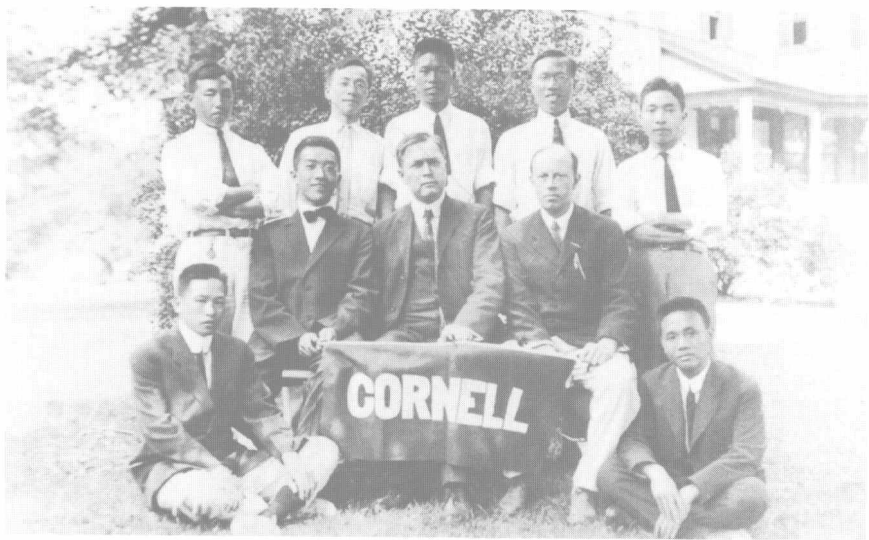


◎ 任北京大学教授时的胡适（1921 年秋）



◎ 胡适（中排左一）在康奈尔大学（1910年秋）

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## A Republic for China<sup>\*</sup>

The New Year bells, as Tennyson sang, did “Ring out the old, ring in the new”. Amidst their merry chimes there was brought forth, in the ancient land of China, a republic. Liberty rejoices in it. China’s sons are rejoicing in it. Yet the world hesitates to join in our voices of rapture and gratification. There are still sneers and laughter at the idea of a republic for China. It is in the defense of this “chosen music” of Liberty for China that I venture to submit to our American friends a justification of that new birth in China.

The world seems to have the misconception that democracy is entirely a new thing to the Chinese. I call it a misconception because, though China has been under monarchical government for thousands of years, still, behind the monarchs and the aristocrats there has been dominating in China, a quiet, peaceful, oriental form of democracy. The Book of Histo-

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<sup>\*</sup> The Cornell Era, 1912-Jan. PP. 240—242. *Cornell Papers*.

ry, the oldest of China's Classics, has the Golden Rule for the rulers:

“The people should be cherished,  
And should not be downtrodden.  
The people are the root of a nation:  
If the root be firm the nation is safe.”

Mencius, the Montesquieu of the Orient, said: “The people are to be regarded most; the sovereign, the least. He who gains the favor of a feudal prince may become an official; he who gains the favor of an emperor may become a feudal prince; but he who wins the hearts of the people is the son of heaven, that is, the emperor.”

That the people are to be regarded most has been the essence of the laws of China. Most founders of the dynasties were men who won, not conquered, the people. “Neglect of the people” has always been a pretext in every declaration of the numerous revolutions which terminated old dynasties and established new ones.

The power of the Chinese rulers has always been limited, not so much by constitutionalism as by the ethical teachings of our sages. The sovereigns had to observe that a ruler, as defined by the sages, was “one who shepherds the people.” Very few rulers in Chinese history have dared to indulge in such extravagances and brutal cruelty as are described in

English and French history. There were ministers and censors to censure, and revolts to dread. Such was the Chinese despotism; such was the democracy or "people's strength" in China.

So much for the past. Now let us look into the China of today. There are on the Manchu throne the baby Emperor, the Regent, and the Empress Dowager. There are numerous Manchu princes who are born nobles and born officials. But among the Chinese there is no class of nobility. There are no princes, no lords, no dukes. "The officials," to quote from an article written by Dr. Wu Ting-Fang, formerly Minister to the United States, and now Foreign Minister of the new Republic, "spring from the people, and to the people they return." With the Manchu throne there will go all the Manchu princes! And there is no recognized royal family to set up in place of the departing royal house. Thus, as Dr. Wu further remarks, "with the Manchu throne removed there is left a made-to-order republic."

