

661069

要  
復  
書

濟

外  
務  
省

MT

161751 001

REEL No. 1-0939

0006

通商局 66 1 6951

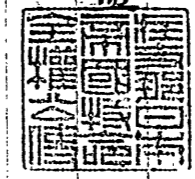
大正四年八月 七日

機密第二二八號

大正四年七月廿二日

在支那

特命全權公使日置 益



外務大臣 芳澤 加藤 高 昭 殿

梁士詒 對談要領送付、開スル件

本月十四日良家花園、於ルル支人交驛合  
ノ席上梁士詒ト多少ノ談話ヲ交ハタルモ  
尤分意見ヲ交換スルノ餘裕ナカリシ爲  
梁ノ再會ヲ期シ昨廿日晚本使ヲ來訪シ  
種々ノ題目、開シ談話スル處アリ其中  
在支那日本公使館  
稍古者考、資スヘキ矣ト認メラル、部  
ノ之別紙ヲ通リ摘録及送付、問、所、查  
見、相、成、度、此、段、中、進、呈、也

註 第一課

別紙添付

MT 161751 003

MT 161751 002

回

REEL No. 1-0939

0007

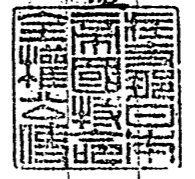
大正四年八月 七日

機密第三二八號

大正四年七月廿二日

在支那

特命全權公使日置 益



外務大臣 芳澤 加藤 高明 殿

十月四日良家花園、於テルハ支人交際會

梁士詒ト多クノ談話ヲ交ハタルモ

意見ヲ交換スルノ餘裕ナカリシ爲

梁ハ再會ヲ期シ昨廿日晚本使ヲ奉詔シ

種々ノ題目ニ関シ談話スル處アリ其ノ中

稍古者考ニ資スヘキモノ認メラル、部

ノニ別紙ニ通り摘録及送付其間所査

見相成度此段中進呈ナ

別紙添付

同

661070

通商局

秘受6951

MT 161751 003

MT 161751 002

REEL No. 1-0939

0008

稅務處督年梁士詒會談要領

七月廿日午後九時梁士詒來訪各自官職ヲ離シテ懇  
談スヘキヲ前提トシテ談話十二時ニ至ル右會談中昨  
今新聞紙上ニ袁總統皇帝親弗々散見スルカ右ハ  
多少根據ヲ有スルモノナルヤトノ本使ノ向ニ對シ梁ハ大  
要左ノ如ク語レリ

袁氏ノ皇帝ノ説ハ信シ難シ如何トナルニ第一皇帝  
トナリタリトテ袁氏ノ取リ何等利スル處ナクハナリ  
今固大總統選舉法改正ノ結果大總統ノ任期  
ハ十年トナリ且ツ幾度モ重任スルヲ得ルトナリ  
居ルヲ以テ人々後十年ノ後袁總統ノ重任ヲ見

在支那日本公使館

ルニ疑フヘカラス然ラニ袁總統ハ七十歳ニテ  
現存ノ地位ヲ維持スルヲ得ル説ナリ假リ此際  
突然袁氏帝位ニ登ルヲアラカカ必ス多少ノ反對者  
アリテ無益ノ波瀾ヲ生スルヲ疑フヘカラス此不利  
ヲ無視シテ國本變更ノ愚舉ヲ出スルヲ爲之レナカ  
ルヘト信ス人々此ノ如キ風説ノ胚胎セシ原因ヲ想像  
スルニ多ク左ノ諸矣ニ在ルヲ云フ

(一) 民國創立後二三年間諸事渾沌タリシモ人々  
諸般ノ一併ヲ結シ就テ隨テ各般ノ制度中稍  
舊時ノ狀態ニ復歸シタルノ感アリ加テ過去ノ經  
験ニ依リ政界殊ニ中央政界ニ於テ重要ノ地位  
ニ在ルモノ多ク之ヲ清時代ノ官僚派漸次多數ヲ  
占ムトスル傾向アリ此現象ハ一般人民ヲシテ一見復

MT 161751 005

MT 161751 004

古ノ均勢ヲ歴々タルヤノ感ヲ懷カシムルモノアリ是帝  
政復故ノ説ヲ生ズルに至リタル一因ナラシク

(二) 革命後一時各方面ニ跋扈セシ新人物ハ漸  
次勢力ヲ失ヒ今ヤ失意ノ境遇ニ陥リ上海方面  
ニ彷徨スルモノ甚カシク是等ニ現政府ニ對シテ  
不平ノ聲ヲ漏ラシ居リテ表裏ニ對シテ此  
等ノ不平ノ徒ヲ出テタル中傷的流言ナラント云々

(三) 南方ニ現政府顛覆ヲ企画セル亂黨甚カク  
是等ニ表裏僞カ自ヲ皇軍トナシテ欲ス  
ル野心アリトノ説ヲ次聽レ以テ現政府反對派ヲ  
煽動セシト腐心シテ凡ソ由是亦表裏皇帝ノ説ヲ  
胎セル一因ナリト云々

在支那日本公使館

周ニ適合スルモノ考テ有スルモノ少カラス故ニ若シモ  
貴國ノ如ク萬世一系ノ君主政体ヲ樹立スルヲ  
得ル此上ナケレバ我國ハ傳承知ノ如ク過去四千  
余年間常ニ革命アリ今日迄代ヲ更フルニ十  
四之レニ三皇五帝及三國五代ヲ加フル片ニ殆  
四十回前後ノ變革ヲ經平均一代ハ百年内外  
ナリ今ノ回ノ革命後僅ニ四年共和政治トナリ  
トテ實際ニ於テ君主政治ト大差ナケレバ何等一  
支ナレ況ンヤ人々ノ民心亂ニ卷ミ居リ思フノ時ナレハ  
此際再ニ形式的ニ國体ヲ變更スル為ニ益ノ波瀾  
ヲ惹起スル如キ一ニ表裏僞ノ為ナル所ナレト  
云々

ト述ハタリ本使ハ國体云々ニ関レテハ何等深キ意味

MT 161751 007

MT 161751 006

アル、非、以、時、今、貴、國、ノ、新、聞、紙、上、時、此、種、ノ、記、事、ア  
 リ、又、南、又、地、方、ニ、於、テ、我、邦、人、中、右、ノ、如、キ、風、説、ヲ、信  
 シ、居、ル、如、キ、記、事、本、邦、新、聞、ヲ、散、見、セ、シ、自、分、ハ  
 不、日、歸、朝、ノ、積、リ、ナ、リ、付、其、際、土、産、話、ノ、材、料、ト、モ、ナ、ラ、シ  
 カ、ト、思、ヒ、不、圖、談、之、及、ヒ、先、途、ナ、リ、之、レ、ヨ、リ、自、分、ノ、聞、カ、ン  
 ト、欲、ス、ル、所、ハ、止、員、下、ノ、所、謂、日、支、ノ、條、條、及、善、後、策、ニ、関  
 ス、ル、事、高、見、ナ、リ、ト、云、ヒ、先、途、ニ、梁、ハ、該、頭、ヲ、取、リ、テ、大、要、左、ノ、如、ク  
 語、リ

予、ハ、日、支、項、條、ノ、善、後、策、ヲ、談、ス、ル、所、ニ、呼、召、ナ、リ、ト、シ、テ、其、以  
 前、ノ、溯、概、略、ヲ、述、ブ、キ、モ、ア、リ、抑、モ、甲、午、ノ、役、(日  
 清、戰、争) 當、時、に、於、ケ、ル、我、國、ノ、形、勢、大、勢、暗、ク、日、本  
 ヨ、リ、非、常、ナ、リ、痛、撃、ヲ、受、ケ、タル、モ、戰、後、に、於、テ、我、邦、人  
 ノ、日、本、ニ、對、ス、ル、感、情、左、程、悪、シ、カ、ラ、リ、シ、レ、ド、モ、ナ、ラ、ス、日、本

在支那日本公使館

カ、條、外、強、國、ナ、リ、ト、一、驚、ヲ、喫、シ、之、ニ、模、倣、セ、ン、ト、考、フ、ヲ、記  
 シ、尔、來、或、ハ、留、學、生、ヲ、送、リ、或、ハ、視、察、員、ヲ、派、シ、戰、争、前  
 ニ、此、レ、ハ、德、國、ノ、接、近、ノ、度、ヲ、増、シ、タル、ノ、觀、ア、リ、キ、團、匪  
 事、變、後、ニ、至、リ、益、親、近、ノ、度、ヲ、加、ヘ、タル、モ、日、露、戰、争、後  
 即、前、清、ノ、末、葉、ニ、至、リ、日、本、進、步、ノ、絶、大、ナル、ヲ、見、テ、ム、ト  
 共、ニ、稍、猜、忌、疑、懼、ノ、念、漸、次、増、進、シ、隨、テ、日、本、ニ、對  
 ス、ル、外、交、方、針、亦、一、變、シ、著、ル、シ、ク、遠、交、近、攻、ノ、鋒、銳  
 ヲ、隱、約、ノ、間、ニ、露、ス、ク、ア、リ、キ、此、ノ、如、ク、貴、國、政、府、ニ、於、テ、モ  
 之、ヲ、看、取、セ、ラ、レ、タル、ナ、ラ、ン、ト、思、フ、然、ル、ニ、辛、亥、ノ、年、突  
 如、革、命、ノ、乱、起、リ、幾、多、ノ、折、餘、曲、折、ヲ、經、テ、遂、ニ、國  
 體、變、更、サ、レ、袁、氏、大、統、統、ト、ナ、ル、ニ、至、リ、其、時、自、分  
 ノ、袁、氏、ノ、惟、懼、ニ、至、ル、ヲ、見、テ、シ、カ、キ、袁、氏、大、統、統、ハ、民  
 國、元、年、三、月、上、旬、請、袁、錫、及、自、分、其、外、二、三

MT 161751 009

MT 161751 008

孫李盛鐸  
の山支事  
の支事  
ト在後

重要人物ト数日、涉り對外政策ヲ討議研究  
 したる結果、遠交近親ノ根本政策ヲ確定せり  
 當時袁總統ノ前清ノ末葉支那カ日本、對シ  
 猜忌ノ態アリ、取りこみ大ニ誤計ナリトシ支那  
 地理的又政治的其他種々ノ關係上大ニ日本  
 ト提携セサルハカラスト、信念ヲ懷キ此意思ヲ  
 日本當局ニ通る爲最初其長子ト袁克定ヲ日本  
 派遣スル事ナリシ處生憎袁定氏ニ洛陽アリ  
 傷シタルヲ以テ不得已徐世昌ヲ日本ニ派遣スル  
 事ト決定シタルカ當時徐氏亦微恙ノ爲、出發ノ  
 運ニふさぐサリシ際、袁公露國行ノ事アリ袁氏  
 遂ニ徐ヲシテ病ヲ勉テ桂ニト南滿汽車中ニ會  
 見セシメタルアリ其後徐氏ノ日本行ハ都合アリ  
 在支那日本公使館

テ遂ニ中止シタルモ更ニ孫玉琦、李盛鐸ヲ日本  
 派シタルハ即チ新ニ會議確定方針ノ一端ヲ  
 實現セシメントノ教旨ト外ナラサリ、其後山支事  
 事官未遊サル、ヤ日支提携ノ、聞シ何隻院公使ニ  
 合同シテ袁總統トノ間ニ懸談ヲ遂ケラレタルアリキ  
 然レト好事魔多シト云フ、漢口事件アリ南京事  
 件アリ、川崎事件アリ、昌黎事件アリ大小、案件  
 陸境農生シテ兩國官民間ノ感情上幾多ノ溝  
 渠ヲ生じタルモ幸ナリテ何レニテ和解シテ居タル  
 間ニテ、山東戦争アリ、引續キ歐戰發生  
 に伴ヒ山東戦争アリ、最後ト今ノ間ノ交渉アリ、今  
 日ニテハ日支人感情ノ睽離殆ント其極ト云ヒ、達シ兩國  
 ノ爲害ト遺憾千萬ト云フ、外ナレテ、露國

