

12.2 *Yuan Pledges Allegiance to the Republic, February 12, 1912*

A republic is the best form of government. The whole world admits this. That in one leap we have passed from autocracy to republicanism is really the outcome of the many years of strenuous efforts exerted by you all, and is the greatest blessing to the people. The Da Qing Emperor has proclaimed his abdication by edict countersigned by myself. The day of the promulgation of this edict shall be the end of Imperial rule and the inauguration of the Republic. Henceforth we shall exert our utmost strength to move forward in progress until we reach perfection. Henceforth, for ever, we shall not allow a monarchical government in our country. I shall be most happy to come to the South and to listen to your counsels in our conference as to the methods of procedure. Only on account of the difficulty of maintaining order in the North and the existence of a large army requiring control, and the popular mind in the North and South not being united, the slightest disturbance will affect the whole country. All of you who thoroughly understand the situation will realize my difficult position. You have studied the important question of establishing a Republic, and have definite plans in your minds. I beg you to inform me as to the best means of cooperation in the work of consolidation.

[Signed] Yuan Shikai

12.3 JAPAN'S TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS,  
1915

After Japan's victory over China in 1895 and the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the Japanese government pursued a policy of expanding its territorial control at the expense of Korea and China. In 1910, Korea was officially annexed into the Japanese empire as the vassal state of Chosen. At the same time, the Southern Manchurian Railroad Company, affiliated groups, and investor groups in Japan actively expanded the Japanese sphere of influence in southern Manchuria.

When the First World War broke out in Europe and all major Western powers were busy fighting on European fronts, the Japanese government moved quickly to fill the resultant power vacuum in Asia. Under the pretext of fighting the Central Powers, Japan, after joining the Allies, ousted Germany from Jiaozhou Bay in Shandong province and took control of all the colonial interests developed there by the Germans since 1898.

Japan then took advantage of China's domestic political divisions to strengthen its gains. Striking just as President Yuan Shikai conspired to betray the new republic for his monarchical enterprise, the Japanese moved to affirm their hold on Shandong and reinforce their dominance in Man-

churia and inner Mongolia. On January 18, 1915, the Japanese minister to Peking, Hiroki Eki, handed Yuan Shikai the Twenty-one Demands, the goal of which was to transform China into a Japanese protectorate of sorts with vast areas actually controlled by Japan and a captive government supervised by Japanese officials or appointees.

The following is the full text of the Twenty-one Demands. For Chinese opponents of this policy, the fifth group of demands, which demanded the employment of Japanese to supervise Chinese administration and other sovereign concessions, was considered a humiliating and undisguised statement of Tokyo's intention to control and conquer China.

Faced with vehement public indignation, the Yuan administration tried to negotiate for softer terms from the Japanese. Dismayed by Yuan's procrastination, the Japanese government delivered a tough ultimatum on May 7, 1915, threatening that the Imperial government would "take steps they may deem necessary" to force compliance. The second document included here shows how China helplessly succumbed to Japan's threat and accepted the demands with the condition that the fifth group be left for future negotiation.

The acceptance of the Twenty-one Demands, albeit conditionally, provoked a tide of nationwide protests and campaigns against Yuan's government's appeasement policy and prepared the ground for the unequivocally anti-imperialist and anti-government nationalist movement of subsequent years.

*Japan's Twenty-one Demands, January 18th, 1915.*

TRANSLATION OF DOCUMENTS HANDED TO THE  
PRESIDENT YUAN SHIH-KAI BY MR. HIOKI, THE  
JAPANESE MINISTER, ON  
JANUARY 18TH, 1915.

## I

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government being desirous of maintaining the general peace in Eastern Asia and further strengthening the friendly relations and good neighborhood existing between the two nations agree to the following articles:

ART. 1. The Chinese Government engages to give full assent to all matters upon which the Japanese Government may hereafter agree with the German Government relating to the disposition of all rights, interests and concessions which Germany, by virtue of treaties or otherwise, possesses in relation to the Province of Shantung.

ART. 2. The Chinese Government engages that within the Province of

Shantung and along its coast, no territory or island will be ceded or leased to a third Power under any pretext.

