Sun Yat-sen's Inductive Support and Deductive Reasoning in Selected "Three Principles of the People" Speeches

Chen-lung Ringo Ma

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SUN YAT-SEN'S INDUCTIVE SUPPORT AND DEDUCTIVE REASONING IN SELECTED "THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE" SPEECHES

BY

CHEN-LUNG RINGO MA

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts, Major in Speech, South Dakota State University 1984
SUN YAT-SEN'S INDUCTIVE SUPPORT AND DEDUCTIVE REASONING IN SELECTED "THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE" SPEECHES

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Arts, and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Wayne E. Hoogestraat
Thesis Adviser

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Head, Department of Speech

Date
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CLR Ma
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Origin of Study

Few people interested in modern Chinese history can avoid studying Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925). Sun is important to the world in many different ways. He successfully founded the first republic in both Chinese and Asian histories, systematically introduced a series of plans to his fellow country people with the intention to save them from an impending catastrophe, and appears to have used some techniques closely connected to the Western education he received in expressing his ideas and ideals.

The impending catastrophe, as Pearl Buck reported, could come from either the ignorant ruler of the Chinese Empire or the Great Powers. Sun also emphasized:

What are the disasters which threaten us and from what direction do they come? They come from the Great Powers, and they are: first, political oppression; second, economic oppression, and third, the more rapid growth of population among the Powers. These three disasters from without are already upon our heads, and our people are in a most dangerous situation.

The following books, which Sun completed between 1916 and 1921, provide evidence that he introduced some plans for his people:
Doctrine of Sun Wen (another name for Sun Yat-sen), based on his formula that "to know is difficult, but to carry out is easy." (for "Psychological Reconstruction")

The International Development of China. (for "Material Reconstruction")

The Preliminary Steps to Democracy. (for "Societal Reconstruction")

His famous discourse "Three Principles of the People," also a plan for the reconstruction of his country, was originally expressed through sixteen lectures (six for "The Principle of Nationalism," six for "The Principle of Democracy," and four for "The Principle of Livelihood"), though not finished before his death in 1925. As described in one book:

In January, 1924, Dr. Sun started a series of lectures on the "Three Principles of the People" in the hall of Kwang-tung Senior Normal School in Canton. . . . Each lecture lasted for two hours. The lectures continued from January to August.

The book, *Three Principles of the People*, is a result of both Mr. Hwang Chang-ku's stenographic report of the lectures and Mr. Tsou Lu's revisions. Sun was even described as a "born orator":

Sun Yat-sen was a born orator. His straight, slender figure, his thin square face, his burning and fearless eyes, impressed all who saw him, and when he spoke, his deep and ardent voice was irresistible. But most convincing of all was his honesty. Integrity shone from his every look, and it was clear to all that here was an unselfish
man, devoted to the freedom of his country and the benefit of his people.

It is also a commonly-held truism in Chinese society that he was the first political figure in Chinese history who relied on public speaking as an important channel of communication.

Sun has been studied extensively from a historical-biographical perspective during the last few decades. The following are some instances:


There is no difficulty in finding literature about Sun's biography or thought at any library throughout the United States. Yet he does not appear to have been studied rhetorically by Oriental or Western scholars to any significant extent in spite of the fact that he depended heavily on speech making. This conclusion was based on a review of literature detailed later under "Methodology of the Investigation."

As a speech student from Chinese society, it was reasonable for me to do a systematic study of Sun's "Three Principles of the People" speeches analyzing them from a
rhetorical point of view. As a beginning study, the inquiry focused on inductive support and deductive reasoning of the logical proof within Sun's "Three Principles of the People" speeches. The reasons for this choice included the following:

1. The territory for any research should be properly limited for more effective and manageable inquiry.

2. As many scholars agreed:

   ... while the Rhetoric surely gives emotional and ethical proof due consideration, Aristotle held to his conviction that the most important ingredient of a speech is rational demonstration through severe argumentation.

   ... writers who want to persuade with an appeal to reason frequently rely on one of the two traditional forms of logical discourse: induction and deduction. These terms are simply formal labels for reasoning processes that are familiar to all of us.

Whenever we discuss in terms of Aristotelian rhetoric, logical proof deserves the attention of first priority. And induction and deduction are the two major forms of logical proof.

3. It was only inductive support and deductive reasoning of logical proof that could make a speaker distinctive in a beginning twentieth century Chinese society, where, as David Nelson Rowe reported, "... reliance upon subjective mental process came to characterize the ruling bureaucracy ... through the ages." The choice of inductive support and deductive reasoning as the focus of
this research on the speeches of Dr. Sun Yat-sen might also be justified in this way.

**Purpose of the Investigation**

The purpose of this study was to determine the extensiveness and the effectiveness of inductive support and deductive reasoning revealed in selected "Three Principles of the People" speeches made by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1924. Extensiveness, in this study, was mainly concerned with quantitative measurement—how much inductive support and deductive reasoning had been employed within each selected speech. Effectiveness, on the other hand, called for a qualitative judgment—how well or how effectively the inductive support and the deductive reasoning within the speeches had matched the established criteria.

To accomplish the purpose stated above, answers to the following questions were sought:

1. What was Sun Yat-sen's family and educational background?
2. What was the political-social-economic milieu in China in 1924?
3. What was the origin of the selected "Three Principles of the People" speeches?
4. What assertions are found in these speeches?
5. How extensively and how effectively did Sun use inductive support to substantiate the various assertions?
6. How extensively and how effectively did Sun use deductive reasoning to establish his assertions?

**Methodology of the Investigation**

1. As the first step, I surveyed the following publications to determine if any previous studies had been undertaken regarding the inductive support and the deductive reasoning, the logical proof, or the rhetoric in Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People" speeches:


   - **Speech Monographs (Communication Monographs),** September 1934-January 1983.

   - **Speech Teacher (Communication Education),** January 1952-April 1983.

   This survey revealed no duplicate studies. Initial observation found four investigations which appeared related to the proposed study:


Further scrutiny revealed that Ganschow's dissertation was a historical inquiry into the relationship between Sun's goal and America's accomplishments before 1922. Metallo examined American policies and attitudes toward Sun from 1911 to 1925. Oliver's article concerned the rhetoric of "the way" of ancient Taoism in China. Wang's dissertation analyzed the role of Liao Chung-kai in Sun's alliance with Soviet Russia in 1924. Because I found nothing about the inductive support or the deductive reasoning in Sun's "Three Principles of the People" speeches, nor did I find any rhetorical analysis of his speaking, I determined that neither of the four aforementioned studies had any direct relationship to the proposed study.

2. The second step was to collect texts of speeches which might be used in the study. All of Sun Yat-sen's sixteen "Three Principles of the People" speeches were
obtained. They had long been classified and numbered according to different "Principles" and chronological order:

1. "The Principle of Nationalism":
   - Lecture one: January 27, 1924
   - Lecture two: February 3, 1924
   - Lecture three: February 10, 1924
   - Lecture four: February 17, 1924
   - Lecture five: February 24, 1924
   - Lecture six: March 2, 1924

2. "The Principle of Democracy":
   - Lecture one: March 9, 1924
   - Lecture two: March 16, 1924
   - Lecture three: date unknown
   - Lecture four: April 13, 1924
   - Lecture five: April 20, 1924
   - Lecture six: April 26, 1924

3. "The Principle of Livelihood":
   - Lecture one: August 3, 1924
   - Lecture two: August 10, 1924
   - Lecture three: August 17, 1924
   - Lecture four: August 24, 1924

3. The third step was to choose a limited number of speeches for analysis. Because there were totally three "Principles" within Sun's speeches, I chose one from each "Principle." In order to decide which one was more representative within each "Principle," I read all sixteen lectures listed in step two. Among the six "Principle of Nationalism" lectures, lectures one, two, three, four, and five were comparatively short (only half as long as lecture six), therefore, I decided to take lecture six for analysis. Among the six lectures on "The Principle of Democracy" and the four on "The Principle of Livelihood," since none seemed to be more or less suitable for analysis.
than any of the rest on the same "Principle," I decided to make a random choice from each of these two "Principles." The following two lectures were drawn by me under the supervision of Dr. Wayne E. Hoogestraat, Professor of Speech, South Dakota State University at 2:15 P.M., on July 28, 1983, at the office of the Department of Speech, SDSU: "The Principle of Democracy," lecture one, and "The Principle of Livelihood," lecture four.

4. The fourth step was to collect Sun's personal data concerning his family and education, mainly from biographies of Sun, such as the following:


These data were organized by me in order to answer question one, "What was Sun Yat-sen's family and educational background?"

5. The fifth step was to collect the political, social, and economic data, especially dealing with the nature of the problems in China in 1924 which had been directly or indirectly responsible for the speeches, from the current histories of China, such as the following:


These data collected were organized by me in order to answer the second question under the statement of purpose, "What was the political-social-economic milieu in China in 1924?"

6. The sixth step was to establish the criteria to be used for judging the effectiveness of inductive support offered for each assertion which was found later in this study. The standards offered by Lester Thonssen, A. Craig Baird, and Waldo W. Braden in their book, *Speech Criticism*, and referred to as the tests of inference from specific instances were used as a basis for establishing these criteria. 12

7. The seventh step was to establish the criteria to be used for judging the effectiveness of deductive reasoning. The standards offered by the same group of people in the same book as mentioned in the sixth step, and referred to as the tests to evaluate deductive patterns were used as a basis for establishing these criteria. 13

8. The eighth step represented an attempt to find out the origin of the selected speeches, such as how the ideas of the speeches had been formed before they were
given. In order to do this, I studied the current history of China and Sun's personal data surrounding the "Three Principles of the People" speeches. This step eight answered the third question, "What was the origin of the selected 'Three Principles of the People' speeches?"

9. The ninth step was to determine the main points Sun tried to make; in other words, the assertions he advanced within the selected speeches. I carefully read and analyzed the selected speeches in order to discover the main points, or the assertions in them. This step nine was used for answering the fourth question, "What assertions are found in these speeches?"

10. The tenth step was to determine the extentiveness of inductive support in the selected speeches. The different forms of inductive support offered for each identified assertion were identified, classified, and tabulated. This step ten has answered the question, "How extensively did Sun use inductive support to substantiate the various assertions?"

11. The eleventh step was to determine the effectiveness of the inductive support found in the tenth step. The criteria established in the sixth step were applied to the inductive support discovered in step ten. This process answered the question, "How effectively did
Sun use inductive support to substantiate the various assertions?"

12. The twelfth step was to determine the extensiveness of deductive reasoning in the selected speeches. The different forms of deductive reasoning offered for each assertion already identified were extracted, classified, and totaled. This step answered the question, "How extensively did Sun use deductive reasoning to establish his assertions?"

13. The next step was to determine the effectiveness of the deductive reasoning found in the twelfth step. The criteria established in the seventh step were applied to the items of deductive reasoning discovered in step twelve. This step provided an answer to the question, "How effectively did Sun use deductive reasoning to establish his assertions?"

14. The final step was to summarize the finding in previous steps and to draw conclusions concerning the extensiveness and the effectiveness of the inductive support and the deductive reasoning in Sun's "Three Principles of the People" speeches. Some recommendations for further study were also proposed at the end of the study.
ENDNOTES


3Chou Yi-ping et al., ed., A Pictorial Biography of Dr. Sun Yat-sen (Hong Kong: Chinese Culture Association, 1965), p. 64.

4Ibid.

5Sun, San Min Chu I: The Three Principles of the People, p. iii.


10Sun, San Min Chu I: The Three Principles of the People, pp. 1-212.

11The total pages of each "Three Principles of the People" speech, which appear in the book, San Min Chu I: The Three Principles of the People (see 2), are as follows: "The Principle of Nationalism"--lecture one, 6 pages; lecture two, 7 pages; lecture three, 7 pages; lecture four, 7 pages; lecture five, 8 pages; lecture six, 15 pages; "The Principle of Democracy"--lecture one, 15 pages; lecture two, 12 pages; lecture three, 14 pages; lecture four, 16 pages; lecture five, 22 pages; lecture six, 20 pages; "The Principle of Livelihood"--lecture one, 19 pages; lecture two, 15 pages; lecture three, 16 pages; lecture four, 12 pages.

13 Ibid., pp. 408-411.
CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL-PERSONAL MILIEU OF THE "THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE" SPEECHES

The purpose of this chapter was to answer the following questions, appearing under "Purpose of the Investigation" in Chapter I:

1. What was Sun Yat-sen's family and educational background?

2. What was the political-social-economic milieu in China in 1924?

Sun Yat-sen's Ancestry and Intellectual Development

Ancestry

Extended ancestry

Sun Yat-sen's ancestors can be traced back to Sun Li in Tang dynasty (618-906). As reported in Tsui Chai-yang's article, "Kuo Fu Chuan Lueh" (A Brief Biography of Sun Yat-sen), in A Pictorial Biography of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Sun's family had lived in Ho-nan, Chiang-hsi, Fu-chien before they reached Kwang-tung:

In Tang dynasty, Sun Li, a native of Ho-nan, removed to Chiang-hsi owing to the disorder caused by a revolt headed by Huang Chao. Four generations later, Sun Cheng-shih with the family moved to
Fu-chien. In the Ming dynasty (1368-1643), Sun Yu-sung went to Kwang-tung and settled on the upper reaches of the East River. He was among Sun's ancestors the earliest one who reached Kwang-tung.

No further information could be found as to what was responsible for the movements of Sun's family before they reached Kwang-tung, but some other related historical data which are available now may provide an answer. According to Wolfram Eberhard in his book, *A History of China*, the revolt headed by Huang Chao, from 874 to 884, was one of the many popular uprisings at the end of Tang dynasty as a result of "the continual warfare of the military governors, the sanguinary struggles between the cliques, and the universal impoverishment which all this fighting produced."³ These uprisings, according to the book, caused "the greatest disorder in the [Chinese] empire."⁴ During the uprisings, there must have been a lot of people who were forced to leave their land and houses for the safety of their lives, and Sun's family might have been among them.

The southward movement from Chiang-hsi to Fu-chien, and then from Fu-chien to Kwang-tung, of Sun's family was very likely in connection with the southward movement of the government's political influence after Tang dynasty in the Chinese history. As Eberhard reported:

The increase in the political influence of the south was due to its economic advance while the north was reduced to economic chaos by the continual heavy fighting . . .
Sun's family finally moved from the upper reaches of the East River to the Tsui-heng Village, Hsiang-shan within Kwang-tung. According to C. M. Faure's "Outline of Life of Dr. Sun Yat-sen" in *A Pictorial Biography of Dr. Sun Yat-sen*, this movement happened at the beginning of the Ching dynasty (1644-1911):

At the end of the Ming dynasty, the family remained faithful to the Ming emperors and after the defeat they drifted to Hsiang-shan, where the grandfather of Dr. Sun's own grandfather settled down at Tsui-heng Village.

The Ching dynasty was founded by the Manchu, a group of people coming from Manchuria, the northeastern part of modern China. The Manchu was regarded as an alien people by ordinary people in China at that time, most of whom, as reported by Henry McAleavy in his book, *The Modern History of China*, "could not find it in their heart to accept the new regime."7 Some people even became either Buddhist monks or Taoist priests to avoid the change of their appearance and dress impelled by the Manchu regime.8 According to Tsui's article, Miao-chien, Sun's elder sister, even disclosed that none of her ancestors had taken part or intended to take part in any civil service examinations held by the Manchu regime.9 This is probably because Sun's family, like most other people, could not accept the Manchu regime and/or they were always reminded by the senior members of the family of the struggle between their
ancestors and the Manchu. Now we can conclude that all, or at least most of the movements of Sun's ancestors were related to political situations and Sun's family was obviously not within the ruling group in the Ching dynasty.

**Family and early environment**

Sun Yat-sen was reportedly born on November 12, 1866, at Tsui-heng Village, Hsiang-shan Hsien (an administrative unit between province and hsien, and which equals the county in the United States), Kwang-tung Province, China. Tsui-heng Village is located in the Pearl River delta on China's southeastern coast. According to Harold Z. Schiffrin in his book, *Sun Yat-sen: Reluctant Revolutionary*, the Pearl River delta is the oldest link between China and the maritime nations of Europe:

> The densely populated delta [Pearl River delta], radiating from Canton, the provincial capital, is the oldest link between China and the maritime nations of Europe. After the arrival of the Portuguese in 1517, Canton became the major port for Western trade, and for almost one hundred years—from the middle of the eighteenth century until the Opium War [1839-1842]—it remained the only legal point of entry on the China coast.

David Nelson Rowe in his book, *Modern China*, also reported that "the Portuguese claimed Macao after 1557 and used it as a trading post." (Macao is some twenty-five miles to the south of Tsui-heng Village.) The Chinese who lived there naturally had more connection with foreign countries than those in other areas of the Chinese mainland.
Sun Ta-cheng (1813-1888), Sun's father, according to Chuang Cheng in his book, Kuo Fu Sheng Ping Yu Chih Yeh, was a farmer in his early years, but, because of the poverty he suffered in Tsui-heng Village later, worked as a shoemaker, and then a tailor, in Macao for several years in order to earn his living. After the age of thirty, he returned to his native village and carried on farming again. He, as Chuang reported, married Sun's mother (1828-1910) at the age of thirty-three. Sun's mother gave birth to six children (three sons and three daughters), among whom Dr. Sun was the second youngest and the youngest son. Both Sun's second elder brother and his eldest sister died young.

Sun's family, as Schiffrin said, was originally very poor:

Ta-cheng's meager holding--no more than half an acre--were not enough to support his family, and after the fifth child, Wen [Sun Yat-sen's original given name], was born, he took on extra work as the village watchman.

Its poverty also accounts for Sun's eldest brother, Sun Mei's being taken to Hawaii in 1871 by a maternal uncle, who operated a business there. Schiffrin emphasized, this was also the main reason why the fortunes of the Sun's family eventually improved:

Ever since the 1850s, when sugar had become a major crop, Chinese labor had been sought in the [Hawaii] Islands. Chinese-style rice cultivation also offered opportunities, and
with the help of his uncle Sun Mei made rapid progress.

Sun's eldest sister, Miao-chien, as described by Chuang, married a merchant who had a business in Honolulu, and the only younger sister, Chiu-chi, married Lin Hsi-chih, a rich merchant in San Francisco. Both of their husbands were from the same native hsien--Hsiang-shan Hsien--as Sun's family. No further detail was discovered concerning Sun's two sisters or brothers-in-law in spite of an elaborate search.

All of Sun's brother and brothers-in-law had more or less close ties with the West, as we can see from the data above. Sun's brother even made the whole family's fortune in the Western society. Under these circumstances, the family would naturally have close associations with the West. This also allowed Sun to travel with his mother to Hawaii and then study there from 1878 to 1883.

Intellectual Development

Education in Hsiang-shan

At the age of seven, Sun Yat-sen started his schooling in an old-fashioned one-teacher private school at Tsui-heng Village, where he learned some Chinese classics. According to Chuang, the material taught in this school included at least The Three-Character Classic (formerly the first primer in schools in China, within which each
sentence or phrase unit is composed of three Chinese characters) and The Thousand-Character Classic (also a primer for children in China many years ago, authored by Chou Hsin-tse of the Liang dynasty). He went to hsiang shu (a larger school supported by hsiang, an administrative unit between hsien and village) learning more Chinese classics when he was ten. He ended his traditional Chinese school education at the age of thirteen when he and his mother visited his eldest brother in Hawaii.

Mention should be made of Sun's complaint about the rigid way of teaching when he was studying in hsiang shu. According to Chuang:

Sun ever questioned the hsiang shu teacher Tan Chih-sheng why students were always asked to memorize the classics without understanding the real meaning in them when he was twelve. This caused unpleasantness of the teacher.

Though probably being regarded as a "troublemaker" in traditional Chinese society, where teachers were always unconditionally respected and their way of teaching was seldom questioned, Sun was undoubtedly a person with the inclination to ask about everything he thought to be unjustifiable.

Education in Honolulu

After arriving in Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, in June 1878, Sun Yat-sen stayed at his elder brother's store in Kahului. As reported by Chuang, he learned how to
keep books and how to use an abacus as well as how to speak the local dialect, Kanaka, at the store. In September 1879, according to Schiffrin, "Sun entered Iolani, a Church of England elementary school whose staff, except for one Hawaiian, was entirely British." The reason why Sun, unlike many other Chinese children in the Islands, could receive formal education, said Schiffrin, is as follows:

Elder brother Sun Mei... was doing too well to relinquish the traditional hope of producing at least one scholar in the family. Furthermore, a short stay at the store before starting school shows that his brother [Sun Yat-sen] had no enthusiasm for the abacus and account books. As a student he did much better, and for a time at least, Sun Mei had no reason to regret spending $100 to $150 a year for his tuition and board.

Schiffrin also indicates that the Western learning provided by Iolani enabled Sun to acquire not only "the systematic Western education," but also "the self-assurance in dealing with foreigners that were to distinguish him from all other Chinese political leaders." He spent three years there and graduated in 1882 with a prize from the King of Hawaii, David Kalakaua, on account of the second highest grade in English grammar.

In 1882, after spending several months on Maui, where Sun Mei was making even more money than before as a planter, cattle raiser and merchant, Sun entered Oahu College (Punahou School), a high school that was run by American Congregationalist and Presbyterian missionaries and also the highest institution of learning in the Islands. But
in the summer of 1883, he was unexpectedly sent back to his native village in China by his elder brother after his intention to become a Christian was disclosed. This sudden change also prevented Sun from going to the United States for advanced studies as originally planned.

The Western education Sun received during this period (1878-1883) was important in at least three respects:

1. Western learning in a foreign society would likely broaden his eyes more than the traditional Chinese learning he had in Tsui-heng Village.

2. The English language he learned and used in the Islands probably made his absorption of other recent information easier.

3. The five-year life in the Western society likely forced him to discover the difference between China and the rest of the world at that time.

