanded by Wang Wen-hua. He was promoted to regimental commander and then to chief of staff of the division. In 1917, after Wang Wen-hua became commander in chief of the Kweichow National Pacification Army, Chu served as his chief of staff. During the period when Kweichow and Yunnan forces were stationed in Szechwan under the over-all command of T'ang Chi-yao, Chu was defense commander at Chungking. In 1920 Wang Wen-hua was assassinated, and the Kweichow-Yunnan forces were driven out of Szechwan.

After a brief period of inactivity in Shanghai, Chu went to Canton, where he became a staff officer in Sun Yat-sen's headquarters. When the Northern Expedition was launched in mid-1926, Chu became chief of staff of the Fourth Army's 10th Division, commanded by Ch'en Ming-shu. In the disputes which began after the forces of the National Revolutionary Army reached central China, Chu supported Chiang Kai-shek. In 1928, after the successful completion of the Nationalist campaign against Peking, Chu became a member of the Military Affairs Commission and director of its military affairs bureau. Later in 1928 Chu received command of the 8th Division.

In 1929 Chiang Kai-shek assigned Chu Shao-liang and Ho Yao-ts to consolidate control over western Hupeh in the struggle against the Kwangsi generals. The Kwangsi forces retreated from central China and then undertook a new offensive against Kwangtung in the south. In September 1929 Chu went to the southern front, commanding both his own 8th Division

and the 3rd Division. However, he soon returned to central China to deal with a new threat to Chiang Kai-shek's authority in Honan. In the 1930 civil war against the northern coalition of Feng Yü-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan (q.v.), Chu fought on the Lunghai front. In 1931, after the war against the northern generals ended, he was named special pacification commissioner of Kiangsi province, where the Chinese Communists then had their main territorial base. The fighting against the Communists went badly, however, and in 1932 Chu was relieved of his post. He went to Shanghai. Later that year he was recalled to duty and was appointed to command operations against the Communists in the Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi border area.

In July 1933 Chu Shao-liang was assigned new duties in northwest China as pacification commissioner for Kansu, Ninghsia, and Tsinghai. The same year, he was given the concurrent post of governor of Kansu province. Late in 1935, Chu was succeeded as governor of Kansu by Yü Hsueh-chung (q.v.). However, Chu retained his military responsibilities in the northwest and commanded Nationalist forces in the campaign against the Communists that pressed into northwest China. In November 1935 he was elected to membership on the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang at the Fifth National Congress. In December 1936 Chu was one of the Nationalist military officers accompanying Chiang Kai-shek when he was detained at Sian by Chang Hsueh-liang (q.v.). After the Sian Incident, the National Government removed Yü Hsueh-chung from the governorship of Kansu and named Chu to that post. However, he refused the appointment and retired temporarily to Shanghai.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in July 1937, Chu became the director of the administrative section of the Military Affairs Commission and then served as commander in chief of the Ninth Route Army, the central force in the Shanghai sector. When the Nationalist forces were overcome by the Japanese, Chu was transferred to northwest China, where he was given command of the Eighth War Area, with headquarters at Lanchow. He also held office as governor of Kansu from 1938 to 1940. He then relinquished the Kansu governorship to his Tokyo classmate Ku Cheng-lun, but retained his military command.

While serving as senior Nationalist military commander at Lanchow, Chu Shao-liang made what was perhaps his major political contribution to the Kuomintang cause: extending Nationalist control into Sinkiang province. Formally, Sinkiang was part of the Eighth War Area, and in March 1942 Chu Shao-liang made a trip to Urumchi to begin preliminary discussions with Sheng Shih-ts'ai (q.v.). Because German armies were then driving hard across southern Russia, Sheng reconsidered his pro-Soviet alignment and proved receptive to Chu's representations. In July 1942, Chu, accompanied by Wong Wen-hao (q.v.), the minister of economic affairs in the National Government at Chungking, made another official trip to Urumchi to negotiate the formal establishment of Kuomintang authority in the province. Sheng agreed to order the expulsion from Sinkiang of Russian military, technical, and economic advisers.

The withdrawal of the Russians in 1943 paved the way for the Kuomintang to extend its influence into Sinkiang. However, because the Soviet Union had begun to inflict a series of defeats on the Germans, Sheng wished to reconsider the matter of pro-Russian alignment. Accordingly, in 1944 Chu Shao-liang again served as Chungking's special emissary to Sinkiang, and in August he was appointed acting governor of Sinkiang and was directed to remove Sheng from his entrenched position in the province. Chu made another trip to Urumchi, and, perhaps because of the superior military forces at his disposal, he persuaded Sheng Shih-ts'ai to accept the sinecure post of minister of agriculture and forestry in the National Government. Sheng finally left Urumchi aboard a special plane sent to take him to Chungking. Chu Shao-liang then turned over the provincial governorship of Sinkiang to Wu Chung-hsin (q.v.) and left the province in October 1944.

In 1945 Chu Shao-liang became deputy chief of staff of the Military Affairs Commission. In 1947 he was appointed deputy director of Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters at Chungking. In 1948, he served as pacification commissioner at Chungking, with authority over the four southwestern provinces of Szechwan, Yunnan, Sikang, and Kweichow. Late in 1948 he was transferred to Fukien, where he became provincial governor and pacification commissioner.

After the general collapse of Nationalist authority on the mainland in 1949, Chu Shao-liang moved to Taiwan. For several years he held the nominal position of adviser to the President on military strategy. He died of a cerebral hemorrhage at Taipei on 25 December 1963, at the age of 73.

In 1917, while stationed in Kweichow, Chu Shao-liang married Hua Te-fen. They had two sons and eight daughters.

Chu Teh
T. Yü-chieh

朱德
玉階

Chu Teh (18 December 1886–), commander in chief of the Chinese Communist forces for many years, became associated with Mao Tse-tung in 1928, when their forces combined to form the Fourth Red Army and to establish the central Communist base in Kiangsi. During the 1930's and early 1940's Chu and Mao developed the military and political tactics which established and gradually extended Communist power in rural areas. From 1950 to 1959 Chu served as vice chairman of the Peking government. He then became chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress.

The Chu family moved from Kwangtung to west China at the turn of the nineteenth century and settled in the Ilung district, an isolated and mountainous area in northern Szechwan. Chu Teh's grandparents were buried in Szechwan, but the customs and dialect of their native Kwangtung were preserved in the family, until in Chu Teh's generation they began to speak Szechwanese as well as Cantonese. He had thirteen brothers and sisters, of whom eight reportedly were still living during the Second World War. His father died in 1920. His mother, who came from a family of itinerant actors, lived until 1944. About 1895, Chu Teh was adopted by his father's elder brother, who then was the titular head of the family.

Chu Teh received his elementary education according to traditional Chinese requirements in his native village of Tawan. He then moved to the county seat of Ilung, some 30 miles to the north, where he lived at the home of his teacher, a scholar of advanced years who was attracted to the reform ideas of K'ang Yu-wei (q.v.). In 1905 he sat for the district examinations; but

after the examination system was abolished and changes were made to modernize the educational system, he abandoned the usual schooling and obtained his father's consent to enroll in a modern school at Nanch'ung. In 1906–7 he studied at the Shunch'ing Higher Primary and Middle schools at Nanch'ung, where one of the teachers was Chang Lan (q.v.), a prominent Szechwanese scholar. Chu Teh went to Chengtu, where he studied at the Chengtu Higher Normal School in 1907–8. He then returned to his native district of Ilung, where he taught physical education at a higher primary school recently opened by former classmates from Chengtu.

Chu Teh soon decided on a military career. With a group of young Szechwanese, he went to Kunming in 1909 to enroll in the Yunnan Military Academy, where he received instruction in modern military science and weapons. During his student days in Yunnan, Chu joined the T'ung-meng-hui and became associated with the Ko-lao-hui [elder brother society], a Chinese secret society with firm roots in southwest China. He also became acquainted with the Hunanese patriot and military leader Ts'ai O (q.v.), who had gone to Yunnan in the spring of 1911 at the invitation of the provincial viceroy to command the 37th Brigade and to teach at the Yunnan Military Academy. Through Ts'ai O, Chu Teh became acquainted with the ideas of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (q.v.), who had been Ts'ai's teacher, and with concepts of military discipline and leadership drawn from the writings of the nineteenth-century Hunanese scholar-general Tseng Kuo-fan. Chu was graduated from the Yunnan Military Academy in July 1911.

Chu then entered Ts'ai O's 37th Brigade as a second lieutenant in charge of ordnance. That brigade included a regiment of Szechwanese troops, to which Chu Teh, as a known T'ung-meng-hui activist, was assigned for political work. On 30 October 1911 Ts'ai O, as the senior military commander at Kunming with republican sympathies, led his brigade in a successful revolt against Manchu authority. The next day, Ts'ai O was selected by the revolutionaries as the first republican governor of Yunnan. Chu Teh and his Szechwanese regiment then returned to their native province to attack the erstwhile Manchu governor general Chao Erh-feng (*see* Chao Erh-sun), whose headquarters was at Suifu (Ipin). Chu patrolled

the Sui-fu sector of Szechwan until the spring of 1912, when he returned to Kunming to become a detachment commander and instructor at the Yunnan Military Academy. In 1912 he also became a member of the Kuomintang. From 1913 to 1915 Chu, who had been promoted to major, was stationed on the Yunnan-Indo-China border.

Beginning in 1915 Chu Teh, with the rank of colonel, commanded the 10th Regiment of the revolutionary army in Yunnan. In December 1915 Chu Teh and his regiment participated in the revolt organized by Ts'ai O and Liang Ch'i-cha'o against Yuan Shih-k'ai, who planned to become monarch. In January 1916 Ts'ai O led the forces of his National Protection Army from Yunnan into southern Szechwan. Chu Teh participated in the sharp fighting against pro-Yuan units commanded by Ts'ao K'un (q.v.) along the southern border of Szechwan from Luchow (Luhsien) to Sui-fu. The fighting reached a stalemate, which was brought to an end only by the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai in June 1916. Ts'ai O was named governor of Szechwan in July 1916. He made Chu Teh commander of the 13th Mixed Brigade of the 7th Division of the Yunnan Army in Szechwan. That brigade, which included Chu Teh's 10th Regiment of Yunnan troops, had its headquarters at Luchow.

From 1916 to 1921, Chu Teh served as a brigadier general in southwestern Szechwan. The period was one of persistent strife among the Szechwan generals—some allied at various times with powerful northern commanders such as Wu P'ei-fu, others under the influence of T'ang Chi-yao (q.v.) in Yunnan. Chu learned much about political complexities and parochial attitudes. He also became acquainted with other Szechwanese military officers, notably Yang Sen (q.v.) and Liu Po-ch'eng (q.v.), who later became a prominent commander under Chu in the Chinese Communist forces. After 1919 Chu presided over a household composed of some 20 members of his family, including his parents and three married brothers who held posts under his command. Like many of his military contemporaries, he smoked opium.

In 1920, however, Chu Teh's semi-autonomous position was undermined when fighting broke out between the Szechwan generals and the Yunnan forces under the nominal authority of T'ang Chi-yao. Yang Sen and a regiment of the Yunnanese troops surrendered to the

Szechwan general Liu Hsiang (q.v.). Chu and his Yunnan troops moved to Chengtu, but soon were driven out. Chu retreated into Yunnan at the end of 1920 when the Szechwan generals declared the autonomy of their province. He allied himself with Ku Pin-chen, a Yunnan general opposed to T'ang Chi-yao. T'ang was driven out of Yunnan in 1921, and in September of that year Chu Teh was rewarded by being named commissioner of public security in the Yunnan provincial government. He held that post only briefly, however, because T'ang Chi-yao soon regained power in Yunnan and forced Chu Teh to retreat into the region between Szechwan and Tibet. Trekking through remote and mountainous terrain, Chu Teh crossed the Tatú river, reached Yaan in western Szechwan, and eventually arrived at Chungking.

Chu Teh then abandoned his active but unproductive career as a provincial military and police officer in Szechwan and sought new opportunities. In the winter of 1921 he visited Shanghai, where he talked with Sun Yat-sen and with Ch'en Tu-hsiu (q.v.). Chu determined to begin a new career; he succeeded in overcoming the opium habit at this time. In the autumn of 1922, with financial assistance from Yang Sen, he sailed from Shanghai for Europe.

After landing at Marseilles, Chu went to Paris, where he lived with Chinese students from Szechwan who had gone to France under the work-study program (*see* Li Shih-tseng). In October 1922 he moved to Germany, where he settled in Berlin. He met Chou En-lai, who was working to organize Chinese students in Western Europe, and joined the German branch of the Chinese Communist party in late 1922. After a year in Berlin studying German, he moved to the University of Göttingen in Lower Saxony. Although he was an indifferent student who had difficulty with German, Chu Teh retained his student status during 1923–24. He returned to Berlin in the spring of 1924; there he continued his political activities and helped to edit a mimeographed weekly Communist newsletter, allegedly the first Chinese-language periodical to be published in Germany. Together with Chou En-lai and others, Chu organized the German branch of the Kuomintang, since the Communists, in accord with Comintern policy, were collaborating with that party in Europe as well as in China. Chu remained in Europe after Chou En-lai returned to China in 1924.