MT 161751 011

MT 161751 010



云ハシムレハ貴國今ノ國ノ交渉程大ナル錯誤ナカルヘシ  
 貴國百年ノ大計ヨリ打算スルハ實ニ残念ノ極  
 ト云フノ外ナレ支那固ヨリ貧弱ナリ然レ凡支那ハ  
 尙未ク用費セラルル無限ノ富源ヲ有ス其經營  
 如何ニ依リテハ一變富強トスルハ可能ナキハ非ス其  
 國兵強シト雖富強トスルハ言ニ難シ加ルニ天賦ノ利  
 源ニ至リテハ我國ニ及ハサル遠シ故ニ貴國ハ地  
 ノ利ヲ應用シテ大ニ我國ノ利源ヲ開發セリ貴國  
 之取リ最モ利益ナリト信ス貴國ノ對外關係中  
 支那トノ關係亦ト重要ナルモノナリ而シテ貴國  
 ノ支那ト對シ重要ナル其經濟的發展ニ外ナラセ  
 ヘレ此方針ヲ遂行サルルニ支那ト親善ナル關係  
 係リ持續スル程重要ナルナカルヘシ然ルニ貴國今

在支那日本公使館

回ノ交渉ノ遺憾ナク人々反對ノ結果ヲ齎シタリ  
 實ニ兩國ノ惜ムキ限ナリ故ニ今後兩國ノ當  
 局者ハ極力親善ノ關係ヲ回復スルノ方ハ宜シ  
 スベキナリ前記ノ如ク支那人ノ貴國ニ對スル  
 下絶頂ノ達スルニ至ラザルニ決シテ一塵  
 方ヲ加ラヘカラス漸次其時機ノ到來ヲ待ツ外  
 ナカシムルニ云々

本使ハ之ニ對シ貴國トノ意見ハ委細了承セリ今ハ  
 過去ノ事ヲ彼是批評シテモ何等論ナキ事故此際  
 如何ニ貴國ノ關係ヲ親善ニシカシムルハ  
 力若シ具體的ノ考案ヲモテアラス様聽取シタシム  
 ルニ望ム暫ク沈思シテ後大要ヲ如ク言フ  
 以テ之ニ對シ妙案ナキモ我兩國ハ各テモ應テモ相

MT 161751 013

MT 161751 012



提提マカハカ九運命、在んモリ、然る此兩國  
 ノ衝突、兩國ノ利益、皆交スルヲナリ、故、此際永久相  
 安ノ策ヲ確立スルニ、兩國間、一ノ仲裁條約ヲ締  
 結シ、今後若シ兩國間ノ爭議アリタル場合、第三  
 國ノ存頼スルカ、或ハ然レハ、手適宜ノ方法ヲ以テ、此紛  
 議ヲ裁斷シ、決シテ干戈ヲ折ハサルノ方法ヲ設クルニ  
 在リ、若シ何等ノ形式ニテ、右ノ如キ條約ヲ締結シ、以  
 日支兩國ノ永遠ニ砲火ヲ交フル如キ虞ナキ、一ノ兩國民  
 ラシテ確信セシムルニ至リ、同下兩國民ノ間、端ニ悪感  
 ノ如キニテ、月ヲ出テスシテ雲散霧消スルニ至ルハ、ナリ  
 言ス云々

在支那日本公使館

上述ノ尚未同氏、今後如何ナル問題ニ達着ストモ、兩國  
 ノ能達和衷互讓ノ精神ヲ以テ相協商セハ、如何ニ  
 難問題モ容易ニ解決スルヲ得、而シテ支那ノ天然  
 ノ富源ヲ提供シ、先進國タル日本ノ經營ノ敏腕ヲ提  
 供シ、兩々相提携シテ、其發展ヲ計リ、東洋ノ幸ニ  
 日支兩國ノ方寸ニ依リテ決スルニ、得ルニ至ラント、言ハ  
 但シ今後福建問題、ハ或ハ南支銀道、ハカ程々ノ  
 難題ヲ零碎的提提、交渉サレ、如キ、兩國ノ提携  
 上大體物ナリトテ、暗ニ、今日支那中、幾葉トシテ存在ス  
 第五年ノ提提ヲ、阻止セト欲スルモ、如キナリ

(終り)

MT 161751 015

MT 161751 014

661077

初受7132號

通商局

3

大正四年八月拾四日

機密第二四六號

大正四年八月九日

在支那

特命全權公使日置



外務大臣男爵加藤高剛殿

帝制復治問題、周スル件

帝制復治説ハ既報ノ通現下著數言論界ノ視聽ヲ刺撃シ居リ諸般ノ情報、依リ列断スルニ多少根拠アルヤハ認メラル、付本使、於テモ折角探究、努メ居リ、八月五日英露兩國公使ト會見ノ際、談話偶々本問題、及

在支那

ヒタル、兩公使共何レモ帝制復治説ナルモノハ相庸根拠アルモノナリトノ所見、一致シ居リ尚英國公使ハ素世凱帝位、即チモ其嗣子ノ人格手腕ヲ以テシテハ之ヲ継承シ行フコト甚ク覺束ヤキ、次チ先々洵、樹念、堪ハサル者ヲ語リ、露國公使ハ素世凱愈々帝位ニ上ル場合ハ、豫メ十分ノ用意ヲ整ヘ、國內ノ統一ヲ期ス、半モ今日ノ狀態ニテハ果シテ無事ニ治マルキヤ疑ハシキ趣ヲ述ヘタルモ、何レモ支那ノ政体變更其者、付シテ、格別頓着セサル口氣ヲ漏シ、右為御参考及報告也

MT 161751 017

MT 161751 016

記

REEL No. 1-0939

0015

附屬書類添付

大正四年八月 七日發

警政課

第二課

別紙添付

機密第三二九號

大正四年七月廿三日

在支那

特命全權公使日 益 谷



第 門

外務大臣男爵加藤高明殿

通商局 61078

外務省報揭載濟

袁皇帝凡說、國ノル船津書記官

袁總統席位、即シヘントノ凡說、國ノ船津書記官ヨリ別紙ノ通り本使迄報告居出ニ付何等脚参考迄及送付至同脚査同切感及此段申進也

在支那日本公使館

MT

161751 018

手付

附屬書類

天正四年八月 七日 發

政務

第 課

別紙添付

機密第三二九號

大正四年七月廿三日

在支那

特命全權公使日 益 谷



第 門

外務大臣男爵加藤高明殿

通商局 61078

6952

外務部報揭載濟

報告送付ノ件

素皇帝凡說ノ因ル船津書記

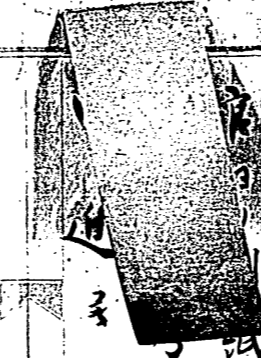
素皇帝位ノ即シヘントノ凡說ノ因ル船津書記  
及通リ本使迄報告呈出ニ付何  
及送付至向脚査同切取及此段

在支那日本公使館

MT

161751

018



船津書記官稿

袁總統帝位、即シ(シト)瓜説、因スル件

袁總統ハ遼カラス皇帝ノ位、即シ(シト)上海電報  
 過般本邦新聞、掲載ナル、中膏地漢字新聞ハ又  
 シテモ日本新聞ノ囁語ナリトテ嘲弄的批評ナリ  
 之ヲ轉載セシマアリ然ル、其後去月下旬馮國璋カ  
 南宮ヨリ入京スル、小官ハ馮ヲ訪ヒ其上京ノ意向、  
 聞シ夫レトナク問フ所アリシ、馮ハ上京ノ一理由トシテ近  
 來南方ハ、種々ノ流言アリ中、ハ袁總統皇帝トナル  
 (シト)ノ驚々、(一)謠言アルヲ以テ其也ノ事情等ヲ確々  
 ル為上京セシナリト答ヘシ、越(一)日即本月七日ノ  
 亞細亞日報(政府筋ト密接ノ関係アリ)ハ、實如トシ  
 シ大總統ト馮將軍トノ談話ト題シ大要ヲ如キ

在支那日本公使館

記事ヲ掲ケタリ

馮將軍自カラ稱ス南、在ルノ時種々ノ瓜説ヲ耳セ  
 レシ以テ、當テ私信ヲ以テ其詳細ヲ問合セシマアリ  
 今回入京初メテ追謁スル中談此事、又一ノ大總統  
 同ク外同様々ノ瓜説アルヲ予モ亦、聞ラ同ク所アリ  
 此事ハ予ハ主動スル所ト謂フマアリ或ハ長子克定  
 ノ主動スル所ナリト謂フモノアリ何レニシテモ此種ノ  
 瓜説ハ實、詭解ノ極ナリ然レバ此種瓜説ノ起ル  
 亦自カラ其原因アリ辛亥共和政府ヲ組織セントスル  
 中舎一中国ノ歴史及國民ノ程度未佛諸國ト  
 同シカラアル所アルヲ以テ果シテ國家ノ根本ニ於テ  
 障ナキヤ否ヤ多少疑ッ據ル所ナキ能ハサリシ  
 人ト談時局、又ハ勢ハ此種ノ意味不知不識外

MT 161751 020

MT 161751 019

間、流露セシテ計リ難シ是レ前送ノ如キ諒解  
 ヲ招キレオ一因ナリ、近來封爵問題起リ外内ニテハ  
 早クモ之ヲ以テ國体変更ノ先声ナリト推定セシヤモ  
 計リ難シ是外内諒解ノオ二因ナリ抑モ共和政府  
 ハ階級ヲ設ケサルヲ以テ原則トスルモ我國ハ五  
 族ノ共和ニテ一律平等ナリ今日滿蒙回疆何レモ  
 封爵ノ制アリ而シテ漢人独リ之レヲ受レテ不平等ナル  
 シ免レス現今ノ約法既、大總統憲法爵ヲ頒布ス  
 ルノ權ヲ規定セリ故、余以テ爲テ漢人中民國ノ  
 功蹟アルモノ古並爵位ヲ受ルノ權利アリト是ヲ以  
 テ余ハ疾ク之ヲ實施スル決心ナリレモ外内ノ諒解  
 ヲ招ク虞アリシヲ以テ暫ク其實行ヲ見合ハセタリ  
 然レモ本件ハ早晚之ヲ決行スル積ナルヲ以テ之レ

在支那日本領事館

カ爲外内ニ於テ安リ、揣摩臆測ヲ忌フセザレバ  
 シ望ム、余カ今日ノ地位ト及ヒ政治上ノ權能ヲ以テ  
 スレバ、彼令君主制、変更シテトテ此以上、出ツル  
 能ハス、即ケ何等實績、於テ異ナル所ナシ、且ツ所謂  
 君主制ナルモノハ、世襲ノ計ヲ爲ス、過キス、或ルニ予  
 ノ長子克定ハ今南病中ニ在リ、次男克文ハ其志  
 一名士トナル、過キス、三男ハ世務ニ任スルノ力ナシ、餘何  
 レモ年尚幼ナリ予カ諸兄ニ對スル意見ハ、縱ハ一小  
 隊長ノ職ト爲ルモ安心之、任スルノ勇ナシ、然ルニ天下  
 ノ重任ヲ以テ之、付セントスル如キ實、思ヒ設ケサル  
 所ナリ古ヨリ君主ノ世、殺セラステ其子孫不測ノ  
 禍ヲ受ケルモノアリ余又何ツ苦ンテ此等ノ危険ヲ  
 吾子孫ニ加ヘシヤ、大總統語リテ此ニ至リ馮將軍

MT 161751 022

MT 161751 021

建言シテ曰ク南方一帯国体改革ノ説ニ對シテハ  
 肯テ賛成セサルニ非ス且時期ノ問題ト南多少研  
 究ス（キ英アリ）他日大統領ノ終焉其宜シキツ  
 得弱シ轉シテ強トスノ際天ト人ト帰依スルニ至ラハ  
 恐ラク大統領健譲シト欲スルモ得（カラサル所アリト  
 大統領之ヲ聽キ正言勵色之ヲ語リテ曰ク君メ此  
 言ハ矢張り余ノ一身上ヨリ打算セシテ余ノ四男  
 五男目下英國ニ留學ス予已ク英國ニ於テ少許ノ  
 田園ヲ買入レシメタリ他日此等ノ事ヲ以テ予ニ通  
 ルモノアラハ予ハ直ニ外邦ニ赴キ莫愁ヲ管ニ以テ  
 老ヲ終（シ）ノミト聞ク大統領馮將軍ノ談話ニ甚  
 多カリシモ右ニ其大畧ヲ記スルニ過キス要スルハ右ノ  
 外向種々ノ談言ヲ打消シ且ツ大統領ノ先明森  
 落ナル襟襟ヲ想見セシムルニ足ラン云々

