

Department of Applied History, National Chiayi University

Master's thesis

Department of Applied History

National Chiayi University

Master Thesis

Research on Zheng Xiaoxu, a descendant of a fallen nation—focused on his diary

Survivors of the subjugated country CHENG HSIAO HSU Research

Focused on his diaries

Graduate student: Zhuang Dayi

Supervising Professor: Lu Shenhua

January 113 of the Republic of China

January 2024

## Summary

Zheng Xiaoxu (1860 to 1938), whose courtesy name was Taiyi and whose name was Su Kan, lived from the late Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China.

Zhidong, Liu Kunyi, and Sheng Xuanhai served in the shogunate. He advocated preparation for constitution and familiarity with foreign affairs. Before the Revolution of 1911, he advocated borrowing debt to build roads.

After the establishment of the Republic of China, he participated in the restoration as a veteran. In 1924, he entered the court of the Qing Dynasty and in 1931, he participated in the

Manchukuo, making him a complex figure in modern history. Zheng Xiaoxu went to the Northeast in 1910 to assist Governor Xiliang in signing the

The Jin-Jin Railway Contract advocated "borrowing money to build railways", and in 1911 the Qing government took over the railways and Zheng Xiaoxu supported the nationalization of railways.

He also strongly advocated "borrowing debt to build roads" and "contracting work". These ideas were relatively special to the general public opinion at the time, and the Republic of China became a

After the establishment of the Republic of China, Zheng Xiaoxu refused to serve as an official in the Republic of China. Instead, he recognized his status as an old man and began to plan for restoration. His restoration activities and ideological connotations

There are different aspects in different periods.

Chapter 2 discusses Zheng Xiaoxu's experience as an official during the Xinhai Revolution from 1897 to 1911, including Zheng Xiaoxu's early years.

The author's experience of serving in the court of Emperor Sheng and Emperor Xuanhai, the negotiation process of the Jin-Jin Railway Draft Treaty, and Zheng Xiaoxu's role in the Railway Protection Movement

The third chapter mainly discusses Zheng Xiaoxu's social life and restoration activities after the establishment of the Republic of China. The fourth chapter discusses

Discussing Zheng Xiaoxu's experience from entering the palace in 1924 to the establishment of Manchukuo, as well as his personal thoughts and doctrines, this article focuses on Zheng Xiaoxu

The book mainly uses diaries and diaries of contemporary figures, autobiographies, and newspapers to explore his thoughts and the background of their emergence, as well as his legacy from the Qing Dynasty.

Lao's activity experience, trying to clarify Zheng Xiaoxu's life experience.

Keywords: Zheng Xiaoxu, railway, legacy, restoration, Manchukuo.

English summary

CHENG HSIAO HSU (Zheng Xiaoxu) (1860-1938) his courtesy name is TAI-I and SU-KAN. His life experience was from the late Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China. His once took charge of apparitor of LI- HUNG-CHANG (üüü), CHANG-CHIH-TUNG (üüü), LIU-KUN-YI (üü 1), SHENG-HSUAN-HUAI (üüü). At that time He advocated **constitutional monarchy** and **Self-Strengthening**. He advocated **borrowing debt and build the road** and **convene parliament** before Xinhai Revolution. CHENG HSIAO HSU remained loyal to the Qing Dynasty after the He served in the **abdicated Qing Dynasty** (üüüü) in 1923. He followed AI HSIN CHUEH LO-PU-YI (üü) to participate in the State of Manchuria in 1931. He is a complex figure in history. CHENG HSIAO HSU went to Manchuria in 1910 to assist the governor (üüüüü) in signing the Jinzhou-Aihun Railway (üüüü)Contract, At that time He advocated **borrowing debt and building the road**. In 1911, the Qing Dynasty nationalized the railway, He supports this policy, At that time, He also advocated **borrowing debt and building the road** and **contracting policy**, these propositions were considered quite special by public opinion at the time. After the Qing Dynasty was overthrown, CHENG HSIAO HSU refused to serve as an official in the Republic of China, and supporting the restoration of the Qing Dynasty, His thoughts appear somewhat different in different periods.

Chapter two of this article discusses CHENG HSIAO HSU's experience as an official from From 1897 to 1911, Chapter three mainly discusses CHENG HSIAO HSU's social life and restoration after the founding of the Republic of China. Chapter four discusses He served in the abdicated Qing Dynasty and participated in the State of Manchuria, and his thoughts and doctrines.

The article uses CHENG HSIAO HSU 's diary and the diaries, autobiographies and newspapers of various contemporary figures, and Discuss his ideas and the context in which they were created, Study his life experience.

Key Word: CHENG HSIAO HSU, Restoration, railway, Manchuria.

## Preface

In the fall of 2010, I entered the Master's program of the Department of Applied History at Chiayi University. I decided to research Zheng Xiaoxu as my thesis topic.

Its origins go back very early. In August 101 of the Republic of China, I was wandering in a bookstore near my home and accidentally discovered "Twilight in the Forbidden City".

Zheng Xiaoxu was only regarded as a historical figure in the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China, and did not pay special attention to him. Three years later, he purchased

"Autobiography of the Last Emperor", because Puyi has many descriptions and memories of Zheng Xiaoxu in the book, it was only after reading this book that he began to write about Zheng Xiaoxu.

Xiaoxu has more knowledge. In the second year of graduate school, I wanted to decide on the thesis topic as early as possible. I looked at various fields, but I still didn't find one that I liked.

Because of this origin, I decided to use Zheng Xiaoxu as the topic. In addition, there are many historical materials on this topic, and the research results are updated every day.

Jing, without consulting the current research results in detail beforehand, made a hasty decision. Looking at it today, it is really reckless and devastating.

The completion of this thesis was due to the support and help of my teachers, parents, and friends. I am deeply grateful for my great determination.

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Lu Shenhua. Because I am a blunt person, I was at a loss at the beginning of writing.

In the course of my writing, Mr. Lai gave me careful guidance on the format, historical data collection, and research direction, which helped me turn a very sloppy article into a

I corrected it step by step. As for many matters related to the oral examination, the teacher assisted me in all of them. I am grateful to him.

I would like to thank the oral examination committee members, Researcher Lin Zihong and Professor Wang Chaoran. Researcher Lin Zihong pointed out many errors in the paper, such as

Such as typos, year number conversion, etc., as well as thesis arguments, Professor Wang Chaoran provided many suggestions on research directions, as well as many

I benefited a lot from the guidance of the two committee members, as I did not pay attention to the historical materials in my thesis. I am grateful to them.

