have been made even today if Mr. Fessenden, Director-General of the Council, had been successful in his recent "vacation" trip to America. Personally, we feel sure, he would rather come back with more U. S. Marines to protect Shanghai against the invasion of the Chinese than with the idea of inviting Judge Feetham. But Mr. Fessenden cannot alter the situation and stem the tide of nationalism that is gaining every day and everywhere.

Granting the inevitability of the abolition of extraterritoriality and the necessity of expert advice in the interim period, we cannot help wondering if the invitation of an outside expert is at all necessary. By this we do not wish to cast any reflection on the eminent British judge, but we feel that no matter how great an expert he may be, he lacks the necessary background of the situation and the understanding of the Chinese public to enable him to accomplish what he has set out to accomplish. It cannot be over-emphasized that no solution without the participation of the Chinese could reasonably be expected to satisfy the Chinese, and that no solution can be of any practical value unless it does satisfy the Chinese.

Rather than invite an outside expert whose serious interest in Chinese affairs only begins with his appointment, we wish to join our contemporary, The Shanghai Times, in recommending that a Department of Chinese Affairs be appointed by the Council. Thus says this journal:

In order adequately to deal with this all-important matter, Shanghai must have a Department for Chinese Affairs, with a man at the head who knows the Chinese people and has a record of friendly and sympathetic co-operation with them, so that all negotiations can be carried on with sincerity and good will, rather than with the usual legal and official stiffness. It is generally recognized that the Municipal Council has been negligent in that such a department ought to have been formed years ago; but it is now essential, for there are long and protracted negotiations ahead, and much time and thought have to be given in the longer period necessary for the working out of the plans agreed upon. To bring to fruition these plans there must be loyal co-operation between both Chinese and foreigners, and the important link in bringing about this happy issue would naturally be the Department for Chinese Affairs.

Nothing is of greater moment to the International Settlement than the speedy formation of such a Department. One has only to know Chinese merchants and gentry well enough for them to speak freely, to realize that the Council has come far short of establishing wise and friendly relations productive of decisions acceptable to Chinese public opinion in Shanghai. And if the truth he told, there is a strong foreign feeling to this effect.

The usefulness of Judge Feetham alone is only limited at best, but his usefulness may be enhanced by joining the proposed Department for Chinese Affairs where he may sit with representatives of the Chinese and learn the Chinese attitude which is the all-important factor in the solution of the problems facing the Settlement. The problems do not concern the foreign community alone; in fact, they affect more Chinese than foreigners. A solution that is to be of infinite value must be one that will satisfy both elements. Such a solution can not be found by a single jurist who is apt to be merely legal-minded, and we may be pardoned for feeling that his appointment is but a grand gesture on the part of the Council.

**Analogies Between the Beginnings of Language and of Chinese Writing**

By Lin Yutang (林語堂)

(The following paper was read before the American College Women's Club of Peking some time ago, and is now published with the illustrations from Chinese characters considerably curtailed.)

To come straight to our topic, you are all aware that the Chinese use a system of "pictorial" writing. You are probably also aware that the study of these pictorial characters forms a most fascinating subject and has always engrossed the attention of Chinese philologists in the past. They are what I may call specimens of fossilized thinking of the early Chinese, reflecting their manners, customs, religion and conceptions of things by the pictures they adopted to represent these ideas. In fact, strewn among the dots, strokes and squares of the characters, we can discover quite a rich find of archaeological remains of the early Chinese mind, and the study of this branch of Chinese learning requires an intimate knowledge of ancient Chinese life, as well as the exercise of extreme scientific caution.

But this is not what concerns us this afternoon. Not the content, but the process, of the formation of the characters in their earliest stages is what we are interested in now. The earliest characters reflect not only early Chinese culture, but also certain traits of the barbaric mind in their efforts and struggle to express themselves. The barbaric mind is always interesting, and not less so for its being Chinese in this case. In this matter, the characters afford us a unique opportunity for dissecting, as it were, the barbaric psychology, coming as near being an
authentic record of their psychological progress as any we have in the world. You know the whole story of the origin of language is more or less shrouded in mystery. This is because it was largely a verbal development, leaving no written traces of that early process. Well, here we have a visible record of that process, and may it not throw some light on the beginnings of the spoken language? True, the history of writing is not the same as the history of the spoken language, and its problem was not exactly identical with that of language proper, but may it not reflect some characteristic traits of the early human mind, which must have grown side by side with the spoken language, as well as with the art of writing?

