

支那問題真解

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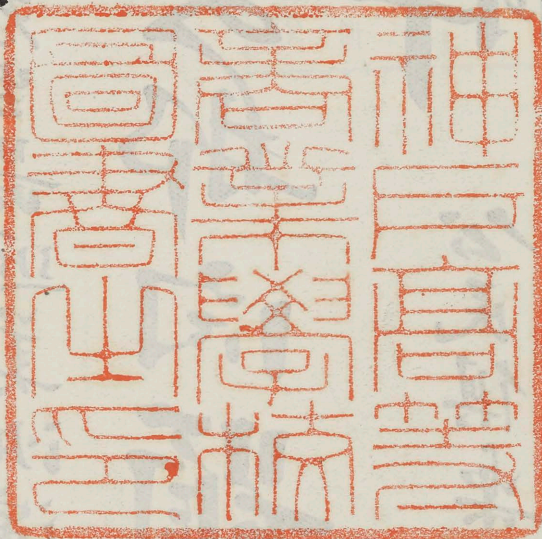
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逸仙先生最近美洲演说

支那问题真

解

公民俱乐部出



此書於丙午春天從日本舊書

灘上購來



MR. SUN YAT SEN

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## 支那問題眞解

孫逸仙先生 演說

公民俱樂部 譯述

今日全球之視線集於遠東。其近因爲日露之戰爭。而其遠因亦以爭爲亞細亞主人翁者。思伸其最後之勢力於支那也。歐人營領土於亞非利加。其大勢已定。無復餘。故必更尋新地以施其殖民之政策。而支那久有東方病夫之稱。以世界最良沃之大地。適投歐人之所好。雖亞美利加對於萬國政策。表其孟羅主義。然謂其手段異於他國。則可謂其甘於放棄權利。則不可也。夫飛獵賓既受治於美。爲支那近隣。支那之國情。必不能相掩飾。且支那爲美絕大之商場。美而不欲輸出其工商各品於他國。則已。苟其不然。則供美人貿易之

資源無有出於支那之右者。然則所謂遠東問題不能不特別注意於此國。

此問題中有無數利益衝突。故其解決甚難。即日露戰爭之結果。由種種方面思之。或有解決之道。由支那觀之。則此時已處衝突之旋渦。而戰爭之止且莫知所從。蓋彼不過兩國最高權之問題。而其他若英美德法諸國將如何收其利益。其條件複雜。屬於將來之解決。不能與戰爭為終始也。

吾輩欲研究其解決之點。必當察其困難之原因。或有從表面觀亞細亞之內政。以為滿洲政府腐敗黑闇。至於極點。故所為實足擾世界勢力平均之局者。其說雖怪。不可謂其無據。由日露戰爭觀之。而益信。蓋日露戰爭非無可阻止之機。而滿洲政府不能調和其間。且於衝突之初。延引外力之侵入。而若自以為得計者也。

吾輩所謂滿洲政府。蓋與支那政府有別。支那今日固無政府。而兩者界說。

實不能混如直以滿洲政府當之則是法律上誤定之一名詞耳此言也非極熟於支那之內政鮮不以爲怪蓋其間當取證於歷史之觀念苟爲述滿洲之小史則未有不釋然者

當滿洲人之未入支那不過黑龍江畔之野蠻遊牧常寇支那北方平和之邊境乘明季內亂長驅入關據有燕京如北狄之蹂躪羅馬其時則千六百四十四年也支那人爾時不願爲之隸屬各謀反抗而滿洲人強欲壓制之遂不得不爲種種殘忍之政策鞭笞丁壯及於老弱火其居奪其產逼之從其服制由薙髮令之下總其所殺戮以億萬計其後更用多方野蠻伎倆演流血之慘劇支那人乃不能不忍隱服從

然而滿洲人更欲愚支那之民智使其永永服事凡支那文人著作有涉於滿洲侵略暴虐之事實者皆焚毀絕滅使後世無所考又禁止支那人私結社

會千與國事久之支那人始消滅其愛國精神而忘其寄於他人之宇下矣夫滿洲生殖至今其種人不及五百萬而支那則有四萬萬之衆故彼常懼所征服者一旦光復其祖國勉思抵制常不免用防禦家賊之政策此其對待支那人之大目的也

