Harnessing the Huai River Planned  
by Zhang Jian And the American Red Cross

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Abstract: Flood out of the Huai River has yet not been completely forestalled, the terrible disaster happened frequently for several hundred years. Zhang Jian, who called for the harness of the Huai River as early as in 1887, set up the Department of Survey and Draw inside the Tungchow Teachers School in 1905. He was appointed Participating-Officer General of the Preparing Bureau of Releasing Huai next year. In 1909, he founded the Company of Water Conservancy Facilities along the Yangtze and Huai Rivers. In 1911, he established further the Bureau of Conservancy and Survey in the Yangtze and Huai Rivers and started formally the survey and plan of harness of the Huai River. In the same year, when the Huai River brought up a flood while the American Red Cross tried to relieve the people during the disaster and assigned an engineer to make survey at the same time and drew up a project for dredging up the Huai River. It was thought to be the beginning of the American Red Cross involving in the

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Huai River affairs. In January, 1914, Paul Samuel Reinsch, the minister in China of United States, on behalf of the American Red Cross, Zhang Jian, on behalf of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, signed the contract of the Huai River conservancy loan, which agreed on that the American Red Cross would collect $20,000,000 and loaned it to China for the harness of the Huai River, and later the American International Corporation, on behalf of the American Red Cross, signed a contract with the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce of China, and another with Shandong Province in order to provide capital to dredge up the Grand Canal in China. But it was pity that all these contracts were not got into use. Only after many years, can the great project of harnessing the Huai River be taken for practice. However, we should not forget that the American Red Cross while doing the harness of the Huai River, though left of regret, pity, sorrow, yet gave us a lot of active influence.

**Keywords:** Paul Samuel Reinsch, Zhang Jian, the American Red Cross, plan of releasing the Huai River, non-government mutual aid among China and USA

**Preface**

During the first score of last century, the American Red Cross engaged itself in a great plan of releasing the Huai River together with Zhang Jian, an elite represented a desire of China government and people, bridged by Paul Samuel Reinsch, the minister of United States in China. This plan was praised by the Wilson Administration and was regarded as an important and significant embodiment of the United States’ positive policy to the newborn republic of China. Unfortunately, this plan did not survive at last after a decade of frustrations. Occidental scholars have mentioned and depicted different respects of this event depended on preserved materials such as the annual and special reports, bulletins and magazines of the American Red Cross, diplomatic documents, personal records and other data. Their studies have been contained in *History of the American National Red Cross* (by Gustave R. Gaeddert, published by the organization in Washington, 1950), *The Foreign Service of the United States: Origins, Development, and Functions* (by William Barnes and John Heath Morgan, published by the U.S. Historical Office, Department of States, 1960), *Woodrow Wilson’s Far Eastern Policy, 1913-1921* (by Roy Wastson Curry, published by Octagon Books in New York, 1965), *Progressivism and the Open Door: America and China, 1905-1920* (by Jerry Israel, published by University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971), *The Home Bass of American China Missions, 1880-1920* (by Valentin H. Rade, in Harvard

The sixth among the eleven chapters the work has comprised introduces much more details about the Huai River Plan in American-Sino cooperation. Its content is quite plentiful although its author failed to take any historical materials in Chinese and was influenced by Charles Davis Jameson’s attitude. This paper of mine is merely for readers’ another reference.

**Part one: Zhang Jian’s dream to tame the Huai River and the first step of the American Red Cross into the Huai Plan**

The Huai River (namely the Hwai River) is one of a few important rivers in East China. It originates from Mounting of Tongbai in Henan province, flows dawn through four provinces of Henan, Anhui, Jiangsu, and Shandong. The Huai River region was flourishing for many centuries in medieval times. In 1128, the Yellow River held a high water level changed its route in Shandong province, ran southwards into the Huai River, so the two rivers occupied one covalency.

The riverbeds of the common covalency and the whole current system of the Huai were higher and higher owing to continuing deposit of plentiful soil brought down by the muddy Yellow River. In 1855, the Yellow River suddenly broke out in Tongwaxiang, Henan province, veered itself northwards into the River of Daqing, which bed bottom was quite low, dashed into the Pacific along its new way and retuned its previous course back to the Huai River. Because the riverbed of the latter cauce had been very high, the water of the Huai and its tributaries of Yi, Shu and Si was unable to flow down through it. The water way leading to the oriental ocean was blocked thoroughly. The water of the Huai and its tributaries had to flood over a large area in the East part of China in spring or summer almost every year.

Zhang Jian (also Romanized as Chang Chien), who had taken a high social position, raised a proposal *Discharging the Huai Water into the Sea* in 1903 (the 29th year of Guangxu regime in Qing dynasty). Next year, the lower reaches region of the Huai River suffered another grave flood again. Most part of the land within seven Fus as Yangzhou,
Huai’an, Haizhou, Xuzhou, Fengyang, Yizhou, Sizhou was submerged by the Huai water, numerous people were drowned. To Control the Huai River, for conscientious people, it became inevitable and really urgent. Zhang Jian petitioned again, he presented An Explanation about Controlling the Huai Urgently to Qing government this year. He suggested opening a draining way of the Huai River into the Pacific after ten-years dredging work. The appeared land owing to fall of water level could be repaid cultivation, people would be free of floods forever, and the government might also take much more income. Zhang Jian wished: “Tuning disaster into bliss.”

Zhang Jian requested a complete dredging of the Huai from Liangjiang viceroy (old translation as Yangtze viceroy) and other officers ongoingly. In 1906 (the 33th year of Guangxu regime in Qing dynasty), Under a sanction by Liangjiang viceroy Duan-Fang (Tuan Fang), the Preparing Bureau of Releasing Huai was established in Qingjiangpu (Within Huai’an City today), Jiangsu Province at last, Zhang Jian was appointed Participating-Officer General of this bureau.

This bureau was in charge of making a general survey work of the Huai River region and a plan of dredging the riverbed of the Huai. However in a report to Qing imperia court, Duan-Fang admitted he was afraid that this work would be unable to complete in three or four years, because of its difficult progress and lack of money. It meant that Zhang Jian’s dream about the river was still hard to be realized.