I would like to thank my parents for their support and tolerance during the writing of the thesis, their reminders and encouragement during the writing of the thesis, and the oral examination.

Without the support of my parents, I would not have been able to complete this thesis. I am grateful to my parents.

Liu and his friend Ye often interacted with Dayi and were very helpful in collecting historical data and revising their papers.

Confucius said: "Friends are straight, friends are forgiving, friends are well-informed." This is what we call it sincerely. Finally, I hope that with the insignificant results of this article, some

If it can benefit future researchers, it will also be enough to comfort my humble sincerity.

Written by Zhuang Dayi in Tucheng, New Taipei City, in the winter of the Republic of China

## contents

Chapter 1 Preface.....	1
Section 1 Research Motivation.....	1
Section 2 Literature Review.....	2
Section 3 Chapter Arrangement and Explanation of Historical Materials.....	5
Chapter 2: Serving as the Shogun and Running Railways.....	6
Section 1 Zheng Xiaoxu in Sheng Xuan's Embrace.....	6
Section 2 Zheng Xiaoxu and Jinlu Railway.....	13
Section 3 Zheng Xiaoxu's Railway State-owned Policy Proposals.....	21
Chapter 3 Socializing and Planning for Restoration during the Republic of China.....	28
Section 1 Zheng Xiaoxu's Social Network.....	28
Section 2 Zheng Xiaoxu's Evaluation of Yuan Shikai and the Dingsi Restoration.....	42
Section 3 The correspondence between Zheng Xiaoxu and Lu Rongting.....	48
Chapter 4 Activities and Participation in Manchukuo after 1923.....	52
Section 1 The story of Zheng Xiaoxu's entry into the palace.....	52
Section 2 Incidents of forced uterine uterus and their impact.....	56
Section 3 Zheng Xiaoxu's activities and opinions when he was in Tianjin.....	62
Section 4 Zheng Xiaoxu and the Manchuria Kingdom.....	68
Chapter 5 Conclusion.....	...
References.....	96

## Chapter 1: Preface

### Section 1: Research motivation

Zheng Xiaoxu, courtesy name Taiyi and pseudonym Su Kan, was born in 1860 and died in 1938. His ancestral home was in Minhou, Fujian. His family had a long tradition of running a business.

Zheng Xiaoxu was taught Confucian classics by his father Zheng Shoulian and uncle Zheng Shigong when he was young. Therefore, he was familiar with the Confucian classics and was quite talented in literature.

(1879) He married Wu Zhongzhao, the daughter of Wu Zancheng, the director of Fujian Ship Administration. In 1883, Zheng Xiaoxu failed in the imperial examination. In 1885, he was admitted to the

With the recommendation of Chen Baichen, Zheng Xiaoxu joined Li Hongzhang's government. Li Hongzhang was in charge of foreign affairs, which enabled Zheng Xiaoxu to come into contact with foreign affairs and interact with Li Hongzhang's troops.

In 1889, Zheng Xiaoxu passed the examination for the position of Secretary of the Imperial Household and was later assigned to the position of Tongzhi of Jiangsu Province. In 1891, Li Jingfang, the ambassador to Japan,

In 1892, he was promoted to Consul General in Kobe and Osaka with the recommendation of Wang Fengzao, the Minister of Japan.

While stationed in Japan, Zheng Xiaoxu paid close attention to the Meiji Restoration in Japan at that time. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, he returned to China and entered Zhang Zhidong.

1

He was appointed as a member of the Commerce Bureau. In 1895, Liu Kunyi was appointed as the Governor-General of Liangjiang. In 1897, he was transferred to the General Purchasing Department of the Railway Company with the consultation of Sheng Xuanhai.

In 1898, he was summoned by Emperor Guangxu due to Zhang Zhidong's recommendation, so he was able to participate in the Reform Movement of 1898, and wrote a letter directly stating his opinions on the reform, and proclaimed Tong

In the first year of his reign, he assisted Xiliang, the governor of the three eastern provinces, in planning the Jinai Railway. In the third year of Xuantong, he assisted Sheng Xuanhai in formulating the policy of nationalizing the railway.

After the Revolution of 1911, Zheng Xiaoxu regarded himself as an old man and watched the current situation quietly. Later, he entered the Forbidden City to assist Xuantong Emperor Puyi in planning the restoration.

Because of his "Three Co-operations" theory, Xu finally decided to rely on Japanese power to achieve restoration and participated in the establishment of Manchukuo.

Zheng Xiaoxu's experience has aroused the author's interest both before and after the Xinhai Revolution. In his early years, Zheng Xiaoxu supported the reform.

Also because he served in various shogunate offices for many years, he got the opportunity to actually participate in government affairs and industry, and his "borrowing debt to build roads"

The advocacy was undoubtedly unusual at the time. The Railway Protection Movement in the third year of Xuantong was caused by the railway issue.

The idea of "borrowing money to build roads" was quite suspicious in society at that time. Why did Zheng Xiaoxu come up with this idea?

The idea of "Road" itself did not change due to the fall of the Qing Dynasty. Instead, Zheng Xiaoxu proposed it again in the future. Therefore, the author hopes to investigate its origin.

This issue is studied through Zheng Xiaoxu's early experience. In addition, Zheng Xiaoxu's activities as an elder of the Qing Dynasty are also a major part of the study.

The key point is that although the group of Qing Dynasty survivors or survivors has its own special features, the survivors themselves can also be studied for their living conditions.

There are different classifications. Although some elders are nostalgic for the Qing Dynasty, they do not participate in restoration activities, but focus on culture and academics.

In terms of writings, some elders actively participated in or planned the restoration. Zheng Xiaoxu was obviously more inclined to the latter. Since he was in the Republic of China,

---

1 At this time, Zhang Zhidong acted as the Governor of Liangjiang as the Governor of Huguang. Liu Kunyi, the former Governor of Liangjiang, served as the Imperial Envoy during the Sino-Japanese War of 1898 and supervised the military affairs inside and outside the customs. He returned to his post in 1895.

If he refused to serve in the Republic of China, what kind of activities did he do for the restoration? What was his relationship with other restoration figures? This article also focuses on

The problem is that the author takes Zheng Xiaoxu himself as the research object and writes this article based on "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary" and other historical materials.