Formal education in Hong Kong and Canton

Sun became very unpopular with the people around Tsui-heng Village after he came back from Hawaii, and that was the major reason why he went to Hong Kong in November 1883. Probably because of his belief in Christianity, he, according to Schiffrin, mutilated the wooden figure of the Northern God during this period:

In order to discredit idol worship, he mutilated the wooden figure of the Northern God, the patron
deity of Tsui-heng and the surrounding villages. This was too much for the country folk to bear, and ... Sun had to leave home while his family paid for the repair and propitiation of the damaged deity. 37

Sun resumed his education in Hong Kong. He first entered the Diocesan School, a Church of England institution, and then Government Central School (later called Queen's College), a respected secondary school that offered instruction in Chinese and in English. 38 His father, according to Schiffrin, probably gave him financial help at this time. 39 He became a baptized Christian at the American Congregational Mission in 1884. 40

After graduating from Government Central School in 1886, Sun returned to China and entered the Canton Hospital Medical School to study medicine. 41 Though Sun was fairly independent because his work in the hospital as an interpreter paid for tuition and board, his brother had resumed financial support in the meantime. 42

In 1887 Sun went to Hong Kong again and transferred to the College of Medicine for Chinese, which had just been established (it would become part of the future University of Hong Kong). 43 He graduated with "the highest grades and the most prizes" in July 1892, 44 thus terminating his formal education.
Early Political development

Even though Sun spent only five years in the West (Hawaii) during his formal education period, all the schools he entered after the age of thirteen, including the Iolani School and Oahu College in Hawaii, the Diocesan School, Government Central School and the College of Medicine for Chinese in Hong Kong, and Canton Hospital Medical School in Canton, were Western. He appears to have done a very good job in Western studies—judging from the special honors he acquired from the Iolani School in Hawaii and the College of Medicine for Chinese in Hong Kong.

One thing deserves special attention during this period. It was in Canton and Hong Kong that Sun's intention to reform China emerged. Sun, because of the special situation in Hong Kong—populated by the Chinese but governed by the British officials—could see many things connected to the inability of the Manchu regime more clearly even during the first period of his study there (between the age of eighteen and twenty-one). In August 1884, for example, the French ships attacked Foochow on China's southern coast, and Taiwan due to the conflict between two countries in Vietnamese affairs.45 In Hong Kong, as Schiffrin reported:

Chinese dockers refused to service a French war vessel that had arrived in Hong Kong for repairs after having participated in the attack on Foochow . . . . The striking dockers were soon joined by
coaling coolies and hotel employees... eventually the French ship had to sail to Japan for repairs.

Schiffrin also emphasized that this glimpse of lower class patriotism in action was important to Sun:

This was Sun Yat-sen's first wartime experience, and it enabled him to contrast the fighting mood of the people with the government's inability to protect Chinese interests.

Sun became more involved in political discussions and made an acquaintance with Cheng Shih-liang while he was studying in the Canton Hospital Medical School. Cheng, a fellow student, was connected with the Triads, the largest of the southern secret societies, and one whose lodges proliferated among the overseas Chinese communities. As reported by McAleavy, even though the Manchu was culturally absorbed by the Chinese to a significant extent, they were still regarded as aliens by ordinary Chinese people; and clandestine societies aimed to overthrow the Manchu government and restore a "Chinese" government were not uncommon, especially in South China, during the whole period of the Ching dynasty. According to Schiffrin, Cheng promised Sun that "should he [Sun] plan an antidynastic uprising, the Triads, who were ostensibly dedicated to overthrowing the Manchus, would be at his disposal." Cheng became one of Sun's best friends and an important figure in Sun's early conspiracies. Chuang also reported that Sun's close relationship to the secret societies, as a result of
his acquaintance with Cheng, positively influenced the promotion of Sun's revolution later. Most important figures of Sun's revolutionary party, such as Lu Hao-tung, Huang Hsing, Shih Chien-ju, were from secret societies.

Sun transferred to the College of Medicine for Chinese partly because, as said Sun himself, there would be more freedom to disclose his anti-Manchu views in Hong Kong. Dr. Chiang Ying-hua, one of Sun's classmates in the College, as Chuang reported, recalled later that Sun often denounced the Manchu regime to the classmates and emphasized that being a revolutionary could save unlimited number of lives for people while being a medical doctor saved only a limited number of lives.

Sun and a few friends including Chen Shao-pai, Yiu Lieh, and Yang Ho-ling also spent much time discussing politics after school and were jokingly called "The Four Great Bandits," while he was studying medicine in Hong Kong. Meanwhile, he wrote articles for some newspapers published in Hong Kong and Shanghai to express his opinion concerning the reform of Chinese government, agriculture, and industry.

Sun's interest in reform, and some of his ideas, according to Schiffrin, were probably inspired by Dr. Ho Kai, a medical jurisprudence and physiology instructor in the College of Medicine for Chinese, a British-trained
barrister, and a prominent civic leader in Hong Kong. Ho argued that "a Chinese with a modern education was competent to comment on public affairs and need not restrict his expertise to a particular professional field." The contrast between Hong Kong and Kwang-tung in the 1890s, as Sun mentioned in his speech delivered at the University of Hong Kong in February 1923, reinforced his belief that the Chinese government must be reformed. He thought the persons of the government were responsible for China's backwardness. As Schiffrin said:

That the same Cantonese whose lack of civic virtue at home exasperated him could become exemplars of good citizenship under a handful of British officials convinced him [Sun] that poor leadership rather than inherent characteristics of the people was responsible for China's backwardness.

Sun was obviously not a laboratory-sheltered student during this period. His attention might be largely distracted by the political affairs though he still did a very good job in his school studies. Yet the time he spent in political affairs afterward proved no less valuable to him than that in school studies—he engaged in the profession of a medical doctor for not more than two years (from October 30, 1892 to the beginning of 1894) after his graduation from the College of Medicine for Chinese, but in political affairs for the rest of his life (more than thirty years).
"The presence of rhetorical discourse," reported Lloyd F. Bitzer in his article, "The Rhetorical Situation," "obviously indicates the presence of a rhetorical situation." He emphasized that it was not that a rhetorical address gave existence to the situation, but that the situation called the discourse into existence. The rhetorical situation, or the situation of conflict, has always been regarded as a very important part in the study of a speech. Sun Yat-sen made his "Three Principles of the People" speeches in China in 1924 on some nationwide affairs. In order to make an effective assessment of these speeches, an investigation of the political-social-economic milieu in China at the time of these speeches is necessary and is equally important as that of his personal background.

The Political Situation in 1924

The political situation in any year of any history is by no means an independent event. It must be a result of the accumulation of what happened in the preceding years. This means that we have to trace some previous years as well as study the year 1924 in order to understand the political situation in 1924.
The Opium War from 1839 to 1842 was a great turning point in modern Chinese history which, according to Victor Purcell in his book, *China*, brought the first impact from the West to the Chinese Empire. The best starting point for the survey of the political situation in China in 1924 should thus be the Opium War.

**Opium War to 1911 revolution**

From the very beginning of Chinese history, according to Rowe, all non-Chinese were simply regarded as barbarians by the Chinese. "Early Western contacts with China were," he indicated, "considered by the Chinese court merely as new episodes in the long history of troubles with the barbarians." Ignorance concerning the outside world, according to Purcell, caused "the refusal of China to deal with other nations on an equality . . ." In the West, according to *A Pictorial History of the Republic of China* (A two-volume official historical publication by the Republic of China government in Taiwan), naval as well as industrial capability was largely strengthened during the eighteenth century:

During the nineteenth century, the invention of the steam engine and spinning jenny and the industrial revolution which ensued fostered in Western nations a broad and formidable naval capability and encouraged the gradual expansion of their civilization into the Far East.
At the same time, the book indicates, "... the China which met this tide was that of the corrupt and despotic Manchu dynasty." Purcell also reported that "the difference between Chinese and English conceptions of justice and the corrupt administration of the law in China" were among many factors which brought about hostilities between China and Britain, though it was opium that finally brought the two countries into collision. The confiscation of the foreign opium, which had been banned in China by the Imperial Commissioner Lin, precipitated the war of 1839-1842. It ended in a complete victory for the British.

After the Opium War, according to Rowe, a number of treaties were made between China and the foreign powers, such as the British, the French, and the American. These treaties insured the opening of China and the legalization of the sale of opium in China. The easy defeat of China in this war, as reported by Purcell, revealed that "in armaments and military science they [the Chinese] were now hopelessly outclassed by the Europeans who had profited from their Scientific Renaissance." As a result of the Opium War, the increased hostilities between foreign powers and China again broke out and brought additional defeats for the Chinese between 1842 and 1911. Some instances are as follows:
1. The wars between China and the Anglo-French Allied Forces in 1856-1858 and in 1859-1860. 79
2. The Sino-French War in Annam in 1883-1884. 80
3. The First Sino-Japanese War in 1894-1895. 81
4. The War between China and the eight foreign powers (Japan, Russia, Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Italy, and Austria) in 1900. 82

There were more treaties or "agreements" made in favor of the powers after each defeat for the Chinese. All these treaties, including the Treaty of Nanking, made after the Opium War, are called "the unequal treaties" by the Chinese. 83 Purcell indicated the characteristic of "the unequal treaties" made after the Opium War:

The Treaty of Nanking (1842) inaugurated the era of the "unequal" or "unilateral" treaties, whereby China conceded rights and privileges to the foreigner without receiving any corresponding right or privileges in return. 84

As reported by Rowe, the following terms were included in some of the treaties:

1. The Chinese government was forced to open ports on the China coast to the foreign trade. 85

2. The Chinese government had to:

... establish the areas set aside for foreign residence in these ports [opened to the foreign trade] a measure of extra-territoriality under which jurisdiction over foreigners was to be in the hands of the foreign consular authorities and not in the hands of Chinese officials. 86
3. The "most-favored-nation clause":

This means that any future concession secured from China by any one power would automatically be available to all other powers equally.

In 1898, the "spheres of interest" in China were developed by the powers to prevent the cession to any other power of those regions of China in which their trade was developing. As Rowe reported:

In 1898 Britain secured from China a pledge that she would never give away to any other power any of the six provinces bordering on the Yangtze River. Soon thereafter France secured a similar pledge relating to three southern provinces. Thus ten of the eighteen provinces south of the Great Wall were included in the so-called "spheres of interest" of these powers.

In 1899, the "sphere of influence" was replaced by the "Open Door" policy. According to Rowe, because neither Britain nor the United States wanted to see the genuine colonial possessions of the various powers, they asked the powers not to monopolize trade in their spheres, but to preserve an "Open Door" for the trade of all nations. Though the "Open Door" was proposed for their own profit, it did "slow down somewhat the rapid erosion of China's administrative and territorial integrity."

While mobilizing a great resistance to Western aggression, the imperial government of China also faced many internal difficulties following the first defeat by Britain in the Opium War. China was, as reported by Rowe, convulsed by a series of very large rebellions:
Following the defeat by Britain, 1839-1842, and continuing through nearly thirty years . . . there were at least six major rebellions, the average duration of which was nearly fourteen years . . . The Taiping rebellion which lasted from 1848 to 1865, is calculated to have cost the lives of twenty million Chinese by fire, sword, pestilence, or starvation.

The Taiping rebellion is important not only because of its long duration and heavy casualties, but also because it, according to Purcell, had an ideology of its own:

Unlike other Chinese rebels, the Taipings had a definite ideology. They aimed at public ownership of land, equal allotment of surplus money and food, and a self-supporting economy. The source of the ideas embodied in the Taiping reforms were the Rites of the Chou dynasty (Li Chi) and the works of Mencius, supplemented by and interwoven with the tenets of Christianity.

Among many reasons why the Taipings finally collapsed, according to McAleavy, the primary one was that their innovations in religion and morals were not accepted by many people who had an interest in maintaining the existing order of things. The dissension and murder among the Taiping leaders in their "Heavenly Capital" (Nanking) after the end of 1853 further inflicted a mortal wound on them. They were completely defeated after the Hunan Army, trained and led by Tseng Kuo-fan, entered the "Heavenly Capital" in July 1864.

The internal problems were also raised in part by the government itself. The imperial government of China after the Opium War is generally regarded as backward,
ineffective, and corrupt. China's defeat by Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War, for example, according to Rowe, was due to:

China's forces were divided up among local governors and were poorly equipped. The money which should have been spent on new armament had gone largely into the pockets of the corrupt officials.

This defeat, as reported by Rowe, "was a severe shock to many Chinese intellectuals who were now for the first time beginning to advocate reform." Chang Chih-tung (1837-1925), Kang Yu-wei (1858-1927), and Sun Yat-sen were three among these intellectuals, though they differed greatly in their ideas. Chang supported "the ancient moral order through the material strength derived from knowledge of modern ways and means." Kang argued that constitutional monarchy should be adopted in China. Sun, unlike Chang and Kang, was "dedicated to the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the substitution for it of a parliamentary form of government." Under the impact of the defeat by Japan, the Emperor accepted Kang's program for reform, but later, these changes were strongly resisted by the vast majority of the traditional "scholar-bureaucrats." The reform ended in a tragic result:

He [Kang] was denounced to the Empress Dowager, the real power behind the throne, who moved immediately to arrest the Emperor. Kang barely escaped from China with his life.
As mentioned before in this chapter, the Manchu, the ruler of the Ching dynasty in Chinese history, was regarded as an alien and could not be accepted by ordinary people in their hearts. Clandestine societies formed to overthrow the Manchu regime were not uncommon during the whole period of the Ching dynasty. It was also an internal problem for the imperial government. This latent crisis was, according to McAleavy, largely responsible for the Taipings' early victories. The clandestine societies, as reported by Chuang, also played an important role in Sun Yat-sen's revolution, though Sun's revolutionary group Hsing Chung Hui (The Revival of China Society), and from 1905 Tung Meng Hui (The China Federal Association) had a more profound ideology than those societies. The four major aims of Sun's group were "expulsion of the Manchus, restoration of Chinese rule, the establishment of a republic, and the equalization of land rights," while the aims of most clandestine societies were "expulsion of the Manchus and restoration of the Ming dynasty [the dynasty before the Ching dynasty]."

According to Chuang, there were ten abortive uprisings by Sun's revolutionary group in central China and in the south and southwest parts of the country between 1895 and 1911. On October 10, 1911, as reported in A Pictorial History of the Republic of China, a successful
uprising in Wu-chang (in central China), directed by some members of the group, was followed by the capture of many provinces by the revolutionaries. The imperial government lost the control of most parts of China at the end of that year. The abdication of the Emperor was finally announced in February 1912, after the establishment of a republic--the Republic of China--by the revolutionaries and a peace talk between the Manchu regime and the revolutionaries.

We may conclude that the imperial government of China during the period from the Opium War to 1911 was like a dying poor creature suffering from both incurable cancer internally and irresistible calamity externally. An ineffective regime which could never adapt itself to circumstances was unfortunately forced to face a series of impacts from the Western world. As a result, a great tragedy for the Chinese people--the partition of China by Western powers--followed. Not everyone could tolerate this situation for long, especially those with a conscience, so uprisings broke out and brought the regime to an end.

1912 to 1924

In December 1911, according to Purcell, Sun Yat-sen was elected in Nanking (in central China), the capital of the newly founded Republic of China at this time, by sixteen out of the seventeen provincial representatives of
the revolutionaries as Provisional President. The next year, 1912, was the first year of the Republic.

In February 1912, Sun resigned the presidency in favor of Yuan Shih-kai, a high-ranking official and military leader of the imperial government who, according to A Pictorial History of the Republic of China, was considered the most likely person to work out an early abdication of the Ching monarch in Peking (in northern China). This resignation, largely due to Sun's broad-mindedness, as reported by Paul Monroe in his book, China: A Nation in Evolution, included some conditions:

Dr. Sun, as well as his supporters, recognized his own inexperience and the need of a strong executive if the republican movement was to succeed. With a generosity and a broad-mindedness that goes far to explain his subsequent popularity, and with the approval of the committee, he offered the presidency of the new republic to Yuan Shih-kai on condition of his acceptance by public oath of the Republic and of the Constitution.

Purcell also reported that Sun sincerely hoped the Republic would safeguard democratic rights:

Sun appreciated the situation, and believing, or hoping, that the form of a Republic would safeguard democratic rights, offered the Presidency to Yuan. That Sun was completely sincere in his beliefs (or hopes) cannot be doubted.

After Yuan assumed the Provisional Presidency in Peking, according to Rowe, "it soon became obvious that he was still a monarchist and that he intended nothing less than the establishment of a new dynasty with himself as the
first emperor." The Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party) was formed as an open political party later. Campaigning for democracy and trying to curb the ambition of Yuan, as reported by Purcell, it was formed in August 1912 by a combination of the Tung Meng Hui (formerly a secret revolutionary organization in the Ching dynasty) and the United Republic Party, together with some small parties, to oppose the Republican Party, which supported Yuan. 

Sun and his Kuomintang opened the so-called "Second Revolution" against Yuan a little more than a year after the Manchu abdication, for some intolerable reasons:

The Kuomintang stood in the path of Yuan's ambitions, and he determined to destroy it. This he proceeded to do with every available device of bribery, intrigue, violence, and murder. . . . Sun Yat-sen had seen what Yuan really was up to, and determined to lead a military expedition against him.

The "Second Revolution" failed, and Sun and the others had to flee the country in August 1913.

Yuan, as reported by McAleavy, became the Emperor of a new dynasty--Chinese Empire--in 1916 after a series of arrangements. His monarchy, according to Rowe, immediately caused much negative response from both the Chinese and the foreign governments:

At this point, the foreign powers, who had recognized Yuan as President all along, took alarm. The anti-monarchists rebelled in the southwest.
Even after Yuan canceled the monarchy and resumed his presidency, his resignation was insisted upon.\textsuperscript{123} When he refused to resign, "a number of provinces in central, southern and southwestern China withdrew their support from the government and set up their own regimes."\textsuperscript{124} Finally, according to McAleavy, "between rage and frustration, he [Yuan] broke down completely," and died in June 1916.\textsuperscript{125}

After Yuan's death, as reported by McAleavy, China began to drift into chaos.\textsuperscript{126} This was the so-called warlord period.\textsuperscript{127} Purcell offered a brief introduction about the different groups of the warlords:

From 1916 onwards China was divided up under the "warlords." There were two groups--the Chihli (Hopei) and the Anhwei clique. The former was linked with Anglo-American and the latter with Japanese interest, in the furtherance of which interests (and of course their own), they fought one another. There was also in Manchuria a Fengtien clique subsidized by Japan, under Chang Tso-lin.\textsuperscript{128}

The warlordism, according to Randall Gould in his book, \textit{China in the Sun}, was inevitable due to the lack of preparedness of the Chinese for the Revolution of 1911:

From the standpoint of sheer expediency ... The Chinese were slow starters. But there is another side to the matter. Judging from the viewpoint of inward preparedness, the Chinese Revolution came not too late, but too early ... China's revolution occurred before the country was mentally and spiritually ready for it.\textsuperscript{129}

Gould argued that Sun Yat-sen and a handful of other revolutionary-minded persons "did not overthrow the Manchu dynasty in a true sense."\textsuperscript{130}
Shortly before Yuan's death, according to Chuang, Sun Yat-sen returned to China from Japan. After Yuan's death, Sun spent much time in Shanghai, from where he opposed the Premier Tuan Chi-jui in Peking. Tuan, according to Purcell, instigated the warlords of various provinces to force the President Li Yuan-hung, who succeeded Yuan, to dissolve parliament. This was because Tuan, on pressure from Japan, broke off relations with Germany and intended to enter World War I, while Li was influenced by the United States, which urged Li to oppose the entry of China into the war. (According to McAleavy, the United States was afraid that if China joined the allied camp, "she would automatically qualify for a seat at the eventual peace conference and would be able to defend her interests against Japan or anyone else."

In 1917, according to Chuang, Sun went from Shanghai to Canton, where he established the Military Government of the Republic of China for "clearance of internal disorder and protection of the Constitution [of the Republic of China]." A Pictorial History of the Republic of China also indicates Sun's efforts to protect the Constitution:

The failure of the rule of democracy, provided by the Constitution of the Republic of China, agitated Dr. Sun, never a man to sit back. In July 1917 he brought the Navy to Canton, and called upon members of the defunct Parliament to join him for an emergency conference. The result was "Outline Charter for the Establishment of the Military Government of the Republic of China." Dr.
Sun was elected Commander-in-Chief of Armed Forces. The administration of the Military Government was, however, actually controlled by the Kwang-hsi clique of warlords.

In 1918, Sun resigned and went to Shanghai, where he, according to A Pictorial History of the Republic of China, "devoted himself to the writings of books aimed at the enlightenment of his countrymen to the paths of democracy and national reconstruction." Among Sun's books, the National Reconstruction was a combination by which three of Sun's earlier books, Doctrine of Sun Wen (1919), The International Development of China (191), and The Preliminary Steps to Democracy (1917), were put into one volume.

In 1921, according to A Pictorial History of the Republic of China, Sun went to Canton after the Kwang-hsi warlords were driven away by the Kwang-tung Revolutionary Army under Cheng Chiung-ming. Sun was elected by the Emergency Committee of the Parliament the Emergency President to the Republic while the Military Government was replaced by the Revolutionary Government. After the provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-hsi were unified under the Revolutionary Government, Chen Chiung-ming suddenly contrived a coup-d'état and attacked Sun's Presidential Office in Canton in 1922. Sun finally left in safety for Shanghai by way of Hong Kong.
The Soviet Union, as reported by McAleavy, was in close contact with Sun after 1921. Moscow was reported by its delegates in China as believing that "the warlord might well control the strongest army in the country, but was totally lacking in political value," and Sun seemed "the only possible champion of the New China they [the Russians] envisaged." In January 1923, a Russian emissary, Adolf Joffe visited Sun in Shanghai and ended with the publication of a joint statement. The joint statement, according to McAleavy, declared the following:


Sun did rely on the assistance from the Soviet Union to a large extent after he went back to Canton because, according to Rowe, he failed to get support from the Western powers. Meanwhile, Chinese communists were also allowed to join the Kuomintang in Canton.