外人往々謂支那人有排外思想不樂交通蓋緣往昔海岸未許通商而生此臆說則亦未嘗熟支那之歷史耳歷史蓋予吾輩以可徵之據謂支那昔者常與外人交際對於外國商人及其傳教者未始有不善之感情試取西安府景教碑讀之則知當七世紀外人已傳教至支那且歡迎佛教以入支那者爲漢明帝而國民亦熱心信仰迄於今世猶極莊嚴爲支那三大教之一至於外國商人亦得自由旅行於內地自漢晉以來史不絕書降至明季其相徐光啓捨身以奉天主教其執友耶教徒利瑪竇亦至北京受國人之崇敬則支那人

此時絕無排外思想可知矣。

至滿洲興盛而政策漸變禁全國與外人通商放逐傳教師於境外戮民人之私奉外教者著之爲厲禁土人遷徙於他國者處以死刑何者滿洲人恐支那人日與外人交接吸其文明而不變夫故習故極其權力之所至鼓舞以排外思想曩者千九百年拳匪之亂即滿洲人極端排外之結果也今日舉世所共知者排外之黨魁非他人其天潢貴胄也而所謂支那閉關主義者亦不過行於彼愚民固利之滿洲一部而不能例於多數之支那人也故外人遊歷支那所著日記皆常言支那人愈遠官吏則對於外人之感情愈厚。

自拳匪變後人人以爲韃靼政府得此時機或遂更紀國政然徒見夫朝旨旁午屢言變革而不知僅爲玩弄之具文聊以欺元元之視聽耳蓋爲滿洲者斷無有變其舊政之理設其果變則損彼實多何也支那人而羣知改革之義

則滿洲人將不能復享前茲所占之實權且以貪鄙冥頑之官吏專以迎合滿洲爲宗旨恃其強力放肆無忌即如駐美公使禁支那僑民開愛國會等犯者幽其宗屬於本國或置極刑以此野蠻舉動而出於所謂嘗受教育之公使梁誠其他種種傳說莫非逢合政府冀得信任凡滿洲所置官吏如此安望其能輔之以變革耶

- 吾輩享韃靼政府毒虐已二百六十餘年而其最慘酷重要者則有十端
- (一) 韃靼據政府以自利而非以利民
  - (二) 阻止民人物質思想之進化
  - (三) 馭吾人如隸圜而盡奪一切之平等權及公權
  - (四) 侵害我不能售與之生命權及財產自由權
  - (五) 容縱官吏以虐民而朘削之

(六) 禁制吾人之言論自由

(七) 定極不規則之稅則而不待民人之認可

(八) 用極野蠻之刑以對囚犯逼供定讞

(九) 不由法律而可以剝奪吾人之權利

(十) 放棄其責任爲吾人所託生命財產者

我輩雖有種種不平而猶欲勉與周旋乃終不可得是以支那人翻然欲改前失建設東亞之平和以爲世界之平和必當思適當之方法以達其目的所謂『欲得平和不可不以決裂』者亦時機移逼之而出者也

全國民之革命已熟如千九百年惠州之舉事千九百二年廣州之暗潮其影響皆不細而廣西之運動者尤日增其勢力支那內地新聞雜誌新書出版多共和政體之觀念此爲學術界之變遷更進言之如致公堂者（支那愛國

會。普通所知其爲支那人自救之社會其目的皆在於反清復明此等有政治思想之秘會建立已垂二百餘年其會友有十萬人以上布於支那南方支那人之在此邦加盟於此會者得有百分之八十大抵支那人之持革命觀念者可分爲三種第一種占最多數而不能過露其宗旨懼罹官吏之毒害第二種以種族之思想欲起而反抗滿人第三種則爲有特別高尚之思想者此三種人其手段不同而漸次求達其目的必得異日最良之結果是知滿洲政府之推倒不過時日之問題而已

於此有不完全之理想焉以爲支那地大物博大有可爲之資格若一旦醒其渴睡則世界必爲之震驚而輪進新文明於內且將釀法蘭坎士泰之動物自殘同類之禍故現時最巧之政策皆以共亡支那爲目的如唱黃禍論者是也雖然唱此主義者其自謀非不忠然無論由何方面觀之皆不能自完其說夫一國而



望他國之亡滅已離於道德之問題而爲政治上之狡策況支那人爲最平和最勤勉最守法律之民族非慄悍好侵畧之民族也其從事於戰爭亦止自衛使外人果能始終去其機械之心則吾敢謂世界民族未有能及支那人之平和者也更試由經濟上觀之則支那而建設文明之政府其利益不僅在於本邦將旁及於世界可使全國與外人通商可使鐵路推廣敷設可使天然物產日有發達可使民人高尚其資生程度可使外來品物消售日多而萬國商業必百倍於疇昔如此而猶以爲禍則是國民對於他國必將以孤立爲長策而以貧而愚者爲鄰愈於以富且智者爲鄰矣有是理耶然則此主義必當墜地而所謂黃禍者翮其反也