A new emperor succeeded, in 1909, the first year of his regim, Xuantong regime in Qing Dynasty, the Consulting Parliament of Jiangsu (CPOJ. In some document, it was transplanted as the Kiangsu Provincial Assembly) founded, Zhang Jian was elected as its Speaker (President). The provincial Parliament adopted a resolution about Harnessing the Huai proposed by Zhang Jian and his followers, therefore a nonprofit body, the Company of Water Conservancy Facilities along the Yangtse and the Huai Rivers (another name: the Water Administration Company of Jiangsu) was born and subordinated to the CPOJ. The body applied to successive Liangjiang viceroy Zhang Ren-Jun for financial support. Zhang Ren-Jun sneered at Zhang Jian’s ambision: “The story of leading the Huai from Tongbai to the sea has been recorded in classic Yu-Gong, how can Zhang Jian possesses the Great Yu’s capability?” Zhang Jian did not shrink back, he set up Bureau of Hydrology Survey of Yangtze and Huai in Qingjiangpu of Jiangsu in 1911, the third year of Xuantong regime in Qing Dynasty, and arranged the students of Department of Survey and Draw, Teachers School of Tungchow to serve at the bureau to start surveying the Huai and its tributaries Yi, Shu, Si, as well as its affiliated lakes and the Grand Canal in a big scale.

In 1912, the first public, a civil government, established, Yuan Shi-kai (Yuan Shih-kai)
replaced Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhong-shan) to be the President. In April 1913, the central government retitled the Bureau of Hydrology Survey of the Yangtze and the Huai as the Bureau of Releasing the Huai and designated Zhang Jian to Superintendent of Bureau of R H. What was the difference between the former and the latter? The former engaged in conservancy surveying and made some primary plans, the latter should carry those plans out not only to draw them up. Unfortunately, the Bureau of R H never got any sum of indispensable money to actuating any conservancy project, notwithstanding inundations happened frequently in many provinces and thousand or million people lost their crops, hoses and land time and again. The national authority in extreme poverty just did nothing for such a situation. Zhang Jian had to find way and money by himself to implement his plans one by one.

Some members of the American Red Cross, which formed in 1881, took their way into China in the last year of Guangxu regime in Qing Dynasty. This organization had not set its formal office in China for a period. In May of 1904, Japanese-Russian War burst out vigorously, an organization in the name of Shanghai Branch of the American Red Cross, late changed its name as Shanghai Association of the International Red Cross, established after an urgent consultation among Chinese social fingers together with Consuls in Shanghai of neutral states including the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, France etc. initiated by Gentleman Shen Dun-he. This organization sent a ship to Northeast part of China in order to fetch both Chinese and alien refugees. Although this action had a loan of the name of the American Red Cross merely, the latter’s reputation was quickly boosted almost all of China.

In 1911, a severe famine spread over the Huai region caused by the river’s flood. The American Red Cross distributed relieve loans in the distress area and invited American Charles Davis Jameson, who held an title as Consult Engineer of the Foreign Office, public government of China, to explore a way to abate the flood. C.D. Jameson investigated a length of the river and estimated that the water attacked an area of seventeen thousand square miles. He suggested an initial plan that the Huai water could be drained into the Pacific along the former riverbed of the Yellow River and into the Yangtse River through Lake of Baoying in order to avoid next flood. That was the commencement that the American Red Cross involved in the cause of controlling the Huai in China. C.D. Jameson reckoned the project at the cost of $16,000,000 and expenditure over five or six years. Since then he and the American Red Cross encouraged China government to control the Huai River as soon as possible. C.D. Jameson also believed that the practice of such a project should be under his supervision and leadership. However, before a long
time, he recognized that Zhang Jian would not give up his determination that a great project harnessing the Huai River must be led by Chinese side. On 30 July 1912, Jameson wrote to Davis, chairman of the American Red Cross, to blame Zhang Jian “has shown himself an obstructionist and in other word a great grafter.”

Later, Williams iterated the same castigation in his reports to the American Red Cross and the Department of States. But the history has proved that Zhang Jian was a positive seeker for Sino—American cooperation and was not a grafter at all.


Zhang Jian would like to mortgage land for money to deal with the Huai affairs as a main way that imitated someway in Japan. He said: “Japan allows people to obtain loan as the agricultural capital on pledge of personal assets, we ... intend to imitate that in Japan. The imitated policy should succeed in every sides of the water conservancy even without any official supervision.”

But the first question was who can offer the loan?

Doctor in Philosophy of law Paul Samuel Reinsch, a Professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin, was assigned to China by the United States as an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in 1913. He handed in diplomatic credentials to the President of China together with Japanese minister Yamaza and Belgian minister E. deCartier de Marchienne in Beijing on 17, November. After ten days only, Zhang Jian visited Mr. Reinsch to talk about a Huai River plan. Mr. Reinsch remembered:

“On November 27th, two cabinet ministers called on me for a private conversation. Following this interview Mr. Chang Chien, recognized master of antique Chinese learning, but also Minister of Industries and Commerce, came to me.”

Mr. Reinsch wrote two paragraphs to introduce and appreciate Zhang Jian and his noble personality, then, continued to narrate that:

“Mr. Chang Chien was particularly interested in river and harbour development, and

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1 Jameson’s letter of 30 July, 1912 to Davis, in Box 61: n898.5/08, Huai River Conservancy, Reports, C. D. Jameson, 1911-1914, ARC/NA. See from Karen Lynn Brewer’s work.
3 One of the visitors was Zhang Jian.
4 The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the Ministry of Industries and Commerce was integrated as the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce; Zhang Jian became the Minister of the new Ministry on 24 December this year.
in plans for the drainage of those regions of China which are subject to periodical floods. It was contemplated to establish a special conservancy bureau under whose care surveys for important projects were to be undertaken. I questioned Mr. Chang concerning the status of the Huai River conservancy scheme for the prevention of floods in the northern portion of the provinces of Kiangsu and Anhui, the region from which he came.

‘I have already established a special engineering school,’ he replied, ‘in order to train men for this work. A large part of the survey has been made, and it can be entirely completed by a further expenditure of 35,000 taels.