According to Chuang, Sun returned to Canton again in February 1923 after the troops loyal to him launched a counterattack against Chen and drove Chen to Huei-chou. In August 1923, while still fighting against Chen, Sun sent a "Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Delegation," headed by Chiang Kai-shek, to Russia for learning some political and military affairs there. After the delegation came back, Sun assigned Chiang to set up the Whampoa Military Academy
to train military officers for the fulfillment of Sun's "national revolution." The Academy, according to Rowe, largely improved the armed forces under Sun and the Kuomintang:

Cadets were carefully chosen and were given stiff military training, accompanied by political education. Army leadership improved, so that by 1926 the two chief southern provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-hsi were both solidly under Kuomintang control, with armed forces of about 90,000 men.

From January to August, 1924, as reported in A Pictorial Biography of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Sun gave a series of lectures on the "Three Principles of the People" to the members of military and civil departments, in the hall of Kwang-tung Senior Normal School, Canton. These lectures were important for his personnel, Sun believed, because the psychological reconstruction should take precedence over all other reconstructions and the "Three Principles of the People" lectures were the major part of the psychological reconstruction. However, he did not finish the lectures. He had to go to Shao-kuan in north Kwang-tung for the military preparation of the North Expedition.

The Northern Government in Peking was mainly responsible for China's international affairs from 1912 to 1924, while Sun's National Government in southern China was, as reported by McAleavy, never accepted by the world at large. Due to the fighting among different cliques in the North, from 1916 on, according to Rowe, "the powers
recognized a series of 'governments' in Peking, but the real power was in the hands of local leaders, the 'war-lords' of the period."\textsuperscript{160} The Northern Government faced a series of diplomatic crises with Japan during this period. The following are two examples:

1. In 1914, at the beginning of World War I, according to Rowe, "Japan joined the Allies and attacked the German leasehold at Kiaochow Bay (Tsingtao), in Shantung Province [in northern China]," even though the Chinese Government in Peking had already proclaimed its neutrality.\textsuperscript{161}

2. In 1915, according to Rowe, Japan forwarded to the Northern Government the so-called Twenty-one Demands, "which aimed at making China a protectorate of Japan."\textsuperscript{162} Purcell also reported that Yuan, for obtaining Japanese support, "virtually accepted all of the notorious Twenty-one Demands . . ."\textsuperscript{163}

In general, the political situation in China in 1924 was "in a miserable state of division," as described by Purcell.\textsuperscript{164} There were two formal governments: one in the north, and the other one in the south, but most of the country was actually controlled by many nearsighted warlords. As reported by McAleavy, the warlords were by no means within the constructive group:

The knowledge that their tenure of power was precarious was itself sufficient to cause them to
regard any long-term investments as a waste of time, for a warlord could not hope to found a local dynasty.

Among the many different leaders, Sun Yat-sen appears to be the most sublime one, who always seemed to devote himself to some unselfish goals, such as the psychological and physical reconstructions of his country. According to "Invincibility of Sun Yat-sen," an article in Literary Digest, January 20, 1923, Sun also carried the popularity of all China:

It is wonderful how Sun, the defeated leader of Canton [by Chen Chiung-ming], still carries the popularity of not only Canton but all China... he is the only honest politician likely to become the president of the Republic in the near future, and capable, if surrounded by clever young men, of giving the Chinese some show of unity.

"If surrounded by clever young men" is a pertinent modifier for the description above. Sun suffered failure in the process of seeking his goals before and after the 1911 Revolution due to insufficiency of clever persons around him. This also supports what Gould said--China's revolution occurred before the country was mentally and spiritually ready for it. The National Government set up by Sun in Canton, as described by McAleavy, "was a creature even more lamentable than its counterpart in Peking, being obliged, on several occasions, to abandon its capital city at the local warlord's change of whim and scatter for safety to Hong Kong or the foreign settlements of
The lectures on the "Three Principles of the People" (as a treatment for his mentally and spiritually retarded people), as well as the establishment of the Whampoa Military Academy (so he no longer relied on the troops of the warlords for his idealistic goals), can be regarded, in some sense, as a reaction to the prior failure.

In brief, the political situation in China at the time of the selected speeches was nothing other than upheaval and uncertainty. Nobody in the country seemed to dominate the political stage. The long-term disunion of the country and the endless fighting among the warlords must have largely weakened the nation's potential to upgrade its international status and maintain its internal stability. More problems would follow if the situation could not be improved. The whole country, filled with hopelessness, seemed anxious about tomorrow's survival.

The Social Situation in 1924

The center of the entire social system in China in the 1920s was, according to Monroe, the family.\(^\text{168}\) Within the past several thousand years, the family in China, according to McAleavy, had evolved from a simple form of insurance (The parents beget sons to help in tilling the ground and the sons support their parents when the parents get old.) into a system of doctrine regulating every aspect of the people's activity.\(^\text{169}\) This development was due to
the influence of the virtue hsiao, initially advocated by Confucius (551-479 B.C.) and usually translated into English as filial piety. In the 1920s, as reported by Monroe, hsiao was still regarded as "the first duty" of human beings by the Chinese. It held their family together:

A saying of Confucius, "Children should not wander far while their parents are alive," is yet commonly observed and holds the family as a bond. In a similar way, loyalty to brothers, sisters, and kinsmen is taught. Violation of these rules may be brought before the family tribunal.

Ancestor worship was a part of hsiao and important to the family. "Worship of ancestors," indicated Monroe, "holds the family together and necessitates its perpetuity by adoption of sons, or by concubinage if necessary." Unlike the family in the West, the Chinese families in the 1920s might consist of four or five generations and four or five collateral branches. Several hundred distinct families in one village may have belonged to one "clan" (a group of people being descended from a common ancestor), or represent more than one "clan," with several families in each "clan."

Under the strong family system, according to Rowe, an intense, perhaps even extreme "familial individualism" could be found, while the "personal individualism" of the West could hardly exist in China. Monroe indicated that the people under this system usually had very little contact
with the government. 178 The annual land tax was about all the contact that was essential in normal times. 179 Most people were indifferent to the disturbance of the wars of the militarists if those wars were not in their immediate region. 180 Rowe also mentioned something with regard to the people's response toward the fighting among the war-lords:

... by and large, the struggle between the rivals for supreme power seemed of no direct interest to the people, who only wished it "would go away and leave us alone." 181

The ordinary people in the 1920s were obviously not concerned too much about political affairs.

The Chinese, as reported by Harold Archer Van Dorn in his book, Twenty Years of the Chinese Republic, are characterized as a people inclined to be practical and lacking in strong religious instinct. 182 Yet, he indicated, China never lacked religion, but blended many different religions and its tradition together:

In a sense she [China] might be called the melting-pot of all religions, for each of the four great faiths of the world has found shelter here and been fused to a greater or lesser extent with the native religious customs and traditions of the people. 183

For example, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, according to McAleavy, "have sometimes been called the three religions of China," but "to the vast majority of people the three were in no sense mutually exclusive." 184 Monroe reported that there could hardly be said to exist either orthodoxy
or heresy in China in the 1920s, especially among "the three religions" mentioned above. He also emphasized that ancestor worship was the real religion of China:

The real religion of China, which permeates the life of all the people and determines the organization of society and the characteristics of social life, is not Confucianism, Buddhism, or Taoism, but ancestor worship. Confucianism may furnish the framework of society, Buddhism or Taoism may furnish the roof but the cult of the dead is the foundation.

In the West, as reported by Monroe, the people's institutional life is based upon the idea of "the continuity of social organization," and their religious beliefs are based upon the idea of "the continuity of individual life." In China of the 1920s, only "the continuity of the family" was primary. The individual was of little value except as he/she assisted in preserving the family unity, and if life was kept normal, there was little use for further social organization. Here was a religion in which priesthood, churches or temples, monks or monasteries, a sacred book, or even Diety did not exist, or were of no importance if they existed. The combination of "familial individualism" and religion finally caused the following reversals of attitude between China and the West: The Western conception of future life became in China ancestor worship; and essentially the same principle became "in the Christian religion the keystone of orthodoxy and in the Chinese religion a superstition to be eradicated."
China, according to Monroe, has a long recorded history of educational administration dating from 2300 B.C. Yet only a "perfected" examination system was the heart of the traditional education system until it was abolished in 1905. Besides the examination system, all schools were practically private in control. From 1905, both the imperial government and the republican government approved many educational reforms or changes, such as the establishment of a centralized system by the imperial government at the close of 1905, and "the alteration of the curriculum so as to encourage the spirit of democracy instead of that of reverence to the Manchu authorities" by the republican government in 1912. Unfortunately, much of the elaboration of education systems was an ideal only, or a "paper system" before the 1911 Revolution. After 1911, educational development was greatly retarded by the political and military disturbances. In the 1920s, there had grown up "a substitution of a provincial for the national system," and generally the conditions were "chaotic," and varied greatly from province to province and from year to year.

Since many respects of the traditional education were, according to Monroe, still true in the 1920s, especially as concerned masses, they deserve further discussion here. Monroe indicated that the basic
difference between the Western education and traditional Chinese education was:

In the West education is now considered chiefly as the means of affecting the future, of determining progress. In China the old education was organized wholly as a means of preserving the past.

This was due to the influence of the Confucian texts, as reported by Monroe. "An accordance with nature" was called the "path of duty" by Confucius. The "natural state" was the "existing state of relationships." Finally, the "path of duty" became "the maintenance of that which exists, without change or modification," to the traditional scholars and even the whole society. The aim of the Chinese system of government, wholly composed of traditional "scholars in politics," was also to prevent change.

The Chinese society in 1924, as can be inferred from the data surrounding the 1920s, was in most part a traditional one. The Western conventions or systems, even though introduced in some corners of the country, were being repelled by the deep-rooted Chinese ones. The life of this conservative people was on every side influenced by their strong family system. Many religious beliefs of the outside world had been adapted for strengthening their ideas of "the continuity of the family." The value of both organization and the individual was fully victimized by the
"familial individualism." The traditional education system, emphasizing the maintenance of what exists and the virtue hsiao as "the first duty," should be responsible for this conservatism and "familial individualism." The unstable political situation, of course, also accounts largely for the retardation of change in Chinese society.

The Economic Situation in 1924

According to McAleavy, China had a population of three hundred and fifty million people in 1840. Sun Yat-sen mentioned in his "Three Principles of the People" speeches in 1924 that the estimated population of China was four hundred million people. Such a huge number of people, according to Monroe, deserved foreigners' first attention: "The first and more lasting impression one gets of China is of people--multitudes of people." This huge population, as reported by Rowe, was usually in itself the source of many problems including insufficiency of food, and very low levels of health and education. Monroe also reported that the streets and the houses in China in the 1920s were generally narrow and crowded, and manpower was used extensively:

... the narrow streets; the economic use of house space, which puts the population on the streets or on the narrow merchants' benches and counters facing the streets; the use of the streets for foot passengers only or chiefly; the use of human beings for all needs of transportation; all add to the impression of crowds. In large cities,
where some streets are wide, and where there may be vehicular traffic, most of the city traffic in merchandise and in transportation of buyers is by manpower.

The high population was certainly a very important factor which negatively influenced the economic situation in China in the 1920s.

The Chinese government in the 1920s, especially the Northern one, was, according to Monroe, mainly burdened with large military expenditures. In addition, some of "the unequal treaties" made between the Manchu regime and the foreign powers before 1912 were accepted by the government, and they were undoubtedly detrimental to the country's economic condition. Foreign control of the customs service was one instance among them. "Tariff autonomy would contribute directly to improvement of economic conditions," but, Monroe indicated, "only if the customs service is administered wisely and honestly." Rowe also reported that the economic environment was "highly disturbed" in China between 1895 and 1930, due to the political and military struggle there. Besides their direct harm to the country, war and chaos from the political and military struggle even drove capital into the foreign concession areas, where the control of money and finance was not in China. On the other hand, the Chinese people could survive many years of continuous civil war, according to Rowe, mainly because of two facts:
First, the armies and weapons of war which were being used in China generally lacked enough mass and power to bring general destruction to the productive facilities of any given area; and second, since there was no national economy, economic disruptions were chiefly local and regional and thus could not bring about a general economic crisis.

He indicated that the reason China was kept economically divided was lack of modern communication, and trade between different areas was not common:

Railroad development was very slight except in Manchuria, an area dominated by Russia and Japan and where these powers developed railways under their own control. The use of the automobile and airplane was just beginning in China. Thus trade between different major regions in China was a mere trickle.

China was, according to Rowe, primarily an agricultural country before 1930. Concerning the agriculture and the land in China in the 1920s, Monroe reported that the people in general had only a very small unit of the holdings. The average size of the farm in all China was less than three acres. The size of the farm usually could not support the whole family of the owner, as shown by the following investigation:

The Chinese Bureau of Economic Information estimates that for the wheat area of the North it would take the crop of 4.7 acres of wheat to support a family of five at subsistence point; that thirty-three percent of the farms are less than one acre in extent; that fifty-five percent are one and one-half acres or less; and that the large holdings are very few.
Due to the lack of scientific investigation and knowledge, Monroe also reported, even with 80 or 85 percent of the population engaged in food-raising occupations, there was not sufficient food to supply the actual life needs of the people.222

Under the circumstance mentioned above, the living standard of the Chinese people in the 1920s was, as reported by Monroe, very low.223 As indicated by an investigation in 1922, sponsored by the International Famine Relief Commission, the yearly income of most families in the four provinces investigated was 150 Chinese silver dollars (or in American money, $75).224 Most people had no meats, fish, eggs, milk, or milk products for their food, but relied chiefly on grains, vegetables, and fruits.225

The frequency of famine, according to Monroe, seriously affected the economic condition of China in the 1920s.226 Two investigations disclosed that there were 1,828 famines in China between 108 B.C. and 1911, and all were of sufficient extremity to require government action for their relief.227 Each famine could cause an incredible amount of death and misery.

One lasting from 1876 to 1879 caused the death of thirteen million people. Even with all the facilities of modern transportation, in the recent famine of 1920, five hundred thousand perished.228
Drought was the most common among many causes of the famines. It might cause failure of crops at first; and since there was "little accumulated surplus, with no adequate transportation facilities," starvation in the affected areas was finally inevitable. The other causes varied largely--economic, natural, political, and social.

Handicraft was, as reported by Monroe, developed early in China and existing in the 1920s for some reasons: Earlier than any other people, the Chinese developed a minute division of labor in industrial pursuits. Due chiefly to the pressure of population but partly to the early development of the arts, partly to the absence of machinery, partly to isolation, the minute division of labor continues and results in the continuance of the handicraft system.

The handicraft system could be easily found in many families, where agricultural or other forms of work were supplemented by spinning, weaving, embroidery, lace work, etc. It could also be found in many shops or stores in larger villages, towns, and cities, which were not only the places where articles were sold, but where articles were made. In the 1920s, a part of the system was adapted to produce some items, such as rugs, for the quantity market of the West. Some Western products, such as the knitting machine, had also been introduced to the system.

While the agriculture was supplemented by the work of handicraft in many areas, according to Monroe, modern
industry also began to come into China in the 1920s. Modern industry caused many problems as well as benefits for the country. "The modern industry--machinery and organization--," he indicated, "must supplement the limited production of food [in China]." Yet, some problems, such as "the appallingly low wage" and the abuse of child labor, also became very common in the country.240

The economic situation in China in 1924, as shown by the data around the 1920s, was closely related to its political or social counterpart. The whole country was poverty-stricken mainly because of continuous war and chaos. Over-population and lack of industrial technology also contributed to the insufficiency of its food supply. Even though modern industry had been introduced to this agricultural country, it did not materially improve the situation. A well-arranged nation-wide economic plan seemed to be the best solution if the country could be politically unified and stable in the future.

Summary

Sun Yat-sen was born in 1866 in Kwang-tung, a southern province of China which had connections with Western countries. Before the Ching dynasty (1644-1911), his ancestors had moved from the North mostly because of political situations. Nobody in his family had been within the ruling group since the beginning of the Manchu regime
of the Ching dynasty. Sun's family was originally poor, but this situation improved as Sun's eldest brother successfully built up his own enterprise in Hawaii. Owing to the family background, Sun received most of his education in Western schools, including the schools with Western education systems in Hawaii, Hong Kong and Canton (China). After spending several years in Hawaii, Sun became intolerant of China's backwardness while he was studying in Hong Kong and Canton for his high school and college education. His acquaintance with anti-Manchu secret societies, and comparison between British-governed Hong Kong and Chinese-governed Kwang-tung during this period further reinforced his belief that the imperial government, or the Manchu regime of China should be overthrown.

The Manchu regime, regarded as an alien ruler in China by most Chinese people, faced many external problems with Japan, Russia and certain Western powers, and internal difficulties with anti-Manchu secret societies and large rebellions. After a series of defeats, the regime had to accept many "unequal treaties." Under the "unequal treaties," China was actually controlled by many foreign countries.

The imperial government was taken over by republican form since 1912 mainly as a result of Sun's revolutionary movement. Yet, most Chinese people had not been
mentally and spiritually ready for a new era. The president Yuan Shih-kai's intention to change the republican system back to the monarchy, with himself as the new emperor, in 1916 caused the tragedy of so-called warlordism in China as well as his own death. The whole country was immediately divided up under the warlords, and filled with war and chaos before and during 1924. The government in Peking, after Yuan, was constantly manipulated by several more powerful warlords. Foreign powers, such as Japan, were strongly influential in the government, while many "unequal treaties" were still valid.

The family was the center of the Chinese society in the 1920s. Nothing was more important to most Chinese people than "the continuity of the family." Most people also suffered from poverty and insufficient food supply due to continuous war and chaos, over-population, and industrial backwardness. It seems that they had not been taken care of by any government for a long time. This social-economic situation made the people's indifference to the destiny of their country very obvious.

Sun Yat-sen did not give up his ideal to establish a real republican government in China even though he encountered a number of failures and difficulties before 1924. A southern government was established in Canton by him not long before 1924. He also planned the Northern
Expedition for the reunification of the country, and prepared a set of theories and plans for the reconstruction of the country. Finally, he decided to introduce the "Three Principles of the People"—the essentials of his political and economic theory—to his political and military personnel in Canton by a series of speeches in 1924.

China in 1924, as we can see from its political-social-economic milieu, was in a miserable state of upheaval and uncertainty. The country needed to be reunified as it was before Yuan's death. A well-rounded nation-wide plan for its reconstruction and prosperity, after reunification, was also urgently needed. Sun seemed to be the person struggling for this goal.
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CHAPTER III

INDUCTIVE SUPPORT AND DEDUCTIVE REASONING

IN THREE SELECTED SPEECHES

The purpose of this chapter was to answer the following questions, which appeared under "Purpose of the Investigation" in Chapter I:

1. What was the origin of the selected speeches?
2. What assertions are found in the selected speeches?
3. How extensively and how effectively did Sun use inductive support to substantiate the various assertions in the selected speeches?
4. How extensively and how effectively did Sun use deductive reasoning to establish his assertions in the selected speeches?

Process of Choosing Criteria

Among many speech books, Lester Thonssen, A. Craig Baird and Waldo W. Braden's Speech Criticism unchangeably provides a commonly accepted standard for rhetorical criticism. The original edition of the book had only two authors: Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird. Waldo W. Braden joined them in the second edition. All of the three
authors have been among the outstanding scholars in the speech field. Everyone of them has served as president of the Speech Association of America at different times, and has been the author or the editor of numerous publications. Their training and long-term involvement in the field make the book, *Speech Criticism*, of both theoretical and empirical value. This book also provides detailed criteria for the evaluation of inductive support and deductive reasoning. It seems that these criteria are the best ones now available in the speech field.

**Inductive Criteria**

The criteria for evaluating inductive support, as stated by Thonssen, Baird and Braden, are:

1. Are the instances examined "true" or what they appear to be?
2. Are the instances examined sufficient in number to warrant the generalization?
3. Are the instances representative?
4. Are negative instances discoverable?
5. Does the method of eliminating alternative hypotheses validate the conclusion?
6. Does the generalization conform to the laws of probability and causation (scientific analysis)?

Among these criteria listed above, only the first three will be applied. The main reason for this decision is that the selected speeches were given about sixty years ago, and today we can hardly check the alternative courses of action that might have been taken in a time so long ago. Some instances which are available to us now might
not have been available to the speaker in 1924; and some others not available now might have been available in 1924. In other words, only the criteria 1-3 are clearly applicable to the evidence after it has been identified. The criteria 4-6, on the other hand, deal with the alternatives, and thus cannot be applied with any certainty.

Deductive Criteria

At the same time, Thonssen, Baird and Braden indicate that traditional logic has organized its concepts and treatment of deduction under the syllogistic forms of major premises, minor premises, and conclusions. The criteria for judging deductive reasoning, as reported by them, should be divided into three categories according to the framing of the major premise of the typical forms: categorical (assertion without qualification), disjunctive (the major premise lists alternative possibilities), and the hypothetical (the major premise expresses a condition). The three categories can be represented in the following examples:

Categorical syllogism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAJOR PREMISE:</th>
<th>MIDDLE TERM</th>
<th>MINOR TERM</th>
<th>CONCLUSION:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All rhetoricians</td>
<td>Thomas Wilson</td>
<td>Thomas Wilson</td>
<td>All rhetoricians</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MAJOR TERM rely upon the classics.
MIDDLE TERM is a rhetorician.
MAJOR TERM relies upon the classics.
Disjunctive syllogism

MAJOR PREMISE: Either overproduction or underconsumption was responsible for the postwar depression.
MINOR PREMISE: Overproduction was not responsible.
CONCLUSION: Therefore, underconsumption was responsible for the postwar depression.