右記事ハ此際袁總統ノ心事ヲ明シ且ツ外向ノ  
 誤解ヲ避ケル為馮將軍ヨリ筆ヲ新聞界ニ授  
 けセル草紙（爲世賜ナラシ）ニ托シテ特ニ之ヲ發表  
 受ケテ發表セシメタルヲ明白ナリ其翌七日豫堂  
 琦皮全ノ席上小官ハ馮將軍ニ出逢ヒタルヲ以  
 テ右新聞記事ノ虛實ニ関シ所アリシニ馮ハ  
 皇帝説ニ関シ素總統ト談話セシハ事實ナルモ右  
 記事ハ大ニ事實ト相違セル虞アリト告シ付如何  
 ナル英カ相違シ居ルヲト交関セシ所生博越尔緊  
 其場ニ未合ハセタルヲ以テ馮ハ之ヲ好概トシ話頭ヲ  
 他ニ轉セシ爲遂ニ要領ヲ得ル能ハサリシ其後

在支那日本新聞

MT 161751 024

MT 161751 023



小官カ参院院参改李盛鐸 徐紹楨 趙尔巽及  
前農商次長周家亮等ヲ歴訪シ本件ノ因シ談  
話ヲ交ヘ其得タル所ノ要領ヲ綜合摘記スレバ左ノ  
如シ

一、月下袁皇帝説ヲ賛成致シ居ルモノハ楊度孫  
毓筠 王揖唐 梁啟超 (以上何モ参改) 汪榮宝  
等ナルカ就中楊度最モ熱心ナリ同人ハ客年未楊  
子江一帯ノ地歴シ二三有力ナル將軍巡按使ヲ  
勸誘セシテアリシモ当时馮国璋及段芝泉等ハ  
之、賛成セザリシ由ナリ楊度ハ舍リ露骨ニ之ヲ鼓  
吹スルノ傾キアリ又袁ニ向テモ直接之ヲ勸誘セシテ  
以テ袁ハ若シ自命ノ向テ再ヒ斯ノ如キ進言ヲ為  
スニアラム最早平素ノ情誼ヲ顧ミルニ違アラズ趙

在支那日本公使館

憾ナカラ楊ノ体面ニ関スル如キ處分ヲ断行スルヤ  
モ計リ難シト人々シテ楊ハ警告セシメタル由ナルモ之ハ  
果シテ袁ノ真意ナルヤ否ヤ疑問ナリ如何トナレハ袁  
ニシテ眞ニ皇帝タルノ意思ヲシハ必スシモ右ノ如ク向  
格ニ楊ハ警告スルニ及ハス直接之ヲ明告スルモ其文ナ  
キナリたハ右ノ特ニ此事ノ外尚ニ知ラシムル爲此方  
法ニ出ラシメテナラシム

二、前記袁馮談話就事申馮カ他日大統領我國ノ約  
シ転シテ強トナシ天ト人ト之ニ歸依スルノ際ニ至ラハ恐  
ラハ大統領庭議セント欲スルモ得(カラサル所)ラント言  
ヒレ、袁之ヲ聴キ止言厲色之ヲ語リテ曰ク吾ハ一  
節ノ如ク全ノ事定ト正反對ニテ袁ハ皇帝即位ハ  
大ニ色氣アリト云ハ周家亮カ馮国璋ト対話(周

MT 161751 026

MT 161751 025

七九  
レ内着ク

ハ海ト或事業、肉シ寇格ノ周係アリノ結果得  
ル所ノ印象、依レハ海ハ主義、於テ余リ互討ノ休  
度ヲ示サリシモ南方一帯ノ刑勢ヨリ審スレハ今未  
其時期、造ヒサルヲ説明シ古今皇帝即位ヲ見合  
ハスル様切言シタルモノ、如シ

(三)前記素高語中ニモアル如ク最近漢字新廟ノ報  
スル所、概レ一處カラス、刻齋制ヲ復旧シ大勳位(日  
下黎元浩一人)ヲ王、其舎一勳一位ヨリ勳五位迄順  
次ハ信伯子男ノ五爵、変更スレトノ説アリ在ハ素  
カ自カラ告自セル如ク素高帝説ヲ胚胎セシ一原因ナ  
ル如シ其他素崇煥ノ素高帝ノ祖先トシ之、周鼎セ  
ル或多神秘的語説ノ新廟、傳播セシムルナト(大  
正四年二月廿五日付板垣才五三子信泰四)親シ来

在支那日本公使館

レハ、院院府ノ周囲ニハ何トナリ素高帝説ノ氣運  
發達スルノ感ナキニ非ス  
(四)素カ帝位、即チノ日有力ナル互討者ノ有無如何  
ハ疑問ナリ素ハ是迄有ラユル概令ヲ利用シテ相要  
ナル各地ノ自己ノ腹心ヲ配置シ居ルヲ以テ今後素  
カ皇位、登ルヲアルモ地方ノ大官中武力ヲ以テ互討  
スルモノ少カル(シ)只張勳ハ体度如何ハ頗ル疑問ナリ  
張ハ曾テ人ノ向ヒ素氏トハ從來ノ關係アリ何等互  
討スルノ意思ナキモ若シ他ノモノ大統領トナルヲアラハ自  
合ハ極力之、互討スレトハ言セシアル由左レハ張ハ  
他ヨリ彼ヲ刺激煽動セサル限リ後令素カ帝位、登  
リタリトテ之、互討スル如キヲナキヤモ計リ難シ若シ  
及リ、互討ノ怒念アル片ハ素ハ齋祿共他ノ手使シ

MT 161751 028

MT 161751 027

以テ可也張ヲ籠ルニ波瀾ヲ起サシメサル程願シメ  
 充分ノ佈置ヲナスヲ困難ナラサルヘシト摩セラレ只最モ  
 懇念スヘキ改祺瑞又ヒ其一派ナリ彼ハ陸軍總長在  
 任當時陸軍ニ關シテハ殆ント全權ヲ握リ他ノ容喙ヲ  
 許サズ各將軍ノ任命マテ自己ノ氣儘ニサントスル  
 意氣ハアリテ素ト馬エ往々之ヲ奈何トモスル能ハサ  
 ルノ有様ナリ今則チ陸軍總長ノ更迭ヲ  
 行ヒシハ全ク此專權ナル部下ヲ除クカ為メナリシナリ彼  
 ハ固テ大統領制ニ反對セリノミナラス模範軍團創設  
 サルヤ長子素克定シテ其司令官トサントセシメ  
 改祺瑞ニ極力之ヲ反對セリ其理由トスル所ハ軍隊  
 ノ司令官ナルモノハ必ず相与軍事上ノ知識経験ナ  
 カルヘカラス克定氏文官トシテ相与経歴アリテ軍

在支那日本公使館

人トシテハ何等ノ経験ナシ前清時代ニ於テハイサ知  
 ラズ現今諸事改革ノ際此ノ如キ勝手ナル任命ハ  
 断シテ認容シ難シト云フ在リシ其反對ナル極メニ  
 有理ナルヲ以テ素克定ノ心中不平ナル拘ハズ表  
 面ニ於テハ之ヲ強フル能ハサリシト云フ是等ノ事情ヨリ  
 推測スルニ於テ素克定ノ説ニ反對スルモノハ或ハ改及其  
 一派ナランモ今ハ彼ニ軍職ヲ離レ旧時ノ如キ勢力アリハ  
 是亦大勢ヲ左右スル程ノ力ナカレキ歟斯ク觀シ未  
 レ素克定ノ説ニ案外容易ノ容視サルヘトナルヤモ  
 計リ難レ但シ倒ノ國民虎一派ノ錢虎等カ其概  
 ト案シ民心ヲ煽動シテ反對運動ヲナスコトアルヘキヲ  
 以テ此輩ハ素モ予レモ警戒ヲ加ヘ充分ノ措置ヲ施  
 スナラズ歟免レ向近來各將軍連任使カ陸續上

MT 161751 030

MT 161751 029

言スルニ団体変更ニ何等カノ聯絡關係ヲ有スルニ非  
スヤト揣摩スルヲ多シ

以上ニ支那政府ノ觀察ヲ綜合セシメテナルカ、此外最  
近聞ケル所、概シテ袁ハ国民公報(梁啟超一派ノ概  
周)社主陳敬(第)ツシテ上海ニ大規模ノ新聞ヲ創  
立セシメ且ツ当地豫脈界ノ有力ナル黃遠庸ヲシテ  
其主筆ヲラシメ以テ団体変更ヲ鼓吹セシメント折角  
計画中ナル由然ル、一方稅務知府年梁士詔カ本  
月廿日某館ノ隆嘉皇帝説ハ全ク外聞ノ揣摩臆  
測ニ過キスト云ヒタル由ナルモ右ハ或ハ梁カ素從既シ  
辯護スル為故ラ、斯ノ如キ言ヲ為シタルヤモ計リ  
難シ何レニシテモ今日ノ如本件ニ關シテハ何等論斷  
ノ下スル困難ナルヲ以テ今後引續充分ナル注意

在支那日本公使館

觀察ヲ要ス(キ)肉題 ナリトス

(終)

MT

161751 032

MT

161751 031

附屬書類  
大正四年八月廿日接獲

駐露  
第一課

別紙添付

国

機密第二五六號

大正四年八月十二日

在支那

特命全權公使日置益



外務大臣伯西大隈重信殿

外交要報掲載濟

上皇白王帝說ニ関スル取津書記官報

前報より其旨提出ノ件

外交要報登記

取津書記官より上皇白王帝說ニ関スル報告續報別紙  
ニ通リ本使送呈出ス。付何事清考進及送附  
候向事査閱相成度此般申進也

在支那日本公使館

MT

161751

033

附屬書局  
大正四年八月廿日接票

駐露

第一課

別紙添付

同作

機密第二五六號

大正四年八月十二日

在支那

特命全權公使日置益



661086

外務大臣伯西内大臣重信殿

外交要報掲載済

土衣白王帝説ニ関スル船津書記官報

前報久シキ告提出ノ件

外交要報掲載済

船津書記官より土衣白王帝説ニ関スル報告續報別紙  
提出ノ件提出ノ件何事清考進及送附  
候間申査内相成度此般申進也

在支那日本公使館

MT

161751

033

REEL No. 1-0939

0026

袁皇帝説(即帝政實行)に關スル件續報

船津書記官起稿

本件：閣下ハ袁(六月廿三日付)其大要報告及置  
タル處其後當地ニテハ引續キ袁皇帝説相傳分り居り  
現ニ袁三日當地漢字新聞亞細亞日報總主筆劉少  
少及同社員其姓二名ハ順天時報社員武雄ヲ訪問  
シテノ如キ相談ヲ持懸ケタル由

閣下袁總統ハ帝政ヲ安行スヘキ諸般ノ計畫  
備ヲ為シテアリ然レ此事閣下至ラ大ナル以テ之ヲ  
實行スルニテ法シテ急激ナル手段ヲ取ラズ各力面ニ涉  
リ相當ノ順序方法ヲ取リテ漸次之ヲ遂行スル旨  
ナリ隨テ其時期ニ至ラテハ閣下之ヲ預聞スヘカサル

在東那日本公使館

モ今日ノ形勢より推測スルハ一年以内ニ多分ニ實行セ  
ルルニ至ルヘシ假令之ヲ完成スルニ能ハルモ其實行ニ  
向テ公然運動ヲ開始スルニ至ルヘキ疑ナレ其ハ脚ニ  
一般ノ輿論ヲシテ帝政賛成ノ傾カレ爲其一手段ト  
シテ新聞政策ヲ執ルヘトナリ北京上海ニ於ケル有力  
ナル新聞ヲ買収スルニ決定シ其第一着手トシテ各地  
ノ亞細亞日報ヲ買収シ且ソ上海ニ同新聞ノ支社ヲ  
設立セシムルコトナリ亞細亞日報社主薛大(可)同  
下上海ニ赴キ折角其準備中ナリ(七月廿三日付機密  
第一二九号機密信)國民公報社主陳毅ハ亦トセシ後  
此ノ如クシテ漸次帝政實行ニ有利ナル議論ヲ鼓  
吹セシムル旨ニテ其順序ハ先ツ大体四期ニ分チ即  
チ

