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IMPARTIAL NOT NEUTRAL

SHANGHAI, JANUARY 10, 1928.

CHINA IN 1927

The retrospect of events in China during 1927 is perhaps more difficult to write than that for any other year because so much occurred so rapidly that one hardly knows what to compress in the short space available in a newspaper. The year was undoubtedly crucial in the history of China and requires detailed consideration of men and purposes, but in these columns only the barest outline can be given. The end of 1926 witnessed the spectacle of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist armies arriving at Hankow and taking possession of the central Yangtze regions. Labour troubles and a vast agitation among the peasants, particularly in Hunan, accompanied their arrival. On January 3, the anti-British demonstrations became vividly marked and an attempt was made to hold a mass meeting within the British Concession, the crowd being dispersed by British marines. The mob became so truculent and so hostile that the few marines were unable to hold the entrances to the Concession unless they took action which would only have precipitated a crisis of enormous danger to the foreign residents. The result was that the crowds, led by Communist agitators, surged into the Concession, accompanied by Chinese troops and police who seized and occupied the area. In the course of this invasion, the mob desecrated the Cenotaph opposite the British Consulate. Numerous acts of vandalism were reported. The British authorities felt that it was

impossible to hold the masses of Chinese, who were in an ugly mood, without firing: therefore the Concession was turned over to the Chinese."

On January 5, all women and children were evacuated from the British Concession in Hankow. Pickets and students, singing and yelling, passed through the area, carrying signs, rejoicing in their victory. As it was anticipated that the men might also be evacuated, Mr. Eugene Chen, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government, interceded with the American merchants, requesting them to remain. At the same time, British and American women and children were evacuated from the whole central and upper Yangtze region, from Kiukiang to Chengtu, for there were disturbances, similar to, although not as violent as

those in Hankow. All men in Hankow were concentrated at a safe place near the Bund. Humiliating orders were issued to H. M. Consul-General by labourers and peasants unions. The British Government on January 6 ordered two officers of the British Legations, Messrs. O'Malley and Teichman, to proceed to Hankow to deal with the problem of the possession of the British Concession by the Nationalist Government. On January 7, Mr. Eugene Chen began a campaign of circularizing the Powers on the Hankow situation; he blamed the British for the loss of their Concession which he said would otherwise have become a derelict area and he guaranteed to protect life and property in the region under the control of his government. But, on the same day, American women and children were ordered to be evacuated from Hankow. A Chinese provisional council, consisting of Kuomintang ministers, was appointed to administer the Concession. On January 8, the British Conces-

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sion in Kiukiang was evacuated because of the anti-foreign demonstrations which were taking place there. Looting was general throughout Kiukiang. The British flag was hauled down and all British subjects took refuge on men-of-war lying in the river. Business in Hankow and Kiukiang ceased.

The attitude and policy of the British Government with regard to the Hankow Concession and with regard to general events in China during the past year will be discussed as a separate subject in this summary.

On January 10, all British men in Hankow were interned in the A.P.C. building with a twelve weeks' supply of food and with ample arms to defend themselves from attack. Three days later it was reported that six hundred foreigners had been evacuated from Szechuan, a herculean task because of the paucity of means of communications throughout that province.

On January 12, Mr. O'Malley met Mr. Eugene Chen for the first session and conferences were commenced which for some days brought forth no reports, but on January 23, Mr. Chen issued a pronouncement explaining the attitude of his Government. He said:

"What is the dominant aim?

It is the recovery of China's full independence, which was lost as a result of defeat at the hands of the British. And until this act of historical justice is done, there can be no real peace between Chinese Nationalism and British Imperialism."

On January 20, Messrs Ramsay MacDonald and Lloyd George visited the Foreign Office and were informed with regard to the situation in China. The whole British nation was aroused over the violent physical attack on British subjects and British property in China. Questions were asked in Par-

liament and H. M's Government was faced with the necessity for an immediate decision as to policy. As early as January 5, the Admiralty had begun to concentrate additional men-of-war to be sent to Chinese waters. Other treaty Powers concentrated ships in the Yangtze to protect the interests of their citizens. Meanwhile all business at Hankow and in the upper Yantze reaches was at a stand-still. The economic life of the provinces was endangered, so much so that the Nationalist Government was concerned lest it should be impossible to pass the Chinese New Year season. Mr. Chen protested against the unwillingness of the foreign business men to open their offices, and finally, on January 21, the Hankow British Chamber of Commerce, to assist Mr. O'Malley in his negotiations with Mr. Chen, determined that British firms, banks and shipping were to resume normal business on January 24, which was done as far as possible, although the tactics of the labour unions impeded an effective resumption of trade.

A day previous, the first of the Shanghai Defence Force, the Punjabis, sailed from Hongkong to Shanghai. On January 24, the composition of the Shanghai Defence Force was announced, and with it the determination that events similar to those which occurred at Hankow should not happen in Shanghai. Major-General John Duncan, it was announced, would command this force. A day later, a Japanese flotilla was sent to Shanghai.