外人之對於支那者有二政策而曾不相容其一主張支那瓜分其一辯護支那獨立由前而觀則露西亞用之以有今日之巨創其主義爲不祥由後而

一〇  
觀則舊政府未去必久而後能達其目的然滿清朝家宛如將傾之厦其基址全壞設有人強支以木欲保其不圯吾恐非徒無益且速之傾也支那歷代興亡之歷史如箇人然由生而長而全盛而衰老而死亡韃靼政府在前世紀已爲衰老時代及今則其去死亡不遠矣如有發慈愛之念表支那獨立之同情而猶思扶植韃靼之祚吾知其亦必無成也

現時方生之問題既擾世界之平和必使更造文明之新政府以代其舊政府則不止有益於支那而他國之助之者亦蒙其利夫使受高等教育之士徧布國中自足建設新政府而有餘且能使新政府小心翼翼改良韃靼專制之政體變爲支那共和之政體則當此普通民人渴望維新拯之於水火因利而善導之燎火於政治之原可由此而遂逐滿政府蓋能者之建設偉大有非尋常所可推測如千九百年拳匪之亂二萬聯軍而陷取北京吾人苟倍蓰此數

不患不克。奚況愛國黨之響應有千百倍於此者。抑更由屢次經驗而知滿洲  
精兵在於戰地。均非吾人之敵。即如廣西起事。亦其證也。彼距海岸甚遠。軍用  
品之轉輸不易。舍奪敵人之兵。食外無他策。而能支持三載。屢敗各省之兵。然  
則孰謂唱議建設者之必不能撲滿而去之也。支那人之目的已達。不止建新  
紀元之國家。而更可分其文明於全世界之人類。普通之平和固可隨之而蘇  
復。而社會主義經濟主義之理想的世界亦將現於實際。

故吾人舍救護支那之外。無責任此問題爲世界利益衝突所掩。而必犯難  
以求成。避無益之犧牲。挽回外力之錯認。與其淆混吾輩之希望。美人表此同  
情。視希望世界一般。文明人爲尤切。蓋以美爲日本文明之先導。爲基督教之  
國民。爲他日我新政府之師範。殆猶有拉花熱提率義勇隊助美獨立之法蘭西人其人者乎。吾  
謹爲支那民族禱也。

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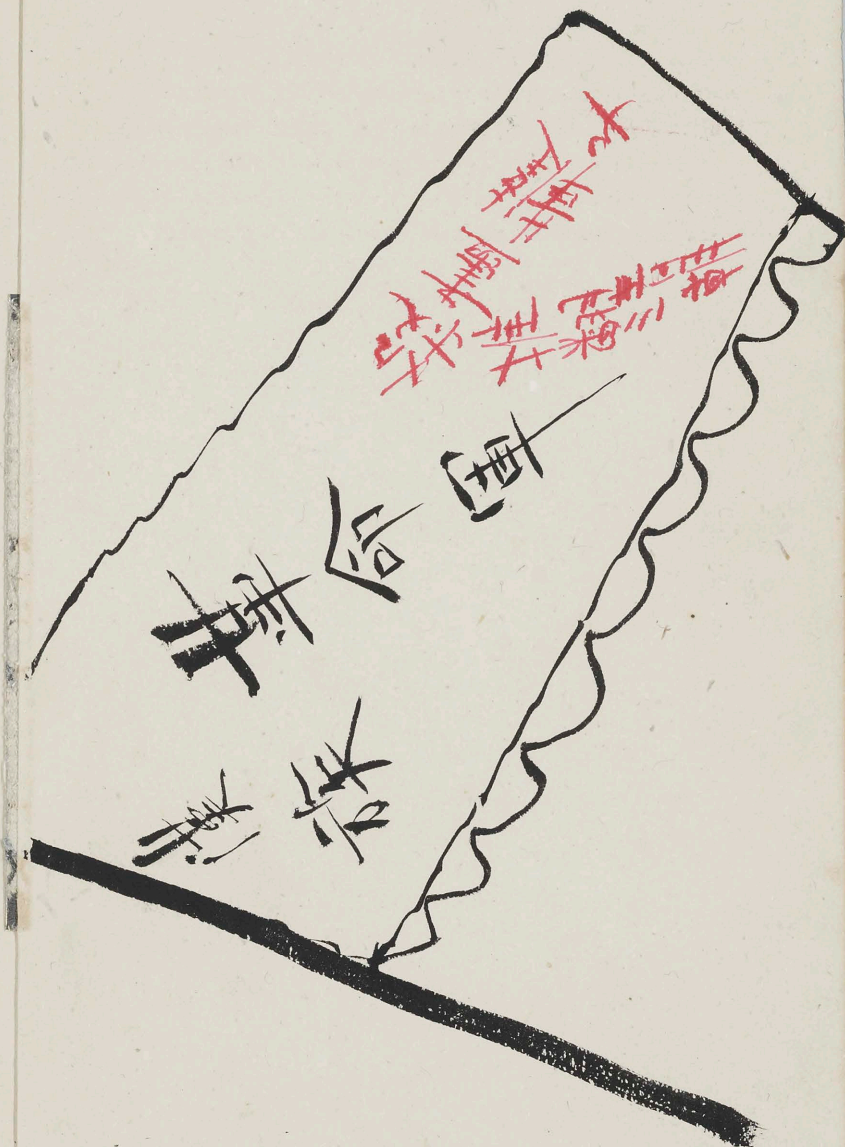
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particular for your sympathy and support, either moral or material, because you are the pioneers of western civilization in Japan ; because you are a Christian nation ; because we intend to model our new government after yours ; and above all because you are the champion of liberty and democracy. We hope we may find many Lafayettes among you.