MT 161751 035

MT 161751 034



第一期 共和政治ノ欠兵

第二期 君主政治ノ長所

第三期 共和政治ノ支那ニ適當ナル理由

第四期 帝政ノ支那ニ適當ナル理由

等ニシテ右第一期第二期ニ於テハ直接支那ニ関シテハ  
 何トモ言ハス事ヲ論理的ニ他國ノ事例ヲ舉グテ之ヲ  
 論ズ答假令ニ此ニ對シテ例ヲ舉グテ共和政體必スレ  
 モ善ナラザルヲ忘ルル如キ是ナリ然レテ自分等ニ徹頭徹  
 尾政體変更ニ反對ナルモ今日ノ處四國ノ形勢ヨリ察ス  
 レバ自分等主張ヲ無細曲日報紙上ニテ發表スルニ勿論不  
 可能ナルヲ言フ他ノ支那新聞トモ帝政反對  
 之関スル自分等ノ意見ヲ掲載セザンヘト云フ事ニ付  
 願クハ支那官憲ノ制時ヲ受ケザン順天時報之  
 在支那日本公使館  
 ヲ掲載スル出来ニキヤ勿論自分ノ名ヲ明セザルト  
 同時ニ極メテ穩健平和ナル論調ヲ以テ反對トシ初ハ  
 無心ニ記者ニ一寸氣付カザル程ノ度ノモノヲ發表ス  
 ル積ナリ云々

右對シテ武雄此ノ如キ事柄ハ順天時報社總筆  
 ノ意見ノ副カサレハ確答スルヲ能ハスト然レテ早達之ニ對シ  
 返答振リノ関シセ尚館ノ意向ヲ問ハセ奉リタルカ或ハ當方  
 ノ態度ヲ探タル為右ノ如キ一ヲ申出タルモノナリ難キノ  
 之ナラス若シ先方ノ依頼ニ應スル中ハ之ニ依リ種々世  
 例ノ誤解ヲ招リテアルヤモ計リ難キニ付止ノ如キ一ニ例  
 係セザル方得策ナラシト思料ニ断然先方ノ依頼ヲ拒  
 絶スル様順天ノ内令書ニ遺テリ然レテ昨ハ其ハ筋ト密  
 接ノ關係アル前記亞細亞報ハ所謂前記第一期計画

MT 161751 037

MT 161751 036

ノ材料トモ目スハ論説記事ヲ陸續掲載スルニ至リ  
 即チ本月三日ノ因第ハ「某國(日本ヲ指ス)新聞ノ論  
 論ヲ駁ス」ト題シ大要セテ如キ論説ヲ掲ケタリ  
 我隣國最近ノ新聞日ニ是ク動カシ相戒メ以テ為ラズ  
 我國時ニ國体ノ変更スルヲ等アリトスト而シテ大聲  
 疾呼其國人ノ怒告シ恰ニ我國ノ國体ノ適否及國  
 体変更ノ善否ハ彼國ノ莫大ノ深利甚害ヲ及スモ  
 ト思惟スルモノ、如シ意願ハ我國人ノ之ヲ深思シテ彼  
 國用意ノ在ル所ヲ審セヨ我國或ハ民團トナリ或  
 ハ帝國トナリ一ニ我國情ニ適スルヤ否ヤヲ視テ決スルキ  
 モナリ

假リ、彼國ヲシテ侵略ノ野心ヲ抱カシメカ、我國体其國  
 情ニ適シ治安ヲ維持シ禍乱ヲ制スルニ足ルハ我ノ獨立  
 ニ利アリテ、彼ノ侵略ニ當リ、彼為スル吾國ニ激論ヲ以テ  
 之ヲ動搖シ甚シキハ我國民敗類ヲ利用シテ之ヲ破壞  
 セントスルナラン。若ク又之ニ及ビ我國体其國情ニ適セサ  
 シハ自ラテ治安ヲ敗リ禍乱ヲ招クニ則チ我ノ獨立ニ  
 害アリテ彼ノ侵略ニ利アリ、彼必ク甘言ニ誘フシ  
 以テ之ヲ替助スルナラン我其非ヲ悟リテ変更セシト  
 セハ彼必ク狂言ニ誘フシ以テ之ヲ阻止セシキハ我國  
 ノ迂曲ナリ利用シ群起シテ之ヲ非難セシムルナラン  
 民國二年南京江西ノ暴動アルモ彼國ノ新聞、亂  
 徒ヲ庇フ庇護スルヲ以テ時事トナシ人ノ災ヲ幸トシ人ノ  
 禍ヲ樂ムノ心情歴々多クシハ以テ彼國方我ニ對シ親睦政  
 策ヲ抱カサルヲ疑フニ足ル

國体國情、今ニ適スルモ國情、今ニサレハ則チ適セ

在支那日本公使館

MT 161751 039

MT 161751 038

其たり過セスレテ之ヲ変更スルヲ知レハ善ナルモ、之ヲ変  
 更スルヲ知ラザレハ則チ不<sub>レ</sub>善ナリ、其<sub>レ</sub>當サレテ変更スルヲ  
 知リテ之ヲ変更スルハ、変更ノ権限ニ在リテ國  
 我有<sub>レ</sub>多ク其<sub>レ</sub>當サレテ変更スルヲ知ラズレテ之ヲ變  
 更セサレハ他人之ヲ変更セン是ノ如キハ、変更ノ権限ニ  
 在リテ國我有<sub>レ</sub>非<sub>レ</sub>ルナリ

凡<sub>レ</sub>ソ世界ノ独立國ハ必<sub>レ</sub>ス其國民多數ノ性情、事業及  
 永久ノ禮俗政教ヲ因リテ其國本ヲ定ム故ニ民主ト  
 君主トヲ論セス必<sub>レ</sub>ス中其國情ヲ背キテ定憲ヲ成  
 ス能ハサルヤ明カナリ、如シ共和必<sub>レ</sub>ス善ナリト云フ則チ  
 墨<sub>レ</sub>西<sub>レ</sub>等ノ如キ七<sub>レ</sub>夕<sub>レ</sub>ニ大<sub>レ</sub>後<sub>レ</sub>強<sub>レ</sub>ヲ易<sub>レ</sub>テ己<sub>レ</sub>ニ無<sub>レ</sub>政<sub>レ</sub>ニ府  
 ノ乱象<sub>レ</sub>ニ陷<sub>レ</sub>ル如シ君主<sub>レ</sub>為<sub>レ</sub>善カラスト云フ、彼<sub>レ</sub>屬<sub>レ</sub>世  
 一系ノ君統ヲ以テ於<sub>レ</sub>んを、特<sub>レ</sub>ニ何<sub>レ</sub>ヲ以テ之<sub>レ</sub>ニ處セントス

在<sub>レ</sub>東<sub>レ</sub>洋<sub>レ</sub>...

ルカ、團體ノ通<sub>レ</sub>不適<sub>レ</sub>ハ全國ノ安危存亡ニ係<sub>レ</sub>ル一<sub>レ</sub>人  
 尊卑榮否ノ別<sub>レ</sub>ニ非<sub>レ</sub>ルナリ、和國ノ元首(表世凱)  
 出テ、時<sub>レ</sub>變<sub>レ</sub>ヲ論<sub>レ</sub>フ、國ノ公<sub>レ</sub>アリテ、私<sub>レ</sub>ナレ、是<sub>レ</sub>上  
 下ノ善<sub>レ</sub>トシテ、中外ノ周<sub>レ</sub>知<sub>レ</sub>ル所ナリ、彼<sub>レ</sub>ノ權利ヲ  
 競<sub>レ</sub>争<sub>レ</sub>スル<sub>レ</sub>少數ノ亂<sub>レ</sub>徒<sub>レ</sub>カ、監<sub>レ</sub>詰<sub>レ</sub>ヲ担<sub>レ</sub>造<sub>レ</sub>スル<sub>レ</sub>如<sub>レ</sub>キ<sub>レ</sub>立<sub>レ</sub>名<sub>レ</sub>  
 分<sub>レ</sub>ズ<sub>レ</sub>ん<sub>レ</sub>足<sub>レ</sub>ズ<sub>レ</sub>カ<sub>レ</sub>ナ<sub>レ</sub>リ、彼<sub>レ</sub>知<sub>レ</sub>人<sub>レ</sub>士<sub>レ</sub>、嫉<sub>レ</sub>忌<sub>レ</sub>心<sub>レ</sub>ノ<sub>レ</sub>口<sub>レ</sub>ヲ<sub>レ</sub>以<sub>レ</sub>テ<sub>レ</sub>操<sub>レ</sub>縱<sub>レ</sub>  
 ノ、詞<sub>レ</sub>ヲ<sub>レ</sub>弄<sub>レ</sub>ス<sub>レ</sub>別<sub>レ</sub>ノ<sub>レ</sub>厚<sub>レ</sub>意<sub>レ</sub>ノ<sub>レ</sub>存<sub>レ</sub>ル<sub>レ</sub>ナ<sub>レ</sub>リ、誰<sub>レ</sub>シ<sub>レ</sub>カ<sub>レ</sub>之<sub>レ</sub>ヲ<sub>レ</sub>信<sub>レ</sub>セ<sub>レ</sub>ヤ  
 云々

右<sub>レ</sub>明<sub>レ</sub>カ<sub>レ</sub>共和政体<sub>レ</sub>若<sub>レ</sub>シ<sub>レ</sub>支<sub>レ</sub>那<sub>レ</sub>ノ<sub>レ</sub>國<sub>レ</sub>俗<sub>レ</sub>民<sub>レ</sub>情<sub>レ</sub>ニ<sub>レ</sub>適<sub>レ</sub>セ<sub>レ</sub>サル<sub>レ</sub>場合  
 之<sub>レ</sub>遲<sub>レ</sub>滯<sub>レ</sub>ナ<sub>レ</sub>ク<sub>レ</sub>帝<sub>レ</sub>政<sub>レ</sub>ニ<sub>レ</sub>復<sub>レ</sub>歸<sub>レ</sub>セ<sub>レ</sub>ム<sub>レ</sub>ル<sub>レ</sub>方<sub>レ</sub>國<sub>レ</sub>家<sub>レ</sub>ノ<sub>レ</sub>利<sub>レ</sub>益<sub>レ</sub>ナル<sub>レ</sub>ヲ<sub>レ</sub>主  
 張<sub>レ</sub>セ<sub>レ</sub>ル<sub>レ</sub>ナ<sub>レ</sub>リ、又<sub>レ</sub>本<sub>レ</sub>月<sub>レ</sub>四<sub>レ</sub>日<sub>レ</sub>ノ<sub>レ</sub>國<sub>レ</sub>家<sub>レ</sub>ニ<sub>レ</sub>ハ<sub>レ</sub>共和國革命<sub>レ</sub>命<sub>レ</sub>ニ<sub>レ</sub>若  
 シ<sub>レ</sub>ム<sub>レ</sub>ト<sub>レ</sub>顯<sub>レ</sub>シ<sub>レ</sub>セ<sub>レ</sub>ル<sub>レ</sub>妙<sub>レ</sub>中<sub>レ</sub>雜<sub>レ</sub>報<sub>レ</sub>ヲ<sub>レ</sub>指<sub>レ</sub>載<sub>レ</sub>セ<sub>レ</sub>ル<sub>レ</sub>  
 南北<sub>レ</sub>諸<sub>レ</sub>報<sub>レ</sub>共<sub>レ</sub>和<sub>レ</sub>小<sub>レ</sub>國<sub>レ</sub>家<sub>レ</sub>ニ<sub>レ</sub>ト<sub>レ</sub>革命<sub>レ</sub>命<sub>レ</sub>ヲ<sub>レ</sub>以<sub>レ</sub>テ<sub>レ</sub>常<sub>レ</sub>ト<sub>レ</sub>シ<sub>レ</sub>以<sub>レ</sub>テ