Chu Teh participated in several student demonstrations which attracted the attention of the Berlin police. In 1925 he was arrested twice: once for protesting the arrest and execution of Communists in Bulgaria, and once for participating in anti-imperialist demonstrations that followed upon the May Thirtieth Incident in Shanghai. Because of his police record, Chu Teh was expelled from Germany in June 1926. He returned to China by way of the Soviet Union and arrived in Shanghai that summer.

In October 1926 Chiang Kai-shek appointed Yang Sen commander of the Twentieth Army of the National Revolutionary Army, then stationed in the Wanhsien-Ichang part of the Yangtze valley. Because of his earlier association with Yang, Chu Teh was made head of the political department of the Twentieth Army. He appointed workers to handle the tasks of political organization and indoctrination. When Yang Sen discovered that Marxist-Leninist influences had penetrated his 14th Division, he suddenly arrested and executed a number of important cadres. Chu Teh left the Twentieth Army and went to Kiangsi.

He arrived at Nanchang in January 1927 and got in touch with Chu P'ei-te (q.v.), the commander of the Third Army of the National Revolutionary Army, who was responsible for garrisoning the area. Chu Teh, who had been Chu P'ei-te's teacher years earlier at the Yunnan Military Academy, obtained a position with him at Nanchang. He was named to command a new officer training regiment, and he began at once to train cadets to serve as political workers. In April 1927 the Kuomintang headquarters at Wuhan named Chu P'ei-te governor of Kiangsi to succeed Li Lieh-chün. Chu immediately appointed Chu Teh to head the provincial public security bureau. During the first seven months of 1927, Chu Teh held important military training and security responsibilities at Nanchang.

Until the summer of 1927, Chu Teh concealed his Communist party membership and had no direct contact with the top command of the Chinese Communist party. On 1 August 1927, however, while Chu P'ei-te was absent from the city, Chu Teh made clear his affiliation by participating in a Communist attempt to seize Nanchang. Forces led by Ho Lung and Yeh T'ing (qq.v.), with the assistance of Chu Teh's men,

surrounded and disarmed the two regiments that Chu P'ei-te had assigned to guard the city. The Nanchang uprising, later celebrated as the birth of the Chinese Communist army, was short-lived. When Nanchang proved untenable, the rebels marched southward to establish a base in Kwangtung. Chu Teh then commanded a mixed force made up largely of former garrison troops and cadets from Nanchang. In September 1927 the retreating Communists took Swatow, but were driven out after a week. Chu assembled the remnants of his forces and marched to Jaop'ing, Kwangtung.

In Kwangtung, the Communists were given shelter and rations by Fan Shih-sheng, a Yunnan army commander associated with the Third Army of the National Revolutionary Army. Fan then controlled northern Kwangtung and adjacent areas of southern Hunan. The troops under Chu Teh's command were temporarily enrolled as a unit of Fan Shih-sheng's army. After the defeat of the Communists at Canton in December 1927, however, the Kuomintang authorities at Canton ordered Fan to disarm Chu Teh's troops. Fan permitted the Communists to leave, and Chu ordered his men to move into southern Hunan. There, in January 1928, they occupied the town of Ichang, raised the Communist flag, and established a soviet government. However, Chu Teh's forces soon were driven northward into central Hunan, where they were designated the First Division of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Army. Ch'en Yi (1901-; q.v.) served as political commissar.

During the winter months, Chu Teh's group had established contact with another small band of Communists, led by Mao Tse-tung, who had retreated to the Ching-kang mountains on the Kiangsi border after Mao failed in his attempt to foment a peasant uprising in Hunan in the autumn of 1927. The two Communist groups were united in April 1928, and Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung met for the first time. The two men combined their military forces to form the Fourth Red Army, with Chu Teh as commander and Mao Tse-tung as political commissar. The name of the army was selected to commemorate the Communists in the Nationalist Fourth Army (*see Chang Fa-k'uei*), which had revolted at Nanchang in August 1927. The troops of the Fourth Red Army remained in their inaccessible Ching-kang mountain refuge through 1928.

Nationalist military pressure then forced them to retreat. Leaving P'eng Te-huai (q.v.) to fight a rearguard action, Chu and Mao made their way across Kiangsi. In 1930 they established a base at Juichin in southeastern Kiangsi and began to build what was to become the central Communist base. From 1929 to 1931 Chu Teh campaigned in western Fukien and in the East River district of Kwangtung. Late in 1929, he was driven out of Kwangtung by the Cantonese general Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai (q.v.) and was forced to retreat into southern Kiangsi. In mid-1930 the Chinese Communist party organization, then dominated by Li Li-san, called for frontal attacks on cities in central China with the purpose of gaining control over the strategically important Yangtze valley. The Chu-Mao forces attacked Nanchang, but soon abandoned their efforts; P'eng Te-huai's assaults on Changsha, Hunan, also were unsuccessful. Chu Teh briefly occupied the city of Kian, Kiangsi, in October 1930, but he and Mao apparently withdrew their support of the Li Li-san group in Shanghai.

By 1931 Chu Teh's army, now known as the First Army Group of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army, was the strongest of the Chinese Communist military units in central China. This supremacy was confirmed in November 1931, when the Chinese Communists in Kiangsi convened the first All-China Congress of Soviets at Juichin. Mao Tse-tung was elected chairman of the central soviet government and Chu Teh was made commander in chief of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army. The congress established a formal government and elected a central executive council of 63 members. Chu Teh was elected to the council and was named commissar for military affairs of the Chinese soviet republic. He also became chairman of the revolutionary military committee.

As Communist strength in the rural areas of south central China increased, the Kuomintang, having established a new National Government at Nanking in October 1928, worked to consolidate military and political power throughout China. Beginning in the winter of 1930, Chiang Kai-shek launched five successive campaigns to destroy the Communists' bases and to defeat their armies. From 1931 to 1934, Chu Teh played a leading role in directing the Communist military operations in Kiangsi, and his reputation as an able and imaginative combat

commander increased. As commander in chief of the Red Army, he established firm working relationships with the military officers who later led the Communist armies to conquer the entire mainland, and he also became popular with the Communist troops. Chu also rose in political prominence. He was elected to membership on the Political Bureau in January 1934, when the sixth Central Committee met at Juichin just before the opening of the second All-China Congress of Soviets.

By the autumn of 1934, Chiang Kai-shek's troops finally had surrounded the Kiangsi base. The Communists were forced to evacuate the base. Chu Teh took charge of the actual military evacuation, which began in October 1934. He assigned Hsiang Ying (q.v.) and Ch'en Yi to remain behind and divert a portion of the Nationalist troops. The main body of the Communist forces from Kiangsi then began the historic Long March. During that journey Chu Teh served as the commander of the First Front Army. Mao Tse-tung supposedly gained control within the Chinese Communist party at a special meeting of the Political Bureau held at Tsunyi, Kweichow, in January 1935, but he still met with some opposition in the party. In July 1935 the Communist forces from Kiangsi succeeded in making a rendezvous in mountainous northwest Szechwan with the Communist Fourth Front Army under Chang Kuo-t'ao and Hsü Hsiang-ch'ien (qq.v.), which had moved to Szechwan in 1932. After debate regarding policy and long-term aims, the Communist forces separated. Chang Kuo-t'ao, with Chu Teh and Liu Po-ch'eng as well as Hsü Hsiang-ch'ien, moved westward into Sikang. Mao Tse-tung, with P'eng Te-huai, Lin Piao, and the First Front Army, pushed northward into Shensi province. Communist statements made after 1936 indicated that Chu had either been held under duress by Chang Kuo-t'ao or else had voluntarily accompanied Chang to avoid fighting between the Communist forces; some observers suggested that Chu broke with Mao Tse-tung at that critical juncture on the Long March. In any event, the Communists in Sikang were joined in June 1936 by the Communist Second Front Army of Ho Lung and Hsiao K'o, which had been forced to flee from its Hunan-Hupeh-Szechwan-Kweichow base. Perhaps through the influence of Jen Pi-shih (q.v.), the political commissar of the Second

Front Army, the decision finally was made to leave Sikang and to march northward. Chu Teh arrived at the Communist base in Shensi in October 1936 and rejoined Mao Tse-tung.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in July 1937 and the uneasy combination between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists, Chu Teh continued to hold high office at the Communist wartime capital at Yenan. In 1937 he became commander in chief of the Communist Eighth Route Army, with P'eng Te-huai as his deputy. In January 1938 the National Government officially designated it the Eighteenth Army Group and appointed Chu Teh deputy commander of the First War Area and a member of the Supreme National Defense Council. Chu was active for a brief period on the Shansi front in the winter of 1937, but commanded no troops in later war years.

During the Second World War, Chu continued to be one of the prominent Communist leaders; he was commander in chief of the Chinese Communist military forces and also was vice chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, headed by Mao Tse-tung. In the party hierarchy, he ranked second on the Political Bureau and was a member of the five-man Secretariat of the Central Committee. By the spring of 1945, when the Chinese Communist party convened its Seventh National Congress at Yenan, party membership had expanded to 1,200,000, and regular Communist armed forces to 900,000 men. Chu Teh's senior position was recognized officially when he was elected the second-ranking member of the presidium of the congress. The 24 April 1945 session was highlighted by Mao Tse-tung's opening political report, *On Coalition Government*, which summed up Chinese Communist political planning as it had developed during the Yenan period. The following day, Chu Teh gave the major military report, *Lun chieh-fang-ch'ü chan-ch'ang* (*The Battle Front of the Liberated Areas*), which reviewed the experiences of the 1937-45 war years and set forth the military tasks the Chinese Communists would have to accomplish. In June 1945, at the conclusion of the Seventh National Congress, Chu Teh was elected the second-ranking member, after Mao Tse-tung, of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, and the Secretariat of the Chinese Communist party.

By the time of the Japanese defeat in 1945,

the Communists controlled some 19 Communist-organized base areas. Immediately after the announcement of the Japanese surrender, Yenan issued orders to troops under its command to "step up the war effort," to accept the surrender of Japanese troops and Chinese puppet troops, and to take over their arms and equipment. Two telegrams from the commander of the Eighteenth Army Group to Chiang Kai-shek (11 and 16 August 1945) stated that the Communists were proceeding independently in handling Japanese surrender arrangements, in defiance of National Government orders. The Communists later confirmed that Mao Tse-tung himself, not Chu Teh, had drafted these messages.

After the collapse of United States mediation efforts in China and after the outbreak of civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists in the summer of 1946, Chu Teh was named commander in chief of the People's Liberation Army, the official designation of the Chinese Communist military forces. In March 1947, when a Nationalist drive forced the Communists to evacuate Yenan, the high command separated. Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, and Jen Pi-shih remained in northern Shensi, while Liu Shao-ch'i, Chu Teh, and an alternate working group moved to the Communist-controlled Shensi-Chahar-Hopei base. In early 1949, after the Communist capture of the major north China cities of Tientsin and Peiping, the party leaders reunited in Hopei. Late in March 1949, they moved to Peiping, where Chu Teh established the headquarters of the People's Liberation Army. He continued to head the army until 1954.

Chu Teh was almost 63 when the Chinese Communists established a new regime at Peking in October 1949. In recognition of his long association with Mao Tse-tung, he was elected senior-ranking vice chairman of the Central People's Government. In 1954 he became vice chairman of the People's Republic of China and of the newly organized National Defense Council. When Mao Tse-tung announced at the end of 1958 that he planned to relinquish his administrative responsibilities as chief of state, it was thought that Chu Teh might succeed him in that office. In April 1959, however, the Second National People's Congress elected Liu Shao-ch'i Chairman of the Central People's Government and Madame Sun Yat-sen (Soong

Ch'ing-ling, q.v.) and Tung Pi-wu (q.v.) vice chairmen. At the same time, Chu Teh relinquished his office as vice chairman of the National Defense Council and became chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress.

In August 1955 Chu headed the Chinese Communist delegation to the tenth anniversary celebrations of the victory over Japan, held at Pyongyang, North Korea. In December 1955 he led the Chinese Communist party delegation to attend the second congress of the Rumanian Workers' party in Bucharest. In January 1956 he visited Berlin to attend the celebrations marking the eightieth birthday of the East German Communist leader Wilhelm Pieck. He then visited other Communist countries of Eastern Europe. In February 1956 Chu Teh, with Teng Hsiao-p'ing (q.v.) as his deputy, headed the Chinese Communist delegation to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. At the congress, Nikita Khrushchev made a bitter statement denouncing Stalin. The top command of the Chinese Communist party later charged that Khrushchev's speech had been given without prior consultation with Peking or with the leaders of other Communist bloc parties. The fact that Chu Teh made favorable mention of Stalin in a conventional speech of greetings at the congress indicates that neither he nor Mao had advance knowledge of Khrushchev's plans. The Chinese Communist party leadership reacted slowly to Khrushchev's statement. Chu Teh remained in the Soviet Union for more than a month after the end of the congress and made a trip to Warsaw to attend the funeral of the Polish Communist leader Boleslaw Bierut. After leaving the Soviet Union, Chu stopped briefly at Ulan Bator (Urga) in the Mongolian People's Republic to confer with Mongol leaders before returning to Peking on 2 April 1956. On 5 April, the *Peking People's Daily* published its first major editorial on the "de-Stalinization" question.