‘Besides the enormous benefit of such a work to all the adjoining agricultural lands,’ he continued, ‘there would be reclaimed nearly 3,000,000 acres which could now not be used at all, although their soil is inexhaustibly for at least $40 an acre. Would not this alone be ample security for a large conservancy loan? $25,000,000 would do the work.’”

The School of Specialty Engineering mentioned by Zhang Jian was exactly the Department of Survey and Draw that affiliated in the Tungchow Teachers School, which was the first one of training modern teachers adapted West-type system in recent China. A number of Japanese teachers were invited into this school just after Zhang’s visiting in Japan in 1903. That Department was set in 1906 and reformed as Department of Engineering in 1908. Japanese Miyamoto was the dean of the former and the latter. Nearly all of graduates from both of them served in Tungchow Bureau of Survey and Draw, Bureau of Releasing Huai and Society of Protecting Yangtze Shore, etc..

To assist some business and industrial and commercial activities in China was one of Paul S. Reinsch’s starting diplomatic efforts. He recorded:

“From my conversation with President Wilson before departing for my post I had formed the conclusion that the President realized that as America had withdrawn from a cooperative effort to assist in the development of China, it was incumbent upon her to do her share independently and give specific moral and financial assistance; in fact, I received the President’s assurance of active support for constructive work in China.” Of course, it might be Mr. Reinsch’s understanding barely. “In his conversation he dwelt, however, more on the educational side and on political example and moral encouragement, than on the

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② In 1915, Zhang Jian and his friends established other two specific educational bodies: the Jiangsu Institute of River-See Survey that was found in Gaoyou, and the College of River-See Engineering that was based on Nanjing. The latter has developed into the River-See University.
matter of finance and commerce”

Endorsing and supporting China to cope with the Huai problem was obviously not a big but influential gift presented by Paul S. Reinsch. Zhang Jian certainly understood it. Zhang and his friends responded that:

“…the Chinese government and people were desirous of affording the Americans unusual opportunities, should they be ready to cooperate.”

In reality, that was far from the diplomatic words. Paul S. Reinsch knew deeply, he said:

“I have said that a little vision and the application of American scientific methods would transform China. Chang Chien had instanced the Hwai River valley, and the ease with which it might be made to bloom as the most fertile tract on the globe.”

The very attractive coming benefit might arouse American investors’ interest so was used as a lure showed to American capitalists by Paul S. Reinsch but not seduced himself. Besides to epitomize the adjusted diplomatic policy of United States and keep the entrust of American Red Cross, what Reinsch did to support Zhang Jian in the Huai affair was some thing to do with his humanities.

Mr. Cheng Ya-wen gave a paper commented on Paul S. Reinsch in the 12th issue of magazine Book House in 2003. He said:

“It is indeed something rare and deserving praise, Mr. Envoy looks not a man who is only insisted his national interest. The justice and humanity existed in his heart brought up his sympathy and embedded him in China not only out of China. He closely watched and thought about the old country in where he was.”

It is worth to mention that the understanding and support of Reinsch to Zhang Jian’s Huai business helped directly to bring about the nativity of the National Bureau of Water Conservancy (NBOWC) of China. After positive conversations with Paul S. Reinsch for several times and the clear promise of American side about a reliable financial aid, Zhang Jian made a decision to form such a body and even to lead it himself. The President Yuan Shi-kai (namely Yuan Shih-kai) issued an order to enlarge the Bureau of Releasing Huai as the National Bureau of Water Conservancy, and pointed Zhang Jian as the Chairman of NBOWC on 21, December 1913 when Zhang Jian was 61.

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② Ibid. p.73.
③ Ibid. p.80.
It was almost not expectable to get a support from American side after Zhang Jian’s effort to deal with the Huai business in vain for many years, thus the new hope let Zhang delight and be full of enthusiasm. He drawn out the organization structure of NBOWC quickly and submitted it away. The central government made the NBOWC officers system public on 8 January 1914.

On 27, January 1914, Zhang Jian represented the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce of China signed the Contract of the Huai River Conservancy Loan together with envoy Reinsch on behalf of the American Red Cross in order to loan out US$20,000,000 from the Red Cross to the project guaranteed by revenues and taxes on the reclaimed land.①

Zhang Jian worked energetically with his ambition. He scrutinized all of the previous projects and invited Dutch, American and Swedish hydraulicians for technological supervises, as soon as he took the office of the National Bureau of Water Conservancy. He and other experts made out a national conservancy plan, arranged projects in sequence, considering the drainage of the Huai River as the first among the four biggest conservancy projects in China. “The Southeast is relied on the safety of the Huai flatlands, and the safety of the Huai flatlands on the successful domination to the Huai current.” Zhang Jian once said confidently, if the project could be really performed, “the water conservancy would be controlled, the local finance would be richer and agriculture would be improved and developed.” ②

On China part, the progress referring the Huai River control was mainly pushed and led by nongovernmental force. Zhang Jian was the representative of this strength. The corporation with the American Red Cross in the Huai River affair obviously embodied the essence of people to people business between America and China. It was one of civilian/nongovernmental diplomatic activates. Zhang Jian’s thought in nongovernmental diplomacy was inspired by Mr. Shibusawa Ei'ichi in Japan. Zhang Jian learned much more from Japanese enterprisers, educationists and others. However, in China of that age, civilian/nongovernmental diplomacy had to be carried out by some special persons as Zhang Jian and Paul S. Reinsch; etc., and of course, any performance like that needed some supports from both domestic and overseas governments. ③

② Zhang Xu-wu: For His Own Ideal but the President or Premier, in issue of 23 July, 2004, The Gazette of the People’s Political Consultative Conference, the organ of the General Office of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, Beijing.
In America, when field of history commented on the further involvement of the United States in Asia by the Wilson times, some of them considered Wilson as an idealist and that the new role of the United States played to transmit modern civilization in protecting human rights, prompting moral standard and preserving justice in the world affairs in Wilson times was inexistent in the diplomatic policies of the former American government. Others spoke differently, for example, Burt F. Beers, a scholar in the history and politics of the Far East, suggested that Reinsch who was just like Robert Lansing, thought much of what the enlarging needs of the American society in substance were, other than the duties of their country in the world. Both American Dr. Daniel J. Gage and Dr. Noel Pugach believed that Reinsch had some kind of missionary spirits except his serving to extend American economy overseas. Certainly, assisting Chinese in a Huai River project was one measure to illustrate a good image of the open-door policy.①