SUN YAT SEN.

into Peking and capture that city. There is no doubt we could do the same with double or triple that number of men; furthermore, we could easily raise a hundred or a thousand times more men from our patriots. And it is evident from recent experiences that the Tartar soldiers are not our match in every field. The present uprising of patriots in the province of Kwang Si is a striking proof. They are far away from the coast and cannot get supplies of arms and ammunition from any source. The only means of getting such materials depends exclusively upon capturing those of the enemy. Even thus they have continued the fight for the last three years and repeatedly defeated expedition after expedition of imperial troops sent against them from various parts of the Empire. By possessing such a wonderful fighting capacity, who could say that they could not vanquish the Tartar power from China if sufficient supplies could be forthcoming? When our great object of revolutionizing China shall have been accomplished not only a new era would dawn on our beautiful country, but a brighter prospect also would be shared by the whole human race. Universal peace will surely follow the step of the regeneration of China, and a grand field hitherto never dreamed of will be opened to the social and economic activities of the civilized world.

To work out the salvation of China is exclusively a duty of our own, but as the problem has recently involved a world-wide interest, we, in order to make sure of our success, to facilitate our movement, to avoid unnecessary sacrifice and to prevent misunderstanding and intervention of foreign powers, must appeal to the people of the civilized world in general and the people of the United States in



collaterally outside with a few beams? We fear this very act of supporting it might hasten its tumbling. The dynastic life in China, as shown from history, is much the same as an individual: it has its birth, growth, maturity, declining and dying. The present Tartar rule has begun to decline since the beginning of the last century and is dying fast now. Therefore we say that even this benevolent and chivalric act of maintaining the integrity and independence of China, if such is meant, as we understand, to support the present tottering Tartar house, is doomed to failure,

Now it is evident, in order to solve this burning question, and to remove the source of disturbance to the peace of the world, that a new, enlightened and progressive government must be substituted in place of the old one. In such a case China would not only be able to support herself, but would also relieve the other countries of the trouble of maintaining her independence and integrity. There are many highly educated and able men among the people who would be competent to take up the task of forming a new government, and carefully thought-out plans have long been drawn up for the transformation of this out-of-date Tartar Monarchy into a "Republic of China." The general masses of the people are also ready to accept the new order of things and are longing for a change for better, to uplift them from their present deplorable condition of life. China is now on the eve of a great national movement, for just a spark of light would set the whole political forest on fire to drive out the Tartar from our land. Our task is indeed great, but it will not be an impossible one. It needed fewer than twenty thousand troops of the allied army in the Boxer war in 1900 to break down the Tartar resistance, to march

were properly drilled by some foreign country and made use of as an instrument for the gratification of its own ambition. If left to themselves they would prove to be the most peaceful people in the world. Again, from an economic standpoint, the awakening of China and the establishment of an enlightened government is beneficial not only to the Chinese but also to the world at large. The whole country would be open to foreign trade ; railroads would be built ; natural resources would be developed ; the people would be richer and their standard of living would be higher ; the demand for foreign goods would be greater, and international commerce would be increased a hundred fold above its present rate. Is this a peril ? Nations are to each other as individuals. Is it economically better for a man to have a poor, ignorant neighbor than it is for him to have a wealthy, intelligent one ? Viewed from this light, theory falls at once to the ground and we may safely assert that the yellow peril may after all be changed into the yellow blessing.