In the present paper, I can, of course, do no more than trace the merest outline of this development and indicate certain general characteristics. I wish, in particular, to trace four of these characteristics or tendencies of development, which, I believe, have their parallels in the history of the spoken language also, so far as we know it. The four points are: (1) language originated as play, (2) the earliest language was complex rather than simple, (3) language developed from the concrete and particular to the abstract and general, and (4) language developed from emotional pictures to logical symbols, and not vice versa. In each case, I shall try to indicate first the facts we know from the history of language and then to show their parallels in the history of the Chinese characters.

In the main, I am following Jespersen's theory of the origin of language. You know there have been many theories of the origin of language, such as the bow-wow theory, the pooh-pooh theory, the yo-ho theory, the ding-dong theory, but they are generally worthless, because their method is purely speculative. It was Prof. Jespersen, the distinguished philological thinker, who first suggested and personally followed a scientific method of approach to this problem by trying to build his theory from facts observed (1) in the savage languages, (2) in the language of children, and (3) in the known histories of languages, thus enabling us to see certain general tendencies and mentally project these lines of development backwards until we reach the unknown beginning. This seems to be a sound way of learning the character of the earliest language, when the human mind was still in its infancy.

Jespersen's theory is that language originated in emotional songs, especially in songs of love, not songs in our usual sense, but songs which were half sung and half spoken (a way of rhythmic modulated expression pretty well expressed by the Chinese words: 押韵). Hence our first point that language originated in play. In Jespersen's own words, "language originated as play, and the organs of speech were trained in this singing sport of idle hours." From our knowledge of the language and general habits of savage tribes, we know that language did not originate for the purposes of a philosophic discussion, but in babbling nonsensical syllables and in primitive singing. Man's earliest utterance was a song. Language did not begin with the prosaic, but with the poetic side of life. It was not the rational, but the emotional side that preponderated in primitive speech. It was the emotions that called for immediate expression. Now Jespersen asks which of the emotions was it that was responsible for, and most productive in, linguistic developments? Certainly not the emotion of pain or hunger, which could give rise only to short and relatively invariable ejaculations. Nor, not the instinct of hunger or pain, but the instinct which has given us the wonderful songs of birds, the gorgeous plumes of peacocks, the open-air concert of summer cicadas, and the beautiful colours of butterflies—the instinct of love. Hence you see your tremendous importance in this whole business. The first speakers were not sober, old-aged men, not serious and well-meaning people occupied with the sense of sin and degradation, but not to sedate and experienced citizens who tried to count dollars and cents. Let me quote this beautiful passage from Jespersen, particularly because I believe it is of interest to the present audience.

"Primitive speakers were not reticent and reserved beings, but youthful men and women, babbling merrily on, without being so very particular about the meaning of each word. They did not narrowly weigh every syllable. What was a couple of syllables more or less to them? "They chattered away for the mere pleasure of chattering, resembling therein many a mother of our own times, who will chatter away to baby without measuring her words or looking too closely into the meaning of each; nay, who is not a bit troubled by the consideration that the little dearly does not understand a single word of her affectionate eloquence. May I be allowed to quote from Elizabeth Browning:

"Women know
The way to rear up children (to be just)
They know a simple, merry, tender knack
Of stringing pretty words that make no sense,
And kissing full sense into empty words,
Which things are corals to cut life upon,
Although such trifles: children learn by such
Love's holy earnest in a pretty play
And get not over-early solemnized . . ."

Quite contrary to the popular notion, then, and quite in consonance with the facts we know about the speech and habits of the savages, we may say that human speech, in so far as it was not mere ejaculations of anger or fear, originated from an exuberance of fun, youthful "spirit," and that most creative and fertile source of energy, the sexual impulse, which has been responsible, if we may believe Freud, for the world's greatest artistic creations, and in fact for all the amenities of culture. And I believe this view of the origin of language is corroborated by the evidences of the earliest characters. The earliest characters were far more pictorial than their later forms. Drawing stands in the same relation to writing as singing to speech. Just as there was a stage in language when it was half speaking and singing, so there was a stage in the characters when it was impossible to distinguish between drawing and writing. In both cases, it was the child's and savage's play-instinct, rather than the sage's
logical faculty, that played the important part, and in both cases the original character was more emotional than logical. And just as the pictorial character of writing was gradually lost sight of, so the emotional character of our speech has gradually assumed a minor role, until it is often overlooked in modern days that we speak as much to express our desires as to communicate pure ideas.