By the way, the first Sino-American corporation plan of oil exploiting was also firstly negotiated by Zhang Jian and Reinsch, then it was transferred to Xiong Xi-ling (namely Hsiung His-ling), who resigned his position as prime minister of Cabinet just now, to be completed. One week later, H.J.Ever-all, a delegate of the American Standard Oil Company, and Xiong Xi-ling achieved an agreement in the prospecting and exploitation of the oil fields in Yanchang of Shanxi Province and in Chengde of Zhili District. The Standard Oil Company promised a financial support for the project. A joint venture industrial company was established later. Mr. S.R. Anderson (namely Sun Ming-fu) was Manager-general of it.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce of China led by Zhang Jian showed its great enthusiasm to the United States. For further economic cooperation, the Ministry organized a mission of industrialists and commercialists visiting USA. In the summer of 1914, Zhang Jian accepted a membership offered by the International Federation of Universities, and discussed with the body in order to apply for the redundancy of the Boxer indemnity payments for modern education in China. A part of his aspiration was to set up a teachers college, a mechanical college, a number of botanical gardens and so on in Nantong with a sum of the money.

The serial activities of America invested in China evoked alert of Japan. Japanese minister Yamaza in China sent an officious warning to Reinsch. Yamaza claimed a priority of Japan in the oil fields in Shannxi as Japanese engineers had long been working there. He also expressed to Hsiung His-ling who was in charge of mines and oil fields

that the priority given to American by China seemed to indicate that China ignored the friendship with Japan. However, Yamaza didn’t really show an objection to the American loan for the water conservancy projects in China. The dispute concerning about the investment in China between Japan and the United States is not discussed here.

**Part three: The reconnaissance of the Huai River did by experts of China and the United States**

The modern scientific prospecting to the Huai River began in 1911 when the Bureau of Conservancy and Survey of Yangtze and Huai was founded. In that year, the Bureau recruited some graduators of the Department of Survey and Draw, the Teachers School of Tungchow. They mapped the paths of the Huai River, its branches and the canals in the contiguous area. The reconnaissance made by Chinese lasted longer than that did by any foreigners.

Not long after, Zhang Jian issued his *Declaration of Huai Conservancy Project*. In 1913, Zhang Jian proposed a plan in *Sketch of Plan of Controlling*. As the plan, ten third of the Huai water would be drained into the Yangtze River and the rest water to the Pacific, and the branches of the Huai would be controlled separately. The channel for the Huai water running into Yangtze River is designed to go through San River on Jiangba zone (exactly the sluice valve San River), continue to stretch South-eastwards through Lake of Gaoyou, Lake of Shaobo, Inner Canal, then, passing the tenth dam of Guijiang River, into the Yangtze River at last. The water leading to the sea would go along the River of Zhangfu, then the ancient but new-dredged waterbed of the Huai and turn to the Northern direction in Liutao of Xiangshui County, so continued to go head along the Guan River, into the Pacific as an end. This project would be completed in 5 or 6 years, and 20 million yuans must be budgeted for it.

In 1914 (the third year of the Public of China), Zhang Jian, Superintendent of Bureau of R H, appointed water conservancy expert Wang Tong-chun, who came from Inner Mongolia and had been recommended by geographer Zhang Xu-wen, a High-ranking Adviser in Water Conservancy. A plan designed a detailed path to lead the Huai water into sea, which was prepared by Wang Tong-chun who was profoundly appreciated by Zhang Jian. Not long after, a research team sent by the America Red Cross contributed another idea that all of the Huai water should be drained into the Yangtze River.

On April 1, 1914, Zhang Jian left Beijing and went southwards. From April 3, he and Mr. Bei Longman, a Dutch engineer, departed from Nantong to investigate the Huai
River. Zhang Jian deputed Chang Chung-hsiang (namely Zhang Zong-xiang) to cope with daily routine of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, and he himself focused on the Huai River work.

On May 1, the Legislative meeting passed the Constitution of the Public of China, abolished the Provisional Constitution, the latter emphasized a democratic republic system. The President countermanded the previous official system of the State Department, but set the Political Hall in President Yard. President Yuan Shi-kai assigned Xu Shi-chang (namely Hsu Shih-chang) as the State Secretary and the central government was reorganized. Zhang Jian was still in charge of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, and Zhang Zong-xiang (Chang Chung-hsiang) was assigned as the Minister of Ministry of law. Since Zhang Jian devoted himself in the Huai River work, Zhang Zong-xiang still took care of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. On May 19, Viscount Shibusawa Ei'ichi, a very important and famous Japanese entrepreneur, arrived at Beijing. Zhang Jian was unable to withdraw from his role in the Huai work to be back north, so he missed meeting with Viscount Shibusawa Ei'ichi in that moment. On the other hand, now that Zhang Zong-xiang was already entrusted to take official affair for Zhang Jian, so it was not wise for Zhang Jian to interfere with Zong-xiang’s arrangement. On behalf of Zhang Jian, Zhang Zong-xiang warmly gave a banqueted to Viscount Shibusawa Ei'ichi and his entourage in Beijing.

Zhang Jian detested ostentation and extravagance. He and his investigation group crossed several provinces in southern China to study the network of the Huai without the time to consider the fatigue of themselves. They spent 50 days and traveled thousands of miles. Their trip filled of hardship and danger even the menace from brigandage. They finally finished the examining work of the Northern area of the River Huai and Bengbu area. Zhang Jian didn’t go back to Beijing until June 21. The Huai River work was extremely important in Zhang Jian’s heart, thus he would like to do more work of it.

In 1916, the Huai River area was greatly submerged again, Zhang Jian came to this area, recorded the hydrologic data on the purpose of harnessing the Huai River at his next step.