## Section 2: Literature review

Research on Zheng Xiaoxu can be roughly divided into two directions. One is Zheng Xiaoxu's research on poetry, calligraphy and other arts;

The second is the study of political aspects such as Zheng Xiaoxu's restoration activities and his participation in the establishment of Manchukuo. His political research works include:

Most of the research is from mainland China, while there is relatively little research on Zheng Xiaoxu in China.

The research scope of this book is roughly from the first year of the Republic of China to the time when Puyi took office as the ruler of Manchukuo (the 21st year of the Republic of China), and describes this period of time.

The author presents historical materials and documents in great detail in this article, which is a good reference for the study of the restorationists and the elders in the early Republic of China.

The discussion of Zheng Xiaoxu is mainly concentrated in Chapter 5, and extensively quotes the diaries of contemporaries and other

His historical materials have very detailed descriptions and research on Zheng Xiaoxu's actions after 1923.

In 1993, Shinichi Yamamoto wrote a book called "The Reality and Illusion of Manchukuo". According to the author's original text, it mainly explores the

"Portrait", specifically the founding process of Manchukuo and the actions of the Japanese and Chinese who participated in its founding.

On the one hand, the government structure of Manchukuo and the actual state of national ideology are discussed to explore the characteristics of Manchukuo.

and its position in modern history. The discussion of Zheng Xiaoxu is mainly in the chapter "The Dragon Returns to His Hometown—A Dream of Restoration" in Chapter 3.

The former mainly describes the background of the Kwantung Army's selection of Puyi.

Jing, as well as Zheng Xiaoxu and other restoration elders' contacts with Japan. The latter mainly discusses Zheng Xiaoxu's personal development after he became Prime Minister.

The article discusses the conflict between the ideals of the people and the actual situation in Manchuria. The article also discusses Zheng Xiaoxu's psychological state during his three years as Prime Minister and

There is more written about the dissatisfied efforts of the Kwantung Army, which can quite complement Zheng Xiaoxu's experience in Manchukuo.

Lin Zhihong's 2009 book "The Republic of China is an Enemy Country: Qing Survivors under Political and Cultural Transformation" mainly studies the Qing survivors'

Identity propositions and the basis for their identification, in order to analyze the psychology and motivations of the Qing survivors. After China entered modern times, the Qing Dynasty

As a group that identifies with traditional institutions and is loyal to the Qing dynasty, the Qing survivors are often criticized as conservative or stigmatized.

Because they were accustomed to the political culture of the pre-Qing Dynasty, they were unable to identify with the political and social conditions of the Republic of China era, which illustrates the transformation of China from traditional monarchy to

In the process of transformation from a Qing dynasty to a modern state, the society was unable to fully adapt.

Some scholars believe that the identity of Qing survivors is actually presented in "plural forms". Specifically, the identity of many Qing survivors is actually

There are differences in the two cultures. Some of the survivors are loyal to the Qing Dynasty, while others tend to identify with traditional culture.

Only by looking at it from the perspective of the past can we form a complete understanding of the identity of the Qing survivors. In addition, the author believes that the Qing survivors have different characteristics compared to the survivors of previous dynasties .

More differences, namely, after China entered the Republic of China era, the traditional "dynasty cycle" was deconstructed, and this change also made the Qing

The survivors have lost their position as survivors. In the third section of Chapter 7, the author discusses Zheng Xiaoxu's psychology and his reasoning.

The author uses Zheng Xiaoxu's experience as an example to explain his efforts to rebuild the traditional social order by planning to build the Manchuria Kingdom.

Analyze Zheng Xiaoxu's thoughts and ideas, such as fear of communism, theory of the Three Communists, concern about Dick's multi-system, kingly thoughts, etc., and be able to

Based on the political situation and ideological trends at home and abroad at that time, the era of Zheng Xiaoxu analyzed in this article is limited to approximately 1924 to

1937, which roughly corresponds to the period of Zheng Xiaoxu's research in "The Restorationists in the Early Years of the Republic of China", and is a different research direction from Hu's book.

They complement each other and are of great value in understanding the context of Zheng Xiaoxu's thoughts and theories.

In 2009, Zou Jinxi's master's thesis "The Transformation of Zheng Xiaoxu's Views on Japan" focused on Zheng Xiaoxu's

From his mission to Japan to the founding of Manchukuo in the 26th year of the Republic of China, Zheng's attitude towards Japan changed. Zheng Xiaoxu was born in Minhou, Fujian.

Fang Wenfeng was flourishing, and Zheng Xiaoxu's family also had a long tradition of holding business. Because of this family tradition, Zheng Xiaoxu was very familiar with the local culture when he was sent to Japan as an envoy in his early years.

The Meiji Restoration of the time was not a big deal, as it still believed that Confucianism was superior to Western learning.

Ben's ideas began to change. Huidezong implemented the Reform Movement of 1898. Zheng Xiaoxu agreed with the reform and reform, and changed his previous attitude of despising Japan.

After the Xinhai Revolution, Zheng Xiaoxu regarded himself as a recluse and began to actively work to restore the Qing Dynasty.

After the establishment of the Manchukuo Kingdom, Zheng gradually began to regard Japan as a partner and his attitude towards Japan became more friendly.

Established, the two eventually had conflicts due to different demands, and Zheng Xiaoxu's ideal could not be realized in the end. In addition, the author has a deep understanding of Zheng's

Compare the similarities and differences between Wang Daoism and Sun Yat-sen's Greater Asiaism, and have a clear description of the thoughts and theories.

Although the research directions of the aforementioned works by Hu and Lin are different, it can be generally found that both of them focus on Zheng Xiaoxu's life after 1924.

experience, this article focuses on Zheng Xiaoxu's change in attitude towards Japan. His relationship with Japan is very deep, which is different from the restoration.

One aspect, but when viewed together, its completeness can be presented. For Zheng Xiaoxu's research, it can be said to be an innovation.

new.

In 2011, Luo Huizhen wrote a book called "Research on Cultural Survivors in the Early Republic of China". The author focused on analyzing the cultural survivors in the early years of the Republic of China.

The work is divided into two parts. The first chapter of the first part discusses the composition of the survivors, with the help of anthropological "cultural ecology" and sociological "field".

Theory" to define the identity of the survivors in the early Republic of China. The second chapter discusses the political identity and expression of the survivors, such as supporting the restoration of the Qing Dynasty.

, insisting on staying in the family, building a house to guard the mausoleum, insisting on the reign of Xuantong, and advocating Confucianism. Chapters 3 to 5 mainly describe the survivors'

The following part is a collection of research results on cultural heritage, taking Wang Guowei, Zhang Xu and Liu Shengmu as examples.