There are two conflicting policies pursued by the foreign powers in regard to China. The one favors the partitioning and colonizing ; the other advocates the integrity and independence of China. To those maintaining the former policy it is needless to remind them that it is fomented with danger and disaster, as the case of colonizing Manchuria by Russia exhibits ; while to those maintaining the latter policy we venture to predict that it is impossible for them to realize their object so long as the present government exists. The Manchu Dynasty may be likened to a collapsing house ; the whole structure is thoroughly rotten to its very foundation. Is it possible for any one to prevent the house from falling just by supporting the walls

Those Chinese who favor revolutionary ideas may be roughly divided into three classes. The first class, the most numerous of the three, comprises those persons who cannot even obtain a bare livelihood because of the extortions and exactions of the officials. To the second belong all those who are provoked by racial prejudice against the Manchus, while to the third class belong those who are inspired by noble thoughts and high ideas. These three factors, co-operating together in different directions, with increasing force and velocity, will ultimately produce the desired result. It is evident, therefore, that the downfall of the Manchu government is but a question of time.

The theory has sometimes been advanced with some show of plausibility that China, with her immense population and her vast resources, would be a menace to the whole world, if she would wake up and adopt western methods and ideas; that if the foreign countries should do anything towards the uplifting and enlightening of the Chinese people, they would thereby create a sort of *Frankenstein*; and that the wisest policy for other countries to pursue is, to keep the Chinese down as much as possible. This is, in short, the substance of what is known as the "Yellow Peril." The theory sounds very well, but it will be found upon examination to be untenable from whatever standpoint you may view it. Apart from the moral side of the question as to whether it is right for one country to hope for the downfall of another, is the political side to it. The Chinese are by nature an industrious, peaceful, law-abiding people. They are by no means an aggressive race. If ever they go to war at all, it is only for self-defence. The Chinese would be a menace to the peace of the world only if they

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- (6) They suppress the liberty of speech.
- (7) They impose heavy and irregular taxes on us without our consent.
- (8) They practice the most barbarous tortures in the trial of an alleged offender for the purpose of compelling him to give evidence to incriminate himself.
- (9) They deprive us of our rights without due process of law.
- (10) They fail in their duty to protect the lives and property of all persons residing within their jurisdiction.

Notwithstanding all these grievances, we have tried every possible means to become reconciled with them, but to **no** purpose. In view of this fact, we, the Chinese people, in order to redress our wrongs, and to establish peace in the Far East and in the world generally, have therefore determined to adopt adequate measures for the attainment of those objects, "peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must."

The whole nation is ripe for revolution. Look at the Weichow uprising of 1900, the attempted *coup de main* at Canton in 1902, and the Kwang Si movement which is now still going on with ever-increasing force and encouragement. The newspapers and the recent publications in China are also full of democratic ideas. Furthermore, there is the Chee Kung Tong (Chinese Patriotic Society), commonly known in this country as the Chinese Freemason, which has for its object "the overthrow of the Ching (Manchu) and the restoration of the Ming (Chinese) Dynasty." This political organization has lasted for over **two** hundred years and it has now a membership of tens of millions of people, spreading all over Southern China. About 80 per cent. of the Chinese in this country belong to this league.

lose the special rights and privileges which they are enjoying. The still darker side of the government can be seen when the ignorance and corruption of the official class is brought to light. These fossilized, rotten, good-for-nothing officials know only how to flatter and bribe the Manchus, whereby their position may be strengthened to carry on the trade of squeezing. A very striking evidence can be seen from the proclamation issued recently by the Chinese Minister at Washington prohibiting the Chinese in this country from having anything to do with the Patriotic Society under the severe penalty that their families and distant relatives will be arrested and beheaded in China. Such a barbarous act as coming from such an educated man as Sir Liang Ching, the Chinese Minister, cannot be accounted for except upon the probable assumption that he wishes to flatter the government so that his position as a minister may be secured. Where is the hope for reform by the government and its officials ?