ART. 3. The Chinese Government consents to Japan's building a railway from Chefoo or Lungkow to join the Kiaochow-Chinanfu Railway.

ART. 4. The Chinese Government engages, in interest of trade and for the residence of foreigners, to open by herself as soon as possible certain important cities and towns in the Province of Shantung as Commercial Ports. What places shall be opened are to be jointly decided upon in a separate agreement.

## II

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, since the Chinese Government has always acknowledged the special position enjoyed by Japan in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, agree to the following articles:

ART. 1. The two Contracting Parties mutually agree that the term of lease of Port Arthur and Dalny and the term of lease of the South Manchurian Railway and the Antung-Mukden Railway shall be extended to the period of 99 years.

ART. 2. Japanese subjects in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia shall have the right to lease or own land required either for erecting suitable buildings for trade and manufacture or for farming.

ART. 3. Japanese subjects shall be free to reside and travel in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia and to engage in business and in manufacture of any kind whatsoever.

ART. 4. The Chinese Government agrees to grant to Japanese subjects the right of opening the mines in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. As regards what mines are to be opened, they shall be decided upon jointly.

ART. 5. The Chinese Government agrees that in respect of the (two) cases mentioned herein below the Japanese Government's consent shall be first obtained before action is taken:

(a) Whenever permission is granted to the subject of a third Power to build a railway or to make a loan with a third Power for the purpose of building a railway in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia.

(b) Whenever a loan is to be made with a third Power pledging the local taxes of South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia as security.

ART. 6. The Chinese Government agrees that if the Chinese Government employs political, financial or military advisers or instructors in South Manchuria or Eastern Inner Mongolia, the Japanese Government shall first be consulted.

ART. 7. The Chinese Government agrees that the control and management of the Kirin-Changchun Railway shall be handed over to the Japanese Government for a term of 99 years dating from the signing of this agreement.

## III

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, seeing that Japanese financiers and the Hanyehping Co. have close relations with each other at

present and desiring that the common interests of the two nations shall be advanced, agree to the following articles:

ART. 1. The two Contracting Parties mutually agree that when the opportune moment arrives the Hanyehping Company shall be made a joint concern of the two nations and they further agree that without the previous consent of Japan China shall not by her own act dispose of the rights and property of whatsoever nature of the said Company nor cause the said Company to dispose freely of the same.

ART. 2. The Chinese Government agrees that all mines in the neighborhood of those owned by the Hanyehping Company shall not be permitted, without the consent of the said Company, to be worked by other persons outside of the said Company; and further agrees that if it is desired to carry out any undertaking which, it is apprehended, may directly or indirectly affect the interests of the said Company, the consent of the said Company shall first be obtained.

## IV

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government with the object of effectively preserving the territorial integrity of China agree to the following special article:

The Chinese Government engages not to cede or lease to a third Power any harbor or bay or island along the coast of China.

## V

ART. 1. The Chinese Central Government shall employ influential Japanese as advisers in political, financial and military affairs.

ART. 2. Japanese hospitals, churches and schools in the interior of China shall be granted the right of owning land.

ART. 3. Inasmuch as the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government have had many cases of disputes between Japanese and Chinese police which caused no little misunderstanding, it is for this reason necessary that the police departments of important places (in China) shall be jointly administered by Japanese and Chinese or that the police departments of these places shall employ numerous Japanese, so that they may at the same time help to plan for the improvement of the Chinese Police Service.

ART. 4. China shall purchase from Japan a fixed amount of munitions of war (say 50% or more of what is needed by the Chinese Government) or that there shall be established in China a Sino-Japanese jointly worked arsenal. Japanese technical experts are to be employed and Japanese material to be purchased.

ART. 5. China agrees to grant to Japan the right of constructing a railway connecting Wuchang with Kiu-kiang and Nanchang, another line between Nanchang and Hangchow, and another between Nanchang and Chao-chow.

ART. 6. If China needs foreign capital to work mines, build railways and

construct harbor-works (including dockyards) in the Province of Fukien, Japan shall be first consulted.

ART. 7. China agrees that Japanese subjects shall have the right of missionary propaganda in China.

### *China's Reply to the Ultimatum.*

#### THE REPLY OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO THE ULTIMATUM OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT, DELIVERED TO THE JAPANESE MINISTER ON THE 8TH OF MAY, 1915.