References can be made in this summary only to the principal events. Such minor occurrences as the looting of Hunan, Kiangsi and Szechuan and the attacks on the missionaries and foreigners in Foochow, can only be noted in passing.

It was while the Nationalist

Government was involved in this general anti-foreign complex in central China, that Shanghai realized its dangers. For, on January 23, Marshal Sun

Chuan-fang suffered his first defeat, and it became evident that he would not be able to hold his lines. Marshal Chang Chung-chang, Tupan of Shantung occupied northern Kiangsu on behalf of Marshal Sun. At the same time in Honan, Marshal Wu Pei-fu's subordinate generals announced their independence of him, and many of them allied themselves with the Nationalist group of armies under the command of General Seng-chi, who held the view of Hankow and was at this time competing with General Kai-shek for military leadership in the Kuomintang. On January 24, martial law was enforced in the Chinese areas adjoining Shanghai and all British missionaries were evacuated from Ningpo. The Americans were also in due course requested to leave what their officials regarded as danger zones.

The negotiations between Messrs. Chen and O'Malley had been moving along but little public information was available. Finally, at the end of January, they seemed to have reached a deadlock. On February 1, the negotiations were resumed, but when it appeared as though there might be some success Mr. Chen broke them off after the draft agreement had been prepared for signature because of the presence of the British troops in Shanghai. It was generally reported at the time that Mr. Chen was not able

to obtain the consent of the Communists and radical Kuomintang members of his Government. The Communists were at this time organizing a Soviet experiment in Hunan and expected to carry it over into Hupeh. The labourers and peasant unions were in complete control; the land tenure was re-arranged in accordance with Communistic precepts; a miners' union took control of the Pinghsiang collieries; all Chambers of Commerce were abolished; merchants were persecuted as traitors; there was a violent anti-Christian outburst.

On February 20, the Chen-O'Malley Agreement was finally signed, the British Concession in Hankow being handed over to the Chinese along lines similar to the returned German Concession there. A Sino-British Municipal Council with a Chinese chairman was to be in charge of the affairs of the Concession. The British Municipal Council was to have one final meeting, after which the Concession was to be handed over to the new Chinese officials. On March 2, Messrs. Chen and O'Malley signed the Kiukiang Agreement, returning that British Concession to the Chinese: all policing to be handed over to the Chinese and the municipality abolished; all municipal property was to be handed over to the Kiukiang Club, while Chinese were to pay \$10,000 as an indemnity for the looting of foreign property.

The
North-China Daily News

IMPARTIAL NOT NEUTRAL.

SHANGHAI, JANUARY 11, 1928.

CHINA IN 1927

(Continued from Yesterday)

The delicacy of Marshal Sun Chuan-fang's position forced him to apply for more active assistance from the Peking Government, and on February 17, it was announced that Shantung troops were being sent to Shanghai to assist in the defence of the city. More serious even than the Nationalist armies was the fact that Marshal Sun Chuan-fang's rear was becoming completely disorganized by labour terrorism (to which special reference will be made later) in the interests of the Kuomintang. In fact, on February 22, the General Union publicly announced that it would call a general strike to assist the Nationalist armies to take Shanghai. The coming of Marshal Chang Chung-chang into Kiangsu increased the dissension within Marshal Sun Chuan-fang's ranks and it now became certain that Generals Bei Bao-shan and Chen Tiao-yuan were not co-operating positively with the Northern armies. On February 17, Ningpo had to be evacuated by Marshal Sun; a new line was formed at Sungkiang. Hangchow was practically evacuated for General Lu Hsiang-ting, its Tupan, was the first of many refugees to arrive in Shanghai on the 18th. February 24 witnessed the first appearance in Shanghai of the Shantung troops, including a corps of "White" Russians. High hope was placed in these soldiers, for a general trike had been continuous in Shanghai for some days, as many as 100,000 workers refusing to continue their

employment until the Nationalist troops arrived. The Post Office was closed, but other essential industries were protected by the employment of "White" Russian substitutes. It was during these days that Shanghai saw the gruesome picture of old-fashioned executions under General Li Pao-chang, who hung up the culprits' heads in tell-tale baskets.

On February 22, the first real scare of the fighting came over Shanghai. A Chinese gunboat lying in the Whangpoo deliberately fired into Chinese territory and the French Concession, seriously imperilling the lives of the residents. There was a reply from the Arsenal. This attempt was to announce that Admiral Yang Shu-chuang had gone over to the Nationalist cause. He and his ships sailed out of Shanghai waters to the Yangtze to await the arrival of the Nationalists, whose victory now seemed to be taken for granted to the great demoralization of Marshal Sun's forces. One value of Admiral Yang's shooting was that all Shanghai's defence forces were rapidly mobilized, proving the capacity of the city to defend itself.