In September 1955 Chu Teh became the first Chinese Communist general to be awarded the rank of Marshal of the People's Republic of China; at that time he also received all top military decorations of the regime: the Order of August First, first class; the Order of Independence and Freedom, first class; and the Order of Liberation, first class. After 1955, however, Chu Teh did not take an active part in

the affairs of the headquarters of the People's Liberation Army, or in the key military affairs committee of the Chinese Communist party. As the elder statesman of the military establishment, he did participate in the important military conference held by the Chinese Communist top command from May to July 1958.

Chu Teh still retained his senior position in the Chinese Communist party. When the Eighth National Congress met in September 1956, he was elected to the fifth position on the Central Committee, ranking after Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Po-ch'ü, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. After that congress, Chu was elected a vice chairman of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist party and a member of the standing committee of the Political Bureau.

Chu Teh's first wife, whom he married in the autumn of 1912, was the daughter of a Yunnanese who had been active in the reform movement of 1898 and in the revolution of 1911. She died in 1916 after giving birth to a son. In 1917 Chu married Ch'en Yu-chen, a Szechwanese girl from a small town near Luchou, where Chu was then serving. Ch'en had been active in the revolution of 1911 and had taken part in the opposition to Yuan Shih-k'ai's monarchical attempt in 1916. Chu and his second wife later separated. In 1928, after his return from Europe, Chu Teh married Wu Lan-ying, an educated Hunanese whom Chu met when his Communist forces occupied her native place. She was captured and executed by the governor of Hunan in 1929. Shortly thereafter, Chu Teh married K'ang K'o-ch'ing, a girl in her late teens who was a Communist guerrilla in Kiangsi. Chu met her when his troops were campaigning in the vicinity of her native Wan'an, a small town on the Kan River. K'ang K'o-ch'ing, one of the few women who survived the rigors of the Long March, spent the years of the Sino-Japanese war at Yenan. She helped mobilize the women of China for political purposes. After 1949 she served on several overseas cultural missions. In September 1957 she became a vice chairman of the Women's Federation of China.

Aside from several statements on Communist military doctrine made in 1937 and 1938, Chu Teh's principal published work on military affairs was his report at the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist party in April 1945. An official English translation, *The*

Battle Front of the Liberated Areas, was published at Peking in 1952 (revised edition, 1962). Chu Teh recounted portions of his career in a series of interviews with the American correspondent Agnes Smedley in Shensi in 1937. Miss Smedley supplemented Chu's account in preparing an English version; the resulting book was published in New York in 1956 under the title *The Great Road*.

Chu Tzu-ch'ing	朱自清
Orig. Chu Tzu-hua	朱自華
T. P'ei-hsüan	佩弦
H. Shih-ch'iu	寶秋

Chu Tzu-ch'ing (22 November 1898–12 August 1948), essayist, scholar, and poet, was head of the Chinese department at Tsinghua University for many years. He was best known for his distinctive *pai-hua* [vernacular] essay style.

Although his native place was Shaohsing, Chekiang, Chu Tzu-ch'ing was born in Kiangsu. Both his father and his grandfather were minor officials in the Ch'ing dynasty and had lived at Yangchow, Kiangsu, for most of their lives. Chu Tzu-ch'ing spent his early years there and usually identified himself as a native of Yangchow.

Chu received a traditional Chinese education, and, after being graduated from middle school, he entered Peking University in 1917. He changed his name from Chu Tzu-hua to Chu Tzu-ch'ing at this time. As a university student, he studied literature and philosophy and began to contribute articles and poems to *Hsin-ch'ao* [renaissance] and *Hsin Chung-kuo* [new China], influential *pai-hua* [vernacular] magazines of the May Fourth period. After being graduated from Peking University in 1920, he returned south to become a school teacher and to pursue his interest in writing poetry. His lifelong friendship with Yü P'ing-po (q.v.) began either at Peking or while Chu was teaching at the Hangchow First Normal School.

In January 1921 the Literary Research Society was organized in Peking. Its membership included Cheng Chen-to, Chou Tso-jen, Mao Tun (Shen Yen-ping), Yeh Sheng-t'ao (qq.v.), and Wang Tung-ch'ao. The attitude of this group was that literature should reflect social phenomena and should present and discuss problems related to life in general. Chu

Tzu-ch'ing at once joined the Literary Research Society and thus became a member of the first influential literary group formed in China after the May Fourth Movement. Subsequently, Chu served briefly as dean of studies at the Yangchow Middle School. Later in 1921 he moved to Woosung to teach at China College, where Yeh Sheng-t'ao, who was later to become his literary collaborator, was also teaching. Together with Liu Yen-ling, Yeh Sheng-t'ao, and Yü P'ing-po, Chu edited a new monthly journal entitled *Shih* [poetry], the first Chinese periodical devoted to modern poetry. Chu Tzu-ch'ing contributed four poems to the first issue, which appeared in January 1922. The following year, his long philosophical poem "Hui-mieh" [destruction] appeared in *Hsiao-shuo yueh-pao* [short story magazine] and won him wide literary recognition. This poem was described by Yü P'ing-po as a masterpiece, and it had great impact on the modern poetry then emerging in China. In 1924, while teaching in Chekiang, Chu published *Tsung-chi* [traces], his first collection of poems, in which deep feeling and quiet elegance characterized his style.

A year later, through the recommendation of his friend Yü P'ing-po, Chu Tzu-ch'ing joined the faculty of Tsinghua College in Peking. He began serious research on classical Chinese literature and began to write prose rather than poetry. With the publication of his initial volume of collected essays, *Pei-ying* [the back view], in 1928, he gained recognition as an essayist. Increasing academic responsibilities accompanied his growing literary prominence. In 1930 he became acting chairman of the Chinese department at Tsinghua when Yang Chen-sheng left that post to become president of Tsingtao University, and he also served as a part-time lecturer at Yenching University.

Chu Tzu-ch'ing spent the academic year 1931–32 in Europe, his only period of residence outside China. Traveling by way of the Soviet Union, Germany, and France, he arrived in England in September 1931. He spent seven months in London studying English literature and philology. Then he made brief visits to Paris, Berlin, and other cities.

Chu Tzu-ch'ing resumed teaching at Tsinghua in the autumn of 1932 and remained in Peking until the Sino-Japanese war broke out in mid-1937. During this period he taught both at Tsinghua (where he headed the Chinese

department) and at Peking Normal University. He also continued to do research on Chinese poetry and literary criticism. He wrote and published numerous personal and critical essays as well as two volumes of literary sketches and essays. At this time Chu Tzu-ch'ing came to know Wen I-to (q.v.), who had come to teach at Tsinghua.

When war with Japan broke out in July 1937, Tsinghua University moved, first to Hunan, and then to Kunming, where it was located until 1946 as part of Southwest Associated University. During the early war years, Chu continued to head the Chinese department of his university, but gradually the physical difficulties and nervous strains of wartime existence in west China undermined his health. His friend Wen I-to assumed Chu's responsibilities as head of the Chinese department, and, in the summer of 1940 Chu moved to Chengtu, where he spent a sabbatical year.

In October 1941 Chu returned to Kunming. Despite persisting poor health, he resumed an active program of teaching, research, and writing. In 1943 Chu published *Lun-tun tsa-chi* [miscellaneous notes on London]. During the later war years he collaborated with Yeh Sheng-t'ao in writing three books on the teaching of Chinese. In June 1945 Chu, suffering from a stomach ailment, went to Chengtu to spend the summer.

By the time he returned to Kunming for the new semester, Japan had surrendered, and the war was over. In the spring of 1946 Chu resumed his position as head of the Chinese department. However, the political and intellectual tensions in the refugee universities in west China increased; agitation against the Kuomintang and the National Government was met by stern official suppression, affecting both students and faculty members. In public, Chu counseled moderation and caution. Personally, he was deeply affected when his close friend Wen I-to was assassinated at Kunming on 15 July 1946. On 18 August, despite rumors that Nationalist agents might break up the gathering, Chu delivered an address at the memorial service held at Chengtu for Wen I-to and Li Kung-p'u, a member of the China Democratic League who had been assassinated at Kunming four days before Wen was killed. Two days before the memorial service took place, Chu Tzu-ch'ing produced his first poem in 20 years, an elegy inspired by the death of Wen I-to.

In October 1946 Chu Tzu-ch'ing returned to Peking and to the Tsinghua campus. In addition to his academic responsibilities, he undertook the task of organizing and editing the works of Wen I-to. He also published several important studies of Chinese literature. Chu became increasingly antagonistic toward the control measures of the National Government, and the leftward trend of his thinking is revealed in his post-1945 writings.

Although Chu's health began to fail again in the spring of 1948, he continued to work and to write. In August, after undergoing a stomach operation, he developed nephritis. Even when he was in critical condition, his mind remained clear, and one of his last acts was to remind his family that he had signed a petition protesting American aid to Japan and rejecting flour sent by the United States to the Chinese Nationalists. Chu Tzu-ch'ing died on 12 August 1948, at the age of 50. He was cremated the next day, and his ashes were buried in October in Wan An Cemetery west of Peking. He was survived by his second wife, whom he had married in 1932, and seven children. Chu's first wife, the daughter of a prominent Yangchow doctor, had died in 1929 of tuberculosis.

For nearly 30 years Chu Tzu-ch'ing played an active role in China both as a writer and as a teacher of Chinese. His early poems were distinctive in that they retained some of the best traditions of classical Chinese poetry while dispensing with most of its restraining conventions. Some of his essays, such as "Pei-ying" [the back view], "Chiang-sheng teng-ying-li te Ch'in-huai-ho" [splashing oars and lantern light on the Chinhua river], and "Ho-t'ang yueh-se" [lotus pond by moonlight], have been acclaimed as being representative of the best Chinese prose of the period. "Pei-ying," though less than 2,000 characters in length, is notable for its sincerity and simplicity. It has been reprinted in many middle school textbooks. Chinese students often used Chu's descriptive travel sketches as composition models. An independent and influential stylist, Chu wrote vigorous colloquial Chinese. Lu Hsun said that his work challenged the old literature, and Yeh Sheng-t'ao believed that Chu was one of the first modern writers to achieve a distinctive style in *pai-hua*.

Chu consistently maintained that literature should be serious in purpose. Thus, while Lin

Yü-t'ang (q.v.) was publishing *Lun-yü* [the Analects] and *Jen-chien-shih* [the human world], two magazines devoted to humor, Chu was helping to edit *T'ai-pao*, a journal supported by Lu Hsün and dedicated to serious literature.

Chu Tzu-ch'ing advocated a discriminating approach to the Chinese literary heritage, and he edited and annotated many classical texts. During the last two years of his life (1946-48), he published a number of works designed to bring Chinese literature and literary criticism to a wider audience: *Ching-tien ch'ang-t'an* [chats on the classics], *Shih-yen-chih pien* [poetry as a medium of ideas], *Hsin-shih tsa-hua* [notes on new poetry], *Lun ya-su kung-shang* [for the few and the many], and *Piao-chün yü ch'ih-tu* [criteria and standards]. The four-volume edition of Chu's writings published at Peking in 1953, *Chu Tzu-ch'ing wen-chi* [Chu Tzu-ch'ing's collected works], contains his most representative work, including essays and literary criticism.

Chu Tzu-ch'ing, as revealed in his writings, was modest, thorough in research, and patient with other people. During the last ten years of his life, when he was under constant physical, nervous, and financial strain, he bore his burdens with good spirit and continued to work to the limit of his capacities. His diary (unpublished), contains a detailed account of Chu's life and activities from September 1931 to the beginning of August 1948.

Ch'u Min-i 褚民誼 T. Ch'ung-hsing 重行

Ch'u Min-i (1884-23 August 1946), a close associate of Wang Ching-wei, served under Wang as secretary general of the Executive Yuan (1932-35) and as minister of foreign affairs in Wang's Japanese-sponsored government. He was executed as a "national traitor" in 1946.

A native of Wuhsing, Chekiang, Ch'u Min-i was born into a scholar-official family. He was brought up in a traditional Confucian and Buddhist environment. However, his father, Ch'u Hsing-t'ien, directed his son to study English, and he began its study with an American known as Mr. Po Lo-wen. At the Ming-li village school and the Hsun-ch'i School Ch'u Min-i studied Chinese and Western literature as well as the physical sciences.

In 1903 Ch'u went to Japan to continue his education. He enrolled first in a higher school and then in a university to study political economy. In Tokyo he became acquainted with young Chinese anti-Manchu patriots, notably his contemporary and future political associate Wang Ching-wei, who had arrived from Canton. Ch'u was drawn into revolutionary activities. He changed his name, first to Ming-i and later to Min-i. However, Ch'u did not join the T'ung-meng-hui when it was founded at Tokyo in 1905. He continued his studies in Japan, but apparently did not receive a degree.