Hypothetical syllogism

MAJOR PREMISE: If world peace is to be achieved, the United Nations must be supported.
MINOR PREMISE: World peace must be achieved.
CONCLUSION: Therefore, the United Nations must be supported.

The criteria for evaluating deductive reasoning, under each syllogistic form, are as follows:

Categorical syllogism

1. The syllogism must contain a major premise, a minor premise, and a conclusion
2. It must contain three terms: major, middle, and minor. The arrangement of these terms in the propositions conforms to the scheme previously outlined.
3. The middle term of the syllogism must be distributed--i.e., used in a universal sense, meaning "all" or "every"--in at least one of the premises.
4. To be distributed in the conclusion, the term must be distributed in one of the premises.
5. Two negative premises make impossible the drawing of a valid conclusion.
6. If one premise is negative, the conclusion must likewise be negative.
7. Negative conclusions cannot be draw unless one premise is negative.
8. The facts alleged in the premises should be true.
Disjunctive syllogism

1. The alternative possibilities mentioned in the major premise should be as exhaustive as the case will permit.
2. The enumerated possibilities should not overlap.
3. If the minor premise affirms one of the alternatives, the conclusion must deny the other.
4. If the minor premise denies one of the alternatives, the conclusion must affirm the other.

Hypothetical syllogism

1. If the minor premise affirms the antecedent, the conclusion must affirm the consequent.
2. If the minor premise denies the consequent, the conclusion must deny the antecedent.
3. A denial of the antecedent or an affirmation of the consequent does not make possible the realization of a reliable conclusion.

The Speeches Chosen

As stated in Chapter I under "Methodology of the Investigation," the following three speeches were chosen from Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People" speeches:


Full texts of these three speeches appear in the appendixes.

Method of Analysis

In order to analyze the selected speeches consistently and efficiently, the method of analysis needed to be carefully designed. First, the origin of the selected
speeches was investigated. While dealing with each speech, the following steps were completed:

1. All the assertions, or main points, Sun tried to make were extracted.

2. Each assertion was analyzed independently. Both inductive support and deductive reasoning for each assertion were identified. If the assertion was found to be supported by induction and/or deduction, the items of inductive support and/or deductive reasoning were totaled.

3. The items of inductive support under each assertion, if any, were classified into examples, statistics, testimony, and accepted truisms. All the basic truisms and historical traditions were treated as accepted truisms. When items were too equivocal to be identified with any certainty, a discussion with my advisor, Dr. Wayne E. Hoogestraat, was engaged to work out a final decision.

4. Finally, the related criteria were applied to decide the effectiveness of the inductive support and/or deductive reasoning.

5. A composite evaluation, concerning the extensiveness and effectiveness of the inductive support and the deductive reasoning in the three speeches, was made after all the assertions in the speeches had been analyzed.
Analysis of the Three Speeches

Origin of the Three Speeches

On November 24, 1894, Sun Yat-sen, according to Harold Z. Schiffrin in his book, *Sun Yat-sen: Reluctant Revolutionary*, established an antidynastic organization, *Hsing Chung Hui* (The Revival of China Society) in Hawaii. The aims of this organization, to which individual members had to pledge loyalty, were, as reported by Chuang Cheng in his book, *Kuo Fu Sheng Ping Yu Chih Yeh*, "expulsion of the Manchus, restoration of Chinese rule, and the establishment of a republican government." According to Chuang, the basic idea of the Principles of Nationalism and Democracy was first revealed by these aims, of which the first two were related to the Nationalism and the last was to the Democracy. When *Tung Meng Hui* (The China Federal Association) was formed in Tokyo in 1905 to substitute for *Hsing Chung Hui*, there were four aims of the party's membership oath. "The equalization of land rights" was added as the fourth aim to the original three. This aim, according to Chuang, was the origin of the Principle of Livelihood. According to Schiffrin, the three terms "Nationalism," "Democracy," and "Livelihood" were also mentioned for the first time by Sun in 1905, in his introduction to the first issue of *People's Report* (a newspaper published by *Tung Meng Hui*).
Sun's Nationalism, according to David Nelson Rowe in his book, *Modern China*, provided broader meaning of "anti-foreignism" than the original "expulsion of the Manchus" during and after the First World War:

\[ \ldots \text{the rising tide of anti-foreignism in China during and after the First World War gave new meaning to Dr. Sun's doctrines of "nationalism" which he had originally aimed at the Manchu dynasty.} \]

In 1919, as reported by Chuang, while staying in Shanghai, after he resigned from the Military Government in Canton, Sun began to write a book, "The Three Principles of the People." The manuscripts, however, were destroyed by fire during Chen Chiung-ming's coup-d'etat in 1922. As Sun himself said in 1924:

> My notes and manuscripts which represented the mental labor of years and hundreds of foreign books which I had collected for reference were all destroyed by fire. It was a distressing loss.

The sixteen "Three Principles of the People" speeches delivered by Sun between January 27 and August 24, 1924, according to Sun himself, left out much that was in his former manuscripts. The speeches selected for analysis in this chapter are "The Principle of Nationalism," lecture six, given on March 2, 1924; "The Principle of Democracy," lecture one, on March 9, 1924; and "The Principle of Livelihood," lecture four, on August 24, 1924.

The original text of the speeches was, as mentioned in Chapter I, written down in Chinese by Hwang Chang-ku.
It, as I know, has been translated into many different languages within the past few decades. In this chapter the English version titled, San Min Chu I: The Three Principles of the People, translated by Frank W. Price and published by China Publishing Company (Taiwan) in 1964 was used. The Chinese version published by Chung Yang Wen Wu Kung Ying She (The Central Information Service), Taiwan in 1972 was also used for additional reference.

"The Principle of Nationalism,"
Lecture Six

Assertions

Reading and rereading of the text of "The Principle of Nationalism," lecture six, made it clear that the assertions in the speech included the following:

1. "To know and to unite are two essentials for reviving our nationalism"

2. "If we want to restore our race's standing, besides uniting all into a great national body, we must first recover our ancient morality"

3. If we want to regain our national spirit, "we must revive not only our morality but also our old learning"

4. "If we want to restore our former standing, we must also revive our ancient powers"
5. "To advance China to a first place among the nations," we will "need to learn the strong points of Europe and America"

6. After China reaches the first place, it should "rescue the weak, lift up the fallen"

**Evaluation**

**Assertion one**

The first assertion in the speech was "To know and to unite are two essentials for reviving our nationalism." The first part of the speech was given for the development of this assertion.

Since "to know and to unite" were two terms too broad to carry any exact meaning for us, they needed to be defined. "To know and to unite" were explained and limited in this speech by the speaker as:

First, we must understand that we occupy today a most perilous position; and second, knowing our danger, we must utilize China's ancient social groups, as the family and the clan, and consoli-date them to form a great national body.

**Inductive support.** Nothing which could be identified as inductive support for this assertion was found, even though a careful study of the speech had been done. The speaker does not appear to utilize any inductive support for this assertion, and therefore, under this assertion,
surely the speaker failed to follow criterion 2 since no support was offered.

**Deductive reasoning.** Analysis of the speech revealed that there were two hypothetical syllogisms established for the assertion. The speaker did rely, though not heavily, on some deductive reasoning to develop this assertion.

The first hypothetical syllogism was implied in the following enthymeme:

If we want to restore our national standing, we must first revive our national spirit.

Even though the minor premise and conclusion were not expressed, they could be supplied without changing the speakers apparent meaning:

**MAJOR PREMISE:** If we want to restore our national standing, we must first revive our national spirit.

**MINOR PREMISE:** We want to restore our national standing.

**CONCLUSION:** We must first revive our national spirit.

This hypothetical syllogism met the criteria stated before. It followed the first rule very well; i.e., the minor premise affirmed the antecedent while the conclusion also affirmed the consequent. The other two rules did not apply, since the minor premise of the syllogism neither denied the antecedent, nor affirmed the consequent.
The syllogism could, therefore, be regarded as an effective one.

    The second hypothetical syllogism was, like the first one, an enthymeme, with only the major premise clearly expressed:

    If we want to revive our national spirit, we must fulfill two conditions [to know and to unite].

    It could be rewritten to a syllogistic form as follows:

    MAJOR PREMISE: If we want to revive our national spirit, we must fulfill two conditions [to know and to unite].

    MINOR PREMISE: We want to revive our national spirit.

    CONCLUSION: We must fulfill two conditions [to know and to unite].

    In the syllogism above, the minor premise and the conclusion affirmed respectively the antecedent and the consequent in the major premise. For the same reason as for the first hypothetical syllogism, the criteria have been met.

Assertion two

    The second assertion in the speech was: "If we want to restore our race's standing, besides uniting all into a great national body, we must first recover our ancient morality."
Inductive support. Careful study of the text showed six examples, two items of testimony, and three accepted truisms used by the speaker to support this assertion.

The examples were:

1. Mongols were absorbed by the Chinese
2. Manchus were assimilated by the Chinese
3. The speaker saw the character for "Filial Devotion" in an ancestral temple
4. The speaker saw the extra large character for "Filial Devotion" in another temple
5. The Chinese do not use written contracts
6. Korea has been destroyed by Japan

The items of testimony were:

1. Motze: "Love without discrimination"
2. Jesus: "Universal love"

The accepted truisms were:

1. "A nation becomes strong at first by the expansion of its military power, then by the development of various forms of culture"
2. Filial duty in the "Canon of Filial Piety"
3. "He who delights not in killing a man can unify all men"

The speaker adopted eleven items of inductive support in development of this second assertion. Inductive support was extensively used.
All the evidence used as inductive support appears to have been true at the time of the speech. They were also sufficient in number to warrant the assertion. The examples one and two and the accepted truism one were used to support the speaker's subordinate point: Morality is important to the country. All the others were for another subordinate point: China's moral standards used to be very high, and they should be recovered. The instances were judged to be representative of Chinese history. For example, the Chinese had been completely conquered twice by alien people, i.e., by Mongols and Manchus. These aliens who came to China had finally been assimilated by the Chinese, and at the time Sun was speaking it was commonly believed that they had been assimilated largely owing to their inferior standard of culture and morality. It was thus appropriate for the speaker to use these two examples to illustrate the importance of culture and morality. In addition, the moralities such as Filial Piety, Kindness and Love, about which the speaker offered many instances, were always highly appreciated in the ancient Chinese society. They could undoubtedly represent the "ancient morality." Since all the criteria adopted have been met, the inductive support for the second assertion should be regarded as effective.
Deductive reasoning. Two hypothetical syllogisms were offered under the second assertion. The speaker obviously did not depend so much on deductive reasoning as on inductive support for the assertion.

The first hypothetical syllogism was found in the following enthymeme:

. . . if the nation and the state are to maintain a permanent standing, moral character is essential.

Just like the two enthymemes discussed in the first assertion part, the minor premise and the conclusion for the syllogism were not expressed. They were to be filled in by the audience:

**MAJOR PREMISE:** If the nation and the state are to maintain a permanent standing, moral character is essential.

**MINOR PREMISE:** The nation and the state are to maintain a permanent standing.

**CONCLUSION:** Moral character is essential.

The syllogism above met the criteria for hypothetical syllogism very well. It followed the first rule, i.e., the minor premise and the conclusion affirmed, respectively, the antecedent and the consequent in the major premise. The minor premise neither denied the antecedent nor affirmed the consequent, so the other rules did not apply. It was thus effective.
The second hypothetical syllogism was found in the assertion itself:

... if we want to restore our race's standing, besides uniting all into a great national body, we must first recover our ancient morality. . . .

This enthymeme could be rewritten to fit the syllogistic form:

MAJOR PREMISE: If we want to restore our race's standing, besides uniting all into a great national body; we must first recover our ancient morality.

MINOR PREMISE: We want to restore our race's standing.

CONCLUSION: Besides uniting all into a great national body, we must first recover our ancient morality.

It was not difficult to find that this hypothetical syllogism had exactly the same pattern as the first. Therefore, for the same reasons, it should be regarded as effective.

Assertion three

The third assertion in the speech was: "If we want to restore our former standing, we must revive not only our morality but also our old learning."

Inductive support. Two examples and two items of testimony were used as inductive support for the assertion in the speech.
The examples were:

1. "The scholars of the Sung Period paid much attention to the mental training"

2. "The Confucian scholars of the Sung age were careful and strict in 'regulating the mind, making the purpose sincere, and cultivating the person'"

The items of testimony were:

1. "Great learning": "Search into the nature of things, extend the boundaries of knowledge, make the purpose sincere, regulate the mind, cultivate personal virtue, rule the family, govern the state, pacify the world"

2. Confucius: "If the mat is not straight, do not sit down"

The speaker did not employ so many items of inductive support for this assertion as he did for assertion two. Four items listed above were used.

The items met all the criteria except the second one, i.e., the instances must be "sufficient in number to warrant the generalization." All the instances offered focused on the political philosophy in the "Great Learning," but the "old learning" of China carried a broader meaning than just one volume of Chinese classics. The speaker could do either of the following two things to make his inductive support warrant a generalization: At first, he could offer more "old learning," such as "Confucian
Analects" under the assertion; secondly, he could modify his assertion to a more specific respect, such as "We must revive the political philosophy in the 'Great Learning.'" The first and the third rules were carefully observed by the speaker. All the instances offered were true or appear to have been true. They were also representative of the "old learning" in China, though not sufficient. The "Great Learning," one of the "Four Classics" in China, is a widely known and commonly accepted volume to the Chinese. It was an instance pertinent to substantiate the "old learning." Inductive support, as mentioned above, was not so effectively used for this assertion as for the second one.

Deductive reasoning. Scrutiny of the text revealed one disjunctive syllogism and two hypothetical syllogisms under the third assertion. Deductive reasoning was, though not extensively, substantially used.

The disjunctive syllogism was found in the following enthymeme:

As a result, we cannot govern our own country, and foreigners, seeing that we cannot do so, want to come and establish international control over us.

A syllogistic form could be disclosed by supplying the enthymeme with the implied major premise, and rewriting it as follows:
MAJOR PREMISE: Either we can govern our own country, or foreigners will come and establish international control over us.

MINOR PREMISE: We cannot govern our own country.

CONCLUSION: Foreigners will come and establish international control over us.

The syllogism met all the criteria for disjunctive syllogisms. The alternative possiblities in the major premise did not overlap. They were also exhaustive, i.e., either one must be true. Besides, the minor premise denied the first possibility, while the conclusion affirmed the second. The third rule did not apply, since the minor premise did not affirm either one of the alternatives.

The first hypothetical syllogism was implied in the following enthymeme:

If we want to regain our national spirit, we must reawaken the learning as well as the moral ideals which we once possessed.

The enthymeme could be rewritten as follows:

MAJOR PREMISE: If we want to regain our national spirit, we must reawaken the learning as well as the moral ideals which we once possessed.

MINOR PREMISE: We want to regain our national spirit.

CONCLUSION: We must reawaken the learning as well as the moral ideals which we once possessed.
As with those hypothetical syllogisms appearing under the last assertion, this hypothetical syllogism satisfied the criteria. The minor premise affirmed the antecedent, and at the same time the conclusion also affirmed the consequent. The second rule did not apply, since the minor premise did not deny the consequent. The minor premise neither denied the antecedent, nor affirmed the consequent, so the third rule did not apply either.

The second hypothetical syllogism was found in an enthymeme:

If now we want to rule our families and govern our state and not be subject to foreign control, we must begin with personal culture, we must revive China's ancient wisdom and comprehensive philosophy.

It could also be rewritten to fit the syllogistic form:

MAJOR PREMISE: If now we want to rule our families and govern our state and not be subject to foreign control, we must begin with personal culture, and revive China's ancient wisdom and comprehensive philosophy.

MINOR PREMISE: We want to rule our families and govern our state and not be subject to foreign control.

CONCLUSION: We must begin with personal culture, and revive China's ancient wisdom and comprehensive philosophy.
The syllogistic pattern above was the same as the previous syllogism, so, for the same reason, the criteria were met.

Assertion four

The fourth assertion found in the speech was "If we want to restore our former standing, we must also revive our ancient power."

Inductive support. There were eight examples used as inductive support under the fourth assertion:

The examples were:

1. The compass was invented by the Chinese
2. The history of printing begins with early Chinese inventions
3. Porcelain ware was first introduced in China
4. Smoke-producing black gunpower was invented by the Chinese
5. The tea leaf was discovered in China
6. Silk was first found in China
7. The arched doorway was introduced earlier in China than anywhere else.
8. The credit for inventing suspension bridges belongs to China
The speaker offered eight examples in this small part of the speech. Even though no other forms of support were included, inductive support was used extensively.

The examples offered followed all the criteria for inductive support. The examples had been commonly accepted as true in China for many years. They were also sufficient to support the speaker's point: The ancient power should be revived. Finally, they were representative of the "ancient power," since all the items the speaker mentioned did require some "power" to invent. Inductive support appears to have been effectively used here.

**Deductive reasoning.** Only one hypothetical syllogism was found under this assertion. Deductive reasoning, obviously, was not extensively used.

The only hypothetical syllogism was implied in the assertion itself:

If we want to restore our former standing, we must also revive our ancient powers.

The enthymeme can be replaced by the following syllogistic form, without changing its thrust.

**MAJOR PREMISE:** If we want to restore our former standing, we must revive our ancient powers.

**MINOR PREMISE:** We want to restore our former standing.

**CONCLUSION:** We must revive our ancient powers.
The syllogism above met all the criteria. The minor premise affirmed the antecedent, and the conclusion affirmed the consequent.

Assertion five

"To advance China to a first place among the nations, we will need to learn the strong points of Europe and America," was the fifth assertion in the speech.

**Inductive support.** Analysis of the text exposes one example and two accepted truisms used to inductively support the assertion:

The example was:

1. The United States is now considering a scheme of "linking together all its factories in one great electric power system"

The accepted truisms were:

1. "If each one of us should have a small stove to cook a meal here, it would be troublesome and wasteful, but if all joined together and cooked a meal on a big stove, we would find it much more convenient and economical"

2. "Intercepting and striking at the advance force [We should intercept and strike at the advance force whenever we want to attack our enemy and gain the battle.]"
Though there were only three items of inductive support used under this assertion, they can still be regarded extensive since this part of the speech was short. Also, the example was detailed so it occupied a large portion of treatment of the stated assertion.

All the three items of inductive support appear to have been true at the time of the speech. They are sufficient to warrant the speaker's point: Science should be learned. The example of electricity was so well-developed that everybody could easily see the importance and advantages of science. The electricity was also very representative of Western science at that time. Therefore, inductive support appears to have been effectively used.

Deductive reasoning. Only one hypothetical syllogism was used under this assertion, so the speaker did not depend much on deductive reasoning for this assertion.

The following enthymeme introduced the hypothetical syllogism:

. . . if China wants to learn the strong points of the West, she should not start with coal power but with electricity, and give a single, great motive power to the whole country.

The minor premise and conclusion could be filled in as follows:

MAJOR PREMISE: If China wants to learn the strong points of the West, she should not start with coal
power but with electricity, and give a single, great motive power to the whole country.

MINOR PREMISE: China wants to learn the strong points of the West.

CONCLUSION: China should not start with coal power but with electricity, and give a single, great motive power to the whole country.

As shown above, the minor premise and the conclusion affirmed, respectively, the antecedent and the consequent in the major premise. This means the criteria were met.

Assertion six

The sixth and last assertion in the speech was:
After China reaches the first place, it should "rescue the weak, lift up the fallen."

Inductive support. The speaker used three examples, one item of testimony, and one accepted truism in developing assertion six.

The examples were:
1. Annam was able to maintain its independence before overthrown by France
2. Burma was able to maintain its independence before overthrown by Great Britain
3. Korea was able to maintain its independence before being overthrown by Japan

The item of testimony was:

1. "Great Learning": "Governing the state and pacifying the world"

The accepted truism was:

1. "[Mankind should] rescue the weak, lift up the fallen"

The last part of the speech under assertion six was not long, and the speaker offered five items of inductive support for development.

All the items examined seem to have been true at the time of the speech. The speaker offered the three examples to emphasize that the principle of "rescue the weak, lift up the fallen" had always been observed by China, and used the testimony and the accepted truism to support the claim that China should do the same thing in the future. Inductive support was thus sufficient to warrant the assertion. All the items were also representative. The three examples were used to represent "the weak" or "the fallen." The testimony and the truism represented the origin of the responsibility, "to rescue the weak, lift up the fallen." All criteria were met, so the inductive support was judged to be effective.

Deductive reasoning. Only one hypothetical syllogism used as deductive reasoning was found under the sixth
assertion. The speaker did not extensively use deductive reasoning here.

The deductive reasoning was implied in an enthymeme:

If we want China to rise to power, we must not only restore our national standing, but we must also assume a great responsibility towards the world.

The enthymeme could fit the syllogistic form after the implied minor premise and conclusion were supplied:

MAJOR PREMISE: If we want China to rise to power, we must not only restore our national standing, but we must also assume a great responsibility towards the world.

MINOR PREMISE: We want China to rise to power.

CONCLUSION: We must not only restore our national standing, but we must also assume a great responsibility towards the world.

For the same reasons as for the hypothetical syllogism under assertion five, i.e., the minor premise and the conclusion affirmed, respectively, the antecedent and the consequent in the major premise and it did not violate the selected criteria.

"The Principle of Democracy,"
 Lecture One

Before analyzing "The Principle of Democracy," lecture one, in terms of inductive support and deductive reasoning, something in the speech deserves special
attention. Due to the semantic diversities among different languages, the imperfectness of translation from one language into another seems to be unavoidable. The English version of the texts of the selected speeches is no exception. Confusion may result, especially in "The Principle of Democracy," lecture one, if something is not clarified now. The speech, as mentioned before, was given in Chinese. In Chinese, "The Principle of Democracy" is composed of four Chinese characters: Min Chuan Chu I. The last two characters, Chu I, means "principle" or "ism" in English. The first one, Min, means "people," or "people's," while the second, Chuan, means "power," or "right." When the first and the second are combined, they can be translated literally as "people's sovereignty" or "people's power," or liberally as "democracy." Therefore, "people's sovereignty," "people's power," and "democracy" in this speech were actually the same thing, though they were interchangeably used by the translator.