Major-General Duncan arrived in Shanghai on February 25, but even before his coming, the defence lines had been pushed out to the Shanghai-Hangchow Railway tracks. The personal appearance of Marshal Chang Chung-chang in Shanghai February 27 and the installation of Admiral-General Pi Shou-chen to the command of Shanghai gave the appearance of renewed Northern vigour, but an immediate attempt to force Shantung banknotes on Shanghai merchants led to considerable murmurings. By March 1, however, it had become clear beyond doubt that Nationalist strategy was planned with the object of avoiding all fighting in the vicinity of Shanghai. The immediate objective was Nanking. Both Marshals

Sun Chuan-fang and Chang Chung-chang, then, returned to Nanking. It had been agreed that Marshal Sun's forces would entirely evacuate this area, leaving it to the Shantung troops. Sun's men retired to northern Kiangsu; his ranks were too torn by personal jealousies for him to accomplish much more without a complete reorganization.

On March 14, in accordance with the Chen-O'Malley Agreement, it was announced that on the morrow, the British Concession in Hankow would be handed over to the new Sino-British Council. The Chinese members appointed were Huang Chang-kou, Mayor of Wuchang; Tsao I-tsang, President of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce; Chu Chu-ho, Chairman of the Hupeh General Labour Union; and Li Kuó-shan of the Hankow Kuomintang; the British members were reported to be Messrs. Charleton (A.P.C.) Dixon, former Chairman of the Council and Duprée (Ewo). A week before, the British flag had been rehoisted on the flagpole of the British Consulate at Kinkiang and for some days there had been a quieter atmosphere in the central Yangtze, although there was always the undertone of dangerous events to come.

The withdrawal of Marshal Sun Chuan-fang's forces from Sungkiang to Nantungchow, in spite of the superior appearance of the Shantung men, did not inspire confidence, because there was the impression that the gateways to Shanghai had been left open. On March 16, General Ho Yin-ching actually found himself in Hangchow and announced his intention of shortly coming to Shanghai. He issued a statement to the foreigners here in which he requested them to observe the strictest neutrality. He said that no attempt would be made by the Nationalists to seize the settlements here by armed force

or by mob agitation and that life and property would be protected by his troops. Actual fighting was already taking place in the Taihu Lake region and reports of the fall of Soochow and Changchow were being circulated daily. On March 21, Shanghai City and suburbs fell into the possession of the Nationalist Army. There had been no resistance anywhere by the Northern troops who seemed to have vanished into thin air. Not more than 500 Nationalist troops passed through Minghong and eventually occupied the Lunghua military centre. The fact is that Shanghai was captured by the labourers and armed civilians who had taken possession of the Chinese areas and against whom the Shantung troops under Admiral-General Pi were helpless.

There had been labour troubles in Shanghai since the beginning of the year. During January, strikes and riots had broken out in the cotton mills and the large department stores had been forced to close by strikers' demands which they had not been able to meet. The tramway strike which lasted for almost a fortnight was marked by terrorism of a type not usual in Shanghai strikes, loyal workers being murdered by a new element in the Shanghai labour situation, the Labourers' Protection Corps, which had been organized to intimidate by murder and threat of violence workers who declined to obey implicitly the orders of the General Labour Union. On March 2, witnesses before the Provisional Court admitted that a murder organization was operating in Shanghai for this purpose. The real terror commenced on March 10. Strikes broke out in the cotton mills. During the following days, labourers, accountant foremen, other loyal employees were being found shot as a warning to other "running dogs" of Imperialism. On March 16, the locomotive engineers of the

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Shanghai-Nanking and Shanghai-Hangchow Railways struck, thus impairing the capacity of the Northerners to move their troops.

On March 12, there were at least 125,000 labourers on strike and the numbers continued to swell until the incoming Nationalist officials were themselves imperilled by the increased power and recalcitrance of the General Labour Union, which now installed itself in the Hu-chow Guild in Chapei and issued orders of an official character. The situation was still further confused by the attempt of the Shantung troops to enter the International Settlement through the barricades, for Chapei was being held by armed civilians, Communists acting under orders of a secret committee which had been operating from a house in the French Concession even while Marshal Sun was in charge of the city, and which was taking its instructions from Hankow by wireless. The Shantung troops rushed into the alleyways leading to Range Road and in their excitement fired at random, wounding and killing several persons. After creating pandemonium in the crowded areas between Chapei and Hongkew, they were disarmed and taken into the Settle-

ment, after being held in the stone yard at Range and North Honan Roads. The streets of this district on the following morning presented an amazing scene of discarded arms, munitions, uniforms and other impedimenta. The Northerners had run away, discarding every mark of a soldier in their flight!