In 1917, the Bureau of Conservancy and Survey of the Yangtze and the Huai conducted a second all-over survey to the Huai mainstream and measure height from the water surface, which was first coordinated with the zero marker, of the discarded estuary of the Yellow River. The measure results were compiled as Records of Investigating the Huai, which was convenient to make a more scientific and perfect plan to harness the Huai River.
After the signing of the *Contract of the Huai River Conservancy Loan*, the Parliament of the United States passed a proposal about sending engineers to investigate the Huai River. The ARC and J. G. White Corporation promised to offer $50,000 respectively, while Zhang Jian demanded his department to pay $2,500, that money from both sides was an outlay for such investigation. William Sibert, a Colonel of the Army Corps of Engineers at the Panama Canal board, came to China and was transferred to be chairman of the Huai Hydraulic Engineering Committee. He led a 13-member group, which core members shared the title of the Board of Engineers, consisted of Arthur P. Davis, Chief Engineer of the U.S. Reclamation Service, Daniel Mead, professor of hydraulic engineering from the University of Wisconsin and also a member of the Ohio Flood Commission, and other technicians and assisters including a Chinese student of Daniel and made an investigation in China for three months.

Before departure of the survey group, President Wilson wrote specially to the ARC commending its effort to the Huai River Program being a “singular… evidence of the usefulness of a disinterested body in serving a great nation just awakening.”

A report of the second Investigation and analysis of the situation over the Huai River made by American side finished in 1915 and was sent to America Red Cross. The Board of Engineers raised a new conservancy plan at a cost of thirty million dollars. Copies of the report were sent to the State Department and the Rockefeller foundation.

The report was exciting as well as worrying. “The report of the Engineers Commission which investigated the Huai River Conservancy project made that enterprise look even more attractive than I had anticipated. The value of the redeemed land alone would be more than enough to pay the cost of the improvements.” Mr. Reinsch was delightful about it: “I felt that the work would give great credit to the American name. Not only would it assure the livelihood of multitudes through the redemption of millions of the most fertile acres in China, but it would give to the Chinese a living example of how, by scientific methods, the very foundation of their life could be improved. During the winter of 1914-15 a terrible famine was again devastating that region, threatening hundreds of thousands of peasants with extinction.”

By contrast, the situation in the United States sent out a negative message: “Never had the sum of twenty millions of dollars produced such benefits as would be assured here.

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1. See from Karen Lynn Brewer’s work, p.179.
3. Ibid. p.162.
But after urgent appeals to the Department in Washington, the National Red Cross, and the Rockefeller Foundation, it was found impossible to secure the necessary capital during the years of the option.”

Chinese didn’t stop their work in spite of the frustration from the United States. In 1919 (The eighth year of the Republic of China), 67 years old Zhang Jian ameliorated and demonstrated a plan about a division of the Huai water current in his *Program of the Yangts-Huai Conservancy Construction*. He amended his initial opinion here and advocated that ten seventh Huai water should be drown into Yangtze River and the rest into the ocean. This plan, especially the route along which the Huai water could flow towards the Pacific was more reasonable and feasible than the previous one of 1913. Owing to financial problem, this revised plan certainly was a mere scrap of paper. In the same year, Zhang Jian gathered people to continue a survey of the lower reaches of the Huai River, prepared to construct the north dykes of the Grand Canal and do more----dig out a new canal in parallel with the Inner Canal.

Next year, Zhang Jian issued *Program of North Canal Conservancy Construction by Years*, and *A Construction Program of the New Canal through Farms*. For solving some emergency and acute problems caused by a new flood in Huai region, Zhang Jian announced an open letter *Discussing the Targets of Administration to Rivers of Huai, Yi, Shu, And Si*. He was ready to dredge up the lower parts of several tributaries of the Huai River to let the floodwater in the downstream area could be discharged into sea, so that might remove the peril of the great Huai water to counties of Baoying and Gaoyou. This plan was also abolished because of a serious short of money. The function of Zhang Jian and his confederates’ dreams, plans and deeds about the Huai River seemed to be a reference only for people in the future.

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Before the Committee of Releasing Huai was funded in January of 1929, seven kinds of the Huai River conservancy plans were brought forward by Chinese and foreign experts during 15 years between 1914 and 1928; but none of them was extensively discussed on a large scale and none of them was accepted by experts both China and foreign countries.

**Part four: The abrupt Change of global situation and the abolition of Sino-USA collaboration**

Dr. K.L. Brewer narrated the conflicts between Zhang Jian and C.D. Jameson. He

① Ibid. p.162.
said: “Red Cross participation in famine relief in 1906-07 and 1911-12 culminated in the development of the Huai River conservancy and flood prevention project. Completion of this project was frustrated by conflict with Chang Chien, the Chinese official responsible for conservancy projects.”

As for the later situation after signing the Contract of the Huai River Conservancy Loan and the Board of Engineers arriving at China, Brewer continued to believe that “the American Board met with Chang several times in Peking, and eventually broke through the distrust and prejudice exhibited by him at their first meeting.” Brewer’s work has shown that those conflicts baffled the project to a great extent. However, in fact, Colonel W. Sibert was quite like C.D. Jameson in investigation. Both of them gave a hurried and cursory observation over the extremely complex Huai problem, which related to a lot of questions, in three months only. The group under W. Sibert neither gathered and studied the hydrographic data cumulated up during several decades nor analyzed all suggestions and proposals coping with the Huai’s disaster and interrelated matters, so that a new scheme was still unable to adapt itself to the requirements of the natural and unnatural situation. The cardinal reason caused an abortion of the joint plan harnessing the Huai River of Sino-America was truly the undeveloped economics of China. It was impossible for China to bear the great project signally, and on the side of United States, the latter failed to offer the indispensable loan promised with the agreement of the ARC and China.

The American Red Cross recognized that both the financial resource and activities of the ARC itself were not sufficient to support the Huai plan after the specialized investigation in China. This organization entrusted a newborn agency the American International Corporation (the AIC), which acted on behalf of capital holders for evaluation and investment in the world, particularly in Asia and Latin American, to raise money. The AIC launched to issue bonds of the Huai River project in America.