On the 7th of this month, at three o'clock, the Chinese Government received an Ultimatum from the Japanese Government together with an Explanatory Note of seven articles. The Ultimatum concluded with the hope that the Chinese Government by six o'clock on the 9th of May will give a satisfactory reply, and "it is hereby declared that if no satisfactory reply is received before or at the designated time, the Japanese Government will take steps they may deem necessary."

The Chinese Government with a view to preserving the peace of the Far East hereby accepts, with the exception of those five articles of Group V postponed for later negotiation, all the articles of Groups I, II, III and IV and the exchange of Notes in connection with Fukien Province in Group V, as contained in the revised proposals presented on the 26th of April and in accordance with the Explanatory Note of seven articles accompanying the Ultimatum of the Japanese Government, with the hope that thereby all outstanding questions are settled, so that the cordial relationship between the two countries may be further consolidated. The Japanese Minister is hereby requested to appoint a day to call at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to make the literary improvement of the text and sign the Agreement as soon as possible.

#### 12.4 THE RESTORATION OF 1917, FROM PUYI'S MEMOIR

Despite the debacle of Yuan's eighty-three day reign as the Hongxian emperor, the dream of monarchical restoration never waned in the hearts of Qing loyalists. Not long after Yuan's death, factional politics in Peking precipitated a major clash between President Li Yuanhong, the nominal leader of the nation, and Premier Duan Qirui, who succeeded Yuan and now commanded the allegiance of the Beiyang Army. In a miscalculated move in May 1917, President Li dismissed Premier Duan from office and summoned General Zhang Xun to protect the capital from Duan's possible military retaliation.

Nicknamed "Pigtail General" (*bianzhai jiangjun*), Zhang Xun (1854–1923) was a staunch promoter of the Qing restoration and an ultraconservative defender of the old order. To manifest his loyalty and political allegiance to the abdicated Qing court, he not only wore a long queue himself but also ordered all his soldiers to do the same. In an era when the queue had virtually disappeared in all but the remotest locales, Zhang Xun's troops came to be called the "Pigtail Soldiers" (*bianzai bing*).

When Zhang Xun's army entered the capital to defend the constitution of the Republic, Zhang Xun defied Li Yuanhong's intentions and launched a movement to restore the Qing monarchy. With the assistance of Kang Youwei and other Qing loyalists, General Zhang reinstated Aisin-Gioro Puyi to the throne and proclaimed an authentic Manchu Restoration on July 1, 1917. Horrified by this attempt to reinstate Qing rule, Premier Duan Qirui, his generals and political supporters, including Liang Qichao, immediately gathered their forces and launched a punitive attack. By July 12, 1917, they succeeded in crushing the "Pigtail Soldiers" and ended the farce of restoration.

Puyi's memoir of these events captures a sense of his bewilderment as an eleven year old boy struggling to orient himself while political intrigues swirl around him.

The news of Yuan Shih-kai's death was received with great rejoicing in the Forbidden City. The eunuchs rushed hither and thither spreading the news, the High Consorts went to burn incense to the tutelary god, and there were no lessons that day in the Yu Ching Palace.

New opinions were expressed in the palace.

"Yuan died because he wanted to usurp the throne."

"It's not that a monarchy is impracticable, it's just that the people want their old sovereign."

"Yuan Shih-kai was different from Napoleon III: he had no such ancestry on which to rely for support."

"It would be much better to return things to the old sovereign than to have a Mr. Yuan as emperor."

All these voices were in tune with the saying of my tutor that "because of the great goodness and rich benefit conferred by our dynasty the people of the whole country are thinking of the old order...."

After Yuan's death, Li Yuan-hung succeeded him as president with Tuan Chi-jui as premier. The palace sent a representative to congratulate President Li and Li Yuan-hung returned to the palace the imperial processional weapons that Yuan had taken. Some of the Ching princes, nobles and senior officials were even given Republican decorations, including a few who had been in hiding during Yuan Shih-kai's time. The Household Department was busier than ever conferring such honours as posthumous titles, the permission to ride a horse in the Forbidden City or wear a peacock's feather, bringing girls for