The "White" Russians, on the other hand, sought to make a last stand on their armoured car, "The Great Wall." They held their position just outside the North Station, firing into Chapei until much of that place was on fire during a windy spring night. The last stand of the "White Russians" was perhaps the only act of military heroism during this capture of Shanghai by armed civilians; they ceased fighting only when they had run out of ammunition. Their attempts to leave Shanghai were futile, for the railway above the city had been cut and Chêkiang was in the hands of enemies. Caught in a rat-trap, they fought until there was not a shot left to be fired. Another act of heroism was that of the Catholic Priest, Father Jacquinet, who surged into a howling Chinese crowd in Chapei, at risk of life and limb, forced his way to the Institution of the Holy Family, an orphanage, which was always in the line of fire, and rescued the sisters and children, who had spent a night in prayer, expecting at any moment to be slaughtered—or worse.

(To be Continued)

The
North-China Daily News

IMPARTIAL NOT NEUTRAL.

SHANGHAI, JANUARY 12, 1928.

CHINA IN 1927

(Continued from Yesterday.)

That the Foreign Settlement and the French Concession were not looted by the despairing Northern troops, and that the armed civilians and their enthusiastic masses did not occupy this area as Hankow had been occupied, was due entirely to the presence of the Shanghai Defense Force, and the mobilized defensive activities of the Settlement. At every ingress to the Settlements, the troops had to keep off crowds seeking to enter. Barricades, bound about by miles of barbed wire, a curfew keeping the streets empty at night, every entrance guarded by foreign troops the International Settlement and the French Concession presented a picture of orderly, military preparedness, while outside in Chinese territory, there was fire, looting, disorder and the occupation of all government buildings by the Communists. General Pei Chung-hsi, Nationalist commander of the troops in Shanghai, did not arrive until a day after Shanghai fell and with him came the five battalions of Nationalist troops. They had remained outside the city, until they were certain that all the Northerners had been evacuated. The Communists, first of all, seized the police stations and let the prisoners free in the gaols. They then entrenched themselves in the Commercial Press library, where they stored arms and munitions and from which they issued orders just as the labour leaders were doing from the

Huchow Guild. A commune was appointed for the government of Chapei and Nantao, consisting of Kuomintang and Communist leaders and local revolutionary heroes. This commune proceeded to appoint officials for most offices, but few of these attempted to assume their posts. For it was quite clear, immediately after General Pei Chung-hsi's arrival, that he was not pleased with the occupation of Chapei by the Communists and that he was anxious that the general strike should be called off, so that he might restore order. All industries, the Post Office, even shops and small hole-in-the-wall businesses were closed. Nationalist flags appeared everywhere. And from Nanking came the report that all foreign women and children were being evacuated as rapidly as they could be brought to the men-of-war lying in the Yangtze.

General Pei Chung-hsi's efforts to establish order on March 23, met with definite resistance on the part of the Communists in Chapei, who declined to issue instructions calling off the general strike, and the Kuomintang military men were perhaps surprised to find that the labourers were obeying the orders of the union and not of the properly constituted Nationalist officials.

It was while Shanghai was still in confusion and disorder that Chinese and foreigners were alike startled by the events in Nanking which have now gone down into history under the title of the Nanking Outrage. The Hunan troops under General Chen Chien, occupied that city on March 23-4. Acting under instructions of Lin Tze-hon, head of the Political Department of the 6th Army, the troops made a house-to-house canvass of the city to search for foreigners, and to these they announced their intention of murdering all the foreigners in the place. Every foreign dwell-

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ing, official, commercial and private, in Nanking, was looted and everything in them destroyed. The British, American and Japanese Consulates were visited and wrecked. The British Consul, Mr. Bertram Giles, was wounded, as was also the British intelligence officer, Captain Spear; Dr. Satchwell Smith, a British physician, and Dr. J.E. Williams, president of Nanking University, were murdered in cold blood. It was unknown

how many foreigners still remained inside the walls of Nanking city, but, on Socony Hill, a number of British and American residents, men, women and children, were able to concentrate. They had been unable to proceed direct to the men-of-war in the river, because the Hunanese were actually preparing to kill them and had now surrounded the hill. Communications between these imperilled refugees, among whom was the American Consul and his family, was maintained by the determination of two men of the U. S. N. Signal Corps, who kept up a continued semaphore for help. Finally, an ultimatum was sent to the Chinese officials, demanding the immediate protection of life and property of foreigners in Nanking; that the general in command should present himself aboard H.M.S. Emerald; that all foreigners be delivered safely to the river under escort by 10 o'clock that morning (the 24th). But the refugees on Socony Hill were in too great a peril to wait for Chinese assistance. They were being shot at; they had to undergo the nerve-wrecking experience of constant search and inquisition by Hunanese soldiers. They knew that their Chinese friends could do nothing for them. In other parts of Nanking, foreigners were being hidden away by Chinese Christians and other Chinese friends who were risking their lives to protect them, but other

Chinese, many of them befriended by the missionaries, were not taking so idealistic a view of the situation. Finally, in despair, the refugees on Socony Hill demanded immediate assistance. The British and American cruisers lying outside set up a barrage about Socony Hill under which the foreigners, scaling walls and crossing fields, found their way to the river and safety.