Characteristics of the people. This article discusses Zheng Xiaoxu mostly in Chapters 1 and 2. In the second section of Chapter 1, "Composition of the Survivors", Zheng Xiaoxu is discussed

Diaries, Shen Zengzhi's "Shen Meisou Chronicle", and Yang Zhongxi's "Laishu Family Genealogy" are the sources for collecting samples of the remains.

The Reading Club and the Yiyuan Club organized by Zheng Xiaoxu as well as his social circle are organized in detail. The second chapter discusses Zheng Xiaoxu's life in the Republic of China.

There are also discussions, such as Zheng Xiaoxu's seclusion in Shanghai, refusing to serve in the Republic of China, refusing to use the Republic of China calendar, and still using the Xuantong era in his writings.

Hanging the small yellow dragon flag, etc., are all concrete manifestations of the identity of the survivors, which is very helpful for understanding the connotation of Zheng Xiaoxu as a survivor.

Huang Yuhan's 2013 master's thesis "Re-grasping the Key Points: The Establishment of the Manchukuo Empire and the People's Understanding of It" mainly studies the

In the process of the country transforming from a republic to an empire, the interactive relationship between the Manchukuo government and the people was discussed. Manchukuo was both supported by Japan and

The gap between the founding concepts promoted by the Japanese government and its ideology and the actual situation in Manchukuo has changed in time.

People's understanding of Manchukuo and its last emperor, Puyi, etc., judging from Manchukuo's founding ideals, such as the land of kingly rule, etc., it was intended to develop

Promoting the traditional culture and ethics of East Asian countries to resist the invasion of Western imperialism has also become a way of discussing Manchukuo's philosophy.

However, there is a gap between this concept and the actual situation. In addition, Puyi, as the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty, became the executive of Manchukuo again.

The government and emperor made many former Qing survivors who supported Puyi regard Manchukuo as the country that succeeded the Qing Dynasty. As for the people in the Northeast,

On the one hand, Japan's invasion of China made it suspicious and unacceptable to Manchukuo, which caused internal conflicts in Manchukuo.

The discussion of Zheng Xiaoxu is in the first chapter of the article, which describes the process of the founding of Manchuria, and the second chapter, which discusses Zheng Xiaoxu's contribution to Manchuria.

This article discusses Zheng Xiaoxu from 1924 to 1935. The author analyzes Zheng Xiaoxu in detail.

Compared with the "Manchukuo Founding Declaration" and "Prime Minister's Instructions" written by Xu after the founding of Manchukuo, Zou's Chapter 4

This paper mainly analyzes the Kingly Way and explores Zheng Xiaoxu's views and position on Japan during the Manchukuo period.

There is less emphasis on the perception of Zheng Xiaoxu, and this article can just supplement it. Although Zheng Xiaoxu is not the research focus of this article, it is still very interesting.

Research value.

Li Jun's book "Zheng Xiaoxu before 1931" in 2018. This article was originally written in 2011 and is the author Li Jun's doctoral thesis.

The author has revised and expanded this book, focusing on Zheng Xiaoxu's life experience before 1931.

The author's life experiences, his thoughts, theories, and mental states are presented in order to present the complex appearance of Zheng Xiaoxu under the changing times.

In addition to extensively collecting newspapers, diaries of contemporary people, and other historical materials such as memorials and discussions, the author also pays attention to the contemporary people's

Zheng Xiaoxu's comments, as well as the discussion of the background of the times, make the discussion more rigorous and comprehensive, and improve many aspects of the article.

Using Zheng Xiaoxu's "Haizanglou Poetry Collection" as historical material is to "use poetry into history", which corroborates his discussion and is also a major characteristic of the author.

Characteristics, based on the existing research results of Lin Zhu and Zou Zhu, are more complete and systematic, and we can have a complete understanding of Zheng Xiaoxu.

### Section 3: Chapter Arrangement and Historical Materials

The chapter arrangement of this article is to discuss Zheng Xiaoxu's experience as an official during the Revolution of 1911 from 1897 to 1911 in Chapter 2.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part discusses Zheng Xiaoxu's early experience in serving in Shengxuan Huaimu and his participation in the Reform Movement of 1898.

The second part discusses the negotiation process of Zheng Xiaoxu's trip to the Northeast to handle the Jin-ai Railway draft contract, as well as his initiative to convene the National Assembly as soon as possible.

The third part discusses the beginning and end of the railway protection movement and Zheng Xiaoxu's advocacy of national ownership of railways. The third chapter mainly discusses Zheng Xiaoxu's

Social life after the founding of the Republic of China, as well as restoration activities during this period, the first section discusses Zheng Xiaoxu's participation in the Yuan Yuan Society,

The organization of the study group and its activities, the relationship between the Japanese Sohý Kotaro and Hata Hiroshi, the family of Zheng Xiaoxu, and the second section of the discussion

Zheng Xiaoxu's evaluation of Yuan Shikai and Ding Si's restoration, the third section discusses the whole relationship between Zheng Xiaoxu and Lu Rongting, and the fourth chapter discusses

This chapter is divided into four sections: Zheng Xiaoxu's experience from entering the palace in 1924 to the establishment of the Manchukuo. The first section discusses Zheng Xiaoxu's service in the palace.

The second section discusses the impact of Feng Yuxiang's abdication and Zheng Xiaoxu's actions. The third section discusses Zheng Xiaoxu's "using

The fourth section discusses Zheng Xiaoxu's participation in the establishment of Manchukuo and his tenure as the State Councilor.

His political achievements during his term of office, as well as the theory of "royalism", and summarized Zheng Xiaoxu's restoration thoughts during this period.

This article is based on Zheng Xiaoxu's diary and the diaries, autobiographies, and newspapers of various contemporary figures, and uses historical materials related to him.

This paper attempts to clarify Zheng Xiaoxu's life experience, so that the discussion is complete and comprehensive. In terms of railways, it mainly uses published historical materials.

For example, the "Complete Collection of China Railway Loan Contracts" and "Chinese Modern Railway History Materials" refer to the Japanese

This diplomatic document serves the purpose of mutual comparison and verification.

Chapter 2: Experience of Serving in the Shogunate and Running the Railway Section 1: Zheng Xiaoxu in

Sheng Xuanhuai's Court In 1897 , Zheng Xiaoxu entered Sheng Xuanhuai's court

and was highly appreciated by Sheng Xuanhuai and Zhang Zhidong, the Governor-General of Huguang.