Ch'u Min-i did gain the attention and approbation of an older man from his native place in Chekiang, Chang Jen-chieh (q.v.), who became an important financial supporter of the political cause of Sun Yat-sen. Chang Jen-chieh, who was then living in France, returned to the Far East in the summer of 1907 for reasons of health. Ch'u apparently accompanied Chang on his return to Europe. At that time, Ch'u joined the T'ung-meng-hui. In Paris, Ch'u Min-i became a junior associate of the influential group of Chinese—including Li Shih-tseng, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, and Wu Chih-hui (qq.v.)—who were publishing the *Shih-chieh hua-pao* [world pictorial news] and *Hsin shih-chi* [new century] to propagate revolutionary ideas. After the Wuchang revolt of October 1911, he returned to China and worked in the T'ung-meng-hui organization at Shanghai.

In the winter of 1912, after the establishment of the republic and the eclipse of Sun Yat-sen by Yuan Shih-k'ai, Ch'u again went to Europe and studied for a period in Brussels. Ch'u returned to the Far East after the outbreak of the First World War and went to Southeast Asia to edit a newspaper. He later made a trip to Japan with Chang Jen-chieh, probably in connection with the affairs of the Chung-hua ko-ming-tang, organized in Japan by Sun Yat-sen in 1914. In the autumn of 1915, Ch'u returned to France. Because many Chinese students then were going to Europe, Ch'u, Li Shih-tseng, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, Wang Ching-wei, and Wu Chih-hui organized the Franco-Chinese Educational Association. Ch'u enrolled at the University of Strasbourg to study medicine, specializing in histology. He was graduated in 1921, with degrees in both medicine and pharmacy, but never practiced medicine. In 1921 he became vice president of

the Institut Franco-Chinois at the University of Lyons and held that post for about a year.

In 1925 Ch'u Min-i returned from Europe to China, where he associated himself with the Nationalists at Canton. In 1925 he became a member of the National Government's educational commission, and he was made head of the medical school at Kwangtung University. He later became acting president of that institution. In January 1926 he was elected to alternate membership on the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. When the Nationalists launched their Northern Expedition in the summer of 1926, Ch'u abandoned his university post and took on the duties of chief of the medical corps of the National Revolutionary Army. Shortly after the transfer of the National Government of Wuhan in January 1927, the Kuomintang began to split into right and left factions. After Chiang Kai-shek's resignation in August, a meeting was held at Nanking in September to effect a reconciliation of the Wuhan and Nanking groups. Wang Ching-wei became angry because he thought that Sun Fo and T'an Yen-k'ai (qq.v.) had betrayed him, and he departed. Wang's associate Ch'u Min-i attended the meeting in Nanking on 15 September at which the formation of a special committee to establish a new national government was proposed.

Both Ch'u Min-i and Wang Ching-wei were excluded from the new National Government established at Nanking. Ch'u then became president of the Institut Technique Franco-Chinois at Shanghai. He nominally retained that post until 1939, but continued to be closely associated with Kuomintang affairs. He was elected to full membership on the Central Executive Committee in 1928. That year, with a commission from the Nanking government to study public health administration, Ch'u went to Europe, where Wang Ching-wei had preceded him at the end of 1927. Ch'u visited Switzerland, Germany, Belgium and France, lecturing on Chinese politics at various universities. In March 1929 Ch'u was elected an alternate member of the Kuomintang Central Supervisory Committee. Ch'u returned from France and was appointed chairman of the commission for the establishment of national hygiene and a member of the ministry of education's university council. It was presumably at this time that he organized the Chinese Arts

Association and became chairman of the Belgian Boxer Indemnity Fund committee. In 1930 he represented China at the celebrations of the centenary of Belgium as a nation.

Ch'u's political position in China remained precarious because he was a close associate of Wang Ching-wei and thus was criticized by supporters of Chiang Kai-shek. In January 1932, however, Wang Ching-wei made his peace with the authorities at Nanking and became president of the Executive Yuan, or premier. Ch'u Min-i at once became secretary general of the Executive Yuan, serving directly under Wang, and remained in that office until the end of 1935. In addition to his administrative duties, he edited a popular health magazine, promoted the traditional t'ai-chi-ch'uan as a form of physical exercise, and attempted to stimulate interest in kite-flying as a sport. One of Ch'u's accomplishments of the period was the invention of a mechanical sparring partner. He also was noted for his performances in amateur Peking theater productions. He specialized in the ching roles. In 1934, when the Kuomintang formally designated 27 August for official celebration of the birthday of Confucius, Ch'u Min-i represented the Executive Yuan in the ceremonies held at Ch'üfou, Shantung, revered as the birthplace of Confucius. The same year he was the leading figure in a Buddhist service held at Hangchow.

In November 1935 Wang Ching-wei was seriously wounded when an attempt was made at Nanking to assassinate him. Unable to continue his duties, he resigned as president of the Executive Yuan. Ch'u Min-i resigned at the same time. He became the director of medical studies of the Institut Technique Franco-Chinois and continued to pursue a variety of cultural activities.

During the first year of the Sino-Japanese war, Wang Ching-wei proposed that the National Government negotiate a settlement with Japan. When the government moved to Chungking after the fall of Hankow to the Japanese in October 1938, Wang became increasingly doubtful of China's ability to sustain a protracted war. Wang left Chungking in December 1938 for Hanoi, where he issued a public declaration advocating peace. At the beginning of January 1939, Wang Ching-wei and his political associates, including Ch'u Min-i, were formally expelled from the Kuomintang.

In September 1939 Ch'u became secretary general of Wang Ching-wei's "reformed Kuomintang." After protracted negotiations, a so-called national government was established at Nanking on 30 March 1940, with Wang Ching-wei as its top-ranking official.

Ch'u Min-i then became vice president of the executive yuan at Nanking and foreign minister of the new Japanese-sponsored regime. He soon relinquished the post of vice president of the executive yuan to Chou Fo-hai (q.v.). As foreign minister he concluded the treaty of 30 November 1940 by which Tokyo accorded formal recognition to the Nanking government. The November 1940 agreement, contrary to what Wang Ching-wei and his followers had hoped, provided for strong Japanese military and economic domination of the occupied areas and granted the Chinese authorities at Nanking only token responsibility for internal administration. In 1941 Ch'u also concluded the agreements under which Germany, Italy, and Rumania gave diplomatic recognition to the Nanking government. Ch'u Min-i continued to play an important role at Nanking until the death of Wang Ching-wei in November 1944. At that time, the outcome of the War in the Pacific no longer was seriously in doubt. Wang's widow, Ch'en Pi-chün (q.v.), nevertheless took the stand that it was essential for Wang's associates to maintain the government. She induced Ch'u Min-i to assume the governorship of Kwangtung. After the Japanese surrender, both Ch'en Pi-chün and Ch'u Min-i were taken into custody by the Nationalists at Canton in August 1945. Ch'u was sent to Nanking in November. He was brought to trial on charges of treason in April 1946 and was executed at Nanking on 23 August 1946. He was survived by a wife and five children. There was considerable public sympathy for Ch'u Min-i at the time of his trial and execution; many people found it difficult to think of Ch'u as a national traitor because they considered his wartime role a result of his personal loyalty to Wang Ching-wei.

A collection of Ch'u's wartime speeches was published at Shanghai in 1939 under the title *Ch'u Min-i hsien-sheng tsui-chin yen-lun chi* [collection of Ch'u Min-i's recent speeches]. He also wrote a memorial tribute in 1940 to Tseng Chung-ming (q.v.), who was killed in the March 1939 attempt to assassinate Wang Ching-wei at Hanoi.

Chü Cheng

Orig. Chü Chih-chün
T. Chüeh-sheng
H. Mei-ch'uan

居正
居之駿
覺生
梅川

Chü Cheng (8 November 1876–23 November 1951), T'ung-meng-hui activist and member of Sun Yat-sen's entourage who later joined the conservative Western Hills faction of the Kuomintang. He served as president of the Judicial Yuan from 1932 to 1948.

The third of five brothers, Chü Cheng was born in a small village in Kuangchi hsien, near the Anhwei border of Hupeh province. For the preceding three generations his forebears had been degree-holders. During the Taiping Rebellion the family had suffered severe property losses, and Chü Cheng's father had been forced to earn his living as a teacher in a private school. Chü received a conventional education in the Chinese classics, first from an uncle and then from his father. After failing the examinations several times, he became a sheng-yuan in 1899 at the age of 23. In 1902 he went to Hankow and took, but did not pass, the examination for the chü-jen degree. While in Hankow he made friends with a group of students, several of whom, including Ch'en Ch'ien (T. Chao-i), Shih Ying (q.v.), and T'ien T'ung (d. 1930; T. Tzu-ch'in), later joined the anti-Manchu revolutionary movement. Chü returned to Kuangchi and spent the next two years helping his father and brother in teaching.

In the summer of 1905 Chü Cheng was visited by his friend Ch'en Ch'ien, who had returned from school in Tokyo. Chü was persuaded by Ch'en to continue his education in Japan. He sailed for Japan in September, and he was greeted in Tokyo by Ch'en, T'ien T'ung, and other friends who had joined the T'ung-meng-hui. Through T'ien T'ung, Chü was introduced to the Hunanese revolutionary leader Sung Chiao-jen (q.v.). With Sung as his sponsor, he joined the T'ung-meng-hui in December, at the age of 29. In 1906 Chü also became a member of, and drafted the regulations for, the Kung-chin-hui, organized by revolutionaries from the provinces of central China for the purpose of establishing contact with the secret societies in the Yangtze region. He enrolled in the

preparatory department of Tokyo Law College, from which he was graduated in 1907. He then enrolled in the department of law at the university.

In October 1907 Chü hurriedly left Japan to join in the revolt at Hok'ou on the Yunnan border. When he reached Hong Kong he learned that the uprising had been crushed by the imperial forces. Chü then went to Singapore, where he joined Hu Han-min (q.v.), T'ien T'ung, and Wang Ching-wei (q.v.) on the staff of the local T'ung-meng-hui organ, *Chung-hsing-pao* [newspaper for the restoration]. For some seven weeks he took part in a heated war of words between the revolutionary paper and the *Tsung-hui-pao* [a composite paper], the magazine of the constitutional monarchist party [Pao-huang-tang] of K'ang Yu-wei (q.v.). Chü's editorials and articles in the *Chung-hsing-pao* won him the admiration of revolutionary sympathizers among the overseas Chinese in Burma, at whose invitation he went to Rangoon in 1908 to take charge of their newspaper, the *Kuang-hua jih-pao* [the Kuang-hua daily]. In Rangoon, he established a branch of the T'ung-meng-hui. To win support for the revolutionary cause among overseas Chinese communities, he traveled to Mandalay, Bhamo, and other cities in Burma. However, his activities aroused the enmity of influential adherents of the monarchist cause. In the spring of 1910 they succeeded in persuading the British colonial government to close down the *Kuang-hua jih-pao* and to expel Chü from Burma. British authorities refused to allow him to land at Penang and kept him under close surveillance in Singapore. After furnishing satisfactory guarantees, Chü was allowed to go to Hong Kong on his way to Japan to resume his studies.

During the summer of 1910 Chü Cheng met with Sung Chiao-jen, T'an Jen-feng, and other T'ung-meng-hui leaders in Tokyo to reassess the party's strategy, which had been focussed on military operations in south and southwest China. The repeated failures of revolutionary attempts in that region had convinced the leaders in Tokyo that the focus of revolutionary activity should be shifted to central China, particularly to Wuhan and Nanking. They decided to set up a central China bureau of the T'ung-meng-hui to coordinate the activities of revolutionary groups in the Yangtze region. Chü was given responsibility for supervising party work in Hupeh province.

After returning to Shanghai in the summer of 1910, Chü Cheng made his way to his native village in Hupeh. Early in 1911 he went to Hankow and reestablished contact with Sun Wu (see Li Yuan-hung) and other leaders of the Kung-chin-hui, who for the past two years had been active in infiltrating army units in Wuhan. After the formal establishment of the T'ung-meng-hui central China bureau in Shanghai (31 July 1911), Chü and the revolutionaries in the Kung-chin-hui intensified their propaganda efforts among the local military forces and joined with the Wen-hsueh-she, another influential revolutionary society in Hupeh, to organize a revolt in the Wuhan area. Early in October Chü was sent to Shanghai by the Wuhan revolutionaries to purchase arms and to bring Sung Chiao-jen, T'an Jen-feng, and other T'ung-meng-hui leaders to Hankow to take part in the uprising.

On 10 October, while Chü Cheng was still in Shanghai, the revolt broke out in Wuchang, and on the following day the insurgents established Li Yuan-hung (q.v.) as governor of a provisional military republic in Hupeh. Accompanied by T'an Jen-feng, Chü hurried to Hankow and conferred with Li Yuan-hung at Li's headquarters in Wuchang. During the next few days Chü played a major part in organizing the Hupeh military government. In collaboration with Sung Chiao-jen and T'ang Hua-lung (q.v.), the speaker of the Hupeh provincial assembly, he drafted a provisional constitution for the revolutionary regime. In late October, Chü worked at the staff headquarters of the revolutionary forces defending Hankow. After the fall of the city to the imperial armies, Li Yuan-hung proposed that a conference of revolutionary delegates from various provinces be held at Wuchang to discuss the formation of a provisional central government. Li sent Chü Cheng to gain the cooperation of Ch'en Ch'i-mei (q.v.) and other revolutionary leaders, who were preparing to convene a similar meeting at Shanghai. Although Chü persuaded some of the revolutionary delegates at Shanghai to attend the conference in Wuchang, he himself remained in Shanghai until December, when, after the capture of Nanking, that city was chosen as the seat of the new provisional government. He then went to Nanking as one of the delegates from Hupeh and attended the conference of provincial representatives, which, on 29 December 1911, elected Sun Yat-sen president of the provisional republican government.