The Nanking Outrage created an atmosphere of uncertainty about Shanghai. There was only the hope that the Defence Force would prove adequate. It became known that on Sunday, March 26, there was to be a monster mass meeting at the West Gate, and that it was the intention of the Communists that an attempt should be made to enter the foreign areas after the conclusion of that meeting. All official agencies were organized speedily and effectively to evacuate all foreigners from the outlying districts. Concentration points were notified and special signals were made known by circulars to foreigners, one of which was for them to remain indoors, the other to rush with bare necessities to the concentration point. The struggle between the Kuomintang, General Pei Chung-hsi, and the Communists did not help to create an atmosphere of security.

On March 25, General Chiang Kai-shek, practically a refugee from Communist antagonism, practically driven away from the Central Yangtze by Comrade Borodin, arrived in Shanghai, suddenly, unexpectedly. It now became known that the Nanking Outrage had been ordered by the Communists to prevent General Chiang Kai-shek from landing there and declaring the city designated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the capital of the Nationalist Government. General Chiang Kai-shek entered Shanghai protected by the Chinese Navy but uncertain as to the future

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that awaited him.

It is necessary at this moment to give something of the story of the Kuomintang as distinct from the Nationalist Government. During the first week in January, when the Hankow British Concession was seized by the mob, the party had come under the sole influence of the Left Wing, whose leadership was concentrated in Teng Janda and George Hsu Chien. Both these men became so closely allied to the Communist Party of China that it was impossible definitely to distinguish between them. The forces concentrated in Hankow, that is, the Russians under Comrade Borodin, the Communist Party of China, and Left Wing of the Kuomintang were bitterly opposed to General Chiang Kai-shek and his distinctly personal following, who made their headquarters in Nanchang. During the entire month of January, the struggle for power between these two groups continued, gaining momentum and bitterness as it went along, Comrade Borodin and George Hsu Chien accusing General Chiang Kai-shek of Neo-Napoleonism, while he more and more, veered to the Right. The Hankow element sought to elevate General Tang Seng-chi, and anticipated the eventual reappearance of Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang to lessen the military pre-eminence in the Kuomintang of General Chiang Kai-shek. The crucial question was the holding of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

General Chiang Kai-shek sought to force the Party to meet in Nanchang where there was no Communistically-con-

trolled proletariat to coerce the members, while Borodin and the C. P. insisted upon Hankow as the only realistic scene for such a meeting. Bitter invectives passed between Chiang Kai-shek and George Hsu Chien and it was during this period that General Chiang issued a number of public pronouncements and wrote a series of letters, some of them addressed to the students of the Whampoa Academy denouncing the Communists and the Left Wing of the Kuomintang. The breach between Chiang Kai-shek and Borodin seemed to be definitely unbridgeable. Finally, Hankow achieved a quorum, during the week beginning March 7, and the C.E. met, in preliminary session, without the presence of General Chiang Kai-shek. General Chiang Kai-shek's supporters now all left Hankow (March 10). The Central Executive Committee determined to re-establish the Military Council; to abolish all emergency measures; to limit the authority of General Chiang Kai-shek; to abolish the chairmanships of the Political Council, the Standing Committee, and the Military Council and to appoint a presidium for each instead; to move the headquarters of the Government and Party definitely to Hankow; to recall Mr. Wang Ching-wei, leader of the Left Groups in the Kuomintang from exile in Europe. These decisions left General Chiang Kai-shek without real power or influence in the Party. It was an effective dismissal.

(To be Continued)

North-China Daily News

IMPARTIAL NOT NEUTRAL.

SHANGHAI, JANUARY 13, 1928.

CHINA IN 1927

(Continued from Yesterday.)

The arrival of General Chiang Kai-shek in Shanghai on March 25 marks a new phase in the history of the Kuomintang. Uncertain as to his reception, he had to measure the full value of the support and opposition of the moment. The Army under General Ho Yin-ching was in reality his own army, entirely officered by his former pupils in the Whampoa Academy, but they were scattered from Hangchow to Nanking. There were not more than 3,000 loyal troops in Shanghai, and Chapei was held by the Communists, who were supported by armed civilians and some troops. General Chiang immediately entered into conversation with Shanghai merchant and banker elements for probable support, while in interviews with the Press on the Nanking Outrage, he promised that there would be an investigation and that the guilty would be punished, but he also put the blame on the retreating Northern soldiers, although he already knew that Li Tze-hön, the Communist director of the Political Department of the Sixth Army, was responsible. Much depended on the mass meeting which was to be held at West Gate, on March 26, the morrow of his arrival. By ingenious politics, General Pei Chung-hsi managed to turn that meeting into a celebration of the arrival of General Chiang Kai-shek. It was stealing the thunder from the Communists, but their commune still functioned in Chapei, and they still controlled the armed

civilians.