Zheng Xiaoxu's participation in government affairs was an important period during his tenure as an official. Zheng Xiaoxu first met Sheng Xuanhuai on February 26, 1897.

At that time, Sheng Xuanhuai and his staff Zhang Huanlun, He Sikun, and Wang Kangnian of the 3rd Shiwu Daily were having a banquet. Zheng was also invited, but she was not very interested in Sheng Xuanhuai.

However, the impression seemed not to be good. "Sheng's appearance was fair and fair, with a slight beard, and his speech and demeanor were tactful and light. He only had a gesture of admiration, but lacked a

serious attitude." Two days later, He Sikun visited Zheng Xiaoxu and said, "Sheng Taichang is extremely attracted to him. He has repeatedly fallen in love with her." To facilitate the trip to Juyinglun, if I can stay, I will

arrive in Ning in early February. I told Yan Shuai to consult and be transferred to Shanghai first to manage the affairs of the Chamber of Commerce." Sheng Xuanhuai admired Zheng Xiaoxu very much and also

The emperor wanted to send Zheng to England. However, because Zheng was in the scene of Liu Kun, the governor of Liangjiang, 4 he was transferred to Shanghai. Zheng was not happy at first.

"After much hesitation, I finally agreed to his request." On June 26, 1897, Zheng Xiaoxu arrived in Shanghai by ship, and Sheng Xuanhuai appointed him as the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce.

He was sponsored by his fellow townsmen Shi Ziqing and Shi Xiaoqiao, and was arranged to rent a room downstairs in Qingji Building in Chang'anli.

After Zheng Xiaoxu arrived at the Chamber of Commerce, the first thing he participated in was to call the Tonghu extension. Tong refers to the Tongzhou Dasheng Yarn Factory, and Hu refers to Shang

Haihuasheng Cotton Mill and Dasheng Cotton Mill were managed by Zhang Zhidong and Zhang Jian was appointed by Zhang Zhidong. Huasheng Cotton Mill was formerly known as Shanghai Machinery Weaving Layout and was under the supervision of the official.

The business model was planned by Li Hongzhang's alternate Dao Zheng Guanying, but the organizational structure was destroyed in 1893. Later, Li Hongzhang sent Tianjin Customs to

Daosheng Xuanhuai was appointed as the general manager and the weaving factory was renamed Huasheng Yarn Factory and rebuilt on the original site. The six raw yarn factories were originally planned to be run by a joint venture, but

Due to the failure of the stock collection, Liu Kunyi invested a batch of yarn machines originally purchased by Zhang Zhidong as official shares of 500,000 taels, and then recruited another 500,000 taels.

At that time, Zheng Xiaoxu was in the Jiangning Bureau of Commerce. Zhang Jian also gave Zheng a draft of the yarn machine contract, and Zheng also made a proposal for Zhang.

After these suggestions, it was still difficult for Dasheng Cotton Factory to recruit business shares. It happened that Sheng Xuanhuai was in charge of the general office of Huasheng Cotton Factory in Shanghai, so Jiang Governor Liu

Kunyi Yarn Machinery is divided into two parts, each buying 250,000 shares, and then each investing 250,000 shares, which is considered a reduction in scale. 1897 8

On August 10, Sheng Xuanhuai informed Zheng that Dasheng and Huasheng would hold joint talks. On August 11, Zheng Xiaoxu and He Sikun jointly participated in the

---

2 In 1896, Zhang Zhidong and Wang Wenshao petitioned to establish the Railway General Company and recommended Sheng Xuanhuai as the general manager of the Railway General Company. 3 He Sikun, courtesy name Meisheng, was the

president of Nanyang Public School. 4 On November 2, 1894, Liu Kunyi came to Beijing to meet the emperor. Zhang Zhidong served as the governor-general of Huguang and served as the acting governor-general of Liangjiang and the minister of Nanyang. On January 2,

1896, Liu Kunyi and Zhang Zhidong returned to their original posts. 5 Diary of February 28, 1897, included in the Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, October 1993), Volume 2,

p. 590 6 Zhang Yufa, "Government-supervised and Merchant-run Industry in the Late Qing Dynasty and Early Republic of China", Journal of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, No. 17, Volume 2 (December 1988 ), pp. 35-67. 7 On

February 21, 1896, Zheng Xiaoxu was appointed by Zhang Zhidong to serve as the director of the Foreign Affairs Bureau and the director of the Commercial Bureau.

The signing of the "Tongshang Cotton Mill Joint Venture Agreement" was signed by Sheng Xuanhuai and Zhang Jian. On August 14, Zheng Xiaoxu, Zhang Jian and the Jiangning Commercial Bureau signed the agreement.

General Manager Gui Songqing met with Liu Kunyi. Liu was very supportive of the "contract with the Jiyuan Yarn Factory".<sup>8</sup> However, General Manager Gui Songqing was dissatisfied with the contract.

He was very satisfied, so Zheng Xiaoxu and Zhang Jian discussed and revised the draft of the contract. On the other hand, Sheng Xuanhuai hoped to transfer his Huashengsha

The factory was leased to foreign merchants. Zheng Xiaoxu and Liu Kun both opposed it. "It is especially good if Huasheng is managed by Chinese merchants again and again." In September and October, Sheng Xuanhuai will move to Shanghai.

Zheng Xiaoxu was assigned to the task, and together with Sheng Xuanhuai's cousin Sheng Zhouhuai, the translator from the yarn factory, and British engineer Thomas

and others discussed the issue of yarn machine distribution. The process was quite tortuous. After the British engineer Thomas completed the order matching, he packaged it twice more.

The postponement was postponed for the first time when everyone arrived because the shipping workers did not arrive. The second time was postponed because the small workers did not arrive. On November 9, Zheng

Xiaoxu went to Yangshupu, Shanghai to inspect the machine distribution. The distribution work was not completed until the end of December.

On April 23, 1898, the imperial court called Zhang Zhidong to Beijing. Zhang then invited Zheng Xiaoxu to come to Beijing with him. Zhang also called Sheng Xuanhuai.

I need to borrow Zheng to enter the capital for two months. This time Zhang Zhidong came to Beijing on the recommendation of Xu Tong, a bachelor, with the intention of asking Zhang to come forward to preside over the government affairs. In 105

On the 16th, the Shashi Incident occurred in Hubei Province. On the 11th, the court ordered Zhang Zhe to return to his post and return to the capital after the incident was dealt with.

After the matter was settled, the Military Affairs Office ordered Zhang to stay in Hubei, and the plan to go to Beijing together was cancelled.