Assertions

In "The Principle of Democracy," lecture one, the speaker at first provided the definition of "people's sovereignty." After the definition, the following seven assertions were revealed:
1. "The human race has used its strength [Chuan] in combat, and since its birth upon the planet until now has lived in the thick of strife" 

2. In human history, the first period was one of "struggle between man and beast in which man used only his physical strength or sometimes the species would fight together"

3. "In the second period, man fought with Nature [sic] and called divine powers to his aid"

4. "In the third period, men came into conflict with men, states with states, races with races, and autocratic power was the chief weapon"

5. We are now at "the age of the people's sovereignty--the age of democracy," which is the world current in spite of many disappointments and defeats it may meet

6. "China more than two millenniums ago had already considered the idea of democracy"

7. In order to avert further civil war, "we in our revolution have chosen democracy"

Evaluation

Assertion one

The assertion appearing at first in this speech was "The human race has used its strength [Chuan] in combat,"
and since its birth upon the planet until now has lived in
the thick of strife."

**Inductive support.** There were four accepted truisms
used as inductive support for this assertion.

The accepted truisms were:

1. "In order to exist, mankind must have protection and
   sustenance and it is daily engaged in meeting these two
   great needs"
2. "While man is maintaining his existence, other animals
   are also trying to maintain theirs"
3. "While man is defending himself, other animals are also
   defending themselves"
4. "While man seeks food, other animals are also seeking
   food"

For the short part of the speech under assertion
one, four accepted truisms were not a small quantity.

The four accepted truisms were true in a primitive
sense of existence. They were sufficient in number to
warrant that the human race had to use its strength to
survive, and also representative of the use of its strength
in many respects of life, though more concrete examples
could be added to establish the assertion more fully.
Inductive support seems to have been effective.
to be true. Therefore, the criteria 1-4 and 8 for categorical syllogisms were followed. The criteria 5-7 did not apply since neither major nor minor premise was a negative statement. The syllogism was effectively established.

Assertion two

The second assertion in the speech was: In human history, the first period was one of "struggle between man and beast in which man used only his physical strength or sometimes the species would fight together."

Inductive support. The speaker used one example and three accepted truisms as inductive support for this assertion:

The example was:

1. "The men of two places fought together against the other species"

The accepted truisms were:

1. "Man had two ways of preserving his existence--through seeking food and through self-defense"
2. "In very ancient times men ate beasts and beasts also ate men"
3. In very ancient times "the land was covered with venomous snakes and wild animals; man was beset by dangers and so had to fight for his very life"
The quantity of inductive support under this assertion was similar to that under assertion one.

The example was hypothetical, rather than literal. There is no way to judge whether it was true or not. The second and the third accepted truisms could hardly be examined regarding truth, either. Yet the example was composed reasonably, and the truisms had been commonly accepted for a long time at the time of the speech, so they "appear to be true" and followed the first rule. The example was used to support part of the assertion: "The species would fight together." The three truisms warranted another part of it: Man used physical strength to fight against beast. They also represented what a struggle between man and beast was. The second and third rules were thus followed. All the criteria were met.

Deductive reasoning. There was no deductive reasoning found in this part of the speech. The speaker did not depend on any deductive reasoning for establishment of this assertion.

Assertion three

The third assertion the speaker proclaimed in the speech was: "In the second period, man fought with Nature and called divine powers to his aid."
Inductive support. There were four examples and two accepted truisms used by the speaker for development of assertion three.

The examples were:

1. "Great Yu\textsuperscript{24} reduced the water to order"
2. "Yu Chao Shih (the Nest Builder)\textsuperscript{25} taught the people how to build houses"
3. "The chiefs of savage tribes in Africa offer prayers"
4. "Mongolians and Tibetans now make a 'Living Buddha' their ruler"

The accepted truisms were:

1. Man "was wiser than the beasts and learned to use sticks and stones for weapons, so finally he won a complete victory over his wild enemies"
2. "... the two great functions of the state were worship and war, praying and fighting"

Six items of inductive support were employed for the assertion.

The items met all the criteria for inductive support. At first, they appear to have been true. They also appear to be sufficient to support the assertion. For instance, the Great Yu and Yu Chao Shih were respected as wise men in very ancient China only because they could avert the calamities of flood, wind or storm for the people. That means people's major concern was Nature at this period,
while, as indicated by the first truism, beasts were no longer threatening them. The divine powers were, as illustrated by examples three and four, and accepted truism two, frequently called to assist them. The leader or the government was usually related to the religion. In addition, these instances were representative of human's struggle with Nature and the role of divine powers at that time. Great Yu, for example, was famous in Chinese history as a wise man who developed flood control. The divine powers could also be found in "Living Buddha" at the time of the speech, which was regarded as a remnant of the second period by the speaker.

**Deductive reasoning.** No deductive reasoning was found under this assertion.

Assertion four

"In the third period, men came into conflict with men, states with states, races with races, and autocratic power was the chief weapon," was the fourth assertion in the speech.

**Inductive support.** Three examples and one item of testimony were used by the speaker as inductive support under assertion four:
The examples were:

1. Theocracy gradually decayed after the dissolution of the Roman Empire

2. Autocracy reached the peak of its power in the reign of Louis XIV of France

3. Chin Shih Hwang\textsuperscript{26} did the same thing as Louis XIV

The item of testimony was:

1. Louis XIV: "I am the king, therefore I am the state"

Inductive support was substantially used for this assertion, though not so extensively as for the last assertion.

The four items met all the criteria except criterion 2 since they were not sufficient to warrant the assertion. All the instances listed above were used to support that "autocratic power was the chief weapon" or theocracy had decayed. The speaker failed to offer any instance to support his other subordinate point: "Men came into conflict with men, states with states, races with races." The first and the third rules were observed. All the instances appear to be true, and were representative of the autocracy.

\textbf{Deductive reasoning.} No deductive reasoning was found under this assertion.
Assertion five

The fifth assertion in the speech was: We are now at "the age of the people's sovereignty--the age of democracy," which is the world current in spite of many disappointments and defeats it may meet. The speaker offered some support of this assertion following its statement, and some after the treatment of assertion six, i.e., not all support was offered in an uninterrupted unit.

Inductive support. There were eleven examples and four accepted truisms found under assertion five.

The examples were:

1. "... Europe and America have founded republics and have applied democracy for one hundred fifty years"
2. Cromwell's "execution of Charles I in England"
3. "Charles II was welcomed back as king in England" less than ten years later
4. "A hundred years later American Revolution took place"
5. Louis XIV "exercised absolute despotism" in France, and Louis XVI was killed in the French Revolution
6. The spirit of democracy in Rousseau's Social Contract was "warmly received"
7. "The French Revolution lasted eighty years before it succeeded"
8. "The American Revolution accomplished its aims in eight years"
9. "England after two hundred years of revolution still has a king"

10. In 1911, the Manchu emperor "fell with one push"

11. "Great Britain uses a political party rather than a king to govern the country"

The accepted truisms were:

1. "When the masses were unenlightened, they depended upon sacred kings and virtuous sages to lead them"

2. "Holy men founded religion upon the way of the gods in order to conserve social value"

3. ". . . with the rapid advance of civilization people are growing in intelligence and developing a new consciousness of self"

4. ". . . we, who as children wanted our parents to support us, cannot depend upon them further but must be independent when we grow up to manhood and seek our own living"

The speaker used fifteen items to develop this assertion. Also most of these items were very long. Inductive support was thus extensively used.

The evidence listed above followed all the criteria for inductive support. First, all the items appear to have been true. Secondly, they were sufficient in number to warrant the generalization. Examples 1, 3, 4, 9, and 10, and all the truisms were used to illustrate
that "the day of democracy is here," and "autocracy and theocracy are things of the past." The speaker also indicated some "disappointments and defeats" the democracy had encountered in example 2 as well as in examples 6, 7, and 8. He, in example 5, emphasized that even Rousseau's idea that democracy was naturally endowed was unreasonable, but Rousseau was still warmly received because the spirit of democracy "was already coming to be a reality of the life." Finally, these instances were representative of the democratic development in the world. Therefore, inductive support was judged to have been effectively used.

Deductive reasoning. There was no deductive reasoning found under this assertion. The speaker did not depend on deductive reasoning to develop assertion five.

Assertion six

The sixth assertion in the speech was: China more than two millenniums ago had already considered the idea of democracy. It appeared between two different portions of the development of assertion five in the text.

Inductive support. The speaker offered one example and four items of testimony as inductive support under this assertion.
The example was:

1. Confucius constantly referred to Yao and Shun "because they did not try to monopolize the empire"

   The items of testimony were:

   1. Confucius: "When the Great Doctrine prevails, all under heaven will work for the common good"
   2. Mencius: "Most precious are the people; next come the land and grain; and last, the princes"
   3. Mencius: "Heaven sees as the people see, Heaven hears as the people hear"
   4. Mencius: "I have heard the punishment of the tyrant Chou but never of the assassination of a sovereign"

   The five items of inductive support can be regarded as a high quantity in this short part of the speech.

   The items met all the criteria for inductive support. They were true; and since Confucius and Mencius, both of whom were born before 300 B.C., had been highly influential to the Chinese culture, they could undoubtedly represent "China" at the time of the speech. These items were also sufficient to warrant the assertion: The idea of democracy had been considered more than two thousand years ago.

   **Deductive reasoning.** Only one hypothetical syllogism was used by the speaker under this assertion. He did not extensively use deductive reasoning here.
The hypothetical syllogism was implied in an enthymeme:

If we base our judgment upon the intelligence and the ability of the Chinese people, we come to the conclusion that the sovereignty of the people would be far more suitable for us.

The enthymeme could be rewritten, without changing its meaning, as follows to fit the syllogistic form:

MAJOR PREMISE: If we base our judgment upon the intelligence and the ability of the Chinese people, we come to the conclusion that the sovereignty of the people would be far more suitable for us.

MINOR PREMISE: We base our judgment upon the intelligence and the ability of the Chinese people.

CONCLUSION: We come to the conclusion that the sovereignty of the people would be far more suitable for us.

The syllogism above followed the criteria. The minor premise affirmed the antecedent, and at the same time the conclusion also affirmed the consequent. The minor premise neither denied the antecedent, nor affirmed/denied the consequent, so the second and the third rules did not apply.
Assertion seven

The seventh and last assertion in the speech was: In order to avert further civil war, we in our revolution have chosen democracy.

Inductive support. Three examples and two accepted truisms were used as inductive support by the speaker under this assertion.

The examples were:

1. Liu Pang said, "That is the way for men of valor!" when he saw Chin Shih Hwang riding out

2. Hsiang Yu said, "Let us usurp his place!" when he saw Chin Shih Hwang riding out

3. Among Sun's followers there were some who fought against each other

The accepted truisms were:

1. "The history of China shows that every change of dynasty has meant war"

2. "Foreign countries have had wars over religion and wars over freedom, but China in her thousands of years has had but one kind of war, the war for the throne"

Offering five items of evidence in such a short section should be regarded as extensive use of inductive support.

All the items appear to have been true at the time of the speech. They sufficiently supported the assertion.
All the instances revealed that in China "men of great ambition have [had] all wanted to be king," but unfortunately there could be only one king at each time. Therefore, it seemed to the speaker that only democracy could avert further civil war. These instances were also representative of the inadequacies of the autocratic system in China. All the criteria were apparently met.

Deductive reasoning. No deductive reasoning was found in the development of this assertion.

"The Principle of Livelihood,"
Lecture Four

Assertions

Repeated study of "The Principle of Livelihood," lecture four, revealed that there were seven assertions included in the speech:

1. "The more civilization advanced, the more complete clothing became"

2. In the progress of human civilization, living standards evolve through three stages of necessities, comforts, and luxuries

3. To solve the silk problem, we must learn foreign scientific methods

4. We must apply the most modern scientific methods to get good linens and inexpensive material for clothing
5. "If we want to solve our livelihood problem and protect our native industries, we must first have the political power to protect them"

6. "Both our cotton and woolen industries are suffering from foreign political and economic domination"

7. "The clothing needed by our people must fulfill all the following functions--it must protect the body, it must be good-looking, and it must be convenient and not hinder work"

Between the second and the third assertion listed above, the speaker offered the indication of essential materials for man's clothing being silk, hemp or flax, cotton, and wool. This part of the speech seems to be indirectly used as an introduction to assertions three, four, and six.

Evaluation

Assertion one

The first assertion found in the speech was, "The more civilization advanced, the more complete clothing became."

Inductive support. One example and two accepted truisms were found in the text.
The example was:
1. "The uncivilized races of Africa and Malaysia go without clothes"

The accepted truisms were:
1. "Only man, only civilized man in fact, wears clothing"
2. "Other animals and the plants do not have clothes to wear, nor do savages wear clothes"

In this very short part of the speech, three items of inductive support were offered. Inductive support was properly used.

The inductive support met all the criteria. The assertion could easily be inferred from the two accepted truisms. The instances offered were both true and representative.

**Deductive reasoning.** There was one categorical syllogism found under this assertion.

The categorical syllogism was found in the following enthymeme:

Only man, only civilized man in fact, wears clothing. . . . The uncivilized races of Africa and Malaysia go without clothes, and so our primitive ancestors must also have lived naked.

A minor premise should be supplied at first, and it can be rewritten to the syllogistic form as follows:

**MAJOR PREMISE:** All uncivilized people go without clothes.
MINOR PREMISE: Our primitive ancestors were uncivilized.

CONCLUSION: Our primitive ancestors went without clothes.

The pattern above met all the criteria for categorical syllogism. It conformed to the scheme previously outlined exactly. The middle term "uncivilized people" was distributed in the major premise. Neither major nor minor premise was a negative one, so rules 5-7 did not apply. Besides, the facts alleged in the premises were true. The syllogism appears to have been effectively established.

Assertion two

"In the progress of human civilization, living standards evolve through three states of necessity, comforts, and luxuries," was the second assertion identified in the speech.

Inductive support. There were six accepted truisms used by the speaker to develop his second assertion in the speech.

The accepted truisms included:

1. "In ancient times 'grass cloth in summer and fur in winter' were considered ample"

2. And then, man "was not content with clothing that should simply meet his physical needs; he wanted his clothing also to fit his body and to be comfortable"
3. "Later man advanced another step and began to seek beauty and refinement in his clothing"

4. "At first man simply sought to fill his stomach with 'green vegetables and coarse rice'"

5. "Then he began to desire the sweet and juicy flavors of wine and cooked meat"

6. "Further on, he began to comb the mountains and the seas for delicacies and dainties"

Each item of inductive support appears to have been true. They seem sufficient to warrant the assertion. The first three truisms were to indicate the three stages in dressing; and the last three, the three stages in eating. They could also represent the hierarchy of living standards in human society.

**Deductive reasoning.** No deductive pattern was discovered under assertion two. The speaker did not seem to have relied on any deductive reasoning to establish this assertion.

Assertion three

The third assertion identified in the speech was:
To solve the silk problem, we must learn foreign scientific methods.
Inductive support. Six examples and four accepted truisms, used as inductive support, were found under this assertion.

The examples were:

1. "... a large proportion of Chinese people cannot afford to wear silk"
2. "A great many Chinese silkworms are diseased," and the methods of reeling are imperfect
3. In France and Italy, the diseased silkworms were reduced in number and the cocoon spinning turned out well after Pasteur's methods to eradicate diseases were adopted
4. The silk industry in Japan began to advance after these methods had been studied
5. "Most of the people now in China do not wear silk, but our raw silk is shipped abroad in exchange for cotton fabrics and yarn"
6. "The exquisite silk goods used by wealthy Chinese families all come from abroad"

The accepted truisms were:

1. "Silk is a fine material for clothes and was first discovered in China"
2. China's silk industry "was once all very fine"
3. China's farmers "have always been conservative and unwilling to learn new methods"
4. "If Chinese silk is poor in quality, other countries will not want it and the silk will have no market"

The speaker offered extensive inductive support.

All the criteria for inductive support have been followed. The instances all appear to have been true. They revealed both the problems in silk industry and the effective solution to the problem in the West, and so warranted the assertion. Both the problems and the solution mentioned are representative of the time of the speech.

_Deductive reasoning._ Two hypothetical syllogisms were found under this assertion. The speaker did depend, though not heavily, on deductive reasoning.

The first hypothetical syllogism was found in an enthymeme:

_If China is to reform her silk industry and to increase silk production, her silk growers must learn foreign scientific methods_.

The enthymeme could be rewritten to fit the syllogistic form:

**MAJOR PREMISE:** If China is to reform her silk industry and to increase silk production, her silk growers must learn foreign scientific methods.

**MINOR PREMISE:** China is to reform her silk industry and to increase her silk production.
CONCLUSION: Her silk growers must learn foreign scientific methods.

The minor premise and the conclusion, as shown above, affirmed, respectively, the antecedent and the consequent in the major premise, so the criteria were met.

The second hypothetical syllogism was implied in the following enthymeme:

So if China wants her people to have the material necessary for clothing in order to solve their clothing problem, she must preserve her ancient industry, improve her silkworm eggs and mulberry leaves and reform her methods of silk reeling.

It could also be rewritten to:

MAJOR PREMISE: If China wants her people to have the material necessary for clothing in order to solve their clothing problem, she must preserve her ancient industry, improve her silkworm eggs and mulberry leaves and reform her methods of silk reeling.

MINOR PREMISE: China wants her people to have the material necessary for clothing in order to solve their clothing problem.

CONCLUSION: China must preserve her ancient industry, improve her silkworm eggs and mulberry leaves and reform her methods of silk reeling.
were used to support that the status quo should be improved. Yet that "most modern scientific methods" would help China improve the status quo had not been directly supported. The items offered did, however, appear to be true and representative.

**Deductive reasoning.** Two hypothetical syllogisms were identified under assertion four.

The first hypothetical syllogism was found in the following enthymeme:

If we want to better the linen industry, we must make a detailed and radical study of its agriculture side--how to cultivate hemp and flax and how to apply fertilizers; and also of its manufacturing side--how to produce fine linen thread.

The enthymeme could fit the syllogistic form after a minor premise and a conclusion were filled in according to its original meaning:

**MAJOR PREMISE:** If we want to better the linen industry, we must make a detailed and radical study of its agriculture side--how to cultivate hemp and flax and how to apply fertilizers; and also of its manufacturing side--how to produce fine linen thread.

**MINOR PREMISE:** We want to better the linen industry.

**CONCLUSION:** We must make a detailed and radical study of its agriculture side--how to cultivate hemp and flax and how to apply fertilizers;
and also of its manufacturing side—how to produce fine linen thread.

Like the two hypothetical syllogisms appearing under assertion three, this one also met the criteria—the minor premise affirmed the antecedent, while the conclusion affirmed the consequent. It was effectively established.

The second syllogism was also found in an enthymeme:

If we want to improve the linen industry and manufacture linen fabrics, we must have a broad plan.

The rewritten form was:

**MAJOR PREMISE:** If we want to improve the linen industry and manufacture linen fabrics, we must have a broad plan.

**MINOR PREMISE:** We want to improve the linen industry and manufacture linen fabrics.

**CONCLUSION:** We must have a broad plan.

The pattern was exactly the same as the last one, and it was equally effective.

**Assertion five**

The fifth assertion in the speech was "If we want to solve our livelihood problem and protect our native industries, we must first have the political power to protect them."
**Inductive support.** Five examples and one accepted truism were found under assertion five.

The examples were:

1. After the European War, Chinese spinning and textile factories, "which were competing against foreign nations with machinery modeled after theirs," failed

2. "China was forced to sign many unequal treaties" after Manchu Government had been defeated by foreign nations

3. Foreign nations use treaties "to bind China"

4. "The United States adopted a protective policy and put a protective tariff into effect" against British goods

5. "Germany adopted a protective policy" against British goods.

The accepted truism was:

1. "If China stood on an equal political basis with other nations, she could compete freely with them in the economic field"

The speaker used six items of inductive support for this assertion.

The inductive support met all the criteria. All items appear to be true. They seem sufficient in number to warrant the assertion. Examples 1, 2, 3, and the accepted truism were used to emphasize that economic problems were connected to political problems. Examples 4 and 5 indicated that political power could protect national
industries. In addition, "tariff" was representative of the relationship between political and economic problems.

Deductive reasoning. Two hypothetical syllogisms were found under this assertion.

The first hypothetical syllogism was found in the assertion itself:

If we want to solve our livelihood problem and protect our native industries so that they cannot be attacked by foreign industries, we must first have the political power to protect them.

This enthymeme could be rewritten to fit the syllogistic form:

MAJOR PREMISE: If we want to solve our livelihood problem and protect our native industries so that they cannot be attacked by foreign industries, we must first have the political power to protect them.

MINOR PREMISE: We want to solve our livelihood problem and protect our native industries so that they cannot be attacked by foreign industries.

CONCLUSION: We must first have the political power to protect them.

The syllogism met the criteria, i.e., the minor premise and the conclusion affirmed, respectively, the
antecedent and the consequent in the major premise. It should be regarded effective.

The second hypothetical syllogism was found in the enthymeme--

If we want Chinese industries to flourish, we must follow the protective policy of the United States and of Germany, resist the invasion of foreign goods, and protect our native goods.

It could be rewritten as follows:

MAJOR PREMISE: If we want Chinese industries to flourish, we must follow the protective policy of the United States and of Germany, resist the invasion of foreign goods, and protect our native goods.

MINOR PREMISE: We want Chinese industries to flourish.

CONCLUSION: We must follow the protective policy of the United States and of Germany, resist the invasion of foreign goods, and protect our native goods.

The syllogism had the same pattern as the first, therefore, for the same reasons, it was effective.