A leading weekly in this country argues that "political history almost universally shows that a monarchy, limited by constitutionalism, must in the development of nations, precede a republic of purely democratic form." I am no student of political history, but so far as I can see, if the purely democratic form of government had never come into existence, or if it had once appeared and been obscured by ages of monarchy and aristocracy, then a limited monarchy might precede a



republic. But when men have beheld the example of this great country and of other nations where liberty and equality prevail, and have realized the merits thereof, they will never be satisfied with a monarchy. When the eyes of the people of Eden had once been opened, even the Almighty could not but let them go. This is precisely the situation in China. That the Manchu dynasty must disappear goes without saying. And, as I have said, there is no recognized royal family to set up in place of the departing house. Shall we, after so much struggle and so much bloodshed, be so ridiculous as to offer a crown to some individual, and set him up as a national ornament, merely for the sake of fulfilling a theory of political history?

And even if China needs a monarchy, who will be the emperor? The world looks upon Yuan Shih-Kai, the Imperial Premier, as the fittest man for the throne. But alas! the world has been greatly deceived by its short-sighted newspaper correspondents in China! To the minds of the Chinese Yuan Shih-Kai is a mean man, a traitor! It was he who betrayed the late emperor and brought to a disastrous end the Reformation of 1898, which would have succeeded but for the treason of Yuan, and which, if it had succeeded, would have spared the world the Boxers' War and saved the Chinese from the shame and the weighty burden of indemnity which resulted from that war. During the short period of his premiership thousands of lives and millions of property were lost which would have been spared but for the ambitious efforts of

Yuan. He is not in the hearts of the people; he has sinned against his country.

Others may suggest that we offer to some of our own revolutionary leaders, a crown instead of a presidential seal. Dr. Sun Yat Sen, Dr. Wu Ting-Fang, or General Huang Hin would be the man. But while these are men who would willingly die for the welfare of their country, they are not fighting for personal ambition. They do not want to be Cacsars or Diazes; they want and the people expect them to be only Washingtons or Franklins.

And even if China has the fit man for the crown, and a monarchy is set up; then, when the Chinamen have come to such a political standard as the Americans of the eighteenth century, what shall we do with the monarchy? The English people have spent a number of years trying in vain to diminish the power of the House of Lords,—not to speak of the Royal House. Why should we pave the way for bloodshed in the future, when it is now in our power to prevent it?

We have thus far seen the impossibility of the establishment of a monarchical government in China today. For several years China has had her provincial assemblies and her national senate. The Chinese have learned to elect representatives. They now decide to have a republic. Their decision is a wise one, for the world is tending toward democracy. You have all seen the “Young Turks” cast their Sultan into prison; you have all seen Portugal exile her king; and you

have all seen Mexico elect her first President of the new Republic. China simply responds to the world's mighty, irresistible call. She has rung the first bell of Liberty in that great continent of Asia. May that sweet sound be prolonged and echoed throughout the whole earth, and

“Long may *our* land be bright  
With freedom's holy light!”

## The Ideal Missionary<sup>\*</sup>

“But when he saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion for them, because they were distressed and scattered as sheep having no shepherd. Then saith he unto his disciples, the harvest indeed is plenteous, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of harvest, that he send forth laborers into his harvest.”—(Matt. IX : 36—38. )

This has been the call! Many a man and many a woman have responded to this call and have gone into the heathen world and are reaping the rich harvest there. Many others are

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\* An address given at the First Baptist Church, Ithaca, N. Y., February 2, 1913. Ithaca, New York: Julius M. Clapp, 1913. *Cornell Papers*.

preparing themselves for their career as His harvesters. To-day almost all the churches in this country are educating their young people in their mission-study classes with the hope that someday they may also be sent out as laborers into His harvest.

So there has been a strong tendency in this country to get as many missionaries as possible. But as the peoples of the world are daily drawing nearer and nearer to each other, and as the ferocity and narrow-mindedness of these peoples are being softened by coming into contact with the nations of the world, the dangers which a missionary used to encounter are becoming less and less, and, I am sure, the number of missionaries will greatly increase in the near future. The obstacles are being removed. Take the case of my own country, China. Only a few years ago it was considered as a heroic adventure to become a missionary to China. Those who came brought with them their lives ready to cast down at any moment. But time has changed. To-day the doors of China are thrown widely open to all who care to come with their good tidings. Recently we read that when the Sixth Annual Convention of the Y. M. C. A. was held at Peking, the four hundred delegates to that Convention were received by President Yuan Shih-Kai at a formal reception and were addressed by him. So you see that the Government is welcoming and praising the missionaries. To-day it is just as easy or as hard to earn a living in China as in this country. It seems to me there

is no fear that the laborers will be "few". On the contrary, I believe that the number of missionaries will increase as time goes on.