MT 161751 041

MT 161751 040

民生凋敝、國運衰弛、スルに至リ、墨西哥ノ大乱既ニ之ヲ証明スルニ足ル、近來一部ノ人士、政未零碎ノ自由論ヲ周知シ、自カラ得ルモノ未ダ、諸君和國是ノ如キ苦悩アルヲ知ラサルナリ云々

又八月九日、世行ノ同會、支那政府顧問「ケッパナウ」(米國人)ノ支那政体論ト題シ、大要々々、如キ記事ヲ指シタリ

余一個人、意見ヲ以テスレハ、君主政体ハ、民主政体ニ優ル、支那ノ國情ニ至リテハ、殊ニ君主政体ヲ用ヒシテ得サル物カアリ、其原因ニアリ、支那ノ大勢ヲ見ルニ、將來支那ノ大勢、任ラズ、抑々、是レハ、中継承ヲ得ル「甚ク難シ」是實ニ支那ノ取リ最モ困難ナル問題ナリ、萬一措置宜ク得サレハ、或ハ瓦解ノ勢ヲ醸

在支那日本公使館

サ、國勢ノ前途憂慮ニ堪ハサル所ナリ、是其一、又ソ民主國ニ取リ最モ困難ナルモノ、自更迭ノ際ニ在リ、往々全國ノ政象ニ之ノ因リテ、動搖スルアリ、南米各國ノ殷鑑トスルモノ、ミナラス、共和ノ模範トシ、米國ト是レニ對シ、大統領更代ノ際ニ及ビ、紛擾ヲ免ルニ能ク、只米國ニ中ト聯邦ナリ、且人民自治ニ慣ルル「久シ」故ニ、轉リ授ルニモ、忽チ「定リ」不害ヲ來カス、支那ノ如キハ、數千年來、民心久シク「一定」ナリ、一ニ此レ、則チ是レ、能ク強ク米國ノ倣ヒ、其政体ヲ模倣用セシ「ミ」甚ク困難ナリ、米國ノ共和政体ト通ズル、米國ノ歴史、其ミテ、而シテ支那ノ共和政体ト通ズル、米國ノ歴史、其ミテ、支那ノ共和政体ト通ズル、倣ヒシ「ミ」能ハサルナリ、且今米國近來、

MT 161751 043

MT 161751 042

政治ノ趨勢亦絶えず中央政府権力ヲ増加スルコト  
汲々たり其他各國ノ憲法及政治ノ趨勢亦皆之  
一轍ニ出んモノ多シク

以上何れも共和政体ノ支那ニ適セサルヲ証明スル爲也  
國ノ事例或外國人ノ意見ヲ援用セシモテ特ニ前記  
「カドナウ」論語ノ如キ眞偽疑ハシキモノ今更ニ政府ノ  
心ニ言ヒテ欲スル處ヲ臆面ナリニ表セんとシテ正  
前述第一期討画中ノ材料ニ屬スルモノナリ且最近新  
任駐墨支那公使カ急遽赴任スルニ由リ事由ナリトテ  
因公使ノ内訌ヲ察スル所ニ於ルモ同國混亂ノ真相調査  
ノ爲ナリト云フ 右如キ調査ハ今更ニ調査スル迄モ  
ナラザル地ニ於テ分り得ん事柄ナルモ支那ノ一般人民ノ  
心ヲ共和政体ノ爲スルニ善ク民ナラザルヲ遺憾ト感セシ

在支那日本公使館

之爲ニ此際實地ニ臨ミ新ニ計畫スル事實ヲ其ノ中  
ル報出ラ提申セシムル方有利ナルヲ以テナラシメ是亦前  
述第一期共和政治ノ欠點ヲ明トスル一手段ト見ル可  
ク尤モ袁皇帝ノ説ニ對シテ政府公使カ之ヲ對  
シテ之ヲ召喚スルモノ多シ然レモ過般政事堂長官議堂  
長進カ方官報謀報者ノ説ナリト云フ此ノ如ク一  
國ノ隆興ヲ計シテトスルハ必ク中莫明ナル主權者アリテ  
其ノ政善ト爲スル方針ニ從ヒ独斷專行勇往邁進  
所謂軍國主義ヲ實行スルニ在リトテ感ニ彼得大帝  
及獨帝維廉ノ治蹟ヲ稱揚シテ暗ニ支那ノ及カズナ  
カク之ヲ模倣セカレハカラストノ意ヲ示カシ又最近國體  
變更説起ルニ表シ或ハ宣統皇帝ヲ以テ後任セシム  
ル如キ一場合ニ依リ終無ナリト斷言シ難キヲ漏シタル

MT 161751 045

MT 161751 044

由又順入り日本徳川幕府ノ一劇ニ係氏時代ニ漸ク  
熱心ヲ研究シ始メタル由以上種々ノ異なり察スルニ表ハ  
如何ナル形式カヲ於テ早晩帝位ヲ實行スルノ底意  
アリトシ想像ハ難カラス

○表ハ自カク皇帝トナルカ或ハ宣統帝ヲ復位  
セシムルカ

若シ四圍ノ形勢カモテ何等ノ支障ナケレバ表ハ進シテ自  
カク帝位ニ即ケテ之ヲ不立ニシテ形勢カ不可ナル場合  
ニ於テ彼ノ方便トシテ一時宣統帝ヲ復位セシメ帝ノ幼  
冲ナルカニ表トシテ其ノ格ハ依然ノ自カク於テ其ノ  
ナラントノ説モアリ一而シテ此場合ニ表ハ絶ニ種々陰  
謀密策ヲ用テ之ヲ宣統帝ニ復位ニ及対スルモノヲ煽動  
シ遂ニ表ハ天下公衆ノ要求ニ迫リ之ヲ得ス自カク

在支那日本公使館

帝位ニ即ケルニ至リシ如キ形式トナスナラズ

○表ハ何故ニ國体変更ヲ為スルカ

報告

表ハ曾テ馮將軍ニ語リタル如ク(本年七月廿三日附  
機密第ニニ九号)彼ハ(國家ノ大権ヲ

掌握シテ皇恩ヲ布ク國ヲ治スル自カク以上ノ實カク有  
ス即チ事案ニ於テ表ハ自カク帝位トシテ復位ナリ  
年五十二年、而シテ格ニ強健、止勢ナレバ第一  
ハ勿論第二期ノ方徳ハ確カニ彼ノ所トシタル誰  
モ其ノ所ナラズ然レバ後二十年ノ間ニ自カク機運到  
来何事ノ苦心ハ要スルニ其目的ヲ達スルノ目見ヘテ表  
ノ多知自カク以テ之ヲ何カ故ニ彼ハ種々無理ナル策ヲ  
ナレ危險ヲ冒カシテ前達ノ如キヲナスヤ其カク了解  
セシムルノ疑問ナリ起スモノアリ 右ハ一應ノ理由アルモ尚ク

「内省」

MT 161751 047

MT 161751 046

所、扱ハ表ノ血統代々継承シテ表自身ノ如キ長命者  
 稀シナル由隨テ彼ノ不慮ノ災禍ノ倒ラスルモ何時安  
 然ニ病死スルコトアルヤモ計リ難キヲ覺悟シテ其ルモ、如  
 而シテ彼百歳ノ後假リ大總統選舉手續ノ規定ニ従  
 ヒ例ノ存遺内ニ秘シアル大總統候補者ノ順序ニ依リ  
 表ノ長子或ハ定大總統ノ任、就クコトアルモ其定  
 リ其人物手帳ノ劣ニ於テ到底了ス、是ラモ及ラズ  
 隨テ一時期ヲ経テ其子孫維持スル過キル況ニヤ乃父ノ  
 意思ヲ継承シテ帝王万世ノ業ヲ完成スル如キ到底  
 其答ニ非ズ是レ表ノ此機ニ乘リテ速ニ國體變更ヲ  
 断行シ只々其子孫ニシテ安ラカク君位ヲ継承シ其威ヲ  
 守ラシメントスル所以ニ非ズ歟、

○ 又對者ノ有無如何

在支那國本國使館

表ガ愈帝政ヲ實行スルニ急ムル多ク、又對者有ルニ疑  
 フハカラス殊ニ表自身帝位ニ即ケルコトアルニカ又對者一  
 層多カラシク現々人々自任ニ北系ニテモ徐々又對運動ヲ  
 計畫スルモノカヘアルニテ又例ノ革命軍人等ノ此機  
 ニ乘リテ表ガ對テ試ムルナラシカニ既報(客月廿三日)  
 陸軍部第二九号ノ通リ表ニ過去三年間有ラシ機  
 ヲ利用シ相字ナル各地ノ自任ノ腹心ヲ配置シ其地  
 地方ノ大官任中強硬ナル又對ヲ為スモノ強トシ  
 ナラシムル、廣東広西ノ兩將軍ハ元ト岑春煊ノ部下  
 コテ表直轄ノ部下ニ非ズモ第二回革命軍以テ表ニ去  
 リテ表ノ加担シタル關係モアリ一面巡按使ハ広西広東  
 兩省共表ノ腹心ヲ配置シテアリ其方々今後表ノ措置如  
 何ニ依リテ、該方西ニモ其程懸念有ルニ此ラカニ思フ

MT 161751 049

MT 161751 048



九〇

張勳及段祺瑞等ノ態度ヲ執テ世間多少疑惑ヲ懷  
クテアリ是レ以テ袁世凱ノ面人ヲ對シテ充分ノ措置  
ヲ施スナラシメ既報ノ如ク段ノ陸軍總長辭職ノ如キ亦  
其ノ端ナラシメ其後張段ノ相前後シテ其心事少明  
スル爲大要々ノ如ク電報ヲ南北ニ各漢字新聞  
ニ發表セリ

張勳電報方要(七月廿二日北京日報指載)

近頃上海某新聞ニ某國(日本ナラシメ)某新聞ノ  
記載ト稱シ僕方時局ニ對シテ主張スル所アルヲ報道  
セリ無根ノ臆説、之ヲ度外ニ置テ是等文字モ其用  
意大ニ僕ヲ誣ルルニアリ大總統ノ疑ヲ啓キ以テ感  
情ヲ離間セントスル計ヲ過キ僕我大總統ニ隨伴  
スルノ二十餘年厚恩(指)ヲ受ケ、久シク甘苦ヲ同クス

在東那日本公使館

分、僕屬ト雖、誼猶ホ家人ノ如シ、古クシテ人生知シテ  
得ル以テ憾ナカレシ大總統我ヲ知ル以テ深ク我ヲ過ス  
ル最モ厚ク我ヲ信スルニ至ル以テ僕亦一心歸仰  
余ヲ委ネ誠ヲ輸ス護人其計ヲ白出シ浮沈  
其詞ヲ百變スト雖、安シク能ク感情ヲ疎隔スル  
リ得トヤ況ニヤ僕ハ軍人ナリ、命令ニ服従スルハ天  
職トス、軍事範圍外ノ僕ノ敢テ進リ退ク所ナ  
ラズ

段祺瑞電報方要(八月四日新聞指載)

二十年且剛大總統出立、於此兵ヲ練テ祺瑞一  
武備學生ヲ以テ下級武弁トナル大總統ト直ニ  
對シテ關係ナカリキ、然レ程々恩顧ヲ蒙リ數年ナ  
ルヒテ予總ノ微職ヲ擢コテ、總兵副都統ニ昇

MT 161751 051

MT 161751 050

進シ大總兵河南より再ニ政界ニ出テラセヤ祺瑞ハ  
 湖廣總督及陸軍總長ニ任セラセ大總兵ノ祺  
 瑞ヲ知ルノ際ニ祺瑞ヲ信スルノ際ニ祺瑞ヲ過ス  
 ルノ厚キ強ト加フコトナシタリ以テ感恩知已教  
 十年一日ノ如シテ部下トモ情骨肉ニ逾フ近年  
 身稜瑞吐血、失眠、病軀事ニ任シ難キヲ以テ不  
 已請暇休養中ナルニ傍觀者之ヲ察セス種々ノ  
 臆測ヲ逞フシ祺瑞ヲ誣固セシメ其ノ暗殺セ  
 ントセシナトノ妄説ヲ措クルモノアリ(順天時報)彼  
 カ其料理人ノ爲ニ出及危丁ヲ以テ刺サレトセシ方後  
 報ヲ傳ハタレフアリ)祺瑞本一軍人ナリ、義ハ命令ニ  
 服従スルニ在リ他ノ私心ノ非ズ新周ノ毀譽ニ留  
 意ノ價値ナキモ近來餘り実死ノ謠言アリ或ハ