Assertion six

The sixth assertion was: "Both our cotton and woolen industries are suffering from foreign political and economic domination." Some evidence for this assertion was offered before the development of assertion five, and
another part of it was found after assertion five. This appears to constitute a structural flaw much as the earlier interrupted treatment of evidence (See page 109.).

Inductive support. Five examples and one accepted truism were found under this assertion.

The examples were:

1. "Foreign cotton cloth of a better quality than the native cloth, and quite inexpensive," was imported into China
2. China "cannot use the raw cotton in the manufacture of good fabrics and yarn," and "can only ship it for sale abroad"
3. The clothes Chinese people wear every day "are made of imported material for which they have to pay a high price"
4. Chinese people "do not manufacture woolens but ship their wool to other countries to be sold"
5. "... the pelts and the loose cut wool which cannot be used in China are sold at a low price abroad, made into woolen cloth and all kinds of pelt goods, shipped back to China, and sold for our money here"

The accepted truism was:

1. "Chinese have preferred the foreign to the native cloth"
A total of six items of inductive support was offered by the speaker for this assertion.

The instances appear to have been true at the time of the speech. They were also representative of the problems stated in the assertion. The speaker did not relate the problems to political domination very well by the use of inductive support. He had offered evidence to indicate the relationship between political power and economic development under the last assertion. However, he failed to apply that evidence to assertion six, and therefore, he did not have sufficient evidence to warrant the generalization.

Deductive reasoning. No deductive reasoning pattern was found under assertion six.

Assertion seven

The seventh and last assertion identified in the speech was: "The clothing needed by our people must fulfill all the following functions--it must protect the body, it must be good-looking, and it must be convenient and not hinder work."

Inductive support. Two examples and three accepted truisms were discovered under this assertion.

The examples were:

1. Savage man tattooed his body for decoration
2. Clothing materials are constantly appearing in new forms, and the styles are different every year

   The accepted truisms were:

   1. The wearing of clothes began "as a protection against cold"
   2. "As civilization advanced, clothes began to be used as bodily ornament"
   3. "All classes are becoming equal and labor is becoming sacred"

   All the criteria seem satisfied. The instances were true and sufficient to warrant the assertion. Only the third accepted truism deserved special attention. It was used to support the third function of the clothing indicated by the speaker--it must be convenient and not hinder work. The instances were also representative of the different functions of clothes.

   Deductive reasoning. One disjunctive syllogism was found under this assertion. The speaker used limited deductive reasoning here.

   The disjunctive syllogism was found in the following enthymeme:

   Savage man did not have any clothing for ornament, so he tattooed his body; that is, he marked and colored his flesh.

   The enthymeme could be rewritten with a major premise supplied, to fit the syllogistic form:
MAJOR PREMISE: Savage man either had clothing for ornament or tattooed his body for ornament.
MINOR PREMISE: Savage man did not have any clothing for ornament.
CONCLUSION: Savage man tattooed his body for ornament.

The disjunctive syllogism above met the criteria well. First, the alternative possibilities mentioned in the major premise were exhaustive and did not overlap. Secondly, the minor premise denied one of the alternatives, while the conclusion affirmed the other. It was thus effectively established.

Composite Evaluation

Assertions

During the process of investigation, the discovery of assertions was not difficult. Most assertions could be easily identified. In "The Principle of Nationalism," lecture six, for example, five of the six assertions appeared before any development of the point. Only the second assertion, "If we want to restore our race's standing, besides uniting all into a great national body, we must first recover our ancient morality," was disclosed after the offering of some evidence and the use of one syllogism. Yet since it strongly implied "ought," and was obviously the speaker's personal opinion, it could easily
be identified as an assertion. This ease of discovery indicated that the speeches were generally well-organized.

However, there were also two structural flaws found in the development of assertions. These happened in the situation when a new assertion was raised before the treatment of the previous assertion had been completed. In "The Principle of Democracy," lecture one, assertion six was found between two portions of the development of assertion five. Assertion six of "The Principle of Livelihood," lecture four, also appeared in the midst of the treatment of assertion five.

Twenty assertions were advanced by the speaker in the three selected speeches: six in "The Principle of Nationalism," seven in "The Principle of Democracy," and seven in "The Principle of Livelihood."

**Inductive support**

The speaker offered inductive support for nineteen out of the twenty assertions identified in the three selected speeches. Only under the first assertion in "The Principle of Nationalism," lecture six, was no inductive support found. Yet the lack of inductive support in that assertion is partially justified because the assertion belongs to the first part of the speech, used as a succession from the previous speeches. He said, as we can
find at the first part of the speech, "The chief cause I have already discussed with you." Under the other five assertions in "The Principle of Nationalism," lecture six, he offered thirty-one items of inductive support. In "The Principle of Democracy," lecture one, he offered forty-three items of inductive support for the development of his seven assertions. And in "The Principle of Livelihood," lecture four, thirty-nine items of inductive support were offered for seven assertions. In general, inductive support was extensively used.

The inductive support under sixteen out of the twenty assertions in the three speeches was judged to be effective. There were four assertions under which the inductive support offered failed to meet one of the chosen criteria. They were: the first and the third assertions in "The Principle of Nationalism," lecture six; the fourth assertion in "The Principle of Democracy," lecture one; and the fourth assertion in "The Principle of Livelihood," lecture four. As indicated before, the speaker did not offer any inductive support under the first assertion in "The Principle of Nationalism," lecture six. In the other non-effective cases, he failed to meet criterion 2, i.e., he did not offer sufficient instances to warrant the generalization, but still satisfied the other criteria.
As mentioned under "Method of Analysis" in this chapter, forms of evidence were assumed to include examples, statistics, testimony, and accepted truisms. In the three speeches, the speaker offered seventy examples, ten items of testimony, thirty-three accepted truisms, and no statistics. He utilized examples most frequently; accepted truisms, the second; and testimony, the third. The use of accepted truisms which included historical traditions and basic truisms seemed particularly appropriate for the audience since preserving tradition was, as discussed in Chapter II, greatly emphasized in the Chinese society of 1924.

**Deductive reasoning**

Deductive reasoning was discovered under thirteen of twenty assertions. Sun developed ten enthymemes to establish six assertions in "The Principle of Nationalism," two for two of seven assertions in "The Principle of Democracy," and eight for five of seven assertions in "The Principle of Livelihood." That is to say, that under the thirteen assertions, there were twenty instances of deductive reasoning found. Twenty instances in a total of twenty assertions cannot be regarded extensive. The speaker obviously did not rely so much on deductive reasoning as on inductive support to develop his assertions.
All twenty instances of deductive reasoning discovered in the selected speeches were judged to be effectively established. However, all the deductive patterns found in the speeches were enthymemes, and the speaker never completely provided the syllogistic form of major premise, minor premise, and conclusion. Some part(s) of the syllogistic form had to be supplied to make the enthymeme an effective syllogism. For example, fourteen out of the twenty instances were enthymemes which could be cast into hypothetical syllogisms. In all fourteen instances, only major premises were provided in the text, such as, "If we want to restore our former standing, we must also revive our ancient power." The minor premise and the conclusion always needed to be supplied by the hearer.

The effect of deductive reasoning in the speeches was not diminished to any large extent even though the speaker relied mainly on enthymemes. The syllogistic patterns were usually forcibly implied in the enthymemes. For instance, the first enthymeme appearing under the first assertion of "The Principle of Nationalism," lecture six, was:

If we want to restore our national standing, we must first revive our national spirit.

In this statement, nobody would doubt that the speaker implied "we really want to restore our national standing"
and "we must first revive our national spirit." The minor premise and the conclusion, in other words, would normally be supplied by the hearer under almost any circumstances. The implied minor premises and conclusions were equally obvious in the other enthymemes.

In brief, the deductive reasoning in the selected speeches was judged effective after the enthymemical forms had been cast into standard syllogistic forms.

Utilization of Western rhetoric

The three selected speeches were apparently of very high quality in terms of inductive support and deductive reasoning. They were also so well-organized that most assertions could be identified easily. The use of evidence in development of assertions was surprisingly extensive and effective. Deductive reasoning, after transformation of enthymemes into syllogisms had been done, was found to be valid in all instances. This was especially unusual for a Chinese speaker in 1924, when, as indicated in Chapter I, most Chinese still relied upon "subjective mental process" for their communication with others. Sun, therefore, appears to have used Western rhetorical standards in expressing his ideas.

Nothing was found as to what extent he had received rhetorical training prior to the time of the speeches, nor were any rhetorical books which he might have been able to
consult identified. Yet, rhetorical training had very likely been offered in the classical Western schools he attended, especially the primary and the secondary schools in Hawaii and Hong Kong. Even if this was not true, the Western education he received, such as the medical training in Canton and Hong Kong, must have prepared him in the use of evidence to support a generalization, and the deduction of a specific statement from a general statement, since induction and deduction had been the core of Western culture and science for many centuries.
ENDNOTES


2Ibid., pp. 403-404.

3Ibid., p. 408.

4Ibid.

5Ibid.

6Ibid., p. 409.

7Ibid.

8Ibid., pp. 408-409.

9Ibid., p. 409.

10Ibid.


13Ibid.

14Ibid.

15Ibid.

16Ibid., p. 329.


19Chuang, *Kuo Fu Sheng Ping Yu Chih Yeh*, p. 369.
20 Ibid.


22 Ibid., p. iii.

23 One of the "Four Classics" in China. According to Cheng Yi (1033-1107), a famous Chinese scholar of the Sung dynasty, "The 'Great Learning' is a book [collection] transmitted by the Confucian School, and forms the gate by which first learners enter into virtue." The name itself is simply the adoption of the two commencing characters of the treatise.

24 The reputed founder of the Hsia dynasty (about 2183-1752 B.C.) in China.

25 A legendary ruler of ancient Chinese history, who was reported to have taught people how to build primitive houses.

26 The founder of the Chin dynasty (246-207 B.C.) in China, famous for his despotism.
CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the investigation, found in previous chapters, to draw conclusions, and to propose recommendations for further study.

Summary

The purpose of this research was to determine the extensiveness and effectiveness of inductive support and deductive reasoning in Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People" speeches, given between January 27 and August 24 in 1924. It was concluded that no similar inquiry had been undertaken.


Sun's personal background was examined at the beginning of this investigation. It was found that he was born in 1866 in Kwang-tung, a province in Southern China which had connections with Western countries. His ancestors originally came from the North, and none of them had been within the ruling group of the Ching dynasty
{1644-1911}. Sun's family appear to have had close ties with the Western world since the time his eldest brother was sent to Hawaii (1871).

Sun received most of his education in Western schools. Though having been trained as a medical doctor in Hong Kong, he was apparently more interested in political affairs. He became intolerant of China's backwardness and made acquaintance with antidynastic secret societies while he was studying in Canton and Hong Kong. He also believed that the imperial government of China (Ching dynasty) should be overthrown.

It was discovered that the political-social-economic milieu in China in 1924 was in a miserable state of upheaval and uncertainty. The imperial government of China before 1911 faced many external and internal problems. Under some "unequal treaties" made with foreign countries as a result of a series of defeats, China seems to have been controlled both politically and economically by foreign countries. After Sun's revolution in 1911, though the imperial government was taken over by the republican form, most people had likely not been mentally and spiritually ready for the new system. The country was then divided up under the warlords and filled with strife and chaos before and during 1924. To a large extent, foreign
powers, as well as the "unequal treaties," still bound the country.

The family was found to have been the center of Chinese society in 1924. Many people in China suffered from poverty and insufficient food supply. Most of them seemed indifferent to the destiny of their country.

In 1924, Sun was the likely person to improve the critical situation in China. He had proposed a set of plans for the reconstruction of the country. As the leader of National Government (in the South), he had planned to reunify the country. Also, for introducing the essentials of his political and economic theory to his political and military personnel, he had made a series of "Three Principles of the People" speeches in Canton.

The criteria offered by Lester Thonssen, A. Craig Baird and Waldo W. Braden in *Speech Criticism*, with some deletion, were adopted for evaluating the selected speeches in terms of inductive support and deductive reasoning.

The three selected speeches were found to have originated from the four aims of Sun's revolutionary organization, *Tung Meng Hui*, founded in 1905. The meaning of "Nationalism," his first "Principle," was broadened later.

Assertions were identified as the first step of analysis in each selected speech. There were twenty assertions found in the three speeches.
The criteria were then applied to inductive support and deductive reasoning under each assertion. Sun was found to have offered 113 items of inductive support for nineteen out of twenty assertions identified in the three speeches. Examples were offered most frequently among different forms of evidence. Inductive support was judged to be effectively used under sixteen assertions. Twenty instances of deductive reasoning were found in thirteen of twenty assertions. All of them were enthymemes, and judged to be effective after they had been cast into syllogisms.

In the composite evaluation, it was determined that the speeches were generally well-organized in spite of the existence of two structural flaws. Inductive support was used extensively and in most cases effectively. Deductive reasoning was effective after the enthymemetic forms had been cast into syllogistic forms, but not so extensively used.

Conclusions

On the basis of the data collected in this investigation, the following conclusions seem to be clear:

1. Sun Yat-sen's family had connections with the Western world, which obviously provided him with an opportunity to receive Western education.

2. Sun Yat-sen appears to have been influenced, politically and rhetorically, by the Western education he received.
3. The political-social-economic milieu in China in 1924, of upheaval and uncertainty, seems to have furnished a "rhetorical situation" for Sun's "Three Principles of the People" speeches.

4. The purpose of Sun's "Three Principles of the People" speeches was apparently to instruct his fellow people how to save and reconstruct their country--China.

5. Sun's "Three Principles of the People" speeches originated from the four aims of Tung Meng Hui, a revolutionary organization founded by himself in 1905.

6. The assertions identified in each selected speech were apparently rhetorical--sufficient in quantity and quality to warrant a well-organized speech.

7. Inductive support in the selected speeches was used extensively, and in most cases effectively.

8. Deductive reasoning in the selected speeches was effective after the enthymemes had been cast into syllogisms, but was not so extensively used as inductive support.

Recommendations for Further Study

The inquiry and the conclusions mentioned in this thesis were by no means inclusive, but indicate that Sun Yat-sen's Chinese speeches could be analyzed in terms of logical proof--the core of Western rhetoric. The following recommendations are thus proposed for further study:
1. More attention could be paid to Chinese rhetoric in many different facets. It is generally agreed that Chinese culture is different from Western. Speech, one of the basic human behaviors, can always reflect its cultural background, so Chinese rhetoric should be different in many respects from Western rhetoric. To find if it is true or not, many questions need to be answered, such as: Can Chinese speeches given by those who had not been trained in Western schools be judged in terms of Western rhetoric? If not, are there different rhetorical standards?

2. Semantic diversities among different languages can raise many problems for translators. They also seem to make it possible that some criteria for evaluating rhetoric in one language can never be met in another. Therefore, the following question should be answered in the future: Are the translated texts usually judged less satisfactory in terms of rhetoric than the original texts?

3. "Emotional proof" and "ethical proof" in Western rhetoric were not applied to any of Sun's speeches. Therefore, the following investigation can also be undertaken: How extensively and effectively did Sun use emotional proof and ethical proof in his speeches?
APPENDIX A

"THE PRINCIPLE OF NATIONALISM," LECTURE SIX
LECTURE SIX

Delivered on March 2, 1924.

GENTLEMEN: My subject to-day is:

How can we restore the standing of our nation? In studying this question we must not forget what has been said in the previous lectures. What is the present standing of our nation? What is the situation of our nation and state in the world of to-day?

Why did China once occupy so exalted a place and then “fall ten thousand feet in one drop”? The chief cause I have already discussed with you: because we lost our national spirit, our state has day by day degenerated. So if we want to restore our national standing, we must first revive our national spirit. If we want to revive our national spirit, we must fulfill two conditions. First, we must understand that we occupy to-day a most perilous position; and second, knowing our danger, we must utilize China’s ancient social groups, as the family and the clan, and consolidate them to form a great national body. When this is accomplished and we have the strength of four hundred millions united to fight, no matter how low our present position, we should be able to lift it up. So, to know and to unite are the two essentials for reviving our nationalism. When all of you have come to understand these essentials, you must proclaim them among the four hundred millions of the whole country until everybody understands them. Then we can begin to revive our lost national spirit. Our old national spirit is asleep; we must awake it and then our nationalism will begin to revive. When our nationalism is revived, we can go a step farther and study how to restore our national standing.

China did not reach her former position of greatness by one road only. Usually a nation becomes strong at first by the expansion of its military power, then by the development of various forms of culture; but if the nation and the state are to maintain a permanent standing, moral character is essential. Only by attaining a high standard of morality can the state hope to govern long and exist at peace. Because the character of the Chinese race was higher than that of other races, the Mongols, although they conquered China during the Sung dynasty, were later absorbed by the Chinese; and the Manchus, although China of the Ming dynasty fell twice before them, were assimilated by the Chinese. Because of the high moral standards of our race, we have been able not only to survive in spite of the downfall of the state, but we have had power to assimilate these outside races. So, coming to the root of the matter, if we want to restore our race’s standing, besides uniting all into a great national body, we must first recover our ancient morality—then, and only then, can we plan how to attain again to the national position we once held.

As for China’s old moral standards, they are not yet lost sight of by the people of China. First come Loyalty and Filial Devotion, then Kindness and Love, the Faithfulness and Justice, then Harmony and Peace. The
Chinese still speak of these ancient qualities of character. But since our domination by alien races and since the invasion of foreign culture which has spread its influence all over China, a group intoxicated with the new culture have begun to reject the old morality, saying that the former makes the latter unnecessary. They do not understand that we ought to preserve what is good in our past and throw away only the bad. China now is in a period of conflict between old and new current and a large number of our people have nothing to follow after.

A few days ago I was in the country and entered an ancestral temple. On going to the innermost court to rest, I saw on the right-hand side the character for “Filial Devotion,” but on the left side a blank where there must have been previously, I think, the character for “Loyalty.” This I have seen more than once; many ancestral or family temples are in the same condition. But the character for “Filial Devotion,” which I observed the other day, was extra large, while the marks on the left wall where the character had been scratched off looked very recent. It may have been the work of the country folk themselves or of soldiers living in the temple, yet I have seen many ancestral temples which had not been billets for soldiers with the character for “Loyalty” rubbed off the walls. This shows the thinking of a certain type of people to-day: because we have a republic, we need not talk about loyalty. They say that in former days loyalty was shown to princes, and that as there are no princes in a democracy, so loyalty is not needed and can be cast aside. Such an argument is certainly due to misunderstanding: we do not want

Filial Devotion, hsiao, and loyalty, chung, are constantly associated being considered attributes of the same virtue. When manifested in the relationship between father and son, it is hsiao, when manifested in the relationship between emperor and officers, it is chung.

princes in the country, but we cannot do without loyalty. If we say that loyalty is outworn to-day, what about the nation? Can we not direct our loyalty towards the nation? Of course we cannot now speak of loyalty to princes, but how about loyalty to the people and loyalty to our tasks? When we undertake a task we should not falter from first to last until the task is done; if we do not succeed, we should not begrudge our very lives as a sacrifice—this is loyalty. The ancient teaching of loyalty pushed to its limit meant death. To say that ancient loyalty was due to kings and, since now we have no kings, we do not need loyalty and can do as we please, is absolutely wrong. Now everybody who talks about democracy breaks down all the old moral standards, and the fundamental reason is right here. In a democracy it stands to reason that we should still show loyalty, not to princes but to the nation and to the people. Loyalty to four hundred millions must naturally be on a much higher level than loyalty to one individual; so I say that the fine moral quality of loyalty must still be cherished.

Filial Devotion is even more a characteristic of China, and we have gone far beyond other nations in the practice of it. Filial duty as revealed in the “Canon of Filial Piety” covers almost the whole field of human activity, touching every point; there is no treatise on filial piety in any civilized country to-day that is so complete. Filial Devotion is still indispensable. If the people of the democracy can carry out Loyalty and Filial Devotion to the limit, our state will naturally flourish.

Kindness and Love are also part of China’s high morality. In the past no one discussed love better than Motze.* His “love without discrimination” is the same

* Often spelt as Mao Tzu, a contemporary of Confucius.
thing as Jesus' "universal love." The ancients applied the principle of love to government, saying, "Love the people as your children," and, "Be kind to all the people and love all creatures." Love was used to embrace all duties, from which we can see how well they put kindness and love into effect. Since our foreign intercourse began, some people have thought that the Chinese ideal of kindness and love was inferior to the foreigners' because foreigners in China, by establishing schools and carrying on hospitals to teach and relieve the Chinese, have been practicing kindness and love. In the practical expression of the fine qualities of kindness and love, it does seem as though China were far behind other countries, and the reason is that the Chinese have been less active in performance. Yet Kindness and Love are old qualities of Chinese character, and as we study other countries, let us learn their practical methods, revive our own kindness and love, the spirit of ancient China, and make them shine with greater glory.

Faithfulness and Justice. Ancient China always spoke of Faithfulness in dealing with neighboring countries and in intercourse with friends. In my estimation, the quality of faithfulness is practiced better by Chinese than by foreigners. This can be seen in business intercourse: Chinese in their business relations do not use written contracts; all that is necessary is a verbal promise which is implicitly trusted. Thus, when a foreigner places an order for goods with a Chinese, no contract is necessary; there is simply an entry on the books and the bargain is closed. As a result, foreigners who have done business for a long time in the interior of China invariably speak highly of the Chinese, saying that a Chinese will keep his word better than a foreigner his contract.

Justice. China in her mightiest days never utterly destroyed another state. Look at Korea, which was formerly a tributary of China in name, but an independent nation in reality. China was a strong state for thousands of years and Korea lived on; Japan has been a strong state for not over twenty years and Korea is already destroyed. From this one can see that Japan's sense of "faithfulness and justice" is inferior to China's and that China's standards have advanced beyond those of other nations.