The foreigners were well prepared for his mass meeting. The French were ready to meet the mob from West Gate with heavy fire, guns being posted in positions for the occasion, while the International Settlement was safely protected by the British and other foreign Defence Forces. Not the slightest prospect of danger was left to chance. Meanwhile foreign women and children were brought into the centre of the city and everyone was ready for any possibility. In interviews, General Chiang Kai-shek recorded how offended he was at the barricades and the closed gates, and the attitude of apprehension on the part of the foreigners, which was unnecessary, now that he had arrived.

Notwithstanding General Chiang's statement the Chinese of Shanghai were uncertain as to the full meaning of his coming, for they had expected the Hankow Ministers, and there were daily rumours of the arrival of Mr. Eugene Chen. But Mr. Chen did not come. Instead, reports began to filter in from Hankow that General Chiang Kai-shek had been expelled from the Kuomintang, but those were still unconfirmed. Confusion, fear, despair, among the Chinese, marked the most desperate Sunday that Shanghai had known in its history, but it passed over, and General Chiang Kai-shek entered upon a struggle with the communists in Chapei for mastery of Shanghai. In interviews with foreign pressmen, it is interesting to note at this time, General Chiang said that he would assume responsibility for the Nanking Outrage.

On April 2, an attempt was made to disarm the Pih Tung Tui—the armed civilians in Chapei. These men had received their arms from the Kuomintang and had made possible the capture of Shanghai, but they

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were now unwilling to be discarded from the service they had entered upon. When troops under General Pei Chung-hsi's orders went to their various headquarters to disarm them, they resisted and many lives were lost. The conflict which had resulted in an exchange of fire between the Kuomintang and these armed civilians, was a new attitude in the Kuomintang—this shooting on comrades—but it was apparently necessary, for these men and armed women too, were acting under instructions from Hankow. Although in this fight, something was done to restore authority in Chapei, the Commercial Press continued to be held by the Communists, who had now barricaded themselves for warfare. On April 3, Mr. Wang Ching-wei returned to China from France *via* Moscow. He was travelling on a Russian boat and hoped to go at once to Hankow without stopping at Shanghai. He was, however, induced to stop over and to enter upon a series of conferences with prominent Kuomintang leaders in Shanghai at Dr. Sun Yat-sen's house in Route Moliere. He eventually issued a peace-making joint statement with the leader of Chinese Communists, Mr. Chen Tu-shui. A curious rôle Wang Ching-wei enacted, as one of the two principal disciples of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, whose name would have been worth much to Chiang Kai-shek in his effort to establish a government in Shanghai.

Meanwhile, the news from Hankow proved increasingly distressing. Foreign refugees coming down river to Shanghai described the labour terrorism which has been set up in Hankow, Kiukiang, and all the cities of the Yangtze. Wuhu was particularly in danger, and the foreign gunboats were lying in wait to protect foreigners and foreign ships as they came to that port. In Nanking and in

Chinkiang and in all the hinterland of Shanghai, there was looting and rapine. No foreigner dared remain in that country. Since March 20, the Communists had been in complete control at Hankow. Chinese, as well as foreign business now came to a stand-still, for no one could gratify the exactions of the labour unions. All foreigners were ordered to be evacuated from Nationalist territory, foreign men-of-war being sent from place to place to take them out. The city of Nanking was in chaos, for no government had been established there, and the Sixth Army was incapable of taking care of the place, while even from such a place as Soochow, the foreign women and children were brought to Shanghai. Evacuations were also ordered in Kuangtung and Kuangsi, and here was the amazing spectacle of all foreigners, merchants, missionaries, women, and children, most of whom had come to China to serve, being driven out of their stations by an angry, slogan-impelled mob. The eyes of the entire world were on China and newspapers everywhere were publishing columns of details of news of the dangerous position in which the foreigners now found themselves. As foreign merchant shipping moved in the Yangtze River, soldiers and the forts on shore fired upon them, so that they had to be escorted by men-of-war. The Kiangyin forts and other military centres on the Yangtze did not hesitate to fire even on the men-of-war, and they received in return interest on their output.

In the midst of all this actual warfare, fifty-two Chinese organizations in Shanghai sent a message to Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald regretting the Nanking Outrage and asking for patience. In the moment of despair, these organizations offered a gesture of friendship.

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out they were soon to deny responsibility for the Nanking Outrage and even to attempt to deceive the world and the American public in particular as to its details. In anticipation of a continued advance of the Nationalist armies foreigners were now evacuated from Honan into which it was expected Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang would soon enter from Shensi. In Shantung, there was a concentration of foreigners at Tsingtao, for immediate departure if necessary.

The Ministers in Peking were in conference. Days passed and no announcement was made of decision. Inspired reports appear in the press that Japan sought to avoid sending troops, that the United States was doubtful, that Great Britain would not come in alone—in meting out punishment for the Nanking Outrage. There was uncertainty of policy; and the Chinese began gradually to take hope that nothing would happen, that Nanking would go unavenged.