On 28 July 1914, The Great War in Europe broke out. On 7 August, Britain showed its wish in a note presented to Japan that Japanese armada would annihilate German armed ships in order to defend free trade in the Far East. Japan decided to make war to Germany according to a cabinet resolution on the same day. The 16th day after the note and the resolution, Japanese and British fleets first co-attacked the German military district covered Qingdao in China. The World War I had affected over the Far East, the security

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prospect of China seemed a question. This situation was a negative element to American investment in China to certain extent. Because the United States involved in the War, the focuses of its industry as well as trade and its financial market changed greatly. The capital groups found other fields where the capital value could increase far more than it in the Huai conservancy, thus capital from the financial market in the United States dashed into military supplies industry that could create fantastic interest without jeopardy. Almost no money flew into the conservancy business in China which interest must be true but in a remote future. The bonds of the American International Corporation were hardly sold away; therefore the AIC had to stop peddling them.

In China, Yuan Shih-kai was eager to turn young public into a neo-empire, political scene was dramatically unstable, Zhang Jian left from Beijing to the South due to his distrust in Yuan Shih-kai. The central government had to appoint Chow Tsu-chi (or Zhou Zi-Qi) as the deputy minister of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, Chow Hsueh-hsi (or Zhou Xue-xi) as the deputy minister of the Ministry of Finance instead of Zhang Jian on 5 May, 1915. The government sanctioned Zhang Jian’s resignation on 27 April and let Chow Tsu-chi and Chow Hsueh-hsi formerly take their offices without “deputy” in their titles. Zhang Jian did not left from the office of President of National Bureau of Water Conservancy, because he continued cherishing a hope that some support of the central government and some loan from the American Red Cross to the Huai River would come one day.

In 1916, the government of United States encouraged an augmentation of investment in industrial, commercial and financial activities in China again. The American International Corporation decided to modulate its tactics: to gather money for dredging work of the Grand Canal in China first. The Grand Canal work had been one part of the project of releasing the Huai. The notability of the Grand Canal is higher and better than that of the Huai River, so the investment risk of the former should be less than the letter in American visions. In April and May this year, the AIC and China signed An Agreement of the Southern Canal Loan and An Agreement of Releasing the Huai and the Canal Loan for the Canal project and part of the Huai job. The sum of the two loans was only six million dollars. On American side, they were portfolio investments. The Huai project resurged again.

The two agreements had not been executed till the autumn, and did not the winter of that year. The reason was still the difficulty of raising money. Why? Because the results of reconnaissance and analysis indicated that the economic returns of reforming the Canal was not so manifest like imagination while see and land transportation, which was
bound to replace a big share of that through the Canal, developed quickly. American investors hesitated and not decided in spite of a set of endeavors of the AIC. Accepted some bankers’ advice, the AIC turned its sight on Japan on the purpose of that Japanese could share the capital. This situation astonished China side. The AIC had to make an explanation and try to revise the agreements; nevertheless, it ignored Chinese feeling and entrustment in American. This moment, it was tune of Chinese hesitating of maintaining the agreements or not. The Canal loans had not come true till envoy Reinsch’s reassignment from his office, and never be true just like the contract of 1914.

Reinsch wrote to Frank Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank, with an implied slight complaint on 17 May 1916. He said:

“I may state to you, as I have said to the Department of State and to the President, that there is no undertaking at present proposed in China which equals in importance and significance the Hwai River improvement. It is not only that millions of acres of the most fertile agricultural land of China will be reclaimed to usefulness, affording assured means of livelihood to twenty million human beings, but the character of the work itself is of such a nature that its execution would have a profound influence on the future of China. The reason for this lies in the fact that the work would be a demonstration to the Chinese mind that through modern scientific methods honestly applied the fundamental conditions of existence may be radically modified. No other enterprise could impress the Chinese mind so vividly with the true meaning of the word PROGRESS. The work would therefore be a model for scientific method and organization as applied throughout Chinese life. … This is the starting point of all reform, leading to the betterment of conditions of life in this country.”

In 1919, the AIC signed hydraulician John Ripley Freeman into China. He consulted Zhang Jian about the Canal affaire and obtained the first proposal of releasing the Huai laid down by Zhang Jian many years ago, and collected a batch of hydraulic data offered by Zhang Jian as well. He came back to United States soon and next year published his report of the River Huai project that referenced and adopted factors of previous projects. It was called as the Freeman plan in China advocated releasing all of the Huai river water along a proposal canal into the Pacific. Such an eastward canal proposed to be dug would start from the northern bank area of Lake of Hongze, elongate cross the Great Canal, the Liutang River, the Yan River, arrive at the Linhong Mouth so to join the Pacific at last. The Freeman plan did not resolve the crux of draining the waterlogged farmland on the

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southeast of the Huai River, thus it was another fancy barely.

In April this year, President Xu Shi-Chang (or Hsü Shih-chang) appointed Zhang Jian Superintendent for Canal in North Jiangsu. Zhang Jian directed the bunds building of the Northern canal successfully, and prepared to dig a canal of 270 kilometers through Funing, Chenjiagang to a seaport in Rugao. The latter was prevented by people who preferred the abandoned bed of the Huai River-Yellow River. Zhang Jian gave consideration to the omnifarious demands of people in diversity regions and came to a compromise. The budget of the new program was 6,030,000 Chinese Yuans. The central government made an excuse that there was not any money for this program. Zhang Jian’s effort was in vain again.

The non-implementation of the Contract of the Huai River Conservancy Loan gave a heavy blow on the Huai project that just stepped up. Neither plan of Chinese expert nor that of American expert could come true without money.

The World War I had not lasted too long; the eventual victory of the Central Powers ended it in 1919. China that joined the Central Powers’ camp in August 1917 only was one of victor countries now, but it was still not able to extricate itself from its destiny at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. China was always waited for a just arbitration of the United States. President Wilson of the latter assured to protect and maintain the interest of China at the conference, but did not at last. The conclusion of the Paris Conference disappointed Chinese people and their trust in the United States to a certain extent. P.S. Reinsch who showed his sympathy to China repeated the importance of a protection by USA to China. American historian Warren I. Cohen described Reinsch “who acted more as China’s advocate than as an American Minister.” at that moment.①

Reinsch knew that his duty in China would be more difficult than before. He applied to President for his leaving. In this resignation, he said; “During the war our action in the support of constructive forces in China necessarily could not be effective, as our energies were required elsewhere…. The very least recognition of her sentiments, support and efforts, on our part, would have changed the entire situation. But while millions upon millions were paid to the least important of the countries of Europe not a cent was forthcoming for China.”②

Reinsch went back to America, the cause of relieving the Huai River disaster in China

lost a friend.