在支那日本書院

何事爲スル所ナシトモ限ラサルヲ以テ之ヲ防止スル  
 爲聊カ心事ヲ明ラセシメテナリ云々  
 前述ノ如ク張ハ僕ト爲ト雖モ軍家人ノ如ク此ニヤ軍  
 人ハ余令ヲ服従スルヲ以テ天儀トナス軍事以外ハ僕ノ  
 関スル所ニ非ズト云ヒ又段ハ部下ト雖モ情骨肉ニ逾フ  
 軍人ノ義ハ命令ニ服従スルニ在リ他ノ私心ノ非ズト  
 云ヒ其言ヲ所ノ口吻令然同轍ナリ右ニ表面張段  
 ノ表ニ對スル心事ヲ明シ疑ヲ私ク爲ナラシメ其實  
 表ヲ將來政治上如何ナルコトヲ爲スニ彼等ニ決シ  
 テ及對セサルコトヲ預メ世人ニ知ラシメテ一面彼等ヲ  
 利用シテ及對運動ヲ試ミシトスル一部野心家ヲ希  
 望シ絶タレトスルモノ、如シ一而シテ右ニ押電ハ果シテ張  
 段ノ裏心ヨリ出テタル自動的忠告作らんヤ否ヤハ疑

MT 161751 053

MT 161751 052

同九七張ノ通電ハ七月上旬馮國璋カ南京ニ歸任ノ  
 途次徐州ニ至リテ後發表セラルル處ヨリ察スルハ  
 或ハ馮ノ德通ニ生テ免モラナクモ計リ難シ既ノ通電  
 多クテ確ナシ情報ヲ收メテ後任府側ヨリ当地各  
 新聞社ニ交付セラル由ナハ是亦彼ノ自動的ノ決  
 断中明カナリ候リ、自動的ナリト云フニ彼一身ノ安全  
 ヲ計ルニ為リテ決メテ彼ノ表ハヨリ後露セシモ思見  
 三眼ルヤ明カナリ然レモ表ハ過日未地方ノ各方官ヲ  
 陸軍部ヨリ集束セテ夫トナリ 諸般ノ佈置画策ヲ為シ  
 居ル程極ナシニ表ノ計畫ミシテ實現セラルシカ張彼  
 ノ反對モ徒ラニ南風不競ノ嘆アハル止マラズトシ

附言

九二 止メ

本問題ノ現状ハ左畧ニ則本具報ノ通りニ帝制

在支那日本公使館

復興ノ計畫ハ着々其ノ進ノツクアルモ其ノ後  
 今ノ後要事ナリ、事ニ依テ生セザル限リ其ノ現  
 唯時白ノ問題ナルカノ如ク專ラ當國人間ニ評判  
 サレ居リ但其ノ政變力平穩無事ニ行フニ可キ  
 ヤ時又或多クは個ノ之ニ伴フ可キヤハ今日尙尙  
 言ハシテ困難ナルモ帝國ノ如ク支那ノ政變ニ依  
 リ機微ノ影響ヲ被ル可キ地位ニ在ルモノニ有  
 之ハ豫メ諸般ノ場合ヲ想像シテ之ニ應ズ可キ方  
 針ヲ一定シテ之ニ従テ輿論ノ傾向勿論海陸軍  
 人ノ行動ヲモ調節シテ之ニ對シテ用意スルニ  
 万ノ場合ニ臨テ遺棄ナキナリ期ニテ所要ナル  
 卜考スラハ

MT 161751 055

MT 161751 054

661098

661097

大臣

次官

政務

通商

人事

會計

文書

參政官

副參政官

電信課長

五七五八時

天津發 大正四年九月廿一日  
本署著 大正四年九月廿一日

大隈外務大臣

松平總領事

第四六號

屢次公使ヲ以テ報告シタル通朱巡按使、是迄  
帝制反對ノ意見ヲ持シ段芝貴ノ勸告ニモ應  
セサリシヲ數日來倪安徵將軍大總統ノ内  
命ヲ帶ヒ朱ヲ來訪シ懇々勸誘シタル結  
果朱モ遂ニ帝制ニ賛成ノ決心ヲ固メ進ニテ  
各府巡按使ヲ勸シ遂ニ九月二十日各省  
上伏見先考ノ事

MT

161751 - 056

巡按使ノ連名ヲ以テ帝制進行ヲ請願スル  
ノ電報ヲ發シタル由巡按使、秘書ヲ内  
務ニ關シテ(廣西雲南兩巡按使ヨリハ同日連  
脱)目取ナルモ本署ナリシヲ以テ連署セス迄電  
アリ(政務轉電ノ答)又將軍側ニテハ段芝貴  
領袖タル答ナリシモ段ハ表ノモシク觀見  
ヲ以テ馮國璋ヲ筆頭トシ又同標ノ請願  
ヲナシタル答ナリト云フ  
存在公使、轉電シタリ

MT

161751 057

661099

大臣  
次官

五七六八  
(時)

政務  
五月一七号

大隈  
外務大臣

北京  
本署  
九月廿二日  
午前三時一五

小幡  
代理公使

電信課長  
情

9

通商  
人事  
會計  
文書  
參政官  
副參政官

九月二十二日自耳義代理公使が本官、内務  
入所、依り、事制問題、解決、列國公  
使、多数、於て、歐洲戦争終了後、於て  
スルヲ希望シ、於て、拘、ハ、最近、極、速  
公使、ハ、事制実行、曉、ハ、社、逸、政府、ハ、直、  
之ヲ承認スル意向ナル旨ヲ支那側、内告  
セル由、本何等、所、考、定

上伏  
奉天  
九月廿二日  
午後三時

MT

161751 058

外交事務

第3門

外交要報掲載済



10

7496

館便公 日那支在

附屬書類添付

機密第263號

大正四年八月廿七日接受

大正四年八月廿七日

特命全權大使日置益

外務大臣白書大隈重信傳

帝制宣梅、寅之、報告送付件

和洋書式官於山、係知事梅

計畫、寅之、報告送付件

別紙添付



MT 161751 059

REEL No. 1-0939

0040















七廿七之、対、何等干涉、之、如、  
 意、存、在、要、致、一、十、大、殊、古、新、  
 表、文、事、一、由、七、八、重、空、聊、終、亦、意、  
 料、三、片、官、事、及、在、希、嶽、及、対、  
 美、安、事、地、後、後、事、中、中、二、三、  
 及、対、投、書、十、九、一、例、等、之、  
 及、対、投、書、十、九、一、例、等、之、  
 在、支、那、日、本、公、使、館、  
 共、和、革、命、の、福、ル、ル、人、の、身、安、否、  
 元、為、ラ、大、年、不、前、隔、ん、モ、ハ、身、安、  
 今、有、リ、乱、産、一、校、ル、ル、口、愛、リ、  
 之、國、七、種、一、獨、り、建、て、ん、心、  
 會、軍、政、事、各、國、其、深、シ、  
 水、利、の、總、裁、治、事、今、日、  
 國、度、水、利、研、究、會、漢、心、  
 漢、の、夏、公、使、リ、シ、ト、参、列、  
 漢、の、夏、公、使、リ、シ、ト、参、列、

MT 161751 073

MT 161751 072



渡許きし由政存公十報三及  
 表り國家(三)の護國ハ張の帝制  
 事一極久計ハルシハ右朱國行以  
 龍ハ其時地リキハ富過サリ  
 物等カハ口實ノ後々以地リキハ  
 帝出教し無事ノ郷里ハ赴キハ  
 夫母ノ病氣リ見舞ノ為ナリ  
 其帝制及對ノ為善安會者  
 表前地リキハ久モノ如ク  
 第四帝知事極ノ吹及ク  
 三乃侯活

周家三乃力(各)各右西人ハ  
 不待え印象ナリト帝制ハ  
 以爲計極ノ國ハ漢人ハ  
 向先ツ新軍ノ利用ニシテ  
 狀ハ次ツ德セシノ時ハ帝  
 利古シ漢ナ故合ハ多新軍  
 七上墨西等ノ如ク外漢墨  
 容夫(四)國慘狀ハ在墨國  
 革命ハ亂未タ已ス全墨國  
 事ハ其例ナリ以テ之ハ如  
 興隆ハ及響リテ起マカリ  
 次世身女會者シテ研究ノ結  
 果ハ長

在支那日本

MT 161751 075

MT 161751 074







12

受18135

附録

大正四年八月廿八日

鼓務

第一課

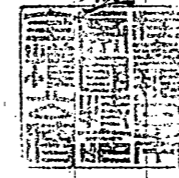
別紙添付

公第一八八號

大正四年八月廿一日

在支那

特命全權公使 日置益



外務大臣伯爵 大隈重信殿

「グッドナウ」博士、支那国体論原文送付、件  
 当地に於て現下、一問題トナレル帝政復興論ノ動機  
 (表面上)トモ目セラル、總統府顧問「グッドナウ」博士、  
 國ニ関スル論文ハ是道其漢譯文、各新聞ニ公表  
 サレ居リシモ八月廿日發行、英文北京日報ニハ其原  
 文ヲ掲載致候ニ付御参考迄右切板及送付候也

在支那日本公使館

MT 161751 079

REEL No. 1-0939

0051

661111

件名

about twenty-five years ago, was accompanied by little trouble and the subsequent life of the republic has been a peaceful one. In all three countries considerable progress has been made in the establishment of constitutional government, in Argentine and Chile as one of the results of the struggles of the early part of the nineteenth century, in Brazil, partly at any rate, during the Empire which preceded the present republic, and which encouraged the participation of the people in the government of the country.

LESSONS FROM REPUBLICAN EXPERIENCE.

The experience of the South and Central American countries would seem to inculcate the same lessons which may be derived from the experience of the United States and France. These are

1st.—That the difficult problem of the succession to executive power in a republic may be solved by a people which has a high general intelligence due to the existence of schools where general education may be obtained and which has learned to exercise political power through participation in the affairs of government; and

2nd.—That little hope may be entertained of the successful solution of the question of Presidential succession in a country where the intelligence of the people is not high and where the people do not acquire political wisdom by sharing in the exercise of political power under some form of constitutional government. Where such conditions do not exist a republican form of government—that is a government in which the executive is not hereditary—generally leads to the worst possible form of government, namely, that of the military dictator. The best that can be hoped for under such a system is periods of peace alternating with periods of disorder during which the rival claimants for political power are striving among themselves for the control of the government.

GREAT POWERS WILL NOT PERMIT DISORDER.

At the present time, it may further be remarked, it is very doubtful whether the great powers of the European world will permit the government of the military dictator permanently to exist, if it continues to be accompanied by the disorder which has been its incident in the past. The economic interests of the European world have grown to be so comprehensive, European capital and European commercial and industrial enterprises have become so wide in their ramifications that the governments of the foreign countries interested, although caring little what may be the form of government adopted by the nations with which they deal, are more and more inclined to insist, where they have the power, that conditions of peace shall be maintained in order that they may receive

what they consider to be the proper returns on their investments. This insistence they are more and more liable to carry to the point of actual destruction of the political independence of offending nations and of direct administration of their government if this is necessary to the attainment of the ends desired.

It is therefore becoming less and less likely that countries will be permitted in the future to work out their own salvation through disorder and revolution, as may have been the case during the past century with some of the South American countries. Under modern conditions countries must devise some method of government under which peace will be maintained or they will have to submit to foreign control.

CHINA'S NEEDS CONSIDERED.

The question naturally presents itself; How do these considerations affect the present political situation of China?

China is a country which has for centuries been accustomed to autocratic rule. The intelligence of the great mass of its people is not high owing to the lack of schools. The Chinese have never been accorded much participation in the work of government. The result is that the political capacity of the Chinese people is not large. The change from autocratic to republican government made four years ago was too violent to permit the entertainment of any very strong hopes of its immediate success. Had the Tsing dynasty not been an alien rule which it had long been the wish of the Chinese people to overthrow, there can be little doubt that it would have been better to retain the dynasty in power and gradually to introduce constitutional government in accordance with the plans outlined by the commission appointed for this purpose. But the hatred of alien rule made this impossible and the establishment of a republic seemed at the time of the overthrow of the Manchus to be the only alternative available.

