SOURCES IN CHINESE HISTORY
Diverse Perspectives from 1644 to the Present

Edited by
David G. Atwill
Yurong Y. Atwill
Pennsylvania State University

Prentice Hall
Upper Saddle River  London  Singapore
Toronto  Tokyo  Sydney  Hong Kong  Mexico City
CHAPTER 7 ♦ Revolution, Warlordism, and Intellectual Transformation  163

7.9 JAPAN’S TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS (JANUARY 18TH, 1915)

On January 18, 1915, Eki Hoiki, the Japanese minister in Beijing, handed President Yuan Shikai the following list of twenty-one demands grouped into five sections. The timing of the demands took full advantage of Great Britain’s recent entrance into the First World War. The Japanese calculated that Britain would be hard pressed to hold Japan to the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1905 which stated that both countries would be bound to the “preservation of the ... independence, and integrity of the Chinese Empire.” On May 7, the Japanese minister presented an ultimatum including a revised series of demands (in particular the postponement of the demands in Group 5 (see below) and the threat that if these terms were not accepted within 48 hours the Japanese government would “take such steps as they deem necessary.” The next day, Yuan Shikai accepted the demands and on May 25, 1915 he officially signed treaties and diplomatic notes acknowledging China’s assent to the terms. His acceptance set off a furor and sparked popular anti-Japanese movements throughout China.

Questions:
1. Rank the five groups of demands into what you consider the (and the Chinese) people found most least important.
2. In what ways are Japan’s twenty-one demands similar to different from the unequal treaties China was forced to sign with Western powers during the nineteenth century? (Chapter 4)

GROUP I

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

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

ARTICLE 2—The Chinese Government engages that within the Province of Shandong and along its coast, no territory or island will be ceded or leased to a third power under any pretext.

ARTICLE 3—The Chinese government consents to Japan’s building a railway from Yantai or Longkou to join the Jiaozhou-Yinanfu Railway.

ARTICLE 4—The Chinese Government engages in interest of trade and for the residence of foreigners, to open by herself as soon as possible certain important cities and towns in the province of Shandong as commercial ports. What places shall be opened are to be jointly decided upon in a separate agreement.

GROUP II

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

ARTICLE 1—The two contracting parties mutually agree that the term of lease of Port Arthur
[Lüshun] and Dalian and the term of lease of the South Manchurian Railway and the Andong-Shenyang Railway shall be extended to the period of 99 years.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ARTICLE 7—The Chinese government agrees that the control and management of the Jilin-Changchun shall be handed over to the Japanese government for terms of 99 years dating from the signing of this agreement.

GROUP III

The Japanese government and the Chinese government, having close relations with each other at present and desiring that common interests of the two nations shall be advanced, agree to the following articles:

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

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

GROUP IV

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

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

GROUP V

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

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

ARTICLE 3—Inasmuch as the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government have had many cases of dispute between Japanese and Chinese police which caused no little misunderstanding, it is for this reason necessary that the police departments of important places (in China) shall be jointly administered by
CHAPTER 7  Revolution, Warlordism, and Intellectual Transformation  165

Japanese and Chinese or that the police departments of these places shall employ numerous Japanese, so that they may at the same time help to plan for the improvement of the Chinese Police Service.

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

**ARTICLE 5** — China agrees to grant to Japan the right of constructing a railway connecting Wuchang with Jujiang and Nanchang, another line between Nanchang and Hangzhou, and another between Nanchang and Chaoshou.

**ARTICLE 6** — If China needs foreign capital to work mines, build railways and construct harbors (including dockyards) in the Province of Fujian, Japan shall be first consulted.

**ARTICLE 7** — China agrees that Japanese subjects shall have the right of missionary propaganda in China.

### 7.10  MAY FOURTH MANIFESTO (MAY 4, 1919)

China, like many non-Western European nations, had placed considerable confidence in President Wilson’s Fourteen Points. Many non-Western countries took Wilson’s Fourteen Points to mean he advocated equality among all nations in the World War One peace proceedings at Versailles outside of Paris. When word finally reached China that Germany’s holdings would be given to Japan instead of reverting to Chinese control, public outrage boiled over. Students in Beijing took to the streets to protest the peace negotiations. One of the student leaders, Luo Jialun, wrote the following manifesto which was the only publication printed that day. The demonstration by today’s standards was small—only 3,000 students from Beijing’s thirteen colleges. However the impact was immediate and sparked a nationwide reaction against the treaty and against Japan. The Treaty of Versailles, formally signed eight months after the war’s end in June 28, 1919, did not include China’s signature.

**Questions**

1. At what target is this anger at the May Fourth demonstration directed?
2. What political and military consequences without China’s neutralization for the Chinese (Beijing) government to oppose the Versailles Peace Treaty?

At the Paris Peace Conference, Japan’s request to occupy and control Shandong, is about to be granted! Their diplomacy has triumphed completely while ours has failed utterly! The loss of Shandong can only denote the end of China’s territorial integrity. The end of China’s territorial integrity can only mean China is done for! Therefore today, we, the students, form a procession and demonstrate in front of every embassy of every country, and demand that they defend justice. We hope people in industry, business and every walk of life all over the country will hold citizens meetings to fight; internationally for China’s sovereignty, and domestically to rid the country of traitors. China’s survival depends on this next move! Today we take two oaths with all our fellow countrymen: China’s territory can be conquered, but not given away!

The Chinese people may be killed, but they will not submit!

The country will be lost! Fellow citizens, rise up!