Chü Cheng became vice minister of the department of internal affairs. He also took charge of convening a meeting of the T'ung-meng-hui. At the meeting (3 March 1912) the party headquarters was transferred officially from Tokyo to Nanking, and Sun was reaffirmed as party director. Chü was placed in charge of the party's departments of accounting and business affairs. In April 1912, when Sun Yat-sen turned over the presidency of the republic to Yuan Shih-k'ai, Chü resigned.

In August 1912 Chü Cheng was a member of Sun Yat-sen's entourage on Sun's official visit to Peking. Under the guidance of Sung Chiaojen, the T'ung-meng-hui and other groups were being reorganized as the Kuomintang, still under Sun Yat-sen's over-all leadership. The headquarters of the Kuomintang was established at Peking. Sun established a party liaison bureau at Shanghai and appointed Chü its director. During the winter of 1912 Chü successfully ran as a Kuomintang candidate from Hupeh in the national elections. He then went to Peking to take up his duties as a senator. Opposition to Yuan Shih-k'ai increased, and Chü was ordered by Sun Yat-sen to return to Shanghai in mid-May to help plan punitive measures against Yuan. After the outbreak of the so-called second revolution in the summer of 1913, Sun dispatched Chü to supervise the Kuomintang military defenses at the fortress at Woosung, the point of access to Shanghai from the sea. For 20 days he remained with the garrison and held the Woosung fort against Yuan's naval forces. However, after the collapse of Kuomintang military resistance elsewhere, Chü withdrew to Shanghai and in mid-September fled with his family to Japan.

Chü Cheng lived quietly in Kyoto until the summer of 1914, when he received an invitation from his old friend T'ien T'ung to mediate disagreements among party members in Tokyo about Sun Yat-sen's plans to reorganize the Kuomintang into the Chung-hua ko-ming-tang. Chü became a member, but several of the older members of the revolutionary party could not be persuaded to join Sun's new organization. Chü was appointed by Sun to head the party affairs bureau and to manage the party's propaganda magazine, *Min-kuo tsa-chih* [republican magazine]. Late in 1915, when Yuan Shih-k'ai's campaign to become monarch was reaching its climax, Chü was appointed commander in chief of a northeast army of the China Revolu-

tionary Army and was sent to Dairen to organize military opposition to Yuan in the northern provinces. In January 1916 Chü made his way to Tsingtao and, with the help of local resistance leaders in Shantung, secretly assembled a force of two divisions and one brigade. In May, this force rose in revolt and captured Weihsien and other points adjacent to the Kiao-chow-Tsinan railway, but it failed to take Tsinan, the provincial capital. After the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai in June 1916 and the restoration of the National Assembly under Yuan's successor, Li Yuan-hung, hostilities in Shantung were brought to an end. In July, Chü Cheng proceeded to Peking to resume his seat in the Senate.

In the reconvened National Assembly, Chü Cheng and Hsieh Ch'ih (q.v.) were the only representatives of the Chung-hua ko-ming-tang. At that time the National Assembly was divided on the question of whether China should enter the First World War (on the side of the Allies). Tuan Ch'i-jui (q.v.), the premier, and his adherents among the Peiyang militarists were strongly in favor of China's participation in the war. Chü Cheng, supporting Sun Yat-sen's position, was among those who insisted on China's neutrality. The National Assembly's refusal to yield to pressure from Tuan on this question led to its dissolution and to the seizure of power at Peking by Tuan and his supporters. In August, Sun Yat-sen joined the southwest military leaders Lu Jung-t'ing (q.v.) of Kwangsi and T'ang Chi-yao (q.v.) of Yunnan in the so-called constitution protection movement and issued a call to the members of the National Assembly to gather in Canton and form a new government in opposition to Tuan's regime at Peking. In response, Chü Cheng and many others went to Canton and took part in the "extraordinary congress," which established a military government with Sun Yat-sen as its commander in chief. In the spring of 1918 Chü and Tsou Lu (q.v.) organized Sun's followers in the National Assembly in opposition to a motion, sponsored by supporters of the Kwangsi militarists, to reorganize the military government into a directorate in which Sun would be forced to share his authority with six other directors general. The motion was carried, however, and after the reorganization of the military government in May, Sun withdrew to Shanghai, leaving Chü in Canton to represent his political interests in the "extraordinary congress."

In October 1919 Chü Cheng went to Shanghai

to attend a meeting of party members called by Sun Yat-sen to reorganize the Chung-hua koming-tang into the Chung-kuo kuo-min-tang (Kuomintang). Chü was appointed head of the new party's department of general affairs and a member of its military committee. During the following year, while he was occupied with party affairs in Shanghai, the Kuomintang regime at Canton gradually disintegrated under growing pressures from the dominant Kwangsi militarists. However, after the defeat of the Kwangsi forces by the Kwangtung Army under Ch'en Chiung-ming (q.v.) and the return of Sun Yat-sen to Canton (October–November 1920), plans were made to organize a new national government. After returning to Canton early in 1921, Chü led the movement that resulted in the abolition of the old military government, the establishment of a new government, and the election of Sun as its president extraordinary (May 1921). In the new regime, Chü was made a counsellor to the presidential office and was placed in charge of local Kuomintang affairs. With the help of foreign, mainly Japanese, capital he established the Kwangtung stock exchange and founded the Kuomin Savings Bank. Through careful management of these enterprises, proceeds of more than China \$1 million were obtained to help finance Sun's northern expedition into Kwangsi province in the latter part of 1921. In the spring of 1922, as the result of a growing rift between Sun and Ch'en Chiung-ming, Ch'en was dismissed by Sun; he retired to his stronghold at Waichow (Huiyang). Chü and other Kuomintang leaders visited Ch'en at Waichow several times, seeking to reconcile the two leaders, but their efforts were unsuccessful. In June, Ch'en staged a coup, forcing Sun and the Kuomintang out of Canton.

Late in 1922 Sun Yat-sen, then in Shanghai, announced a reorganization of the Kuomintang and appointed Chü Cheng one of the twenty counselors responsible for making preparations for the party's reorganization. The next year Sun returned in triumph to Canton, and Chü remained at the party headquarters in Shanghai. Chü took exception to Sun's decision to admit members of the Chinese Communist party to the Kuomintang, but out of loyalty to the party leader he did not actively oppose the decision. In January 1924 he attended the reorganized Kuomintang's First National Congress in Can-

ton, at which he was elected to the party's Central Executive Committee and to the standing committee. However, antagonism resulting from Chü's opposition to Sun's policy of Kuomintang-Communist cooperation culminated in his withdrawal from active participation in party affairs and in his abrupt departure from Canton.

After returning to Shanghai, Chü spent the remainder of 1924 in complete retirement at his residence in Paoshan hsien, near Woosung. In March 1925, while traveling in central China, he heard of Sun Yat-sen's death and hastened to Peking to pay his last respects. In Peking, he attended a meeting of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, but because he disagreed strongly with its resolutions, he returned to Shanghai before the meeting adjourned. In the summer and autumn of 1925 he traveled extensively through Honan and Shensi provinces, making contact with such northern military figures as Sun Yueh (see Wu P'ei-fu) and Yang Hu-ch'eng (q.v.). On his way back to Shanghai in November, he received invitations from Hsieh Ch'ih, Tsou Lu, and other Kuomintang right-wing leaders to attend a so-called fourth plenum of the Central Executive Committee in Peking, later known as the Western Hills conference. After arriving in Peking, he helped to draw up resolutions calling for the expulsion of the Communists from the Kuomintang, the dismissal of the Russian adviser Borodin, and the impeachment of Wang Ching-wei.

The antagonism between the right-wing Western Hills group and the Kuomintang organization dominated by the left wing in Canton increased in 1926. In January, at the Second National Congress, held in Canton, Chü Cheng and other participants of the Western Hills conference were denounced and threatened with expulsion from the party; and in March, the Western Hills group convened a rival second congress in Shanghai at which Chü was elected to the standing committee of the Central Executive Committee. After the adjournment of this congress Chü remained in Shanghai in charge of the right-wing group's headquarters and founded a newspaper, the *Chiang-nan wan-pao* [south China evening post], as the propaganda organ of the Western Hills group.

Despite their claims to party leadership, Chü Cheng and his colleagues of the Kuomintang right wing had no voice in the decisions of the

central party organization and the National Government during the period of the Northern Expedition of 1926-27. Not until after the purge of Communists from the Kuomintang and the emergence of rival Kuomintang regimes at Wuhan and Nanking in the summer of 1927 was the Western Hills faction able to make its influence felt in the party. At that time, in response to calls for unity within the Kuomintang, representatives of the Wuhan, Nanking, and Western Hills factions convened in Shanghai and organized a 32-man Central Special Committee (16 September 1927) to replace the rival central executive committees elected early in 1926 by the Western Hills congress in Shanghai and by the Kuomintang Second National Congress in Canton. As one of the representatives of the Western Hills group in the Central Special Committee, Chü Cheng went frequently to Nanking to take part in the committee's efforts to reorganize the National Government. Soon, however, the Central Special Committee came under attack from several factions within the Kuomintang. In December 1927 Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei, and other important members of the Central Executive Committee called a meeting in Shanghai at which they announced the abolition of the Central Special Committee. After Chiang Kai-shek's return to power in Nanking at the end of the year, members of the Western Hills group withdrew from the government, and Chü retired to his home outside Shanghai.

After taking control of the National Government in Nanking, Chiang Kai-shek was confronted by a series of revolts led by disaffected militarists and by the intrigues of such Kuomintang opposition factions as the reorganization clique and the Western Hills group. Late in 1929 these dissident elements began negotiations in an attempt to unite and form a rival government and party organization in north China—a movement that was to result in the enlarged conference of the summer of 1930. The National Government tried to block this attempt by ordering the arrest of several leaders of the Western Hills group, including Chü Cheng, on 20 December 1929. Although Chü had taken refuge in the International Settlement in Shanghai, he was arrested by National Government military authorities on 23 December, when his car strayed into the Chinese part of the city during a snow storm. After being

held for five months at the headquarters of the 5th Division, he was transferred in May 1930 to the Lunghua jail. During this period of confinement, Chü took up the study of Buddhism, placing himself on a vegetarian diet and devoting much of his time to transcribing Buddhist sutras. In December, he was moved to Nanking, where he was held under house arrest until the Japanese attack in Manchuria in the autumn of 1931.

During the Japanese occupation of Manchuria there was renewed pressure to bring about party unity within the Kuomintang, and to this end the Fourth National Congress was convened in Nanking in November 1931. After more than seven years of estrangement from the central Kuomintang organization, Chü Cheng, then 55, was reinstated in the party hierarchy; he was elected to the Central Executive Committee and subsequently (in December) to its standing committee. He also was elected vice president of the Judicial Yuan; and in March 1932, after the resignation of the incumbent, C. C. Wu (Wu Ch'ao-shu, q.v.), Chü became president of the Judicial Yuan.

Although primarily a politician rather than a jurist, during his 16 years as president of the Judicial Yuan (1932-48) Chü Cheng fully supported judicial reform in China. Of particular importance during the 1930's were his efforts to achieve a simplification of judicial procedures and of the court system. Important steps toward the clarification of judicial procedure were incorporated in the New Code of Criminal Procedure (January 1935) and the New Code of Civil Procedure (February 1935). The Law for the Organization of Courts was promulgated in October 1932, adopting a system of three levels of courts: district courts, one for each hsien; high courts, at the provincial level; and the Supreme Court, to serve the entire nation. However, formidable obstacles stood in the way of realizing this program, the most serious being the lack of personnel adequately trained in law, low salaries, and interference by the party in making appointments. Thus, by 1948, when Chü resigned as president of the Judicial Yuan, district courts existed in less than half of the hsien in China, and the judges in many of the existing district and higher courts were poorly qualified. It was, in part, to gain advice on these and other practical problems of judicial administration that Chü convened a national conference in Nanking in September

1935, which was attended by leading judicial officials and by representatives of law schools and private legal organizations. Among the results of the conference were the organization of the Chung-hua min-kuo fa-hsueh hui [law society of China] of which Chü was made chairman, and the publication of the *Fa-hsueh tsa-chih* [China law review] as a forum for discussion of current legal and judicial questions.

After his reconciliation with the Nanking regime in 1931, Chü Cheng had acquired the status of an elder statesman in the party, a position of great prestige but little political authority. Nevertheless, as a person who had formerly been in contact with many political camps, he sometimes was called upon to mediate among divergent political and military factions. Thus, during the Fifth National Congress of the Kuomintang in Nanking (November 1935) he acted as personal host to delegates from the Southwest Political Council, and early in 1936 he was dispatched to Canton with Yeh Ch'u-ts'ang (q.v.) and others to welcome Hu Han-min back into the central party organization. In the summer of 1936 he was sent to south China to take part in the National Government's effort to negotiate a peaceful unification with the dissident militarists Ch'en Chi-t'ang and Li Tsung-jen (qq.v.).