Some of the earliest records we have in early bronze sacrificial vessels were so primitive that we could hardly call them characters: they do not even have the form of characters but are in fact nothing but composite pictures. For the character hsi (hsi), denoting “a female slave,” we have an actual picture of a slave, (Fig. 1), and for the character shu (shu), denoting “sand,” we have the picture of the imprint of a bird’s foot by the side of a river, (Fig. 2). The picture of a human foot is variously used to denote “going out” (Fig. 3, putting shoe on foot, भ), “return” (Fig. 4, taking shoe off foot भ), “going up” (Fig. 5, two feet turning upwards by the side of a hill भ), and “coming down” (Fig. 6, two feet turning downwards by the side of a hill भ), etc. Our recent discoveries of the bone-inscriptions also bear out this early pictorial character in a striking manner, being more pictorial than other later forms we had known of before.

See the characters for “horse” (Fig. 7), “Tiger” (8), “monster” (9), “dog” (10), “cart” (11), “drive” (12).

Again, it is a misunderstanding that language began with the simple and grew more and more complex. Even a philologist like Whitney fell into the error of saying that “the law of simplicity of beginnings applies to language not less naturally and necessarily than to other instrumentalities.” On the contrary, the languages of savage tribes, far from being simple, are more complex in character, more entangled and complicated in grammar than many of the civilized languages, and we have to believe that simplicity was the result of a very slow and laborious process of development. It takes great minds to think simple thoughts, and great inventors to discover simple laws, just as it takes real cultivated taste to appreciate simplicity in the decorative arts, say, in designing a lady’s costume. The English verb, e.g., does not vary with the gender, but in Semitic languages, it has to agree with the gender of its subject, and in American Indian, it has to agree with its object. Fifteen conjugations exist in the Arabic, and the conjugations of the American Indian languages are practically numberless, since each sentence is a conglomerate verb. It is bad enough to distinguish the gender of nouns, but in the American Indian languages, we have to use different words, according as the nouns belong to the animate or inanimate class, with arbitrary and fanciful details of classification like the distinction of gender in the Indo-European languages. The Basque language is another stumbling-block for would-be polyglots. At Bearn, the story is told that the good God, wishing to punish the devil for the temptation of Eve, sent him to the Pays Basque with the command that he should remain there until he had learned the grammar of the language. At the end of seven years, God relented, finding the punishment too severe, and called the devil to him. The devil had no sooner crossed the bridge of Castelando than he found he had forgotten all that he had learned with so much effort. After an examination of the grammar of the savage languages, compared with the modern ones, Jespersen deduces the law that “the evolution of language shows a progressive tendency from inseparable, irregular conglomerations to freely and regularly combinable short elements.” In other words, we may say the evolution of language was from synthesis toward increasing analysis, and that synthetic thinking was a characteristic
of the primitive mind, not because it wanted to be so, but because it did not know any better.

Now exactly this trait is corroborated by a study of the history of Chinese characters. Contrary to the popular notion, the Chinese characters did not begin from a dot and a dash, but from highly irregular and unstable composite pictures, and the history of the characters is a history of increasing simplicity, increasing regularity and increasing analytic character. The ta-chuan was more complicated than the hisao-chuan, and the hsiao-chuan more so than the li-shu. It is simpler to write (雨) than to write (雷) or draw Fig. 13 for "thunder," and simpler to write (水) than draw Fig. 14 for "rain." It is simpler and more regular to write (米) than to draw the irregular pictures Fig. 15 for "rice." And look at the very cumbersome picture for expressing "marriage" with a wedding cart, a sparrow, a girl and an ear (Fig. 16) instead of the later form with "girl" and "evening." Strange as it may seem, it actually required a long development to represent the idea of "stringing through" by the more modern (串) whereas the more ancient form was doubled, and was actually represented in the picture of a man carrying a string of burden in earlier forms (Fig. 17).