During the two hundred and sixty years of Tartar rule we have suffered innumerable wrongs, chief of which are the following :

- (1) The Tartars run the government for their own benefit and not for the benefit of the governed.
- (2) They check our intellectual and material development.
- (3) They treat us as a subjected race and deny us equal rights and privileges.
- (4) They violate our inalienable rights of life, liberty and property.
- (5) They practice or connive at official corruption and bribery

his intimate friend, Mathew Ricci, a Jesuit missionary in Peking, was held in great esteem by the people.

With the establishment of the Manchu Dynasty came a gradual change of policy. The whole country was closed to foreign trade; missionaries were driven out; native Christians were massacred; and no Chinese was allowed to emigrate outside the Chinese border under pain of death. Why was this? Simply because the Manchus wanted to exclude foreigners from their jurisdiction and to instigate the people to hate them, lest the Chinese might be enlightened and realize their own nationality through coming in contact with them. The anti-foreign spirit fostered by the Manchus finally culminated in the Boxer trouble of 1900. It is now well known that the leaders of the movement were nobody else than the members of the reigning family. Hence it may be seen that the seclusive policy of China is the outcome of selfishness on the part of the Manchus and does not represent the will of the majority of the Chinese people. Foreigners traveling in China have often noticed the fact that those people who are farther away from official influence are always more friendly to them than those nearer.

Since the Boxer war many have been led to believe that the Tartar government is beginning to see the sign of time and to reform itself for the betterment of the country, just from the occasional imperial edicts for reform, not knowing that they are mere dead letters made for the express purpose of pacifying popular agitations. It is absolutely impossible for the Manchus to reform the country, because reformation means detriment to them. By reformation they would be absorbed by the Chinese people and would

not more than five millions, while the Chinese have a population of not less than four hundred millions. It is therefore their constant fear that the Chinese might rise up some day and regain their country. To safeguard against this, many precautions have been and are still being adopted. Such has been the policy of the Manchus towards the Chinese.

There is a general misapprehension among western peoples that the Chinese are by nature a seclusive people, unwilling to have any intercourse with outsiders, and that it was only at the point of the bayonet that a few ports along the coast were opened to foreign trade. This misapprehension is due more to the ignorance of Chinese history than to anything else. History furnishes us abundant proof that from the very earliest times up to the establishment of the present dynasty the Chinese entertained close relations with the neighboring countries and did not appear to have the least ill-disposition towards foreign traders and missionaries. The Nestorian Tablet at Si-an Fu gives us an excellent record of the evangelistic works of foreign missionaries among the people there as early as the seventh century after Christ. Again, the Buddhist religion was introduced into China by the Emperor in the Han Dynasty, and the people welcomed the new religion with great enthusiasm. It has since continued to flourish until now it is one of the three leading religions in China. Not only missionaries but traders also were allowed to travel freely throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. Even as late as the Ming Dynasty there was no sign of anti-foreign spirit among the Chinese. The then Prime Minister, Hsu Kwang Che, himself embraced the Catholic faith, and

fact—a historical fact. In order to convince you of this, let us give you a short account of the establishment of the Manchu dynasty.

Before they came in contact with the Chinese, the Manchus were a savage, nomadic tribe roaming in the wilds of the Amoor region. They often raided and plundered the peaceful Chinese inhabitants along the frontier. Towards the close of the Ming Dynasty there was a great civil war in China, and taking advantage of this golden opportunity they suddenly came down and captured Peking in much the same way as the barbarians overran the Roman Empire. This was in the year 1644. The Chinese were unwilling to submit to this foreign yoke and offered to the invaders the most stubborn resistance. In order to force them to yield, the barbarous Manchus ruthlessly massacred millions of people, combatants and non-combatants, young and old, women and children; set fire to their dwellings; ransacked their houses and forced them to adopt their costume. It has been estimated that for disobeying the order of keeping the queue tens of thousands of persons were slaughtered. It was not until after much bloodshed and barbarity that the Chinese finally submitted to the Manchu rule.