In November 1937, three months after the outbreak of the war with Japan, it was decided to move the capital from Nanking to Chungking. During the next eight months Chü Cheng was in the Wuhan cities directing the Kuomintang's temporary central headquarters. Late in July 1938 he went by way of Changsha and Kweilin to Chungking. In April 1939 he was stricken with pneumonia; and he was unable to resume his official duties until September. During the next three years, one of Chü's principal concerns as head of the Judicial Yuan was to promote the abolition of extraterritoriality. In October 1942, apparently as part of a general government campaign, he published an article reviewing China's achievements in modernizing its legal codes, courts, and prisons and claiming that in view of these improvements there was no longer any basis for foreign consular jurisdiction in China. (On 11 January 1943 Great Britain and the United States signed treaties relinquishing their extraterritorial rights in China.) In September 1943 Chü presided over the important eleventh plenum of the party's Central

Executive Committee at which the organic law of the National Government was amended to permit Chiang Kai-shek to become Chairman of the National Government. During the later war years, Chü was active as a member of civilian comfort missions visiting troops at various military fronts.

When the National Government returned to Nanking after the war, Chü Cheng submitted his resignation, but it was not accepted. When the National Government was reorganized in April 1947, Chü was reelected president of the Judicial Yuan. In March 1948, during the election campaigns for president and vice president, Chü was urged by his friends to run for the vice presidency. Instead, he announced his intention to contest the candidacy of the incumbent, Chiang Kai-shek, for the presidency. The election returns of 19 April indicated that, although Chiang had won the election by an overwhelming majority, Chü had succeeded in gaining a surprisingly large number of the votes in the National Assembly (269 to Chiang's 2,430). On 1 July 1948, in accordance with his long-expressed wishes, Chü resigned from the presidency of the Judicial Yuan. Shortly afterward, he was elected to membership in the Control Yuan.

In the year that followed, Chü Cheng took an active part in arranging the National Government's removal from Nanking to Canton. In November 1949, after last-minute efforts to reestablish the government in Chungking proved futile, Chü flew to Taiwan, where for the next two years he continued to be a member of the Control Yuan. On 23 November 1951, at the age of 75, he died of a stroke at his home in Taipei.

Chü Cheng was survived by his second wife and by nine of his ten children. By his first wife (1880-1934), whom he married in 1898, he had two daughters and one son, Po-ch'iang (1912-42), a graduate in physics of the University of Göttingen who served as an instructor in the Central Military Academy and during the war as head of the 2nd Armored Regiment's repair depot. Chü's second wife, Chung Ming-chih (1892-), whom he married in 1912, was the daughter of a chü-jen and district magistrate and was a graduate of Shanghai Women's Law School. She was the mother of two sons and five daughters. The elder son of this marriage, Hao-jan (1917-), a graduate of the Tsinghua

University sociology department and of the Central Military Academy who received an M.A. in sociology from Harvard University, served as an official in the Executive and Examination yuans. The eldest daughter, Ying-ch'u (1913-), received a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago; she became a member of the National Institute of Economics and a professor at Peiping Women's Normal College. She married Ma Tsu-sheng. The fourth daughter, Tsai-ch'un (1920-), received a Ph.D. from Cornell University; she served in Taiwan as an editor at the National Compilation and Translation Institute and wrote works in the field of bio-chemistry. She married Chang Nai-wei.

After his death, Chü Cheng's prose and poetry was collected and published in 1954 at Taipei in two volumes as the *Chü Chueh-sheng hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi* [the complete works of Chü Cheng]. Among the works included in this collection were two of considerable historical interest: the "Hsin-hai cha-chi" [record of the 1911 revolution], first published serially in the Shanghai *Chiang-nan wan-pao* [Chiang-nan evening news] in 1928 as a series of notes on the events of the 1911 revolution; the "Mei-ch'üan jih-chi" [Chü Cheng's diary], a similar series of notes on the events of 1912 which had been published serially in 1950 in the Hong Kong *Min-chu p'ing-lun* [democratic review]; and the *Mei-ch'üan p'u-chi* [an autobiographical chronology of Chü Cheng], which recounted Chü's life from 1877 to 1948 in verse form. From the time of his imprisonment in 1930 Chü was a practicing lay Buddhist, and among his works is a collection of poems on Buddhist themes, the *Ch'an-yueh chi* [pleasure of Ch'an Buddhism]. Not included in his collected works, but a valuable source of the history of the Kuomintang, is the *Ch'ing-tang shih-lu* [an authentic record of the purification of the party], compiled by Chü in 1928 from party documents and other materials relating to the activities of the Western Hills group and their political organization.

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai

Orig. Ch'ü Shuang
Alt. Sung Yang

瞿秋白

瞿霜(雙, 爽)
宋陽

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (29 January 1899-18 June 1935), Communist writer, became vice chairman of the

propaganda department of the Chinese Communist party and wrote many pamphlets and articles. He unseated Ch'en Tu-hsiu to become general secretary of the party in 1927, but was criticized and removed from office in 1928. He became prominent in the League of Left-Wing Writers, translated and wrote about Russian works, and worked on the romanization of Chinese. He was captured and executed in 1935.

Born in Wuchin (Ch'angchou), Kiangsu, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai came from a gentry family which met with bankruptcy at the turn of the century. Some of his ancestors had served in the Ch'ing government, but none had been high-ranking officials. His father taught him to paint. However, when Ch'ü was still a small boy, his father dissipated the family property, became addicted to opium, left his family, and went to Shantung, where he supported himself by teaching. Chü's mother, an educated woman, was forced to assume responsibility for her six children. Financial strains eventually compelled them to live in the clan temple.

Although impoverished, Ch'ü's mother did her best to give her eldest son an education. As a child, Ch'ü learned poetry from his mother and seal engraving from an uncle. At the Ch'angchou Middle School, he met Chang T'ai-lei (q.v.), who exerted an important influence on him. When Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was 16 sui, a year before he was to be graduated from middle school, he had to go to work to help support the family. He took a post as a village schoolteacher in the neighboring district of Wusih. In February 1915 his mother, driven to despair by poverty and by family quarrels, committed suicide. In his later writings, Ch'ü often stated that the dissolution of his own family testified to the iniquities of the traditional Chinese social system.

In mid-1915 Ch'ü left home for Wuchang, where he studied English at a foreign-language college for a few months. He also continued his studies of classical Chinese poetry and Buddhism. In 1916 he accompanied one of his cousins to Peking with the intention of becoming a university student. Although denied admission to National Peking University because he was unable to pay the tuition, he was allowed to audit some lectures. In September 1917 he entered the tuition-free Russian-Language School, an affiliate of the ministry of foreign

affairs which trained men who would be assigned to the Chinese consulates in Russia or to the Chinese Eastern Railway. One of his schoolmates was Keng Chi-chih, who became a translator of Russian literature. While studying Russian and French in preparation for a career, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai allotted part of his time to the study of Buddhism. It was then his belief that the world would be saved through the practice of Bodhisattvahood and that everything, including the social system, was transient. Ch'ü later recalled that in the three years between his arrival in Peking in 1916 and the May Fourth Movement of 1919 he led a solitary but busy existence.

Ch'ü participated in the May Fourth Movement as an organizer of student demonstrations at the Russian-Language School. He was jailed for three days as a result of his activities. The patriotic movement, which dramatized political, social, and economic grievances, led some Chinese intellectuals to explore radical ideologies. Ch'ü joined the small Marxist study group organized by Li Ta-chao (q.v.) and took an active part in the cultural movement. With Cheng Chen-to (q.v.) and others, he edited two short-lived periodicals, the *Hsin she-hui* [new society] and the *Jen-tao*. Although these two journals were literary magazines sponsored by the YMCA in Peking, they also contained essays on political issues. Ch'ü's articles displayed keen understanding of the problems of Chinese society and at times employed Marxist terminology.

The year 1920 marked an important turning point in Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's career. After completing three years at the Russian-Language School, he received an appointment to go to Moscow as a correspondent for the Peking *Ch'en Pao* [morning post]. Ch'ü believed that direct observation would enable him to compare the theory of socialism with its practice and that his reports might help to end the intellectual confusion in China that had followed the May Fourth Movement. In 1920 it was difficult to secure valid documents for travel to Russia. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai obtained the necessary papers from Yurin, then the representative at Peking of the Soviet Far Eastern Republic; and, despite the attempts of friends and relatives to dissuade him, he left Peking on 16 October 1920 for Harbin and Moscow on the first through train to run from China to Russia after the Russian Revolution.

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's first significant literary efforts were reports on his initial trip outside China, which he called the "land of black sweetness," to Russia, which he soon labeled the "land of hunger." As one of the first Chinese reporters to visit Russia, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai sent numerous reports to the Peking *Ch'en Pao*, some of which later were published as books. One book, entitled *O-hsiang chi-ch'eng* [journey to the land of hunger], was a collection of reports written between November 1920 and October 1921 in Harbin and Moscow. A second, *Ch'ih-tu hsin-shih* [impressions of the Red capital], described the first nine months of his life in Moscow; it was published in book form by the Commercial Press at Shanghai in 1924. These books were not merely travelogues. They provided a record of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's impressions and were written in a style similar to that of Chinese lyric poetry and Buddhist scriptures. During 1921-22 he also wrote *O-kuo wen-hsueh shih* [history of Russian literature], which was published in 1927 as the last section of *O-kuo wen-hsueh* [Russian literature], by Chiang Kuang-ch'ih. The manuscript of his work entitled *O-lo-ssu Ko-ming-lun* [on the Russian Revolution] was destroyed in 1932.

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai also attended the First Congress of the Toilers of the East, which, after repeated postponements, was convened in January 1922 at Moscow. Before this time, Ch'ü had been hospitalized with tuberculosis. In February, through the introduction of his friend Chang T'ai-lei, Ch'ü joined the Chinese Communist party while on a short leave from a hospital in Moscow, where he had been recuperating. In the autumn of 1922 Ch'ü became a teaching assistant and interpreter in the newly created Chinese section of the University for Toilers of the East, which had been established a year earlier under the jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat of Nationalities to train cadres from the "eastern nationalities" of the Soviet Union and foreign students from the "colonial countries," especially from Asia. Ch'ü's work at that institution brought him into closer contact with other young Communists and gave him a more thorough knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was impressed with the discipline and dedication of the Russians to the social idealism of the new system in spite of the drab life they endured.

In November-December 1922 Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai

served as interpreter for Ch'en Tu-hsiu (q.v.), the general secretary of the Chinese Communist party, who was in Moscow to attend the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. Ch'en was impressed by Ch'ü's fluency in Russian and by his familiarity with contemporary Soviet affairs. On Ch'en's recommendation, Ch'ü returned to China early in 1923. In June, he attended the Third National Congress of the Chinese Communist party at Canton, and he was elected to the Central Committee. Official Comintern policy at that time called for the Communists to cooperate with the Kuomintang in achieving a national anti-imperialist revolution in China. Accordingly, Ch'ü joined the Kuomintang. When the First National Congress of the reorganized Kuomintang met at Canton in January 1924, Ch'ü was one of the Communist members of the Kuomintang to be elected to alternate membership on the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. One of his responsibilities was to supervise preparation of the *Hsinching-nienchi-k'an* [new youth quarterly]; four issues of that journal, edited by Ch'ü, appeared between June 1923 and December 1924.

At the Fourth National Congress of the Chinese Communist party, held at Shanghai in January 1925, Ch'ü was reelected to membership on the Central Committee. As vice chairman of the propaganda department of the Chinese Communist party, he engaged in an active program of writing and lecturing. He also headed the department of sociology at Shanghai University. Although the veteran Kuomintang leader Yü Yu-jen was the nominal head of that institution, it actually was controlled by the Communists, and its principal function was to train Communist cadres. Ch'ü was also a prolific pamphleteer and wrote *Chung-kuo kuo-min ke-ming yü Tai Chi-tao chu-i* [the Chinese national revolution and Tai Chi-taoism], which was published in September 1925. In connection with the Communist-organized anti-imperialist agitation which followed the May Thirtieth Incident of 1925, when British police fired on Chinese at Shanghai, he edited the *Je-hsueh jih-pao* [hot blood daily] and wrote the "Wu-san yun-tung chung chih kuo-min ke-ming yü chieh-chi tou-cheng" [national revolution and class struggle during the May Thirtieth movement], which was published in the official Communist organ *Hsiang-tao chou-pao* (*Guide*

Weekly) on 7 September 1925. He also served as an editor of the *Guide Weekly* and lectured at training schools for peasant cadres at Canton and Wuhan in 1926-27.

Other works of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai which were important in the evolution of Chinese Communist doctrine were his *Ti-san kuo-chi hai-shih ti-ling kuo-chi* [the third international or the zero international?], published in 1927; *Chung-kuo te shih chieh-chi* [the Chinese gentry class], published in 1927; and his attempt to refute Sun Yat-sen's views, *San-min chu-i* [the Three People's Principles], published in 1928.