Once more, language developed from the concrete and particular to the abstract and general. The original language must have been much more concrete, more directly pictorial in character than the civilized languages. This is due to the fact that the primitive mind could only think in concrete images, and that general and abstract ideas, simple as they are to us, are the result of a very long and slow development. Thus we know the Tasmanians have different names for different species of trees (gum-trees, wattale trees) but no generic name for tree in general, because the effort of thinking of an abstract tree was above the primitive mind. The Zulus of Africa have names for red cow, white cow, but no name for cow in general. And in fact we must regard the notion of "red cow" and "white cow" as already generalized ideas. The earliest beginning of the term would apply only to a particular red cow, and not all red cows. The savage had a red cow and a white cow in his farm, and that was all he knew, and he only needed terms to designate these two particular cows. An abstract red cow had no use for him, much less a cow in general. Language did not begin with general nouns and general verbs, but with particular nouns and very particular verbs. A simple term like "thing" could not have come into use in the earliest stages, as we see the Tasmanians are not able to get into their heads the notion of two plus two equals four, because two pebbles and two spears are still two pebbles and two spears. To say that two pebbles and two spears make four "things" requires the abstract notion of thing in general. The Cherokees of America did not have the idea of washing in general, but could readily conceive of particular actions of washing, as "I wash myself," "I wash my head," "I wash the head of somebody else," "I wash my hands and feet," "I wash dishes," "I wash meat" which are all indicated by single words. All early and savage languages abound in such examples. The early Chinese, too, had one word for a horse that is one-year old, another for a horse two years old, another for a horse with one eye white, another for one with both eyes white, and then all sorts of names according as they are striped brown and white, or brown and black, whether they are yellowish-white, or whether their left hind legs are white, or whether they are sandy-coloured with a black muzzle, etc.

The representation of abstract ideas in Chinese characters is a most interesting inquiry. Of course, the characters being pictorial, their images are necessarily concrete, and the argument in itself would prove very little. I also admit the fact that the Chinese as a race are more synthetic-minded, being in a decided disadvantage where the analytic gift is required, as is amply proved in the whole history of Chinese culture; hence also the highly concrete and pictorial character of its writing. But I may also cite the fact that the earlier characters were more pictorial in character and more highly individualized in conception than their later forms. Such a distinction between birds with long plumes (鶴) and birds with short plumes (雉) is something the modern mind would never dream of. Then they seemed to be never at a loss to represent abstract ideas by definite pictures, and sometimes these ways seem to be very ingenious, and certainly show a highly pictorial way of thinking. For instance the idea of "superior" or "respect" (尊) is represented by a slave holding a wine-cup; "sweet" (甘) is represented by something in the mouth, and "to speak" (言) by a mouth with an opening, presumably for the escape of breath or with the idea of expressing one's ideas. "Fricction" (摩擦) is represented by four symbols for "stop" turned toward one another; "arrival" (至) is indicated by a bird alighting on the earth. Later on, these characters lost a great deal of their true pictorial nature, and tended more and more to the method of indicating ideas. Eventually, even this principle was found inadequate, and we had to resort to the so-called "radicals," which are nothing but a process of classification and making the greatest use of generic notions to differentiate words of the same sounds. Today, nine-tenths of the Chinese characters are not pictographs, but are composed of a sound symbol and a generic coefficient, which is analytical in nature and far from being concrete.

We come therefore to the last point, which is a clear consequence from the above, namely, the conventionalization of all pictures and their conversion into logical symbols. As we are fond of saying today, words are symbols of ideas. We know it was not true at the beginning: the logical content has grown more and more in importance as the human mind developed. The same thing happens with the characters. Not only have the pictographs been more and more substituted by conventionalized symbols indicating logical categories, but very often, we even take the whole words as symbols, and forget where the logical category comes in. Thus the word for "beginning" (始) is indicated by the sound-symbol (台), with the "girl"-radical, and the word for "end" (終) is indicated by the sound-symbol (至).
plus the “silk”-radical. But nobody ever stops to think, and few people can explain, why “the beginning” is particularly girlish or feminine, or what “the end” has to do with “silk.” We have long forgotten entirely to associate the word for “willing” (肯) with the idea of “meat” and the word for “able” (能) with the picture of an animal, and think how ridiculous it is to teach our children that England is classified under “grass” (英), America under “goat” (美), France under “water” (法), Italy under heart” (意), Russia under “man” (俄), and Germany under “march” (德)! The fact is, the Chinese characters, starting out as pictographs, have in the course of time assumed entirely conventional roles, and like the spoken language itself, have gradually become a conventionalized way of expressing more analytic, more coherent, and more logical ideas.