The next measure the Manchus adopted was to keep the conquered people in ignorance as much as possible by burning and destroying all the Chinese books and literature concerning their dealings with and their invasion of China. They also prohibited the people to form associations or to hold meetings for the discussion of public affairs. Their object was to stamp out the patriotic spirit of the Chinese, so that in course of time they might forget that they were subject to a foreign rule. The Manchus number at present



The problem is as important as it is difficult of solution, owing to the many conflicting interests involved therein. The ultimate outcome of the present war between Russia and Japan has been considered by many as the probable solution of the question. But, from a Chinese standpoint, the war raises more difficulties than it solves; if it decides anything at all, it would decide, at the most, the question of supremacy between those two countries only. What about the interests of Great Britain? of France? of Germany? of the United States? As to these questions, the war is far from being a solution.

In order to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the whole question, we must find out the root of all these difficulties. The most superficial knowledge of Asiatic affairs will convince any one that this lies in the weakness and corruptness of the Manchu government which threatens, by the very fact of its weakness, to disturb the existing political equilibrium of the world. Paradoxical as it is, it is not without foundation. As a proof of this, we would only mention the present Russo-Japanese war. Had it not been for the utter inability of the Manchu government, over Manchuria, the war might have been avoided. And it is but the beginning of a long series of conflicts which are likely to arise between the different powers interested in the Chinese question.

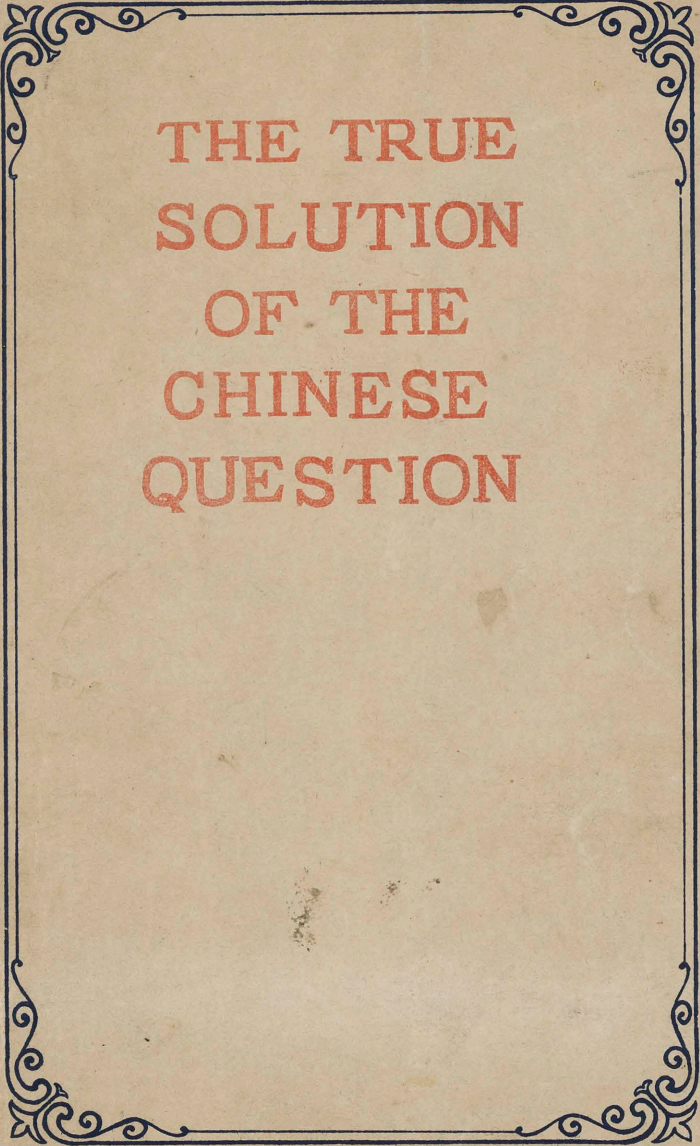
We say the *Manchu* government, and not the *Chinese* government, with intention. The Chinese have at present no government of their own, and the term "Chinese Government," if applied to the present government of China, is a misnomer. This seems to be startling to one who is not well acquainted with Chinese affairs, but it is a