In 1927 an opposition group within the Chinese Communist party became critical of Ch'en Tu-hsiu for his continued collaboration with the Kuomintang—a policy which Ch'en was supporting, despite personal misgivings, in compliance with Comintern instructions from Moscow. As a leader of the opposition group, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai accused Ch'en Tu-hsiu of making vital political decisions without consulting other members of the party's Central Committee. Doctrinal disputes, reportedly stemming from Ch'ü's jealousy of the favored position of P'eng Shu-chih (q.v.), Ch'en's personal assistant, intensified attack on Ch'en Tu-hsiu's leadership. P'eng Shu-chih, committed to orthodox doctrine, reportedly refused to allow the official Chinese Communist journal to print Mao Tsetung's "Report of an Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan," a statement which stressed the role of the peasants in the revolutionary struggle in China. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, who had been elected head of the peasant department at the party's Fifth National Congress, thereupon wrote a preface to Mao's report and published it as a pamphlet. Communist unity disintegrated further in the summer of 1927, when both the right and the left wings of the Kuomintang set out to exterminate the Communists in areas under their control.

In 1927, when the Comintern was forced to change its China policy under Stalin's leadership, the Russians found it expedient to shift responsibility for earlier blunders to the Chinese Communist policies of Ch'en Tu-hsiu. In this move they were aided by Ch'en's opponents within the Chinese Communist top command, who, led by Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, accused Ch'en and his supporters of adopting a line identical to that of the Trotsky faction in the Soviet Union.

In accordance with new directives from the

Comintern demanding "reforms" in the leadership of the Chinese party, a small group of Communist delegates convened a secret emergency conference at Kiukiang on 7 August 1927. There Ch'ü Ch'iupai denounced Ch'en Tu-hsiu, his erstwhile patron, as a right opportunist. At that meeting, which was dominated by Lominadze, the Comintern representative, Ch'ü Ch'iupai was elected to replace Ch'en Tu-hsiu as general secretary of the Chinese Communist party. The August meeting also called for the organization and training of workers and peasants in preparation for armed uprisings against the "counter-revolutionary" Kuomintang regimes at Nanking and Wuhan. In November 1927 the Ch'ü Ch'iupai group in the Chinese Communist party decided that an uprising in a major city was strategically necessary and gave instructions to Chang T'ai-lei, then head of the south China bureau, to plan and organize an attack on Canton. The resulting attempt, the Canton Commune of December 1927, was quickly suppressed, and Chang T'ai-lei was killed.

Because of these failures and the continued loss of party cadres, Ch'ü Ch'iupai was summoned to Moscow in the summer of 1928. At the Sixth National Congress of the Chinese Communist party, which met in Moscow in June and July, he made a general report on the revolutionary movement in China from 1925 to 1927 entitled *Chung-kuo ke-ming yü Chung-kuo kung-ch'an-tang* [the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Communist party]. After the general review of 1927 failures in China, Ch'ü Ch'iupai was severely criticized for left opportunism and was removed from the post of general secretary of the party, which he had held for less than a year. He was replaced by Hsiang Chung-fa (q.v.). Despite political criticism, Ch'ü Ch'iupai was named a Chinese delegate to the Comintern and was elected to the Executive Committee of that organization.

From 1928 until mid-1930 Ch'ü lived a relatively uneventful life in Moscow. He wrote several polemical pamphlets, notably *Kung-ch'an kuo-chi yü tang-ch'ien wen-t'i* [the Communist International and current problems] and *Fan-tui Ch'en Tu-hsiu chi-hui chu-i* [oppose Ch'en Tu-hsiu's opportunism]. In 1929 he visited Western Europe to attend Communist-sponsored meetings in Paris and Berlin.

Meanwhile, he continued research on the problem of romanization of the Chinese language,

which he had begun to study in 1911 during his first stay in Moscow. In the spring of 1929, in cooperation with Kolokolov, a teacher of Chinese language at the University for Toilers of the East, he devised a system of romanization for Chinese and conducted experiments among Chinese students in Moscow. The following year, he published in Moscow a pamphlet entitled *Zhonguo Latinhuadi Zemu* [Chinese romanized alphabet]. Characteristic of his work was the entire omission of tone representation except for a very few cases, a sharp break with prevailing concepts. In 1930-31 numerous meetings were held in Russia and the Soviet Far East to discuss his system. Such prominent Russian sinologues and linguists as B. M. Alexeiev took part in these discussions. The First Conference on the Romanization of Chinese was held in Vladivostok in September 1931. In 1932 a romanized script, which was a revised version of Ch'ü's original work, was introduced into all Chinese schools in the Far East region of the Soviet Union.

In mid-1930, apparently because of disagreements with Pavel Mif, the chief of the Chinese section of the Eastern department of the Comintern and the president of Sun Yat-sen University, Ch'ü Ch'iupai was removed from the Chinese delegation to the Comintern. In the early autumn of 1930 he returned to China. He became involved with plans for changing the policies associated with Li Li-san, whose program of seizing large cities to spark a national revolution in China had proved fruitless. At the third plenum of the sixth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party, held from 24 to 28 September 1930, Ch'ü stressed that the Comintern directive of 23 July 1930 was the basic policy directive for the Chinese Communist party. According to that directive, although the rising tide of revolution in China was indisputable, there was not yet an "objective revolutionary situation on a national scale." Although Li Li-san was removed from the Political Bureau in November 1930, Hsiang Chung-fa remained as the general secretary of the party. Ch'ü Ch'iupai was accused of political ambivalence, and in January 1931 what remained of his authority was undermined when control of the central apparatus of the Chinese Communist party at Shanghai was taken over by the so-called 28 Bolsheviks, including Ch'en Shao-yü, Chang Wen-t'ien, and Shen Tse-min (qq.v.).

From 1931 through 1933 Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai remained in Shanghai, where he became a prominent figure in the League of Left-Wing Writers and helped to shape its policies. He urged the creation of a new Chinese literature, written in simple language and dedicated to serving society; he wrote articles supporting this view, using several pen names. Ch'ü produced many critical writings and translations of Western and Russian works, and he did much to introduce his readers to important Russian authors, including Gorky and Serafimovich. During this period in Shanghai, Ch'ü was close to Lu Hsün (Chou Shu-jen, q.v.) and to Mao Tun (Shen Yen-ping, q.v.), the only two modern Chinese authors for whom he had high regard. Ch'ü wrote the preface for the *Lu Hsun tsa-kan hsuan-chi* [collected miscellaneous essays of Lu Hsün]. Lu Hsün had high regard for Ch'ü's unusual literary and linguistic talents and frequently consulted him on problems of translation. Although Lu Hsün was not a Communist, his hostility to the Kuomintang was well known, and he lived with the constant possibility of arrest. Nonetheless, he provided Ch'ü with refuge from Nationalist police agents on three occasions.

In January 1934 Ch'ü went to the main Communist base at Juichin, Kiangsi, as Shanghai area representative to the second All-China Congress of Soviets. Shortly thereafter, he was named people's commissar of education and director of the art bureau of the central soviet government headed by Mao Tse-tung. When Nationalist military pressure forced the Communists to evacuate the base in the autumn of 1934, Ch'ü remained in Kiangsi to take charge of propaganda. He became ill that winter, however, and had to be carried on a stretcher. He was ordered to go to Shanghai to work for the party, and he left Kiangsi. The group with which he was traveling was discovered in Fukien by National Government troops under the command of Sung Hsi-lien, and Ch'ü was captured on 23 February 1935. Ch'ü's identity soon was discovered, and he was imprisoned at Ch'angting, Fukien. During his imprisonment, he wrote his final testament, entitled *To-yu te hua* [superfluous words], and composed poems in the classical Chinese style. Ch'ü remained a confirmed Communist to the end and sang the "Internationale" in Russian on the way to his public execution on 18 June 1935. His final

request was that he be shot while lying on the ground.

In official statements of the post-1949 period, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was extolled as an honorable Communist martyr and was grouped with such worthies as Jen Pi-shih, Lin Po-ch'u, Lo Jung-huan, and other "late leaders of the Chinese Communist party." In 1955, on the twentieth anniversary of his death, Ch'ü's remains were moved to be buried in the Cemetery of Revolutionary Heroes in the western outskirts of Peking.

A collection of Ch'ü's literary works, the *Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai wen-chi*, was published at Peking in four volumes in 1953-54. Omitted from that extensive collection was *To-yu te hua*, which was smuggled out of Fukien and published in the *I-ching* magazine in Shanghai in 1937. In it, Ch'ü presented himself as an average man of letters, unsuited by personality to fill the role of revolutionary leader. As he neared death in 1935, Ch'ü saw his life as a comedy of errors into which he had been thrust by fate or, in his words, by "historical misunderstanding." In 1931-32 Lu Hsün had begun to assemble Ch'ü's writings and translations. These were published in 1936 under the title *Hai-shang shu-lin* [collected works]. As an essayist and translator, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai must be ranked as one of the foremost literary figures directly associated with the Chinese Communist party in the years before 1935.

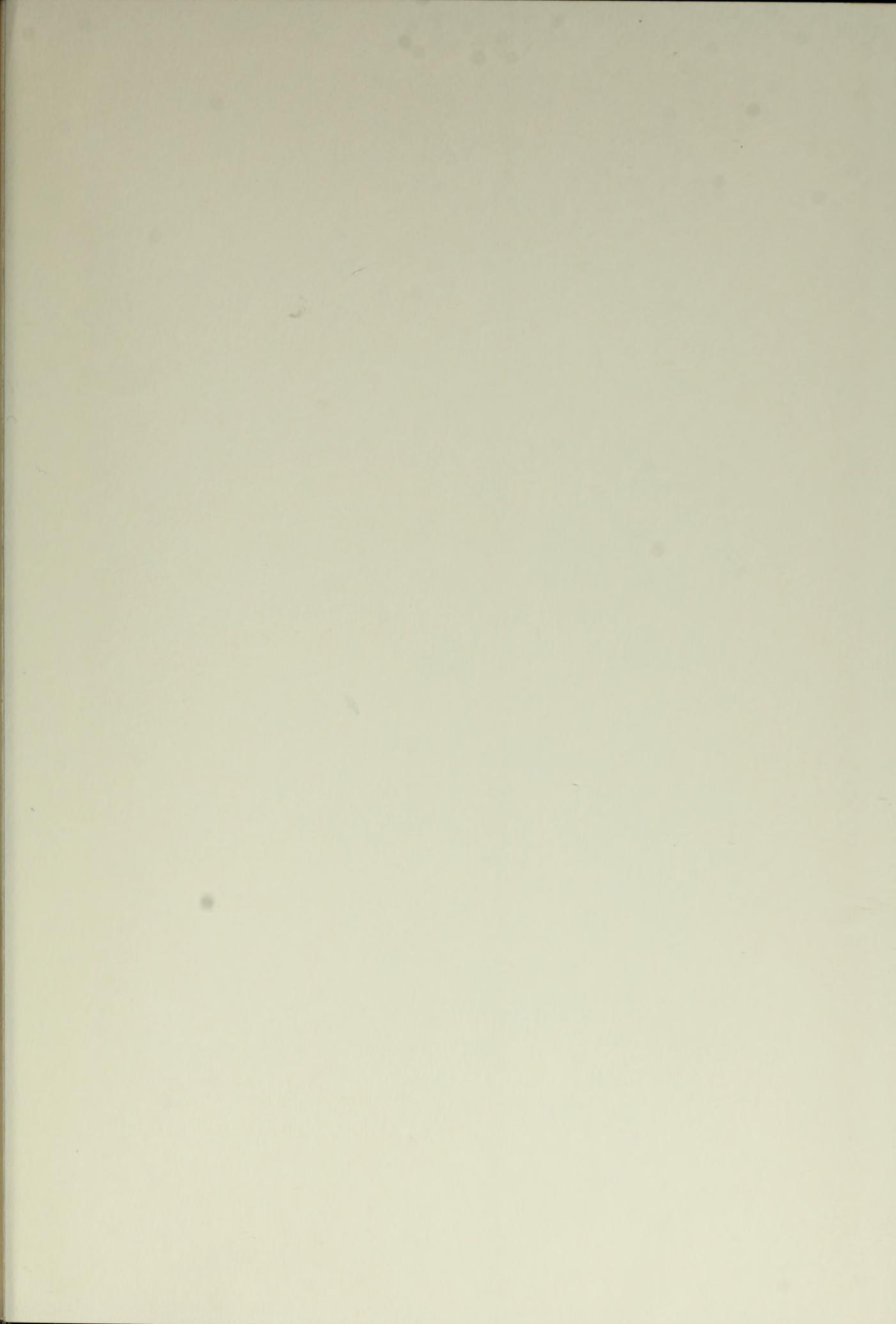
After returning from his first sojourn in Russia in 1923, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai married Wang Chien-hung at Shanghai. She died shortly thereafter. In 1924 Ch'ü married Yang Chih-hua, a student at Shanghai University. She had previously been the wife of Sheng Chien-nung, the son of Shen Ting-i (T. Hsuan-lu), one of the founding members of the Chinese Communist party in 1921, but her marriage had ended in divorce. Yang Chih-hua, also known as Yang Hsiao-hua, was with Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai in Moscow from 1928 to 1930 and in Shanghai during the early 1930's. After Ch'ü's execution she again went to Moscow. She was one of the Communist cadres assigned in 1937 to work in Sinkiang province, where she was arrested by Sheng Shih-ts'ai and imprisoned until 1946. After the establishment of the Central People's Government in 1949, Yang Chih-hua held a prominent position in the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, and she became a vice chairman of the Women's Federation in 1957.