Part five: significance of the early Huai River projects

In 1919, the ideals of Charles Davis Jameson and Mr. Bai Wenwei about the flood-relief channels were adopted into Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s orientational program the General Scheme of National Construction. ①

Zhang Jian at his seventies delivered An Open Letter to the Meeting of Releasing Huai And Comrades next year and entrusted Mr. Shen Bing-huang, Dean of the Hydrology Survey of Huai, to publish main hydrologic data of the Huai River, the Great Canal and other rivers and lakes on the North bank area of Yangts River with a catalogue of all of them in 1924. The latter was one of the last works Zhang Jian did for the Huai business. After not a long time, he died in August 1926.

Zhang Jian had pushed and led Controlling the Huai business for more than twenty years since 1903, but he failed on the verge of success. The American Red Cross’ which participated in the program for many years fell through as well when success was in sight. However their practice and failure was not insignificant, the plentiful valuable hydrologic data and experience and lessons were contributed to the futurity.

A new body, Committee of Releasing Huai, formed in 1929. A prominent hydraulician, Mr. Li Yi-zhi, as its Engineer-general and Taskmaster, laid down a comprehensive schematization titled as Project of Releasing the Huai in the following year. The project just summed up and imbibed the proposals of Zhang Jian and the American Red Cross.

In 1931, another enormous flood happened in China, 5,130,000 hectares of land were submerged, 20,000,000 people suffered the disaster and 220,000 people died directly in the flood in the Huai Region; 3,773,000 hectares of land were overflowed, 28,870,000 people suffered it and 145,400 people were drowned directly by the catastrophe in Yangtze River Region. The national government had to move its attention at this problem, thus a drainageway through River of Zhangfu, and then the abandoned riverbed of Yellow River towards the pacific was delimited, designed and constructed based on the previous proposals of Zhang Jian and the American Red Cross. This drainageway that would mitigate water havoc was formed in the spring of 1937 which maximum flood carrying capacity was merely 450 cubic meters /a second. A slight part of the dream of Zhang Jian

and the American Red Cross realized with it.

Soon after the foundation of the People’s Republic of China, the first decision made by the central government concerning water conservancy was fighting against the menace of the Huai River. Premier Zhou En-lai chaired a meeting on it in the State Council, and a Resolution about Harnessing the Huai River was announced as its result on 14 October 1950. Next year, Chairman Mao Ze-dong sworn that “the Huai River must be tamed!” The Huai River was the first one among many rivers that the new public must deal with. The hydrologic data and lessons left by Zhang Jian and the American Red Cross was the reference for a renewing orientation and a great blueprint.

Through tremendous arduous effort of a long term from 1950 to 2002, many reservoirs containing 36 vast ones, more than 600 water gates, more than 20 water detention zones, 50,000 kilometers of embankments and other projects were constructed, a number of main flood-relief channels leading to the Pacific and the Yangtze River including the New Cihuai River, New Huaihong River, General Irrigation Canal, New Yi River, New Shu River and others were cut-off early or later. In the lower reaches of the Huai River, maximum flood carrying capacity had been increased up to 13,000-16,000 cubic meters /a second till the end of 2002.① The original cause of the Huai floods that menaced an immense area in the East part of China for eight centuries had been eliminated to the most extent at last just in the recent years.

From another perspective, the effort in the Huai problem paid by both Chinese and American in the first quarter of last century roused an attention not only at the Huai but also at humanistic questions of more people in that time. The Huai inundation as a kind of natural disaster, was more and more recognized as the question relating to the right to the ordinary people’s living, a kind of human right, in that chaotic society of China in transformation. Which one between an authority and the basic interest of the masses was more important? To revere the nature only or to believe in human’s own power? To obey the destiny or follow Science? To knuckle under despotism or to greet humanity and honest? To work in unity and close cooperation or not to? Those questions simultaneously displayed in front of many Chinese and forced them to think and explore. After all, such an exploration started although it needed process and time, and it would meet unavoidable failures. That was why the Huai project was also a program popularized the spirits of science, democracy and humanrights, and it should be an important part of any new social values.

P.S. Reinsch believed that “From the point of view of social action, there is the widely diffused sense of popular equity which has enabled Chinese society for these many centuries to govern itself, to maintain property rights, personal honour and dignity without recourse to written law or set tribunals, chiefly through an informal enforcement by society itself acting through many agencies, of that underlying sense of proportion and rightness which lives in the hearts of the people.”

Secondly, this action encouraged Chinese rethinking about foreign capital. Being aimed at the manner against foreign capital adopted by many officers and mass, Zhang Jian admonished people of that: “The economic tide is riming over China, the joint business of national and international capital is bound to be more and more henceforth. Actually, no capital is far danger than capital itself. What is the first step for the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to do is legislation.” “The key to safeguard national’s sovereignty and interest is standing on nation’s own and complete and healthy economic legislation according to contemporary trend of general development, that was Zhang Jian’s vision.” So said famous historian, Professor Zhang Kai-yuan.

Last but not least, the positive activities of the American Red Cross enhanced the mutual understanding and reciprocal sympathy between Chinese and Americans, developed the bilateral or multilateral cooperation and support among American Red Cross, the red-cross organizations of China and Japan. For instances, in 1914, Chinese Red Cross donated 2000 dollars to the earthquake region in Kagoshima, Japan, and 10,000 dollars to rescue casualties and refugees in European war fields through the International Federation of Red Cross Association, and some support to Serb Red Cross the same year. In 1917, Chinese Red Cross remitted 20,000 dollars to the general headquarters of the International Federation of Red Cross (The General International Red Cross) in Switzerland in order to aid refugees in Germany and Austria. On 2, May 1918, an agency of American Red Cross was opened in Shanghai to collect humanity donations and other supports. Mr. Sun Yat-sen wrote and specially published an article under the title of *The Reasons China must Support American Red Cross* to call for support to ARC. “When floods caused severe famines in China and nothing for brimless hungry people, American Red Cross telegraphic transferred hundred thousands of dollars into distress area to rescue levies.” Said Mr. Sun Yat-sen, “Surely it does not mean that Chinese people do not do their

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utmost to support the outside world when it needs help urgently. …Any deed like that can really enhance relationship between the two democratic countries, its efficient is much more than the bilateral liaison and negotiation that has been suggested by diplomats for years.”