It cannot, therefore, be doubted that China has during the last few years been attempting to introduce constitutional government under less favorable auspices than would have been the case had there been a royal family present which the people regarded with respect and to which they were loyal. The great problem of the Presidential succession would seem still to be unsolved. The present arrangement cannot be regarded as satisfactory. When the present President lays down the cares of office there is great danger that the difficulties which are usually incident to the succession in countries conditioned as is China will present themselves. The attempt to solve these difficulties may lead to disorders which if long continued may seriously imperil the independence of the country.

661112

件名

What under these conditions should be the attitude of those who have the welfare of China at heart? Should they advocate the continuance of the Republic or should they propose the establishment of a monarchy?

These are difficult questions to answer. It is of course not susceptible of doubt that a monarchy is better suited than a republic to China. China's history and traditions, her social and economic conditions, her relations with foreign powers all make it probable that the country would develop that constitutional government which it must develop if it is to preserve its independence as a state, more easily as a monarchy than as a republic.

But it is to be remembered that the change from a republic to a monarchy can be successfully made only on the conditions.

1st. That the change does not meet with such opposition either on the part of the Chinese people or of foreign powers as will lead to the recurrence of the disorders which the present republican government has successfully put down. The present peaceful conditions of the country should on no account be imperiled.

2nd. The change from republic to monarchy would be of little avail if the law of succession is not so fixed that there will be no doubt as to the successor. The succession should not be left to the Crown to determine for the reasons which have already been set forth at length. It is probably of course true that the authority of an emperor would be more respected than the authority of a president. The people have been accustomed to an emperor. They hardly know what a President is. At the same time it would seem doubtful if the increase of authority resulting from the change from President to Emperor would be sufficient to justify the change, if the question of the succession were not so securely fixed as to permit of no doubt. For this is the one greatest advantage of the monarchy over the republic.

3rd.—In the third place it is very doubtful whether the change from republic to monarchy would be of any lasting benefit to China, if provision is not made for the development under the monarchy of the form of constitutional government. If China is to take her proper place among nations greater patriotism must be developed among the people and the government must increase in strength in order to resist foreign aggression. Her people will never develop the necessary patriotism unless they are given greater participation in the government than they have had in the past. The government never will acquire the necessary strength unless it has the cordial support of the people. This it will not have unless again the people feel that they have a part in the government. They must in

some way be brought to think of the government as an organization which is trying to benefit them and over whose actions they exercise some control.

Whether the conditions which have been set forth as necessary for such a change from republic to monarchy as has been suggested are present, must of course be determined by those who both know the country and are responsible for its future development. These conditions are present if there can be little doubt that the change would be of benefit to the country.

(Signed) FRANK J. GOODNOW.

新切聞名抜

081

161751

年

月

日

新切聞名抜

年

月

日

MT

161751

080

661110

件名

monarchy as compared with a republic, so far as concerns this important question of succession to the executive power, are thus, it would seem, conditioned very largely upon the adoption of that law of succession which experience has shown to be the best, that is succession in the oldest nearest male line.

**EUROPEAN REPUBLICS.**

Until recently the accepted form of government both in Asia and Europe was monarchical. It is true that in Europe, contrary to the usual rule there were a few republics such as Venice and Switzerland. But the states possessing a Republican Government were few in number and small in size. In almost all the important states of the world the government was monarchical in character.

Within the last hundred and fifty years, however, there is noticeable among European peoples a distinct movement away from monarchical and in favour of Republican Government. The first attempt to establish Republican Government in any of the large European states was made in England in the 17th century. After a successful revolution Charles I the English King was tried by Parliament, convicted of treason and executed. A republic, the so-called "Commonwealth" was established with Oliver Cromwell as "Protector" or President. Cromwell obtained his power, as a result of his control of the revolutionary army which had defeated the forces of the crown.

This Early English republic lasted only a few years and fell as a result of the difficulties attendant upon the question of the succession to the Protectorate which arose on Cromwell's death. Cromwell had attempted to place his son Richard in the position left vacant by his death. But either because the English people were not suited to a republic or because Richard Cromwell did not have the characteristics required of the possessor of executive power, this attempt to continue the English republic was a failure, and England abandoned the republican and re-established the monarchical form of government. Charles II, the son of the executed Charles I, was put upon the throne, largely as the result of the support of the army but with the almost universal approval of the English people.

The next attempt to form a republic among European peoples was made after the American revolution at the end of the 18th century when the United States of America was formed. The American revolution was due not so much to an attempt to overthrow monarchical government as to a desire upon the part of the English colonies in America to obtain their independence of England. The success of this revolution brought, however, in its train, almost necessarily,

新開名抜

083

161751

MT

年

月

日

the establishment of republican government. There was no royal family left in the country to which its government might be entrusted. There was, furthermore, in the country a distinct sentiment in favor of a republic due in large measure to the fact that quite a large number of those who had participated in the establishment of the ill-fated English republic in the preceding century had come to America and had exerted even after their death an influence in favor of republican institutions.

It is, however, possible that George Washington, who had led the American armies during the revolution, might have if he had been so inclined, established himself as king. He was, however, in principle a republican rather than a monarchist. He furthermore had no son who, had he been crowned king, could have succeeded him.

The result was that, when the United States obtained its independence, it definitely adopted the republican form of government which has lasted during a century and a quarter. The unquestioned success which has attended the United States during most of its existence has done much to give to the republican form of government the prestige which it now possesses. It is well, however, to remember that the United States inherited from England the principles of constitutional and parliamentary government and that these principles had been applied in America for a century or more before the republic was established. The change from the form of government which was in force during the colonial period to the republic adopted in 1789 was not therefore anything in the nature of a change from autocracy to a republic. Such a change as was made had been preceded by a long period of preparation and discipline in self-government. Furthermore, the American people even of that day possessed a high grade of general intelligence, owing to the attention which had from the very beginning of American history been given to the common schools where almost every child could learn at any time to read and write.

The establishment of the American Republic was followed almost immediately by the formation of the French Republic. The government of France prior to the declaration of the republic had been autocratic. Almost all public powers were centered in the crown and the people participated hardly at all in the administration. The French people had thus had little experience in self-government and were therefore unable to carry on successfully the republic which they endeavored to establish. Periods of disorder followed by military dictatorships followed in rapid succession. The monarchy was restored after the fall of Napoleon, largely as the result of

3

件名

新開名抜

082

161751

MT

年

月

日

foreign intervention. A revolution in 1830 brought into being a more liberal monarchy. This was overthrown by a revolution in 1848, when a republic was again established. The President of this Republic, the nephew of the great Napoleon, overthrew it and declared himself Emperor. After the Franco-Prussian war in 1870, he was deposed and the present French Republic came into being. This republic has now lasted nearly half a century and gives every evidence of permanence.

It is well to remember, however, that the present permanence of republican institutions in France was secured only after nearly a century of political change, if not disorder, and that during that century serious attempts had been made both to give the people generally that education upon which intelligent political action must be based and to accustom them by participation in public affairs to the exercise of powers of self-government.

The French, like the Americans, would appear to have solved successfully the most difficult problems in republican government, that is the succession to the executive power. In France the President is elected by the legislature. In the United States he is elected by the people. In both France and the United States the people have had long experience in self-government through participation in public affairs, while in both countries, during the past half century particularly, great attention has been paid to their general education through schools in many cases supported by the government. The result is that the grade of intelligence of the people in both America and France is comparatively speaking, high.

**THE LATIN REPUBLICS.**

The examples given in the latter part of the 19th century by the United States and France, were very largely followed in South and Central America at the time the former Spanish colonies in this part of the world achieved their independence. As was the case in the United States when it became independent a republic seemed the only practicable form of government which could then be adopted. There was no royal family to which the people might look for guidance.

The success which had been attendant upon the establishment of a republic in North America had caused the belief to be entertained by many thinkers, both that a republic was the best form of government and that its establishment and maintenance were possible under all conditions and among all peoples. Republics were therefore established almost everywhere throughout South and Central America. But, either because of the disorders which were incident to the long

struggle for independence or because of the difficulties inherent in a republican form of government among a low grade of intelligence, due to the lack of general education, and accustomed only to autocratic rule, the South and Central American republics have not been generally successful. For years after the independence of the Spanish colonies was achieved South and Central America was the scene of continual disorder, incident for the most part to the struggles of military leaders for political power. At times there were periods of comparative peace due to the success of some extraordinarily strong man who was able to seize and keep in his hands political power. Little if any attempt was for a long time made by any of those who obtained political power to educate the people generally through the establishment of schools or to aid them in the acquisition of political experience by according them participation in the government. The result was that when the strong hand which controlled the country was relaxed, owing either to the increasing age or death of him who possessed political power, disorder again appeared due to the struggles of the claimants for the political succession—since no satisfactory solution of the question of succession was reached. Whatever progress the country had been able to make during its period of peace was arrested and not infrequently the anarchy and chaos which followed caused a serious deterioration in the economic and social conditions of the country.

What has happened in Mexico recently has too often been the lot of the Central and South American States under a republican form of government not suited to their stage of economic and political development. Under the government of Diaz, who acquired political power through his control of the army, it seemed as if Mexico has successfully solved the problem of government. Diaz, however, did little for the education of the people and discouraged rather than encouraged their participation in the government. When increasing age caused him to relax his control revolution broke out again and he fell from power. Since his loss of power the country has been devastated by the contending armies of rival leaders, and at present it would seem that its salvation is possible only as the result of foreign intervention.

It is of course true that in some of the South American countries progress is apparently being made in solving the problems of republican government. Such countries are particularly Argentina, Chile, and Brazil. In both Argentina and Chile a long period of disorder and disturbance has been followed by a comparatively long period of peace. In Brazil the establishment of the republic,



13

084

161751

TM

新聞名抜英文北京日報

大正四年八月二十一日

# REPUBLIC OR MONARCHY?

## FULL TEXT OF DR. GOODNOW'S MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT.

The question of the moment, whether China should have a republican or a monarchical form of government, blazed into greater publicity yesterday by the publication in the local press of the text of Dr. Goodnow's memorandum to President Yuan Shih-kai, distorted quotations from which had previously appeared.

We have secured an authoritative English copy of the memorandum, which is herewith reproduced.

### MONARCHIES ORIGINATE WITH ONE MAN.

The determination in a given country of the form of government established therein has seldom if ever been the result of the conscious choice of the people of that country or even of the choice of its most intelligent classes. The establishment, on the one hand of a monarchy or on the other hand of a republic has in almost all instances been due to influences almost beyond human control. The former history of the country, its traditions, its social and economic conditions all have either favoured the form of government which has been adopted or, in case the form of government at first adopted has not been in harmony therewith, have soon brought it about that that form is replaced by one which is better suited to the country's needs.

In other words, the form of government which a country usually possesses is for the most part determined by the necessities of practical life. Among the contributing causes which fix forms of government, one of the most important is force. Almost all monarchies thus owe their origin in last analysis to the exertions of some one man who has been able to organise the material power of the country in such a way as to overcome all competitors. If he has able sons or male relatives, if he has ruled wisely and if the conditions of the country have been such as to favour monarchical rule, he may be able to establish a dynasty which will during a long period successfully govern the country.

Under such conditions one of the most perplexing problems of government is probably more satisfactorily solved than has usually been the case in republics. For on the death of the monarch there is no question as to the succession to the executive

power. No election or other method of choosing a successor is necessary. As the English law expresses it: "The King is dead, Long live the King." In order, however, that the desired result may be attained, it is absolutely necessary that the law of succession be clearly determined and practically universally accepted. Else the death of the monarch will bring into being numerous aspirants for the throne whose conflicting claims can be adjudicated only by resort to civil war.

History would seem to prove, furthermore, that the only permanently satisfactory solution of the question of succession in monarchical states is that which has been reached by the states of Europe. This consists in fixing the succession to the throne upon the eldest son of the monarch or in default of sons, upon the nearest eldest male relative. Under this method he who is by the law of succession entitled to the throne is permitted to waive his rights, in which case, if it is the eldest son who has so waived his rights, the next eldest son takes his place.

If some such method of fixing the succession is not adopted, if for example the succession to the throne is left to the determination of the monarch, who may choose as his successor a son not the eldest or some other relative not the nearest eldest male relative, the uncertainty as to the succession is almost certain to produce trouble. Palace intrigues in favour of the various claimants to the throne are sure to develop, which both embitter the closing days of the monarch's life and often lead to confusion if not civil war after his death.