The Ministry of Education on Obligatory Education

(Continued from the last issue)

By T. King (金子剛)

In view of the extraordinary stringency of our educational funds prevailing everywhere at present, it would appear hardly practical to expect every district to increase its annual contribution to such funds by the average amount of over $137,000. Even in a wealthy and prosperous province such as Kiangsu, the total sum of money raised for educational purposes in all its districts now works out at an average amount of a little over $94,000 only in each district. We already feel that it would be impossible to expect every district in this province to be able to increase its educational funds to more than double the present amount within the period of five years. In the poor provinces, the amount of educational funds available ranges from $10,000 to $20,000 per annum in each district. In some of the poorest districts, less than $1,000 per annum only is devoted to education in each district. Needless to say, it would be absolutely out of the question to expect these districts each to find the additional amount of over $137,000 every year to meet educational expenses.

After a study of the practices obtaining in Europe and America, and taking into consideration the present conditions in this country, the percentage of liability for funds for obligatory education to be proportionately borne by the Central Government, the provincial government and local authorities may tentatively be fixed as follows:

(a) The Central Government to be liable for 25%.
(b) The Provincial Government to be liable for 15%.
(c) The local district to be liable for 60%.

Note.—In the case of a special municipality, the liabilities of both the provincial government and the local district to be assumed by the municipal treasury. The amount of the subsidy or grant-in-aid allowed by the Central Government may be increased at its discretion in the case of a poor province; and decreased in that of a rich province. The province may exercise its discretionary power in the same way, increasing or decreasing its grant-in-aid to the districts in accordance with their respective financial conditions. Thus, a sufficient degree of elasticity should be allowed in the application of the above-suggested percentage figures.

(a) The Liability of the Central Government. Since as much as a sum of over $260,000,000 is required every year on account of obligatory education, the Central Government should, five years hence, be responsible for over $65,000,000 annually payable from the National Treasury, if calculated at 25% of the total sum. At a hasty glance, this amount appears to be too large, although it is only one-third of the amount of military disbursements which the Central Government is now making. Within this year, our national army is to be actually reorganized and disbanded. It would not be impossible to devote a part of the money thus saved from the military expenditure to educational purposes. After the revision of the customs tariff, our receipts may increase from $120,000,000 to $200,000,000 per annum. In the 11th year of the Republic (1922), our salt revenue already amounted to over $102,390,000. Now that the Five Power Reorganization Loan, secured on the salt revenue, is being gradually liquidated, a part of that revenue may be released to aid the development of obligatory education. The income tax and the estate tax comprise two of the principal items of national revenues in Europe and America. In Germany, income tax and estate tax constitute 60%—80% of her annual income; while these two taxes form about 50% of the annual income of Great Britain. When China actually begins to impose the income tax and estate tax at some future date, a part of such revenues should be set aside for the benefit of obligatory education too. Since the whole of the restituted Boxer Indemnity has been authoritatively transferred to the Educational Trust Fund, the net profit derived from whatever investment made with this money should all be entirely devoted to the cause of education. The special tax on cigarettes has, historically speaking, been mostly earmarked also as educational funds for the provinces. Taking everything into consideration, it would appear really not very difficult for our Nation to assume the ability of 25% of the obligatory educational funds, if only our Central Government could make up its mind to back this measure with determination.

(b) The Liability of the Province. In the United States of America, all the states assume a part of the liability for funds required for local education. Of such funds, Virginia bears, for instance, the burden of contributing 30%, California 40%, Tennessee 25% and Massachusetts 60%. These figures may well worth our careful study and consideration. China could not realize her desire to enforce an obligatory education upon all her children who are of school age today, unless the provinces would one and all agree to bear a part of the