But, friends, it is not the *number* that counts; it is the type of men and the qualifications they possess, that are important. A few weeks ago there was published in the *Cornell Daily Sun* a call issued by the Executive Committee of the Student Volunteer Movement, enlisting college men for missionary service in foreign countries. The call says in part: "The men to be placed in these positions must be unmarried, must have attended colleges, and must be prepared to participate in the various activities, consisting of taking part in the different societies and athletics." Are these the necessary qualifications of a would-be missionary? It seems to me that a missionary should have certain specific qualifications far more important than such as whether he is married or not, whether he has attended college or not, or whether he is active in society and athletics or not. Speaking from my own observations, I should like to expect three qualities in a missionary, namely:

First, he must be a good Christian;

Secondly, he must be a good student; and

Thirdly, he must not be dogmatical.

That a missionary should be a good Christian is self-evident. So I shall spend my allotted time in explaining the last two qualifications.

When I say a missionary should be a good student, I do not mean that he must necessarily be a Phi Beta Kappa man or a Sigma Xi man. What I mean is that he must be a man eager to *learn* things when they are placed in the field. Mencius, the Chinese philosopher, said: "The great danger of a man is his desire to teach others." The Christian churches have sent out many teachers, but unfortunately too few students. *The missionary may have a faith to teach*, but, you must admit, *he has many, many things to learn*. He has to learn the language, literature, history, customs and institutions, and religions of the people. He must learn to understand the native institutions, and know how they have come into existence. He must learn the prepossessions of the minds of the people. He must understand how far he can convert the people, and how far he has to modify his own beliefs. Above all, he must learn how to approach the people,—how to approach the educated and the uneducated.

All these things he must learn. He must learn them in order that he may teach or preach. Unfortunately there are people who come to a foreign country with the inveterate view of uplifting, nay, of *civilizing* a barbarous people! They therefore come to us with that arrogant and patronizing air of a superior people. They refuse to learn. They think that theirs is the only religion, the only salvation, and the only civilization. That may be true. But how are they going to impart it to the heathens? The result of this unwillingness to learn

has been that the missionaries can hardly approach the better class, the educated class of the people. They can only get hold of those who would accept Christianity *as readily as* they had accepted Buddhism, Taoism, or any other religion.

Thirdly, I say that the missionary should not be dogmatical. President Eliot recently said in an address: "You cannot go to the Chinese or Japanese with your doctrines which are mere traditions. Take the doctrine of Justification by Faith, the Atonement, or the Doctrine of Trinity. These are not acceptable to the Japanese or Chinese minds." President Eliot has perhaps gone too far to say that all these doctrines are not acceptable to the Oriental minds. But it is perfectly safe to say that the intellectual Chinese do not look upon many of your traditional formalities and doctrines as matters of importance. Take the divergent differences of the various denominations. It is almost impossible for us to conceive that the followers of a common faith should display so many variations and diversities both in doctrine and in practice. While these things may have their historical significance to you, what can they mean to us? Moreover, even among yourselves, these doctrines have different and even contradictory interpretations and observances. You have many theories of atonement, you have many views of trinity, and you have many forms of baptism. This inconsistency among yourselves shows that these things are after all not the essentials. That the Chinese do not like them is shown in the recent movement in China



to establish a united Christian Church of a nondenominational character. For after all what we wish to know and what you wish to propagate do not lie in such petty differences, but rather in the fundamental truths. Concentrate your mind and energy in what is essential, and you may succeed. Bring with you your mere traditional variations, and the people puzzle at the diversities and know not what to follow.

Moreover, we have our traditions and prepossessions too, which may be quite different from yours. You believe, for instance, in the doctrine of the original sin. But the Chinese have been taught for more than twenty centuries that men are born good, and that human nature is intuitively good. This theory is apparently contradictory to the Christian doctrine of total depravity. I do not venture to suggest which is more correct, but there is no reason why a missionary should insist that his converts should distrust the goodness of his nature and believe with him that men are born with the sin of the first man. We must constantly bear in mind that such theological or philosophical questions contain in themselves sufficient ground for differences even among the theologians and philosophers themselves. If a dogma can be set up by a St. Augustine or a Calvin, why cannot a missionary adopt or utilize some of the best doctrines of the greatest souls of the other nations?

I have thus far stated what I consider to be the most fundamental qualifications of an ideal missionary. I can find