On April 4, however, Japan was startled by the attempt of a mob to seize the Japanese Concession in Hankow even as the British Concession had been seized there. A pretext was available and the mob, ready at all times, surged into the Concession, only to be met by machine guns from the Japanese gunboats. General Tang Seng-chi offered his services to the Japanese, as Mr. Eugene Chen had offered his to the British; he would take over the policing of the Japanese Concession; he would maintain law and order. But the Japanese consular and naval authorities declined his assistance and intervention, and told the Chinese that they would not give up their concession to an armed mob. Japanese women and children were sent down to the Japanese ships in the Yangtze and the Concession was turned into an armed fortress, every preparation being made

to resist attack. Some Japanese, who were in danger in a Japanese cotton mill, in Chinese territory, were finally delivered up to the Japanese authorities. The Japanese Concession in Hankow was put in a state of defence which definitely denied it to the Chinese whose envious eyes had been upon it since January.

(To be Continued.)

The North-China Daily News

IMPARTIAL NOT NEUTRAL.

SHANGHAI, JANUARY 14, 1928.

CHINA IN 1927

(Continued from Yesterday.)

Before it was possible to organize a new government in Nanking, it became necessary for the Kuomintang to suppress Communist activities in Shanghai, where the Central Political Bureau in Chapei was still acting under direct orders from Hankow. On April 6, this Bureau was sealed by General Pei Chung-hsi. Almost immediately, General Chiang Kai-shek left for Nanking with General Ho Yin-ching and Mr. Wu Tze-hui, the old Kuomintang philosopher, to form a new government. The character of this new government was still somewhat uncertain; none of the important Hankow leaders followed General Chiang Kai-shek to Shanghai except Mr. T. V. Soong, and he would not join the Nanking Government, while Mr. Wang Ching-wei had already betrayed General Chiang and his colleagues with whom he had discussed union at Dr. Sun Yat-sen's house. It was necessary to find members of the Central Executive Committee and the Supervisory Committee who had opposed Comrade Borodin's influence in the Party and who now would be willing

to support Chiang Kai-shek against Hankow. Principal among these in Shanghai was Mr. Hu Han-min and to him General Chiang turned to organize the new Nanking government. Meanwhile, propaganda agencies were at work from Shanghai as well as Hankow. The Whampoa Academy cadets announced their support of General Chiang Kai-shek, but coupled his name with that of Mr. Wang Ching-wei, whom they did not yet suspect of going over to Hankow.

On April 12, the quarrel between General Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists in Chapei reached a head. Utilizing the forces of the secret societies in Shanghai, General Yang Hu and Mr. Chen Chun, in charge of political activities here, organized anti-Communist workers, who marched into Chapei, seized the Huchow Guild premises of the General Labour Union, attacked every Communist headquarters during the night, surrounded and laid siege to the Communist headquarters in the Commercial Press Library, where they found arms, munitions, pikes, and warlike paraphernalia of every nature. The Communists had apparently schemed to invade the Foreign Settlement, and had even manufactured padded cloaks to protect them against barbed wire. Hundreds were killed; the General Labour Union was suppressed; the Communist Party of China was broken for a time in this area; all labour strikes and movements were temporarily ended. While the Communists were being fought in Chapei, the International Police stationed a guard about the Soviet Russian Consulate and other Soviet buildings in Shanghai, for the purpose, it was announced, of protecting them against attack. It was only after this extermination of the Communists that it was really possible to consolidate General Chiang's authority in Shanghai

and to organize the Nanking Government.

On April 11, the principal Powers, Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France and Italy, presented identic notes to Mr. Eugene Chen in Hankow and to General Pei Chung-hsi in Shanghai. The duplicate note was addressed to General Chiang Kai-shek on whose behalf General Pei accepted it. This note demanded:

1. Adequate punishment of the commanders of the troops responsible for the murders, personal injuries and indignities and material damage done, as also of all persons found to be implicated.
2. Apology in writing by the commander-in-chief of the Nationalist Armies, including an express written undertaking to refrain from all forms of violence and agitation against foreign lives and property.
3. Complete reparations for personal injuries and material damage done.

This note was presented before the organization of the Nanking Government and while the Hankow Government was in apparent difficulties because of the defection of General Chiang Kai-shek and because of the excesses to which the Communists were going. Up to that day, fourteen hundred Japanese had been evacuated from Hankow; there were fewer than a hundred women and eight hundred men left in the Japanese Concession there. Unemployment was becoming the general condition and the currency had become so depreciated that it was almost unusable in trade. In other cities under Nationalist control, there were constant strikes and minor uprisings. Yet, Mr. Eugene Chen replied to the Powers' Note at times almost jestingly (April 15). He said that his Government was prepared "to make