China has one more splendid virtue—the love of Harmony and Peace. Among the states and the peoples of the world to-day China alone preaches peace; other countries all talk in terms of war and advocate the overthrow of states by imperialism. The intense love of peace which the Chinese have had these thousands of years has been a natural disposition. In individual relationships great stress has been laid upon "humility and deference"; in government the old saying was, "He who delights not in killing a man can unify all men." All of this is very different from the ideals of foreigners. China's ancient virtues of Loyalty, Filial Devotion, Kindness, Love, Faithfulness, and such are in their very nature superior to foreign virtues, but in the moral quality of Peace we will further surpass the people of other lands. This special characteristic is the spirit of our nation and we must not only cherish it but cause it to shine with greater luster; then our national standing will be restored.

We must revive not only our old morality but also our old learning. If we want to regain our national spirit, we must reawaken the learning as well as the moral ideals which we once possessed. What is this ancient learning? Among the human theories of the state, China's political philosophy holds a high place. We think that the states
of Europe and America have made great strides forward in recent years, yet their new culture is not so complete as our old political philosophy. China has a specimen of political philosophy so systematic and so clear that nothing has been discovered or spoken by foreign statesmen to equal it. It is found in the “Great Learning”: “Search into the nature of things, extend the boundaries of knowledge, make the purpose sincere, regulate the mind, cultivate personal virtue, rule the family, govern the state, pacify the world.” This calls upon a man to develop from within outward, to begin with his inner nature and not cease until the world is at peace. Such a deep, all-embracing logic is not found in or spoken by any foreign political philosopher; it is a nugget of wisdom peculiar to China’s philosophy of state and worthy to be preserved.

The principles of “regulating the mind, making sincere the purpose, cultivating personal virtue, ruling the family,” naturally belong in the field of morals, but to-day it will be more fitting to treat them as matters of knowledge. Although our forefathers exercised their powers on the moral side, since the loss of our nationalism the true spirit of learning has likewise disappeared. The common people who study the classics constantly use the passage that I quoted in a conventional way, but they repeat the words without seeking their interpretation and with no idea of their deeper meaning. The knowledge of how to “regulate the mind and make sincere the purpose” springs from inward control and is difficult to expound. The scholars of the Sung* Period paid much attention to this mental training, and as we study their books, we can see how well they succeeded. But the “cultivation of personal virtue, ruling the family, governing the state,” are outward reforms which we have not yet effected; on the surface, at least, we have not succeeded in any of them for the past hundreds of years. As a result, we cannot govern our own country, and foreigners, seeing that we cannot do so, want to come and establish international control over us.

Why can we not govern China? What reveals the fact to foreigners? In my personal opinion, foreigners have no way of observing whether we rule our families well or not, but they can see that we are very much lacking in personal culture. Every word and act of a Chinese shows absence of refinement; one contact with Chinese people is enough to reveal this.

Confucius said, “If the mat is not straight, do not sit down,”* which shows how much attention he paid to personal culture, even to the minute details of sitting and standing. The Confucian scholars of the Sung age were even more careful and strict in “regulating the mind, making the purpose sincere, and cultivating the person,” but modern Chinese hardly give these matters a thought. As a result, although we have the wisdom about “cultivating personal virtue, regulating the family, governing the state, pacifying the world,” as soon as foreigners meet us, they say that we are barbaric and they will not study deeply into our learning. With the exception of philosophers like Russell, no foreigners can at first sight of China understand her civilization, and only those who have spent ten or more years in China can appreciate her age-long culture. If everyone would devote some systematic effort to the culture of his person, “let the character within be manifested without,” pay attention to even the smallest matters of conduct, on meeting foreigners not rudely trespass upon

* The Sung Dynasty 960-1127 A.D.

* In the plain language of modern times, it is a matter of table etiquette.
their freedom, then foreigners would certainly respect the Chinese. That is why I am speaking to-day on personal culture. You young men should certainly learn from the modern culture of foreigners and first cultivate your own persons, then you can talk about “ruling families and governing the state.” Government is progressing in every other country to-day; in China it is going backward. Why? Because we are under the political and economic domination of foreign nations, yes, but if we search for the fundamental reason, we will find it in the Chinese failure to cultivate personal virtue. We seem to forget that the ancients of China related personal culture back to “regulating the mind, making sincere the purpose, searching into the nature of things, and extending the boundaries of knowledge.” What discriminating teaching, what comprehensive philosophy! And it is China’s ancient wisdom. If now we want to rule our families and govern our state and not be subject to foreign control, we must begin with personal culture, we must revive China’s ancient wisdom and comprehensive philosophy, and then we can awaken the spirit and restore the standing of the Chinese nation.

In addition to our ancient learning there are likewise our ancient powers. When the Chinese to-day see the development of foreign machinery and the glorious progress of modern science, they naturally think that our ability is not equal to the ability of foreigners. But what about the capabilities of the Chinese thousands of years ago? In olden times the Chinese were much superior to foreigners. Some of the most valued things in the West to-day were invented in ancient China. Take, for example, the compass, which, in this great age of shipping, cannot be dispensed with for an hour or a moment; we find that it was invented by the Chinese centuries ago. Chinese could not have invented the compass without some sort of ability, and that foreigners are still using what China used in the distant past shows that the Chinese ability is superior. There is another thing which occupies an extremely important place in civilization—the art of printing. The modern improved printing press of the West can turn out tens of thousands of newspapers in an hour, yet the history of printing begins with early Chinese inventions. Take, again, porcelain ware, which mankind uses daily, another invention and special product of China; foreigners are still trying to imitate it but cannot match its delicacy and beauty. In modern wars smokeless powder is used, yet this is only an improvement upon the smoke-producing black gunpowder which was invented by the Chinese. These important and valuable inventions—the compass, printing, gunpowder—are known and used by Western nations to-day and are reasons for their greatness.

In the field of human food and clothing, shelter and communication, China has also contributed many discoveries for the use of mankind. Take beverages: China discovered the tea leaf, which is one of the great necessities in the modern world; civilized countries to-day compete in the use of it and are making it a substitute for liquors. Thus tea is helping in the eradication of the drink evil and is bringing not a few other benefits to mankind. Take clothing: foreigners place the highest value upon articles made of silk and wearers of silk garments are daily increasing; the silkworm which spins the silk was first found in China thousands of years ago. Or shelter: the modern houses built by foreigners are of course complete in every way but the principles of building and all the important parts of house were first devised by the Chinese. The arched doorway, for example, was introduced earlier in
China than anywhere else. Study methods of communication: Westerners think that their suspension bridges are extremely modern engineering and the result of great native ability, but foreigners who visit the interior of China and reach the borders of Szechwan and Tibet see Chinese traversing high mountains and crossing deep rivers by means of suspension bridges. They then realize that the credit for inventing suspension bridges belongs to China and not to the West as they had thought. All this goes to show that ancient China was not without capabilities, but these powers were afterwards lost, and consequently our national position has declined. If we want to restore our former standing, we must also revive our ancient powers.

But even if we succeed in reviving our ancient morality, learning and powers, will still not be able, in this modern world, to advance China to a first place among the nations. If we can reproduce the best of our national heritage just as it was in the time of our forefathers when China dominated the world, we will still need to learn the strong points of Europe and America before we can progress at equal rate with them. Unless we do study the best from foreign countries, we will go backward. With our own fine foundation of knowledge and our age-long culture, with our own native intelligence besides, we should be able to acquire all the best things from abroad. The strongest point of the West is its science. This has been three hundred years in the course of development, but it has made rapid strides forward only within the last half century. The advance of science has made it possible for man to "usurp the powers of nature" and to do what natural forces had done.

The most recently discovered natural power is electricity. Formerly power was gotten from coal, which in turn generated machine power. Now Western science has advanced to the second age—the age of electricity. There is a tremendous project on foot in the United States to link up all the electrical horse power of the factories throughout the country into one unified system. Since there are thousands of factories, if each one has its own generating plant and burns its own coal to generate electric power, an enormous amount of coal and labor is used. Because of this heavy consumption of coal by the factories, the hundreds of thousands of miles of railroad are not sufficient to transport the needed fuel. The result is that the railways are too busy to move the agricultural products of the various sections, and these do not find the wide market they should. Since the use of coal has two such serious disadvantages, the United States is now considering a great central power station which would unite the electric power used by the thousands of factories into one system. If this super-power project succeeds, then all the generating equipment of the thousands of factories can be consolidated into one central plant. The individual factory will not need to use coal and a lot of laborers to feed the fires; all it will need to carry on its work will be a copper wire to conduct the power. The advantages of this plan may be illustrated by the hundreds of people gathered in this lecture hall. If each one of us should have a small stove to cook a meal here, it would be troublesome and wasteful, but if all joined together and cooked a meal on a big stove, we would find it much more convenient and economical. The United States is just now considering this scheme of linking together all its factories in one great electric power system; if China wants to learn the strong points of the West, she should not start with coal power but with electricity, and give a single, great motive power
After China reaches that place, what then? A common phrase in ancient China was, “Rescue the weak, lift up the fallen.” Because of this noble policy China prospered for thousands of years, and Annam, Burma, Korea, Siam, and other small states were able to maintain their independence. As European influence spread over the East, Annam was overthrown by France, Burma by Great Britain, Korea by Japan. If we want China to rise to power, we must not only restore our national standing, but we must also assume a great responsibility towards the world. If China cannot assume that responsibility, she will be a great disadvantage not an advantage to the world, no matter how strong she may be." What really is our duty to the world? The road which the Great Powers are traveling to-day means the destruction of other states; if China, when she becomes strong, wants to crush other countries, copy the Powers’ imperialism, and go their road, we will just be following in their tracks. Let us first of all decide on our policy. Only if we “rescue the weak and lift up the fallen” will we be carrying out the divine obligation of our nation. We must aid the weaker and smaller peoples and oppose the great powers of the world. If all the people of the country resolve upon this purpose, our nation will prosper; otherwise, there is no hope for us. Let us to-day, before China’s development begins, pledge ourselves to lift up the fallen and to aid the weak; then when we become strong and look back upon our own sufferings under the political and economic domination of the Powers and see weaker and smaller peoples undergoing similar treatment, we will rise and smite that imperialism. Then will we be truly “governing the state and pacifying the world.”

If we want to be able to reach this ideal in the future,
we must now revive our national spirit, recover our national standing, unify the world upon the foundation of our ancient morality and love of peace, and bring about a universal rule of equality and fraternity. This is the great responsibility which devolves upon our four hundred millions. You, gentlemen, are a part of our four hundred millions; you must all shoulder this responsibility and manifest the true spirit of our nation.
APPENDIX B

"THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRACY," LECTURE ONE
WHAT is the People's Sovereignty? In order to define this term we must first understand what a “people” is. Any unified and organized body of men is called a “people.” What is “sovereignty”? It is power and authority extended to the area of the state. The states with the greatest power to-day are called in Chinese the “strong states,” in foreign languages the “powers.” Mechanical force is spoken of in Chinese as “horse strength,” in other languages as “horse power.” Thus strength and power are used interchangeably. The power to execute orders and to regulate public conduct is called “sovereignty,” and when “people” and “sovereignty” are linked together, we have the political power of the people. To understand “political power” we must know what government is. Many people think that government is a very abstruse and difficult subject which ordinary persons cannot comprehend. Chinese military men are always saying, “We are soldiers and know nothing about politics.” The reason why they are ignorant is that they consider government to be a deep and abstruse study. They do not know that it is a very clear and comprehensible thing. If military men say that
they will not interfere with government, we can let them
by; but if they say that they cannot understand govern-
ment; they are foolish. Since the soldier is the driving
force behind the government, he should certainly under-
stand what government is. Briefly, government is a thing
of the people and by the people; it is control of the affairs
of all the people. The power of control is political sover-
eignty, and where the people control the government we
speak of the "people's sovereignty."

Now that we understand what the "people's sover-
eignty" is, we must study its functions. As we view life
about us or study into the distant past, we see that human
power has been employed, to put it simply, in maintaining
the existence of the human race. In order to exist, man-
kind must have protection and sustenance and it is daily
engaged in meeting these two great needs. Protection
means self-defense: whether it is an individual or a group
or a state, the power of self-defense is necessary to exis-
tence. Sustenance means seeking food. Self-defense and
food-seeking are, then, the two chief means by which mankind maintains its existence. But while man is main-
taining his existence, other animals are also trying to
maintain theirs; while man is defending himself, other
animals are also defending themselves; while man seeks
food, other animals are also seeking food; and so the pro-
tection and the sustenance of man comes into conflict with
the protection and the sustenance of other animals, and
struggle ensues. To keep alive in the midst of struggle
man must fight, and so mankind has not ceased to fight
since the beginning of human life. Thus the human race
has used its strength in combat, and since its birth upon
the planet until now has lived in the thick of strife.

While the germs of democracy were found in Greece
and Rome two thousand years ago, yet only within the
last one hundred fifty years has democracy become firmly
rooted in the world. The preceding age was one of auto-
cracy and the age before that one of theocracy. Before
theocracy came the wilderness age when men fought with
beasts. Man sought to live and the animal sought to live.
Man had two ways of preserving his existence—through
seeking food and through self-defense. In very ancient
times men ate beasts and beasts also ate men; there was
a constant struggle between them. The land was covered
with venomous snakes and wild animals; man was beset
by dangers and so had to fight for his very life. The war-
fare of that day was the irregular conflict between man
and beast; there was no banding into groups, it was "each
fighting for himself."

In the primitive struggle between man and wild beasts,
man used only his individual physical strength or some-
times the species would fight together; if, for instance, in
one place a few score men were battling with a few score
beasts, and in another place, another group of men were
doing the same thing, the men of both places might
perceive their own kinship to each other and their difference
from the animals, unite as fellow creatures, and fight to-
gether against the other species. Certainly man would not
join with another species to fight and devour man and
injure his own kind. Such a banding together of the
species and unwitting alliance against reptiles and beasts
was a natural, not an artificial thing; when the reptiles or
beasts were destroyed, the men scattered. At that time
there was no such thing as popular sovereignty; man, in
fighting the animals, used simply his own physical prowess
and not any kind of authority. It was an age of brute
force.
Later, when man had about exterminated the venomous reptiles and savage beasts, when his environment was somewhat improved, and his dwelling place was better suited to his type of existence, then groups of people began to live in one place and to domesticate the tamer animals. This was the beginning of the pastoral age and also of civilization. A great change now took place in man’s living conditions: warfare with animals was about at an end, civilization was growing up, what we call the ancient period of human history had arrived. Man began to direct his warfare against the forces of Nature. Briefly, in the first stage man warred with beasts and employed his own brute force or the united strength of many to kill them off; in the second stage man warred with Nature. In the first stage, because man did not know when an animal would attack him, he was not sure whether he could live from one moment to another; he had only his two hands and two feet for self-defense, but he was wiser than the beasts and learned to use sticks and stones for weapons, so finally he won a complete victory over his wild enemies. Only then could man plan ahead for a day; while he was battling with the beasts, his life was not secure for a moment.

When wild beasts no longer threatened, the human race began to multiply and the most favorable spots on the earth began to fill up with people. What were the favorable spots?—Places sheltered from wind and rain or regions which storms did not touch.

After driving out the poisonous reptiles and savage beasts they were faced with natural disasters of storm and flood. Naturally they would try to avert these disasters and to struggle against Nature. In the age of warfare with the beasts man could use his own physical strength to fight, but mere fighting was of no value in the day of struggle against Nature. Mankind then suffered many hardships until some wise men came forth with schemes for the welfare of the people. Thus the Great Yu* reduced the waters to order and averted the calamity of flood for the people, and Yu Ch’ao Shih (the Nest Builder)** taught the people how to build houses in trees and avert the disasters from wind and storm.

From this time on civilization slowly progressed, the people began to unite, and, as land was plentiful and the inhabitants were few, food was very easy to procure. The only problems were the catastrophes of Nature which could not be fought, as the wild beasts were, with bodily strength, and so there arose the idea of divine power. Men of deep wisdom began to advocate the doctrine of gods; and divine teachings, and introduced prayers as a means of warding off evil and obtaining blessings. There was no way of telling at the time whether their praying was effective or not; however, since they were struggling against Heaven, they had no other plan, when in extremity, but to appeal for the power of the gods. A man of profound insight would be chosen as leader, like the chiefs of savage tribes in Africa to-day, whose special duty it was to offer prayers. In the same way Mongolians and Tibetans now make a “Living Buddha” their ruler and are under a religious government. So the ancients used to say that the two great functions of the state were worship and war, praying and fighting.

Thus after the age of warfare with wild animals came the struggles with Nature and out of these struggles was born theocracy. The next step in history was autocracy,

* The first emperor of the Hsia.
** Legendary ruler of ancient Chinese history.
when mighty warriors and political leaders wrested the power away from the religious rulers or put themselves at the head of the churches and appointed themselves kings. A period of struggle between man and man thus evolved. When struggles between man and man began to take the place of struggles with Nature, people realized that simple dependence upon the power of religious faith could neither protect society nor aid in warfare and that an enlightened government and strong military power were necessary in order to compete with other peoples. Men have fought against men since the beginning of recorded history. At first they employed both the power of religion and the power of autocracy in their struggles; later, as theocracy weakened and, after the dissolution of the Roman Empire, gradually decayed, autocracy became stronger until, in the reign of Louis XIV of France, it reached the peak of its power. Louis XIV said that there was no difference between the king and the state—"I am the king, therefore I am the state." He took every power of the state into his own hands and exercised despotism to its limits, just as did Ch'in Shih Hwang* of China. The absolute monarchy became more terrible every day until the people could bear it no longer. About this time science was beginning to make steady progress and the general intelligence of mankind was steadily rising. As a result, a new consciousness was born. The people saw that autocracy was something that only grasped for power, made private property of the state and of the people, contributed to the gratification of one individual and did not care about the sufferings of the many; as it became unbearable, they realized with increasing clearness that, since the system was iniqui-

tous, they should resist it, and that resistance meant revolution. So, during the last hundred years, the tides of revolutionary thought have run high and have given rise to democratic revolutions, struggles between people and kings.

This division into periods will help us in studying the origins of democracy. Summing up: the first period was one of struggle between man and beast in which man employed physical strength rather than any kind of power; in the second period man fought with Nature and called divine powers to his aid; in the third period, men came into conflict with men, states with states, races with races, and autocratic power was the chief weapon. We are now in the fourth period, of war within states, when the people are battling against their monarchs and kings. The issue now is between good and evil, between right and might, and as the power of the people is steadily increasing, we may call this the age of the people's sovereignty—the age of democracy. This is a very new age. We have only recently entered upon it and overthrown the autocracy of the old age.

Is the change a good thing or not? When the masses were unenlightened and depended upon sacred kings and virtuous sages to lead them, autocracy was of considerable value. Before autocracies arose, holy men founded religion upon the way of the gods in order to conserve social values; at that time theocracy rendered a large service. But now autocracy and theocracy are things of the past and we have come to the age of democracy, the age of the people's power. Is there any just reason why we should oppose autocracy and insist upon democracy? Yes, because with the rapid advance of civilization people are growing in intelligence and developing a new consciousness of self, just

* Despot who united China and founded the Ch'in dynasty (246-207 B.C.)
as we, who as children wanted our parents to support us, cannot depend upon them further but must be independent when we grow up to manhood and seek our own living.

From two hundred thousand years up to ten or more thousand years ago, mankind lived under theocracy, and theocracy was well suited to the needs of the age. The situation in Europe was a similar one a thousand or more years ago. Chinese culture flowered earlier than European culture, so we have had more autocracy than theocracy; the age of autocracy began long ago in China. But the word democracy—popular sovereignty—has only lately been introduced into China. All of you who have come here to-day to support my revolution are naturally believers in democracy.

Which, autocracy or democracy, is really better suited to modern China? If we base our judgment upon the intelligence and the ability of the Chinese people, we come to the conclusion that the sovereignty of the people would be far more suitable for us. Confucius and Mencius two thousand years ago spoke for people’s rights. Confucius said, “When the Great Doctrine prevails, all under heaven will work for the common good.” He was pleading for a free and fraternal world in which the people would rule. He was constantly referring to Yao and Shun simply because they did not try to monopolize the empire. Although their government was autocratic in name, yet in reality they gave the people power and so were highly revered by Confucius. Mencius said, “Most precious are the people; next come the land and grain; and last, the princes.” Again: “Heaven sees as the people see, Heaven hears as the people hear,” and “I have heard of the punishment of the tyrant Chou but never of the assassination of a sovereign.” He, in his age, already saw that kings were not absolutely necessary and would not last forever, so he called those who brought happiness to the people holy monarchs, but those who were cruel and unprincipled he called individualists whom all should oppose. Thus China more than two millenniums ago had already considered the idea of democracy, but at that time she could not put it into operation. Democracy was then what foreigners call a Utopia, an ideal which could not be immediately realized.

Now that Europe and America have founded republics and have applied democracy for one hundred fifty years, we whose ancients dreamed of these things should certainly follow the tide of world events and make use of the people’s power if we expect our state to rule long and peacefully and our people to enjoy happiness. But the rise of democracy is comparatively recent and many states in the world are still autocratic; those which have tried democracy have experienced many disappointments and failures. While democracy was discussed upon in China two thousand years ago, it has become an accomplished fact for only one hundred fifty years in the West. Now it is suddenly spreading over the whole world on the wings of the wind.

The first instance of actual democracy in modern times was in England. A revolution of the people took place about the time of the close of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of the Manchu dynasty in China, under a leader named Cromwell, which resulted in the execution of King Charles I. This deed sent a thrill of horror through the

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* 天下為公 t'ien hua wei hung.
** Legendary rulers of ancient Chinese history before Great Yu.