Xu, Zhang recommended Zheng Xiaoxu in the "Recommendation of Talents" to the imperial court on August 26, 1897, praising him as "emphasizing Westernization, being comprehensive and transparent, able to see the source, and

especially demanding details in business", January 12, 1898 On the 1st, Zhang Zhidong called Zheng Xiaoxu to Hubei to discuss important matters. At that time, Zheng Xiaoxu had just finished inspecting the distribution of

machinery and had almost arrived at the Hubei Supervisory Office on January 8. "The Japanese sent people to persuade the United Kingdom to refuse to do anything moral," Zhang Zhidong said. "Nanpi wanted to go to Japan with the

Japanese people in Kawakami." At 13:00, Germany occupied Jiaozhou Bay, and the Japanese Army

Infantry Colonel Kamio Mitsuomi came to Hubei to visit Zhang Zhidong and persuaded him to unite with Britain and Japan to resist Germany. Zhang Zhidong was deeply moved.

For this reason, he also called Liu Kun and Wang Wenshao, the governor of Zhili, "Today it is appropriate to join forces with Britain and Japan so that Germany and Russia have some concerns." Therefore, on January 1, 14

Japan Telecom summoned Zheng Xiaoxu to Hubei and hoped that Zheng would go to Japan. However, Zheng was not enthusiastic about Zhang's strategy of allying with Britain and Japan to reject Germany and Russia.

<sup>8</sup> Diary entry on August 14, 1897, included in the second volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 613. 9

Diary entry on August 16, 1897, included in the second volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 613. 10 Mao

Haijian, "Xu Tong summoned Zhang Zhidong in the Wuxu year and the conspiracy of Yang Rui and Liu Guangdi," Chinese Literature and History Essays, No. 4, 2007, pages 356-11 . It is about an armed fight between a  
**357.**

night watchman of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company and a Hubei ship crew in Sha, Hubei Province. During the fight, someone set a fire, which led to the burning of the Japanese consul in Sha and the post office. 12 "Recommendation Letter", July 29, 23rd year of the reign of Emperor Guangxu, included in Zhang Zhidong, The Complete Works of Zhang Wenxiang (Beijing: China Bookstore, October 1990), p. 3314. 13 In addition to hoping

for Sino-Japanese cooperation, Kamio Mitsuomi also hoped that Zhang Zhidong would send students to Japan to learn military preparations. See "To Liu Zhitai, Governor of Jiangning", dated November 29, 23rd year of the reign of Emperor Guangxu, included in Zhang Zhidong, The Complete Works of Zhang Wenxiang, p. 11036. 14

"To Liu Zhitai, Governor of Jiangning and Wang Zhitai, Governor of Tianjin", dated December 10, 23rd year of the reign of Emperor Guangxu, included in Zhang Zhidong, The Complete Works of Zhang Wenxiang, p. 11040.

Zhang Zhidong used excuses to delay the matter, and it ultimately came to nothing.<sup>15</sup> From Zhang Zhidong's consultations with Zheng on the matter of alliance with Japan and his recommendations, we can see that Zhang valued Zheng.

In 1898, the imperial court issued an edict, requiring all governors to recommend talents "who are known to have good moral character, good knowledge of practice, and do not fall into bad habits. No matter how

big or small the official position is, they will be considered as candidates."<sup>16</sup> Zhang Zhidong recommended Zheng Xiaoxu again (July 19, 1898), this sponsorship gave Zheng Xiaoxu the opportunity

to go to Beijing to prepare for the summons. Before leaving, he went to Hubei to meet with Zhang Zhidong. He argued bitterly that "the whole world is working together to protect the accumulated shortcomings,

and this is not a world of reform." He advised Zhang Zhidong to "two lakes" "In the world, it is extremely important to nurture scholars, encourage businessmen, start construction, and encourage officials in

anticipation of changes in the north."<sup>17</sup> Zheng Xiaoxu even persuaded Zhang Zhidong to "recommend him as a guest minister" when Ito Hirobumi came to China. At that time, Official who advocated reform

In view of Ito Hirobumi's experience in the Meiji Restoration, the members tended to borrow Ito Hirobumi's talents to make it beneficial to the reform.

However, there are many opponents. Perhaps because Zheng Xiaoxu had handled foreign affairs and was sent to Japan as a mission, he was not conservative in his thinking.

Thinking this way, these suggestions are more acceptable to Zhang Zhidong, who actively promotes the New Deal. However, for those who use Ito Hirobumi

As a guest, I have some doubts. On the other hand, we can also see from Zheng Xiaoxu's mention of the "Northern Changes" that Zheng was very concerned about judging the situation at that time.

Due to the sharp political situation, on June 15, 1898, when the Hundred Days' Reform just started, Weng Tonghe, who was deeply trusted by Emperor DeZong, was dismissed and returned home.

, Zheng Xiaoxu believed that "if the father-in-law dies, the emperor will be alone, and the queen mother's anger will be revived, and the whole court will be in humiliation, and the emperor's death will be imminent."<sup>19</sup> This may be the reason why Zheng

The changes in the north referred to later proved that Zheng's judgment was very accurate.

After Zheng Xiaoxu resigned from his post, he boarded a ship on August 22 and arrived at Dagu on the 25th. He was summoned on September 5, 1898.

The situation of this meeting: The emperor responded to the memorial for about two quarters of an hour and presented a letter of explanation. The emperor looked very grim and seemed quite thin and frail. My voice was a little loud when I responded. The emperor

was unusually humble. Before the letter of explanation reached the table, the emperor took it with his hand, read it briefly, and then bowed and said that he could keep it for me to read. Then I stood up and left.

The diary entry of the summons seemed to have ended very quickly. On September 17, Zheng Xiaoxu wrote the "Record of the July 20th Summoning".

"En" poem, the poem also writes about some situations of calling for a match. The poem says: The emperor loses his qualifications and does not ignore a single person. Why did you come to Jiangnan

Cheng? It was the same day when you climbed to Danqi. The dawn is beautiful and beautiful, and the light is shining. The internal officer is the leader, holding his breath as a curtain. Great is the law

of this dynasty. There is no doubt about it. Just a short distance from the bed, the righteousness of the king and his ministers is here. The sky is so clear and towering, Yao's eyes are so high. I have

---

asked you to tell me everything I have to say. I am surprised and tired of hearing this. At that time, I forgot about myself, and I left my speech. 15 On August 13, 1898, Zheng Xiaoxu went to Hubei to meet Zhang Zhidong before entering Beijing. Zhang Zhidong hoped that Zheng Xiaoxu could see off Hubei students studying in Japan. 16 "Sponsored Envoy Caizhe", June 1, 24th year of Guangxu, included in Zhang Zhidong's "The Complete Works of Zhang Wenxiang Gong", page 3436. 17 Diary of August 13, 1898, included in the second volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 671. 18 Lei Jiasheng, "The Lost Truth - The Relationship between the Union Theory and the Reform Movement of 1898 in the Late Qing

Dynasty", "Research on Chinese History", Vol. 61, August 2009. 19 Diary of June 17, 1898, included in the second volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by

the Museum of Chinese History, page 662. 20 Diary of September 5, 1898, included in the second volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, pages 675 to 676.