## THE TRUE SOLUTION OF THE CHINESE QUESTION.

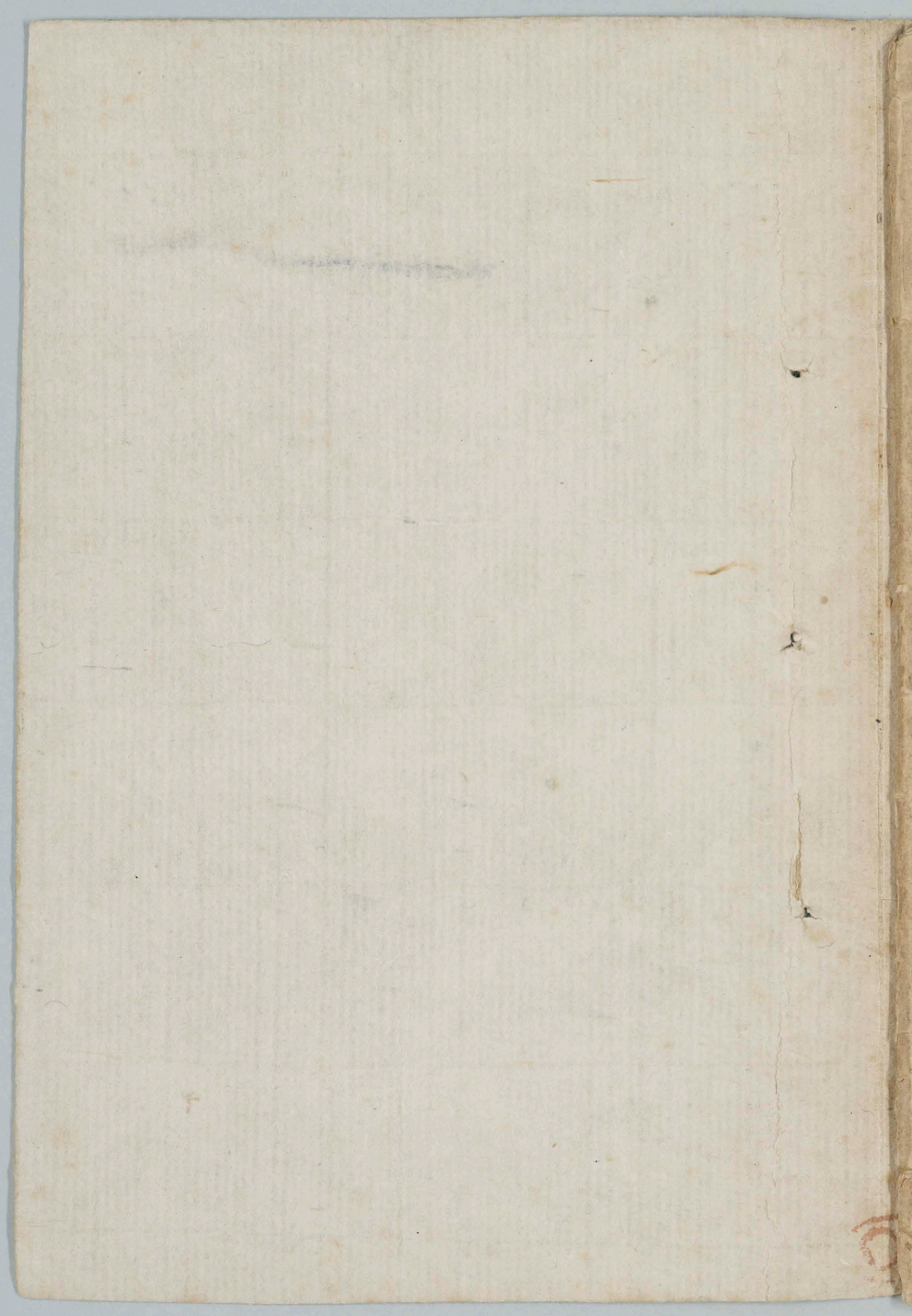
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The attention of the whole world is at present directed towards the Far East, not only because of the war which is now going on between Russia and Japan, but also because of the fact that China will ultimately be the main field of struggle between those countries striving for the mastery in Asia. European possessions in Africa which had hitherto been the bone of contention between the European powers having now been pretty well defined, a new field for territorial aggrandizement and colonial expansion must therefore be sought. China, long known as the "Sick Man of the Far East," affords naturally such a field for the satisfaction of European ambitions. America, notwithstanding her traditional seclusive policy in international politics, is, however, by no means disinterested in it, although in a way somewhat different from that of the other countries. In the first place, the passing of the Philippine Islands under American control makes the United States one of the nearest neighbors of China, and it is therefore impossible for her to shut her eyes to the state of things in that country. In the second place, China is a great market for American goods, and if America intends to extend her commercial and industrial activity to other parts of the world, China is the first country that she must look to. Hence the so-called "Far Eastern question" is of peculiar importance to this country.



A decorative rectangular border with ornate, symmetrical scrollwork at each corner, drawn in black ink on the aged, yellowish paper of the book cover.

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