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good the damages done to the American Consulate at Nanking," and he was prepared to pay reparations if it could be proved that the damages had been done by Nationalist troops and not by the barrage set up by the British and American men-of-war and by the retreating Northern troops. He promised that the guilty would be punished if it could be proved that they were guilty, but his preliminary reports would tend to contradict guilt and to indicate that the retreating Northerners had done the deed. He expressed regret and promised that protection to foreign life and property would be forthcoming. Then he entered upon a dissertation on the evils of the treaties between China and the Powers. General Chiang Kai-shek made no reply to the Powers' note, as he regarded Mr. Eugene Chen's note as ample, in spite of the fact that he was no longer associated with Mr. Chen's Government and the fact that he was about to found another which he hoped might soon be recognized by these same Powers as the Nationalist Government of China. The Powers regarded Mr. Chen's reply as unsatisfactory, and took note of General Chiang's silence, while ministerial conferences were held in Peking to consider the second step. The question of sanctions proved an impediment to unanimity of opinion. A huge barrage of propaganda was set up by the Chinese students there and by certain American missionaries and public men to prevent the American Government from entering upon some joint action against Nanking. At the moment Japan was passing through a financial and ministerial crisis and a new government was coming into existence there under General Tanaka. The second step was thus averted.

Meanwhile, in Canton an independent government had come into existence under the direc-

tion of General Li Chi-sen, with Mr. Koo Yin-fang in charge of finances and in possession of the reserves of the Central Bank. Mr. T. V. Soong, the Nationalist Minister of Finance, would go neither to Hankow nor Nanking and thus temporarily eliminated himself from the picture. The following weeks marked negotiations between Nanking and Canton for the recognition by Canton of the Nanking Government, which was eventually achieved. Meanwhile, Hankow was sending troops to Wuhu to meet any possible troop movements by General Chiang Kai-shek out of Nanking. On the Pukow side of the Yangtze was Marshal Sun Chuan-fang's troops, who daily fired into Nanking and occasionally sent up an aeroplane to remind Nanking that the North was still fighting, and it proved a difficult task for Nanking to establish itself as a government within gun-fire range of Pukow. To prevent the seepage of funds from Hankow, the government there forbade the export of silver from that city, with the result that the banks closed and economic conditions grew exasperating. Hankow dismissed General Chiang Kai-shek from his position of commander-in-chief and from the Kuomintang and appointed Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang and General Tang Seng-chi in his place. Nanking retaliated by dismissing all Communists and semi-Communists from the Central Executive Committee. General Chiang's position was strengthened by the fact that the Shanghai bankers and merchants agreed to support him financially, eventually to the amount of \$30,000,000 because of his antipathy to the Communists, and he was now in a position to use anti-Communism as the war-cry of

his party. The province of Kiangsi, lying between Hankow and Nanking, became the battle-

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held for the Communists and the anti-Communists and the people suffered greatly. In Anhui, the Hankow influence still held although waningly. Through it passed General Chen Chien of Nanking Outrage notoriety, who levied heavily upon the people. The Hankow Government's position among its own people seemed to have been considerably weakened because of the ability of the Japanese to retain their Concession in Hankow, and Mr. Eugene Chen's spell of oratorical promises achieved nothing there.

We must revert for a moment to the activities of the Peking Government, which were scant enough during the early months of the year. On January 12, Dr. Wellington Koo resumed his position as Premier after an interregnum of seven weeks, but within a fortnight, General Chin Yun-ao, who had been Marshal Wu Pei-fu's subordinate in Honan rebelled and was followed by large numbers of Marshal Wu's followers, who now became associated with General Tang Seng-chi. The Fengtien and Shantung troops during February moved into Honan because they had lost confidence in Marshal Wu's organization. They were able in March and April to win important victories and eventually to take possession of the province until they held Kaifeng and Chengchow. They thus came into conflict with the Hankow forces as they were already in conflict with those of Nanking.

Note:—An unfortunate omission was made in the record of the Nanking Outrage of the two Catholic missionaries, Fathers C. Vanara and H. Gugout, the former Italian, the latter French, who were victims of the Communist murders in that city. Both were at the Ricci College in Nanking when the assault occurred and died heroic deaths at their posts.

(To be Continued)

The
North-China Daily News

IMPARTIAL NOT NEUTRAL.

SHANGHAI, JANUARY 16, 1928.

CHINA IN 1927

(Continued from Saturday)

Determination of policy with regard to China by the principal Powers became an increasingly difficult task as the Nationalist Government continued its attack on the treaties. At the beginning of the year, the British Government faced China squarely on the terms of the Christmas Day Note of the previous year in which Great Britain had offered China terms of friendship on the basis of a united and modernized China, and this general policy was continued with variations according to circumstances through the year. The events in Hankow during January, the endangering of British life and property throughout the Yangtze Valley and everywhere in southern territory, the constant emphasis on anti-British propaganda the driving of British missionaries out of Nationalist areas, placed upon H. M. Government the burden of straining that policy to extremes, but it was generally adhered to. On January 29, Sir Austen Chamberlain, in an address, defined British policy toward China after the seizure of the British Concession in Hankow. He said:

"Britain was prepared to reconsider the extraterritorial position of Britons in China, the tariff provisions of the treaties; Britain was prepared that British subjects should pay regular Chinese taxation, provided there was no discrimination as with other foreigners or against British goods.

Britain's only wish was for

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