I heard that when a country is founded, it will not be in danger if it is prepared. Weakness does not last for a short period of time, and it will never be possible to defeat it without troops. I would like to express my urgent needs

and let the whole country know where to go. With our tens of millions of people, we can defeat these tens of millions of people. Death leads to life, and the origin is as small as a millimeter. Scholars are dedicated to advocating,

and the facts cannot be delayed. When misfortune comes to Qiu Mountain, everyone is happy when it goes away. If there is no worry at the beginning, how can we revitalize it? The first righteousness stated is that I know right

and wrong. Loyalty and anger can be seen, and the seal comes out of everyone's arms. The superior intention is moved, and the hand is moved to receive the blessing. Then he bowed and retreated, hesitating and feeling

miserable. The candlelight of Geng Geng Palace shakes the heart and spleen. twenty one

This poem contains seven lines of poems, from Yao Zheng to Bu Jie, roughly describing the process of Dezong asking questions and Zheng Xiaoxu answering them.

The eight lines of "Zheng Xiaoxu finished his reply, Emperor Dezong took over the memorial, and Zheng withdrew again" are about the defeat of the Japanese in the Sino-Japanese War.

It is not much different from what is recorded in the diary, but it adds a lot of emotional description. On September 9, Zheng was appointed as a secretary of the Zongli Yamen. Not long after, Zheng

He then submitted a memorial entitled "The Essentials of the Reform in Jingchen". The essence of this memorial lies in the two points of seeking truth and curiosity. Seeking truth means training soldiers and making weapons.

As for training troops, Zheng had pointed it out during the meeting, and he mentioned it again in the memorial. Although the two paths lead to the same goal, they emphasized different aspects. "If we

can fight, they may still be resentful. If we cannot fight, and want to use learning and education to subdue their bullying intentions, this is definitely not something we can rely on." The curious ones

advised Emperor Dezong to have his own opinions, not to accept all opinions, but to seek truth first. "If the ministers pursue curiosity, the harm is still small, but if the emperor pursues curiosity, the harm is

great. I hope that the emperor will hold a safe and urgent opinion under the openness of the channels for communication." 22

It can be seen that although Zheng Xiaoxu supported reform, he should support a slow but practical direction. It can be said that he was neither conservative nor radical.

Characteristics of Zheng Xiaoxu's thoughts: Zheng Xiaoxu was very dissatisfied with Kang Youwei and others who presided over the reform movement at that time. He believed that "according to his

mentality, he used the honor and favor of this dynasty as a means of rallying party members; "Open up space to eliminate the habit of plagiarism", and predicted that "this Cao Cao will not be

successful, but will lead to chaos." 23 Judging from Zheng Xiaoxu's poems and two memorials, we can see that his

Emperor Dezong attached great importance to the summons. Although he was a secretary of the Zongli Yamen, Zheng Xiaoxu was unable to make any significant contributions to the overall reform.

To exert his influence, for example, Tan Sitong, who was summoned on the same day, promoted Zhang Jing, a fourth-rank minister, to participate in the New Deal on the day of the summons.

In terms of official position, Tan Sitong was closer to the central government than Zheng Xiaoxu, and the content of Zheng Xiaoxu's memorial "Jing Chen's Reform Essentials" was also similar.

He hardly received any special attention from Dezong. On September 10, 259, Zhang Zhidong called the General Administration and informed the General Administration that he would recommend him to go to Beijing to see Qian Xun .

, it has been decided to send him to Japan to discuss the exchange of students. "The external department is urging him to go quickly. Can he be ordered to obey immediately after being

---

summoned? 21 Zheng Xiaoxu, edited by Huang Kun and Yang Xiaobo, "Haizanglou Poetry Collection" (updated edition) ), (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 2013), pp. 88 to 89. Compiled by the Ming and Qing Archives of the State Archives Administration , "Zhang Jing Zheng Xiaoxu Zhizhi" "Historical Materials of the Reform Movement of 1898" (Beijing: Zhonghua Book

Company, April 1958), page 11. 23 Diary of September 6, 1898, collected in "The Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu", Volume 2, compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 677. 24 "Guangxu Imperial Documents" compiled by the First Historical Archives of China. "(Guangxi Normal University Press, 2009), Volume 24, Page 344. 25 Compiled by China's First Historical Archives, "Guangxu Imperial Edicts", Volume 24, Page 403.

"Return to Hubei in order to go east." 26. What Zhang Zhidong said is that the aforementioned Japanese colonel Kamio Mitsuomi asked Zhang Zhidong to unite with Britain and Japan to reject Germany and send

Overseas students went to Japan to study military preparations. In January 1898, Zhang Zhidong originally intended to send Zheng Xiaoxu to Japan for discussions, but Zheng Xiaoxu refused.

This was not a positive move, so he later sent Qian Xun to the capital. According to the research of scholar Mao Haijian, Zhang Zhidong had already noticed that the situation in Beijing was unstable.

Therefore, he was eager to get Qian Xun out of Beijing to avoid being implicated.<sup>27</sup> This incident not only shows that Zhang Zhidong was very positive about the strategy of joining forces with Britain and Japan to resist Germany,

It also shows that he values Qian Xun more than Zheng Xiaoxu.

On September 18th, Kang Youwei was ordered to go to Shanghai immediately. On the 20th, Lin Xu came to Zheng Xiaoxu and told Zheng Xiaoxu on the 28th that the current situation was dangerous and "the situation is very high."

"The Empress Dowager ordered all the documents signed by Xin Zhangjing to be presented to the Empress Dowager for review today." Zheng Xiaoxu believed that the situation was urgent and asked Lin Xu to remove Zhang Jing as soon as possible.