* Last ruler of the Shang or Yin dynasty which fell 1121 B.C. a cruel tyrant condemned by all Chinese historians.
people of Europe and America, who had never heard of the like in the world before and who thought that those responsible should be treated as traitors and rebels. The secret assassination of princes was common in every country, but Cromwell’s execution of Charles I was not done in secret; the king was given a public trial and openly proclaimed guilty of disloyalty to the state and to the people, and so deserving of death. Europe thought that the English people would defend the rights of the people, and give a great impetus to democracy, but, to the surprise of all, the English preferred autocracy to democracy; although Charles I was dead, they continued to long for a king. Within less than ten years the restoration of the monarchy had taken place and Charles II was welcomed back as king. This happened just at the time when the Manchus were entering the Great Wall, before the downfall of the Ming dynasty* not much further back than two hundred or more years. Something over two centuries ago, England had this one period of democratic government, but it soon collapsed and autocracy again held sway.

A hundred years later the American Revolution took place when the colonies broke away from England and declared independence, forming the federal government of the United States of America. This state, which has now existed for one hundred fifty years, was the first in the modern world to carry out the principles of democracy. Ten years after the establishment of the American Republic, the French Revolution was precipitated. The situation at the time of the French Revolution was like this: Since Louis XIV had seized all the power of the state and exercised absolute despotism, the people of France had suffered untold miseries; when his heirs displayed an even greater cruelty and wickedness, the people were goaded beyond endurance and started to revolt. They killed Louis XVI just as the English had killed Charles I, after giving him a public trial and proclaiming his disloyalty to the state and to the people. But then all the other states of Europe arose to avenge the death of the French king and war was fought for over ten years, with the result that the revolution failed and monarchy lifted its head once more. From this time on, however, democratic ideas flourished all the more among the French people.

Everyone who discusses the history of democracy knows about the French philosopher Rousseau, who advocated popular rights in an extreme form and whose democratic theories generated the French Revolution. Rousseau’s most important work out of his lifelong thinking and writing upon democracy was his Social Contract. The idea upon which the book is built is this: Man is born with rights of freedom and equality, rights which were endowed by Nature but which he has thrown away. According to his theory, the people are given their sovereign rights by Nature; but, as we study the evolution of history, we see that democracy has not been Heaven-born but has been wrought out of the conditions of the times and the movement of events. We can find no facts in the evolution of the race to bear out Rousseau’s philosophy, which, consequently, lacks foundation. Opponents of democracy take Rousseau’s unfounded arguments as material for their case, but we who believe in democracy do not need to start with discussion about it; universal principles are all based first upon fact and then upon theory, theory does not precede fact.

The theory in Rousseau’s Social Contract that the rights and the powers of the people are bestowed by
Nature is fundamentally in conflict with the principle of historical evolution, and so the enemies of democracy have used Rousseau's unsound argument to stop the mouths of the supporters of democracy. Rousseau's idea that democracy is naturally endowed was unreasonable, but for opponents to use one false conclusion of his as an argument against all democracy is just as unreasonable. When we are studying the truths of the universe, we must begin by investigating the facts and not depend merely upon the treatises of scholars. Why, if Rousseau's philosophy was not based upon fact, did all the peoples welcome it? And how was Rousseau able to produce such a treatise? He saw the power of the people rising into a flood and espoused the people's sovereignty; his democratic proposals suited the psychology of the time and made the masses welcome him. So, although his theory of democracy conflicted with the principles of historical progress, the spirit of democracy which was already coming to be a reality in the life of his day caused him to be warmly received in spite of his faulty arguments. And it may be added that Rousseau's advocacy of the original idea of democracy was one of the greatest contributions to government in all history.

Since the beginning of human history, the kind of power which government has wielded has inevitably varied according to the circumstances and tendencies of the age. In an age which reverenced gods, theocratic power had to be used; in an age of princes autocratic power had to be used. But now the currents of the world's life have swept into the age of democracy and it behooves us quickly to study what democracy means. Because some of the treatises upon democracy, such as Rousseau's Social Contract, have been a bit inconsistent with true principles, is no reason why we should oppose all that is good in democracy as well. Nor must we think that democracy is impracticable because the monarchy was restored after Cromwell's revolution in England or because the revolution stretched out for so long a time in France. The French Revolution lasted eighty years before it succeeded. The American Revolution accomplished its aims in eight years, but England after two hundred years of revolution still has a king. However, if we observe the steady progress of the world from many angles, we are assured that the day of democracy is here; and that, no matter what disappointments and defeats democracy may meet, it will maintain itself for a long time to come upon the earth.

Thirty years ago, therefore, we fellow revolutionists firmly resolved that, if we wanted China to be strong and our revolution to be effective, we must espouse the cause of democracy. Those Chinese who opposed democracy used to ask what strength there was in our Revolutionary Party to be able to overthrow the Manchu emperor. But in 1911 he fell with one push, another victim of the world tide. This world tendency has flowed from theocracy on to autocracy and from autocracy now on to democracy, and there is no way to stem the current. Autocracy in Europe is on the wane. Great Britain uses a political party rather than a king to govern the country; it may be called a republic with a king. From all this we see that not only theocracy but also autocracy will soon crumble before the on-flowing world current. The present age of democracy is a sequence of the democratic ideas in the Greek and Roman age and, while it has been only one hundred fifty years since the beginnings of democracy, its future will be growing brighter day by day.

So we in our revolution have chosen democracy, first,
that we may be following the world current, and second, that we may reduce the period of civil war. From ancient times in China, men of great ambition have all wanted to be king. Thus, when Liu Pang* saw Ch'in Shih Hwang riding out, he said, "That is the way for men of valor!" and Hsiang Yu** also said, "Let me usurp his place!" From one generation to another, there has been no end to this unscrupulous greed for power. When I launched the revolution, six or seven out of every ten who came to our support had imperialistic ideas, but after we made it known that our revolutionary principles aimed not only at the overthrow of the Manchus but also at the establishment of a republic, this group gradually got rid of their selfish ambitions. But there are still a few among them who, even in this thirteenth year of the Republic, cling to the old hope of becoming king, and this is the reason why even among our followers there were some who fought against each other. When we first proclaimed our revolution, we lifted up the rights of the people as the basis upon which to build our republic, with the hope that this would prevent the rivalry for imperial power.

To-day I am speaking about the people's sovereignty and I want you all to understand clearly what it really means. Unless we do understand clearly, we can never get rid of imperial ambitions among us, ambitions which will make even brethren in a cause and citizens of the same country fight one another. The whole land will be torn year after year with civil strife and there will be no end to the sufferings of the people. Because I wanted us to avert such calamities, I lifted up the banner of democracy as soon as the revolution began and determined

that we should found a republic. When we have a real republic, who will be king? The people, our four hundred millions, will be king. This will prevent everybody from struggling for power and will reduce the war evil in China. The history of China shows that every change of dynasty has meant war. A peaceful period has always been followed by disorder, disorder over the rivalry for kingship. Foreign countries have had wars over religion and wars over freedom, but China in her thousands of years has had but one kind of war, the war for the throne. In order to avert further civil war, we, as soon as we launched our revolution, proclaimed that we wanted a republic and not kings.

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* The founder of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-219 A.D.).
** A rival of Liu Pang.
APPENDIX C

"THE PRINCIPLE OF LIVELIHOOD," LECTURE FOUR
THE subject of my lecture to-day is the problem of clothing. The first important problem in the Principle of Livelihood is food, the next problem is clothing, and that is what I shall discuss now. Only man, only civilized man in fact, wears clothing. Other animals and the plants do not have clothes to wear, nor do savages wear clothes. Food, then, is the chief problem of livelihood and clothing is the second. The uncivilized races of Africa and Malaysia go without clothes, and so our primitive ancestors must also have lived naked. The wearing of clothes has come with the progress of civilization; the more civilization advances, the more complex becomes the problem of clothing. The more civilization advanced, the more complete clothing became.

How far have we got towards a solution of the clothing problem? Clothing is one of the necessities of life. In the progress of human civilization, living standards evolve through three stages. The first stage is that of necessities. Without these necessities human life of course cannot exist, and without a sufficient amount of them, life is incomplete, half dead and half alive. The necessities of the first stage
man could not do without. Then man advanced to the
second stage, the stage of comforts. When man reached
this standard of living, he began to seek not only the neces-
sary things of life but also joy and comfort. Then he went
a step further and looked for luxuries. Take clothing, for
example. In ancient times "grass cloth in summer and fur
in winter" were considered ample. But when man reached
the standard of comfort, he was not content with clothing
that should simply meet his physical needs; he wanted his
clothing also to fit his body and to be comfortable. Later
man advanced another step and began to seek beauty and
refinement in his clothing—light raw silks and delicate
lustering in place of grass cloth in the summer; otter and
sable furs in place of ordinary animal furs in the winter.
Thus the wearing of clothing has developed from the wear-
ing of plain, necessary clothing to the wearing of com-
fonable clothing, and from the wearing of comfortable
clothing to the wearing of beautiful and luxurious clothing.
In the same way the eating of food has evolved. At first
man simply sought to fill his stomach with "green vegetables
and coarse rice." Then he began to desire the sweet and
juicy flavors of wine and cooked meat. Further on, he
began to comb the mountains and the seas for delicacies
and dainties.

But in seeking a solution for the problem of livelihood
we are not dealing with comforts or with luxuries; we are
simply trying to solve the problem of necessities. We want
the four hundred millions throughout the nation to have
the necessary food and clothing, enough to eat and to wear.
The first step towards a solution of the problem is a study
of how materials for clothing are produced. Clothing
materials come from animals and plants—two kinds from
animals and two kinds from plants. These four materials
are silk, hemp or flax, cotton, and wool. Cotton and hemp
are secured from plants, silk and wool from animals. Silk
is spun by the ch'an, or silkworm; wool grows upon the
backs of camels and other animals. These four products
are the essential materials for man's clothing.

Let us first consider silk. Silk is a fine material for
clothes and was first discovered in China. The Chinese
in very ancient times wore silks. Although the civilization
of the Western Powers has now far outstripped ours, yet
at the time when China discovered silk, their peoples were
still in the age of savagery and were still "eating raw meat
and drinking blood." Not until two or three centuries ago
did their civilization begin to advance beyond ours and did
they learn to use silk as the material for beautiful clothes.
Now Westerners use silk to make some necessities but
chiefly to make articles of luxury.

Although China discovered silk several thousand years
ago, yet the key to the clothing problem of our four
hundred millions is not silk. Our necessary articles of
clothing are not made of silk, and a large proportion of
the people cannot afford to wear silk.

Our silk industry, the methods of producing silk and
of making silk goods which we discovered, was once all
very fine. But we did not know how to make improvements;
and later when foreigners copied our industry, applied
modern science to it and introduced improvements in it,
they were able to make silk superior to Chinese silk and
to supplant the Chinese silk industry. Investigation will
show that the decline of the Chinese silk industry is due
to poor methods of production. A great many Chinese
silkworms are diseased; in fact, half the silkworms in every
crop turn out badly and die before maturity. If by chance
they live, the raw silk from the cocoons of diseased silk-
worms does not make goods of fine quality or color. Our methods of silk reeling are also imperfect; the threads have too many breaks in them and are not suited to the use of foreign silks. Consequently, Chinese silk has gradually lost out in competition with foreign silk. Several decades ago the foreign methods of sericulture were just like the Chinese methods. When the Chinese farmer raises silkworms, the results are sometimes good; at other times, there is a complete loss of the crop. The farmer has no other way to explain such different outcomes but to attribute them to fate. This was also the case with foreign farmers. Then scientists began to discover the principles of biology and to study minutely all forms of life, not only those visible to the naked eye, but also, by means of microscopes which magnified thousands of times, those too small for the naked eye.

In the course of such investigations, a French scientist named Pasteur made the discovery that all diseases of animals, whether of human beings or of silkworms, are caused by minute organisms, or microbes. Unless these microbes can be destroyed, the diseased animal will surely die. After spending much time and making extended researches, Pasteur understood thoroughly the nature of these micro-organisms and was able to discover methods to eradicate them and so to rid the silkworms of disease. When these methods were communicated to the silk growers of France and Italy, the diseased silkworms were greatly reduced in number and the cocoon spinning turned out very well. The silk industry was then able to make great progress. Later on, Japan began to study these methods and her silk industry began to advance. China's farmers, however, have always been conservative and unwilling to learn new methods, so our silk industry has steadily declined.

If China is to reform her silk industry and to increase silk production, her silk growers must learn foreign scientific methods and must improve the silkworm egg and the mulberry leaves; they must also study the best methods of reeling the silk from the cocoons and of sorting and improving the various grades, qualities, and colors of raw silk. Then China's silk industry will gradually progress and will be able to compete in the world's silk market. If Chinese do not improve their mulberry leaves and silkworm eggs and the quality of the raw silk, but stick to the old methods, China's silk industry will not only fail but will probably, in the course of natural selection, be utterly wiped out. Most of the people now in China do not wear silk, but our raw silk is shipped abroad in exchange for cotton fabrics and yarn. If Chinese silk is poor in quality, other countries will not want it and the silk will have no market. China then will not only lose one of her chief sources of wealth, but she will also have no material for making clothing, since she cannot export her silk in exchange for cotton goods and yarn. So if China wants her people to have the material necessary for clothing in order to solve their clothing problem, she must preserve her ancient industry, improve her silkworm eggs and mulberry leaves and reform her methods of silk reeling. China's gauzes and satins used to be very fine, unexcelled in any foreign country. But now the silk goods which come from foreign machine looms are much superior to Chinese goods. The exquisite silk goods which are now being used by wealthy Chinese families all come from abroad, which shows how our splendid native industry has been ruined. To solve the silk problem, we must not only improve silkworm eggs and mulberry leaves, and reform methods of sericulture
and of silk reeling in order to produce better silk, but we must also learn foreign methods of weaving silks and satins by machinery. Then we can make beautiful silk goods for the use of our people; when the home demand is met, we can ship the surplus abroad in exchange for other goods.

The second material of which clothes are made is hemp. Hemp also owes its first discovery to China. In ancient times the Chinese found the method for making cloth from hemp, and this old method is still followed by all to-day. But Chinese agriculture never progresses, so the linen industry has recently been taken from us by other countries. All the provinces of China raise hemp to a great extent, but the goods made from hemp are suitable only for summer clothing and do not last more than one season. If we want to better the linen industry, we must make a detailed and radical study of its agricultural side—how to cultivate hemp and flax and how to apply fertilizers; and also of its manufacturing side—how to produce fine linen thread. Then the linen industry will develop and manufactured linen goods will be inexpensive. In the past the linen industry has depended solely upon hand labor; no machinery has been used. Hand manufacture not only consumes time and produces poor linen fabrics but also requires expensive capital. If we want to improve the linen industry and manufacture linen fabrics, we must have a broad plan. All along the line, from the fields, where the hemp or flax is grown, to the factories, where linen fabrics are woven, we must apply the most modern scientific methods. If we can effect such a reform, then we shall get good linens and inexpensive material for clothing.

Silk and hemp as raw material for clothing were first discovered in China. But clothes nowadays are made not only of silk and hemp or flax; most clothes are made of cotton, while wool is being used to an increasing extent. Cotton and wool are now necessary material for everyone's clothing. Cotton is not native to China; the Ceiba tree cotton* was introduced from India. After China obtained cotton seeds from India and began to plant them in various sections of the country, and after she learned how to spin and to weave cotton, a cotton industry was built up. Lately, however, foreign cotton cloth of a better quality than the native cloth, and quite inexpensive, has been imported into China. Chinese have preferred the foreign to the native cloth, and so our native industry has been driven to the wall. This means that Chinese have to depend upon foreign countries for the necessary clothing material. Small native industries still in existence use foreign yarn in the weaving. You can see from this how the bottom has been knocked out of our cloth industry by other countries.

Although China produces a great deal of cotton of good natural quality, yet, because her industries are undeveloped, she cannot herself use the raw cotton in the manufacture of good fabrics and yarn; she can only ship it for sale abroad. The clothes we wear every day are made of imported material for which we have to pay a high price. The high price we pay is the sending of our valuable money and food abroad in settlement. Such is the present condition of China under foreign economic domination.

Foreign nations do not oppress China with economic power alone. When foreign nations at times find their economic strength weak and cannot attain their objectives in other ways, they add political force. In former days

* Referring to what is commercially known as "Indian cottons."
China’s handicraft competed against foreign machinery and lost out, but that was purely an economic problem. The failure after the European War of Chinese spinning and textile factories, which were competing against foreign nations with machinery modeled after theirs, was not an economic but a political problem. What methods do foreign nations use in their political domination over China? After the Manchu Government had carried on wars with foreign nations and had been defeated, China was forced to sign many unequal treaties. Foreign nations are still using these treaties to bind China, and as a result China fails at whatever she attempts. If China stood on an equal political basis with other nations, she could compete freely with them in the economic field and be able to hold her own without failure. But as soon as foreign nations use political power as a shield for their economic designs, then China is at a loss how to resist or to compete successfully with them.

If we want to solve our livelihood problem and protect our native industries so that they cannot be attacked by foreign industries, we must first have the political power to protect them. But China to-day in the grip of the treaties has not only lost her sovereign rights and the power to protect her own industries, but is actually giving protection to foreign industries. This comes of the capitalistic expansion, mechanical progress, and economic superiority of foreign countries; besides, foreign economic power is backed up by political power.

In order to compete with other countries we must imitate the tariff policy of the Western nations. What has been their experience with this policy? Several decades ago, British industries ranked first in the world; whatever goods the world needed were all supplied by Great Britain. The United States at that time was still in the agricultural stage; the small industries which existed were being crushed by British industries and had no chance to develop. Then the United States adopted a protective policy and put a protective tariff into effect. All British goods imported into the United States had to pay a heavy duty of fifty to one hundred per cent ad valorem. This made the wholesale price of British goods so high that they were unable to compete with American goods. Many kinds of British goods could no longer be shipped to the United States, and American industries began to grow until now they surpass British industries. Several decades ago Germany was also an agricultural nation and the German people also had to depend upon Great Britain for the goods which they needed. They were under the domination of British industry. Later, when Germany adopted a protective policy, her industries also began to develop. In recent years German industries have gone ahead of every other nation’s.

It is clear from this that if we want Chinese industries to flourish, we must follow the protective policy of the United States and of Germany, resist the invasion of foreign goods, and protect our native goods. We cannot find a solution for the livelihood problem in the economic field alone; we must first take hold on the political side, abolish all unequal treaties, and take back the customs out of foreign control. Then we can freely increase the tariff and put into effect a protective policy. Such a policy will prevent foreign goods from pouring into China, and our home industries will naturally be able to develop.

The most important raw materials which we must consider in dealing with our clothing problem are silk, hemp, cotton, and wool. The fourth material, wool, is
produced in considerable quantity in China. Chinese wool is superior in quality to foreign wool, but the woolen industry is not developed in China; we do not manufacture woolens but ship our wool to other countries to be sold. Other countries take our wool, make it into woolen goods, and send these back for sale and profit making in China. If we could recover our rights and employ the power of the state to develop our woolen industry, it would flourish along with the cotton industry. If we had a prosperous woolen industry, then Chinese would not have to buy the woolen goods which they need in winter from foreign countries. If we have a surplus of wool we can market it abroad in the same way as we do our silk. But now the woolen industry is undeveloped in China, so the pelts and the loose cut wool which cannot be used in China are sold at a low price abroad, made into woolen cloth and all kinds of felt goods, shipped back to China, and sold for our money here. This shows that both our cotton and woolen industries are suffering from foreign political and economic domination. In order to solve the clothing problem, we must utilize the great strength of the entire nation in a broad comprehensive plan, first recover our sovereign rights, employ the state's power to develop the agricultural and manufacturing industries in connection with silk, hemp, cotton, and wool, and take back our Maritime Customs for the protection of these industries, raising the duties upon exported raw materials and upon imported manufactured goods. Then our spinning and textile industries will immediately begin to grow and the problem of clothing will reach a solution.

Now that we see the solution for the problem of clothing materials, let us turn to the matter of clothing itself. The wearing of clothes began, I said once before, as a protection against cold. The first function of clothing, then, was protection of the body. But as civilization advanced, clothes began to be used as bodily ornament and the second function of clothing came to be beautification, "presenting a fine appearance." Savage man did not have any clothing for ornament, so he tattooed his body; that is, he marked and colored his flesh. Our ancients called this wenshen, or decorating the body. Although civilization has advanced, yet bodily ornament is still considered the chief function of clothing, and the functions of defense against cold and bodily protection are almost forgotten. In this day of high living and extravagant competition, not only are clothing materials constantly appearing in new forms, but the styles of clothes every year show differences in size and changes in the tastes dictated by custom. More and more are clothes and ornaments considered a mark of worth, and the existence of gentry and literati considered as synonymous with cultural progress.

When autocracy developed, clothing was used to distinguish ranks. The third function of clothing was then to mark class distinctions. Now democracy prevails and our classes are levelled down. However, the file and rank of the army and navy in a Republic are still identified by their uniform. To the three functions of clothing just mentioned—physical protection, bodily ornament, and class distinction—we must add a fourth, convenience. For we are considering clothing as the people's necessity in a day when all classes are becoming equal and labor is becoming sacred. Let us say, then, that the clothing needed by our people must fulfill all the following functions—it must protect the body, it must be good-looking, and it must be convenient and not hinder work. Such clothing
will truly be fine.

In order to carry out the Principle of Livelihood and with these three uses of clothing in mind, the state should establish clothing factories everywhere on a large scale. These factories should manufacture the clothing needed by the people, according to the population and temperature of the seasons in the various sections of the country. Everyone should be supplied with the necessary clothing; not one person should be left out. This is the duty which the government of the San Min Chu I state owes to its people with respect to the necessity of clothing.

And the people must of course fulfill the obligations of citizenship to the state or disqualify themselves as citizens. Those who disqualify themselves as citizens disqualify themselves as masters of the state. Lazy vagabonds are parasites upon the state and upon the people. The government should force them by law to work and try to convert them into honorable laborers, worthy to share in the rights and privileges of the nation. When loafers are eliminated and all men have a share in production, then there will be enough to eat and to wear, homes will be comfortable, and the people will be content, and the problem of livelihood will be solved.*

* The lectures upon the Principle of Livelihood were never completed by Dr. Sun.
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