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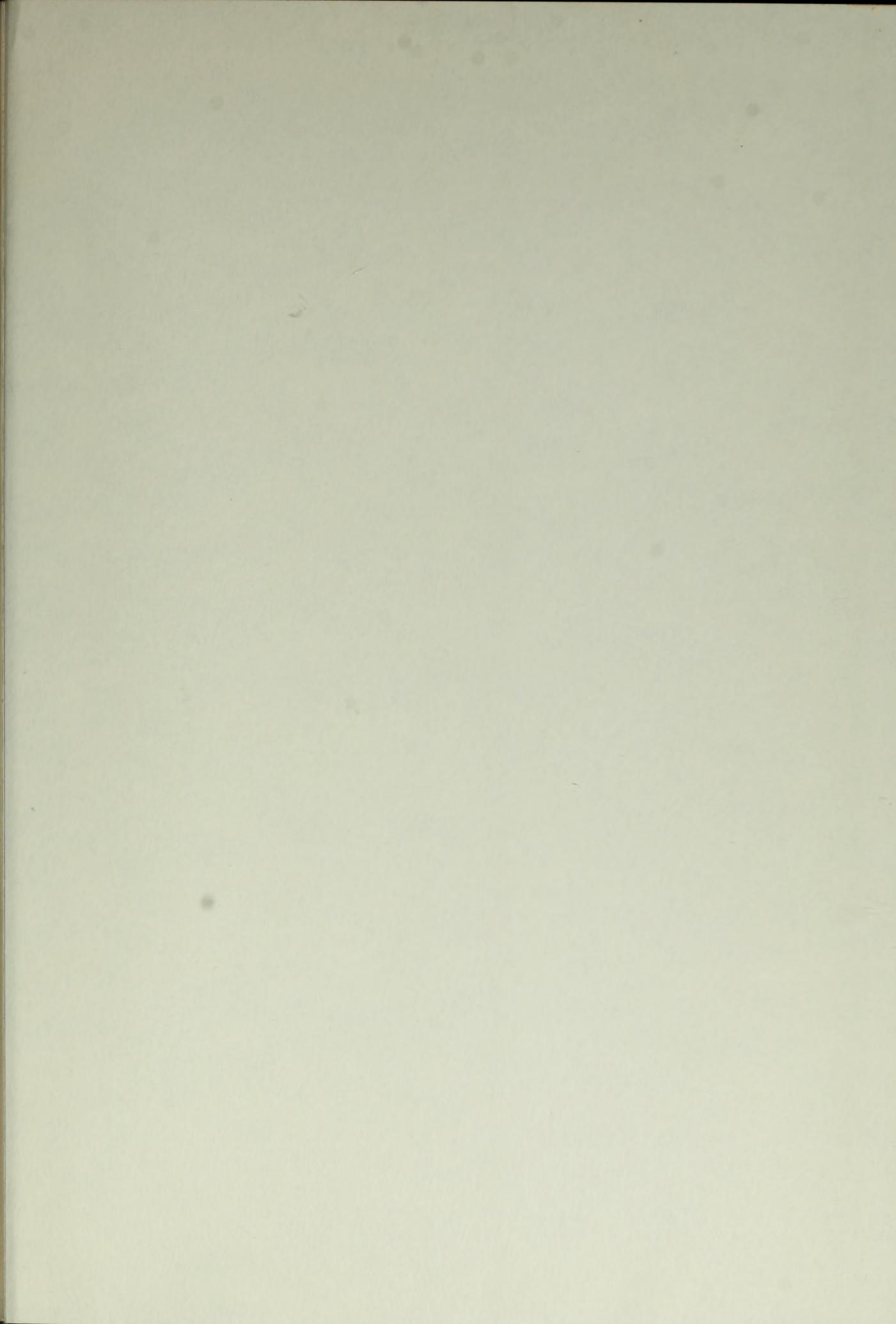
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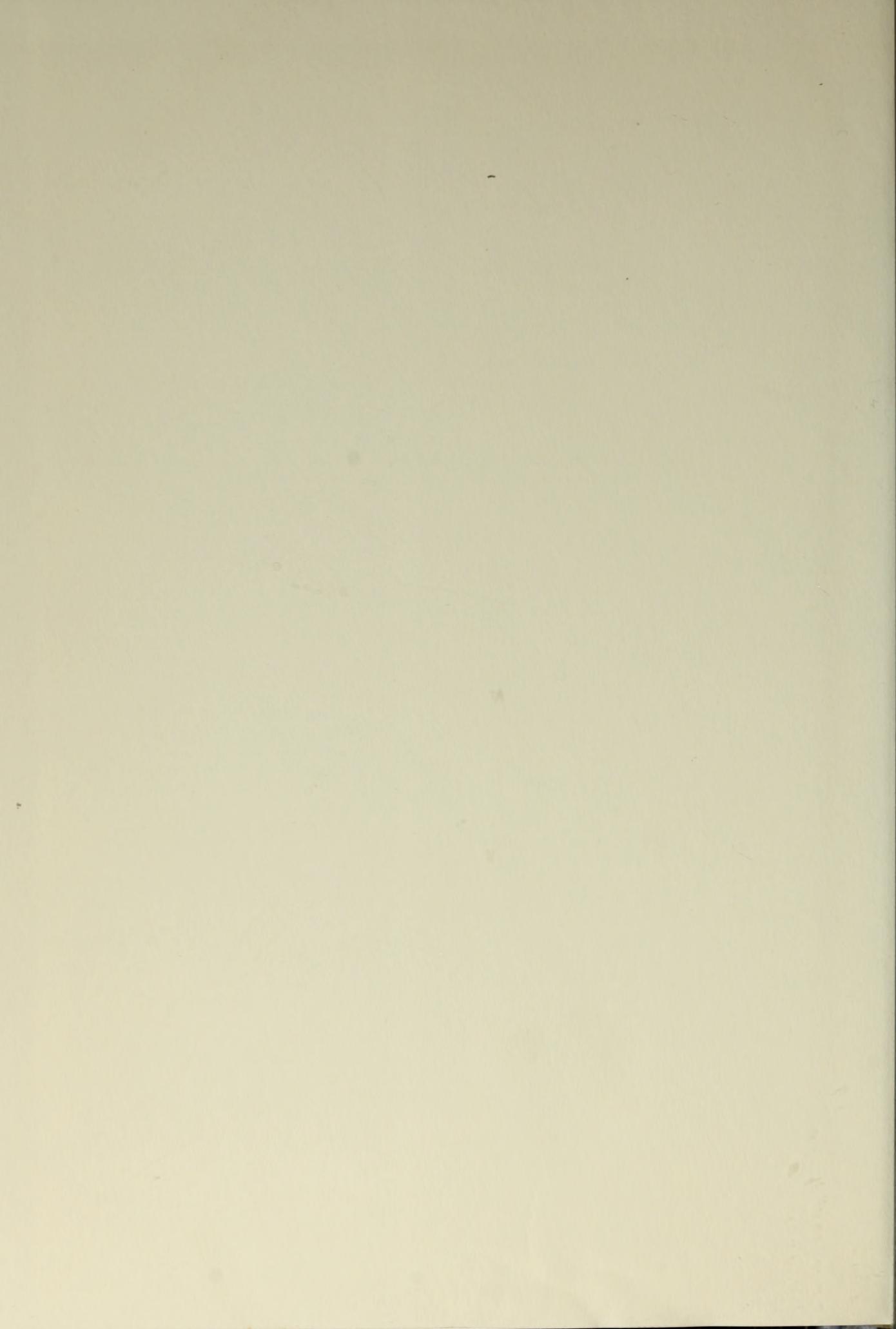
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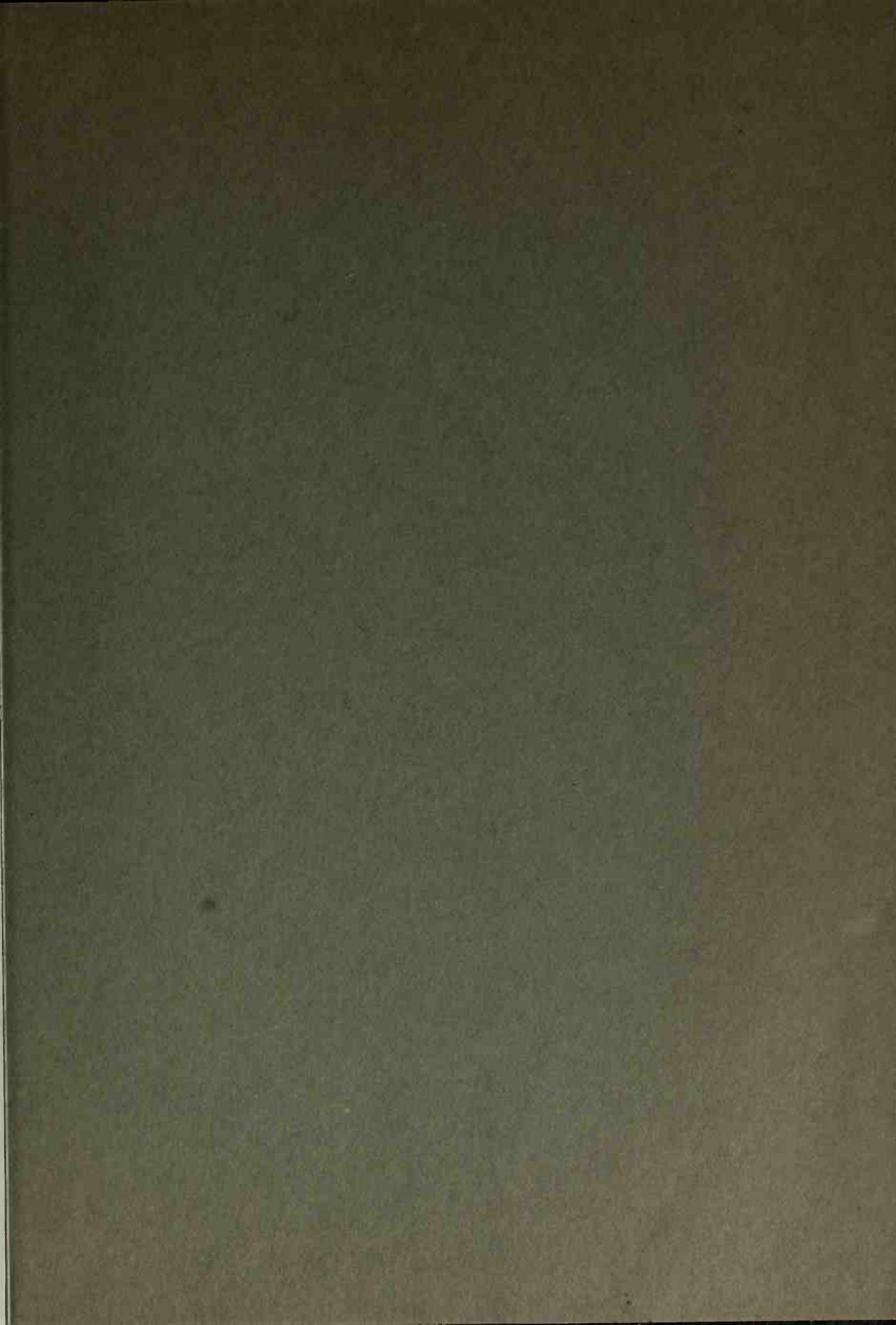
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clear physicist Ch'ien San-ch'iang, (Tsien San-tsiang), director of the Institute of Atomic Energy of the Academy of Sciences. The sphere of private banking in republican China is represented by Chang Kia-ngau, K. P. Ch'en, Chou Tso-min, and others; that of modern scholarship by Ch'en Yin-k'o, the eminent blind scholar regarded by many as the world's leading sinologist, by Chao Yuen-ren (Y. R. Chao), internationally distinguished linguist of the University of California at Berkeley, and others.

This volume is the first of a projected five-volume series which will furnish the most comprehensive and objective life-stories of some 600 Chinese of this century available in any language, including Chinese. The *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* has been sponsored by the School of International Affairs of Columbia University and supported by grants from the Ford Foundation. In addition to staff members working in New York, more than 75 scholars and specialists in the United States, Asia, and Europe have contributed articles.

When completed, the *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* will comprise a major new reference work, edited on modern standards, making available an unparalleled body of original biographical and bibliographical data on the major country of East Asia. It will serve to stimulate studies on twentieth-century China in the same fashion that its indispensable predecessor, Arthur W. Hummel (ed.) *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, has done for the last dynasty of China's imperial period. At the same time, the present work has contemporary as well as historical significance. Responsible observers agree that the People's Republic of China will be a major factor in world politics, for many years ahead. The *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* has been planned to contribute to broader understanding, both in the West and in Asia, of the origins, backgrounds, and motivations of the men and the political forces now dominant at Peking.

The first volume includes a preface by the general editor, explanatory notes, and a complete listing of all contributors to the work.

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