The advantages which history would seem to show are attendant upon a

三

附屬書類添附

正四年八月廿日 接受

管政務

市課

政務信第十七號

大正四年八月二十三日

在九江

領事館事務代理大和久義郎



661113

受18219號

外務大臣伯爵大隈重信殿

支那國體變更説ニ関シ報告件

北京政府政治顧問カツトノ博士國體變更論ヲ公表シ次ニ楊度等六人籌安會ヲ設ケ國體研究ヲ始メ同志ヲ糾合セリ宣言書書各省各漢字新聞ニ記載セラレ

在九江日本領事館

候一各新聞紙ノ態度何レモ冷静ニシテ深ク可合シ論セズ析々反對的論示シテ交々籌安會カ召集會九憲法約法ハ擅リ之換ルヲ得ニテ手去去一語氣ヲ漏レ居リ候處獨リ大江報ハ本月十日一論説ヲ以テ具體的反對意見ヲ發表致シ候出藩地官民ノ主ナルモノニ就テ國體變更論ニ關スル意向ヲ極力示シ今日一火物カ若シ列國ノ承認セラルルハ今日一火物カセラルルハ其時期ハ来年三月頃國民議會ノ開ク時ナラント一意見ヲ漏セルモノ有之候也大ニ當地官民ノ支那人北京政府

MT 161751 086

MT 161751 085

REEL No. 1-0939

0056



661114

一、意旨より先達七、経久三國體変更論ヲ計  
議セラル内心之レヲ好ムモノ少キ様ニ思考  
段及報告係也  
字送付先北京公使

在九江日本領事館

MT

161751 087

REEL No. 1-0939

0057

八月十九日大江報論說 (原文)

等安會其類一詞可讀之  
 暴民之類除之政令統一之時  
 可獲少之類千前塵ヲ拂ヒ初メテ共和成ル國  
 體毎邊ノ時局ニ成ルモ將來ヲ術念シテ君主  
 制度ノ吾國歴史ニ合スルヲ覺テ茲ニ同  
 志ヲ糾集シテ社ヲ結ビ討論以等安會  
 發起セラル所ノ實ニ斯ニ在リ夫レ政  
 治ノ善惡ハ本ト定論無シ成ニ維新ノ專制  
 之レヲ強邦タルヲ失ハス莫吉利ノ君主當  
 天地之雄多リ則チ吾國專制之革命今  
 日有之レリ視レハ誠ニ多事ト哲人然レテ  
 世界之趨勢遂ニ一致ニ趨ク法蘭西之革命遂ニ  
 共和ニ至ル瑞士ノ革命遂ニ共和ニ至ル吾  
 國國體之變更他日ヨリ之レヲ視シハ又多事  
 ト吾人斯レニ由リ譚スレハ誠ニ其可不知ス  
 世界ノ國體之於吾君主ノ實ニ民主ニ比シ優ト  
 甚ク是レ義國政治學者分ツト一ノ言也  
 全世界政治學者ノ公言ニ此又但チ種族障  
 碍ヲ除カテ未ダ政治ノ進行ヲ計ラズ人若ク  
 體ヲ制シテ不レトシヨリ橋也不レトシ等安會  
 一部今ノ言ナリ吾國人民ノ公言ニ此ハ  
 吾輩自ラ願ルニ庸西木夕故テ博士ノ聲  
 望ニ比セテ不レ常ニ故テ議院ノ會ヲ組織  
 セ不レ但チ心ノ所論危ナキ故テ言ハ

在九江日本領事館

MT 161751 089

MT 161751 088

等兵會ハ星西哥ノ援擧ヲ以テ各國ノ前  
 車之鑑ニ爲ス各國古ク以來幾人カ帝ト  
 稱シ幾人カ王ト稱ス獨リ前車ノ鑒ニ非  
 ル事又總統選舉ノ競争ヲ謂フテ全國騷  
 然トス吾國昔愚民ノ天位ニ奪ハスル者  
 其弊極更ニ甚シキモノ非サル事政ニ非  
 善ニ藝短シ大君ヲ擯シ以テ中國ノ治  
 亂存亡リ國體ニ非ス之ヲ治ル一人ニ在リト  
 爲ス  
 然リト雖モ國體ハ國家ノ根本問題ト爲ス  
 朱夕人ノ因リ時ニ因リ常ニ變動スハカラズ  
 ナホレオシ王政ニ復シ佛ヲ強メルハ今  
 世ノ遂ニ當日ノ王政ヲ保持スル能ハス  
 世ニ在リ獨裁ヲ以テ強メテ之ヲ顯理ニ  
 當日ノ權威ヲ保持スル能ハス各國  
 ヲ論スル大總統ノ智勇深沈精圖治  
 以テ吾國ヲ強メ林トスニ國體變更  
 可待シキニ非ス國體變更ノ後幾十年  
 経テ或リ又他ノ變象ヲ免レス國體一  
 更セサル一應レサル事

在九江日本領事館

MT 161751 091

MT 161751 090

九月

袁帝説を排す

支那の大總統袁世凱氏が、更に皇  
帝たることを野心は、今や幾んを  
帝たることを望むものあらんとす、彼の  
帝政を鼓吹せる袁世凱氏が、其の實  
袁氏の國子なる袁克定氏の作略に成  
れるの事明白なるに至りて、一切  
の情偽は已に暴露せらる、吾人は日  
本國民として、茲に明確なる結論を  
爲すの機会を得たり

るに忠を以てする資格なき人物なる  
とを知らざる可らず  
光緒帝が在る康有爲等を擁護して  
變法自強の改革を断せんとするや、  
袁氏は實に其の謀議を與かり聞きな  
がら、密かに之を西太后に諷奏し、  
后をして俄かに帝を幽閉するに至ら  
しめたり、袁氏の大用ひられし  
は實に茲に原す、是れ人臣として不  
忠の極たるに止らず、普通人として  
ても亦背信の極也、道徳上より判断  
すれば、袁氏や實に半文銭の價値に  
なし、吾人の風上にも推くべからざ  
る代物のみ

支那の政體の共和たるを帝政たる  
とは、我が國憲より關するなし、唯  
だ支那の國內亂れて、我が通商上の  
利益を害し、延きて東亞の平和を危  
くするの虞あらば、我れは斷じて之  
を黙止するを得ざるのみ  
袁氏果して帝位を僭せんとせば、  
國外にある革命派の志士は勿論、國  
内の有志は多く起つて之に抗敵す  
べく、茲に一大變亂を生ずべきや言  
を俟たず、是れ東亞の平和を保障す  
べき重任を負ふ我が帝國の要然たる  
を得ざる所ならずや

何れ支那大亂の兆を察せしむれば、帝國如何に黙視し得んや

MT 161751 092

661118

大臣  
次官  
五三三  
暗

電信課長

漢口發  
本署著  
大正四年九月廿六日  
一三四五  
八四〇

事務  
官

大隈外務大臣

瀨川總領事

第九三號

通商

人事

會計

文書

參政官

副參政官

14

湖北都督代理並に巡按使の共和政体の支那  
ノ同情と通セサルヲ以テ君主立憲政体ノ實  
行ヲ望ムナリ有テ回電シ且當地有志者モ亦革命  
當時共和政体ヲ賛成セシハ清帝退位ヲ促シタル  
タメナルモ共和政体ハ同情ニ通セストノ趣  
旨ヲ籌安會、電報セリト云ウ尤モ商務總  
上伏見の先古古の事

會ハ目下君臣説ヲ提唱スルハ却テ國內ノ擾  
亂ヲ招クモノトナシ本問題ニ関シテハ何等意  
見ヲ發表セス只管現狀ト平和維持ヲ努メ  
居ルモノト如シ

MT 161751 094

MT 161751 093

15

661119

大臣  
次官

小村

外務大臣

小幡代理公使

小幡代理公使

大正四年九月三日

電信課長

通商

人事

會計

文書

參政官

副參政官

帝政問題甚及、成行、因レテ、当初籌安會カ  
表面國體ニ對スル學術的研究ヲ主トスルモノナ  
ルガヲ標榜セタル及響トシテ其揮罔於中シテ亞  
細亞根國華根民視報、三新中及中立ノ態  
表ヲ指セルニ三ノ新中ヲ除クノ外他、新中、一齊、  
激認ナル及存況ヲ揚名ニシ、同時、清政府及  
日清内務ノ兩部ニ於テモ籌安會ノ發議ヲ以テ固

家ノ治安ヲ紊乱スル違悖ノ行爲ト認メテ之ヲ受分スレ  
トノ儀條出テ日會ノ解散ヲ勅告セトシテ九コトアリ  
(後)

MT

161751 096

MT

161751 095

661120

16

大臣  
次官

通商

人事

會計

文書

參政官

副參政官

電信課長

小幡著 大正四年九月三日 第一三〇。

小幡代理公使

五七一  
附四九二号ノ二

次子 籌安會ノ為 自説ヲ用セラルルコトナリ  
ハ其後長文ノ意見發表ニ際シ帝政ノ遂行ハ三  
箇ノ条件ヲ要スルヲ主張シ 其条件トシテハ何レモ  
玉難ノ事次ヲ列挙シ以テ帝政実行ノ自己ノ  
責任ヲ回避セシメタルモノノ如シ之等種々ノ事情ニ  
依リ 籌安會ノ運動ハ一時頓挫ヲ来サントスルノ  
傾向アリシモ袁總統カ表面上非テ涉主義ヲ持

ナカラ内實其長子袁克定ト共ニ帝政ノ実行ヲ希  
望シ居ルノ實情 次子ニ明白トナルニ及ビ 籌安會  
ハ却テ運動ノ歩ヲ進メ 楊度ノ起草ニ係ル意  
見書ノ發表ヲ主トシ 各務少ヲ買収シテ 猛烈ナル  
新聞操縦ヲ開始シタル結果 (傳)

MT 161751 098

MT 161751 097

REEL No. 1-0939

0063



661121

17

大臣  
次官

五三五七  
晴

電信課長

大隈外務大臣

小幡代理公使

北洋電 大正四年九月三日 在 一六三〇  
本省著

政務

第四九二号ノ三

通商

梁士詒一派ノ國民公報ニ於テ引續キ及討論ヲ鼓

人事

吹シ順天特報ノ投書欄ニ於テ賛否両説ヲ一様ニ

會計

掲ケ居レル外ハ北京ノ新聞紙ハ一齊ニ籌安會ヨリ

文書

供給セリト思ハシキ賛成説ノミヲ掲ケ他面蒙古

參政官

正公其他ヲ勸誘シテ同会ニ入会セシメタル外各

副參政官

省將軍巡按使商務總會等ニ通電ヲ發シ代表者

ヲ指定セシメル為湖南湖北四川山西陝西河南等

ヲ始メ之ニ應シタルモノ不尠最近ノ情報ニ  
依ルモ其等代表者ノ名ヲ以テ國体變更ニ關スル  
請願書ヲ起草シ立法會議ニ提出セシメント計畫  
シテアル等 (續)

MT 161751 100

MT 161751 099

REEL No. 1-0939

0064

661122

18

電信課長

大臣  
次官

五三六二  
晴

小澤 大正四年九月二日在 小澤

大隈外務大臣

小澤代理公使

通商

人事

會計

文書

參政官

副參政官

表面ニ於ケル同會ノ運動ハ著ク進行シ其努力  
ハ急激ニ發展シツアルノ觀アリ九月二日小澤切  
カ揚士所ヨリ南キタル所ニ依リ今回立法院代  
行ノ爲開會セル參政院ニ於テハ本尚缺ヲ十  
分ニ議決セシムル答ナリトコトナレハ帝政問題ハ前  
記ノ如キ順序ヲ參政院ニ於テ討議セラレテ後  
ノ赴ク所或ハ急務直下本年内ニモ帝政ノ後

興ヲ見ルニ至ルヤモ計リ難シ尤モ右ノ表面ヲ見順  
當ニ進ムル場合ニ於テハ觀察ナルカ裏面ニ於テハ目  
下ノ所必スシモ右ノ如ク想像シ得ザル情狀モ亦  
斯カラス (後ウ)

MT 161751 102

MT 161751 101