The sum of money collected in Shanghai had been cumulated up, it was equal to $75,648.9 at the last day, June the third. ARC purchased medicines and other relieving materials paid by it, and all of them were sent to Europe to relieve injured soldiers caused by the World War I.

In 1918-19, Chinese Red Cross sent medical teams to Vladivostok in the Far East, and sent relief goods to American Red Cross so to transfer them to miserable people in Siberia. In 1922, the Chinese Red Cross remitted thousands of francs to the Turkic Red Crescent Society to relieve famine victims. On 1, September 1923, a fierce earthquake broken out in Kanto, Japan, a rescuing team and a medical team were immediately organized and sent to Japan by the Chinese Red Cross and other bodies. The Liaise Association of Co-Provide Japan Disaster Relief was also organized by the CRC on the sixth day after the earthquake, and many relief goods and benevolences were sent to Kanto by the LACJDR and other salvage Chinese organizations. In 1931, several immense regions of the Yellow River and others were inundated in China, Viscount Shibusawa Ei’ichi in Japan, who donated for Chinese hydro-havoc sufferers in 1915 and 1917, and for a grave famines caused by a drought in Northern China in 1920, now organized the Society of Sympathy to China Flood and collected money and materials for Chinese refugees. In 1935, American Red Cross contributed $100,000 to a flood region in China. There were still some aiding actions that have not been mentioned here.

Epilogue

On 5, August 1920, a group of parliamentarians of United States arrived at Shanghai, pre-envoy, Mr. Paul Samuel Reinsch came with it. Mr. Zhang Jian met him here and asked him to visit Nantong where Zhang Jian’s hometown was. P. S. Reinsch failed to go, because he had to constrained himself with the itinerary of the group. P. S. Reinsch reached Beijing on 14 August and still promised to come to Nantong in the soon future. Next year, Mr. Paul Samuel Reinsch died of an illness at Shanghai. It was quite later for

Zhang Jian knew it. He sent a letter to P. S. Reinsch’s wife, as the follows, to offer his condolences.

“It’s so sad to hear that Mr. Paul Samuel Reinsch have passed away in Shanghai. Mr. Paul Samuel Reinsch was an admirable gentleman with erudite learning and good moral. It has been 10 years since we first met in Beijing. The amicability of Mr. Paul Samuel Reinsch with China is especially impressively. We planed China water conservancy together, and bred deep friendship each other. When Mr. Reinsch arrived in Shanghai, I invited him to visit Nantong that time. Though the things didn’t go as we wish, Mr. Paul Samuel Reinsch still promised he will come someday. Hearing the sad news of the death of my best and admirable friend, I feel profound sorry. I would go Shanghai to show my mourning days before if the coffin of him has not been carried back to America. Now I can only recall his virtues and sacrifice this nostalgia letter. I wish you will be out of grief soon.”

Reviewing historical events in retrospect would be beneficial for us to handle others more reliably and successfully today and in the future.

Title of the paper, its author, abstract and keywords in simplified Chinese as follows.

张謇与美国红十字会的治淮计划

中国南通大学文学院 钱健（羽离子）撰

摘要：淮河水患曾是几百年来一直没有被解决的重大的频发灾害。早在 1887 年即开始呼吁治理淮河的张謇于 1905 年在通州师范学校内设测绘科，于 1906 年任初设的筹导淮局的总参议，1909 年建江淮水利公司，1911 年设江淮水利测量局，正式开始了治理淮河的勘查与规划工作。1911 年，淮河发大水，美国红十字会在赈灾的同时，派工程师查看淮河，草拟了疏导淮河的工程计划。这是美国红十字会介入中国治淮事

业的开端。1914 年 1 月，美国驻华公使芮恩施代表美国红十字会，张謇代表农商部签署了《导淮借款草议》；此协议规定由美国红十字会在美国筹集二千万美元以贷款给中国用于治理淮河。此后美国广益公司还代表美国红十字会与中国农商部和山东省分别签署了供款以疏浚大运河的协定。但这些合同与协定都未能落实。只是在很多年以后，从根本上治理淮河的伟大工程才得以进行。但美国红十字会介入导淮事业，在留下遗憾的同时，也留下了一些积极的影响。

关键词：芮恩施，张謇，美国红十字会，导淮计划，中美间的非政府互助

Title of the paper, its author, abstract and keywords in traditional Chinese as follows.

張謇與美國紅十字會的治淮計劃

中國南通大學文學院　銭健（羽離子）撰

摘要：淮河水患曾是幾百年來一直沒有被解決的重大的頻發災害。早在 1887 年即始
呼籲治理淮河的張謇於 1905 年在通州師範學校內設測繪科，於 1906 年任初設的籌議
導淮局的總參議，於 1909 年建江淮水利公司，1911 年設江淮水利測量局，正式開始了
治理淮河的勘查與規劃工作。1911 年，淮河發大水，美國紅十字會在賑災的同時，
派工程師查看淮河，草擬了疏導淮河的工程計劃。這是美國紅十字會介入中國治淮事
業的開端。1914 年 1 月，美國駐華公使芮恩施代表美國紅十字會，張謇代表農商部
簽署了《導淮借款草議》；此協議規定由美國紅十字會在美國籌集二千萬美元以貸款
給中國用於治理淮河。此後美國廣益公司還代表美國紅十字會與中國農商部和山東省
分別簽署了供款以疏浚大運河的協定。但這些合同與協定都未能落實。只是在很多年
以後，從根本上治理淮河的偉大工程才得以進行。但美國紅十字會介入導淮事業，在
留下遺憾的同時，也留下了一些積極的影響。

關鍵字：芮恩施，張謇，美國紅十字會，導淮計劃，中美間的非政府互助