In order to preserve his position, Zhang Yinhuan was highly regarded by Emperor Dezong for his familiarity with diplomatic affairs and was appointed Minister of the Zongli Yamen and Left Vice Minister of the Ministry of Revenue.

, and had mutual contacts with Kang Youwei, so Zheng Xiaoxu suggested to Lin Xu that "Zhang Yinhuan is still alive, and only by expelling him to stop the slander can we avoid disaster ." On 2921, Empress Dowager Cixi resumed her power

behind the curtain. Since Kang Youwei had gone to Shanghai, she searched for his brother Kang Guangren, as well as

Other reformers, the Six Gentlemen of 1898 were executed on September 28. After hearing the news, Zhang Zhidong called Qu Tingshao, the governor of Hubei Province, asking him to

He contacted the Zhili Governor Chen Kuilong and tried to rescue Yang Rui, but to no avail. The new policies in the reform were also abolished one by one.

Later, he went to the temple to commemorate Lin Xu and Yang Rui, who had interacted with him, and lamented, "From now on, we have to live in a secret world again, and we can die immediately."<sup>31</sup> He also had no intention

As for government affairs, several requests for leave were not approved, and he returned to his duties. On October 21, the Russian official who was originally going to send Zheng Xiaoxu to serve as the Prime Minister's Yamen

He eventually took sick leave and returned to Shanghai. Although the General Administration required him to return to work after his two-month sick leave, Zheng Xiaoxu never returned.

He did not go to the Zongli Yamen, but continued to serve in Sheng Xuanhuai's court.

**After Zheng Xiaoxu returned to Shanghai, he was invited by Sheng Xuanhuai to go to Hubei together.**

Invite Zheng to be the general manager of Lu-Han Railway and take charge of railway-related affairs. The construction of Lu-Han Railway was initiated by Zhang Zhidong on April 2, 1889.

(On the third day of the third lunar month) Zhang Zhidong submitted a memorial, "Please delay the construction of the Tianjin-Tong Railway and build a trunk line in the hinterland province", arguing from the perspectives of national defense and economy.

The benefits of this are that the construction of the Tianjin-Tianjin railway should be delayed, and the Lu-Han railway in the hinterland should be rebuilt. It should start from the Lugou Bridge outside the capital, pass through Henan, and reach Hubei.

---

26 "To the General Administration", dated 11:00 on July 25, 24th year of the reign of Emperor Guangxu, included in Zhang Zhidong's Complete Works of Zhang Wenxiang, p. 11199. 27 Mao Haijian, Historical Records of the Reform Movement of 1898 (Beijing: Sanlian Bookstore, December 2011), p. 181. 28 Lin Xu, courtesy name Tungu, was a native of Houguan, Fujian. In 1898, he was granted military secretaryship and participated in the Reform Movement. He was the son-in-law of Zheng Xiaoxu's good friend Shen Yuqing.

He was first mentioned in his diary on December 9, 1894. Later generations called Lin Xu, Tan Sitong, Yang Rui, Yang Shenxiu, Liu Guangdi, and Kang Guangren the Six Gentlemen of the Reform Movement of 1898. 29 Diary dated September 20, 1898, included in the second volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 681. 30 "To Qu, the governor of Hubei Province in Beijing", dated 11 August 1898, in Zhang Zhidong's Complete Works of Zhang Wenxiang, p. 11209. 31 Diary entry of 26 September 1898, in the second volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 683.

The entire route was divided into four sections and took eight years to complete. Later, the imperial court approved Zhang Zhidong's suggestion and ordered Li Hongzhang, Zhang Zhidong,

The Prime Minister's Naval Affairs Office is properly handling the matter. But a year later (1890, the 16th year of Guangxu), due to the critical situation in the three eastern provinces, Russia began to

The construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway was started, but in view of the fact that "North Korea was too weak to survive on its own",<sup>33</sup> the construction of the Luhan Railway was delayed and the construction of the Luhan Railway from Yingkou was rushed.

As for the Guandong Railway in Chunchun, the survey of the road and the purchase of land had not yet begun, so the construction was suspended. In 1896, Zhang Zhidong summoned Sheng Xuanhuai to Hubei.

, discussed the Lu-Han Railway, and later decided to set up the Lu-Han Railway Merchants Promotion Bureau, with Sheng Xuanhuai as the general manager. Sheng planned to set up a company and

First, 20% of the shares were raised from Chinese merchants, and the remaining 80% was raised from foreign debts. Later, Chinese merchants were gradually raised to repay the debts, using this section of the railway as collateral.

They were held in custody and repaid in installments of thirty years.<sup>34</sup> Then Zhang Zhidong, the governor of Huguang, and Wang Wenshao, the governor of Zhili, submitted their proposal to the imperial court for approval.

, so the Railway Corporation was established, with Sheng Xuanhuai as the director. In 1896, Sheng Xuanhuai went to Shanghai to start the company's affairs, and Zhang Zhi-

The cave ordered the governors of all provinces to help them raise shares. As for foreign debt, the Lu-Han Railway attracted the investment willingness of Britain, France, Russia and other countries.

A loan contract was signed with Belgium on July 24, 1897.

Zheng arrived in Hankou on November 18, 1898, and immediately went to see Zhang Zhidong to discuss the current situation of the government. On the 29th, Shengxuan Huaiji

He strongly proposed to Zheng Xiaoxu to take up the post of General Office of the Luhan Railway, "Luhan should have a general office of the whole railway. I know this matter very well, no one is as good as you. There are no

different words in Nanpi yesterday."<sup>35</sup> Sheng Xuanhuai has already mentioned this This proposal was made to Zhang Zhidong, and Zhang agreed. However, Zheng Xiaoxu did not intend to take it, considering

that the post of Railway General Office would be tiring and tiring. "Xu himself would not be able to contribute to the supervision of this matter, so he did not dare to accept it."

On December 19, 3612, Sheng Xuanhuai sent Zheng Xiaoxu to Nanjing to assist Liu Kunyi, the governor of Liangjiang, in handling the land purchase for the Shanghai-Nanjing Railway, and once again insisted on Zheng Xiaoxu.

Served as General Manager of Railways "Lu Han is the General Manager of Railways. I have been serving you for a long time and I cannot refuse." On the evening of December 20, 3712, Sheng Xuanhuai

invited Zheng to drink and again proposed to take the position of General Manager of Railways. This time Zheng Xiaoxu agreed, but proposed that Sheng needed to help achieve the three goals of "one is to control, two

is to stop the waste, and three is to stop the redundancy". Finally, he agreed to take the position of General Manager.

On January 21, 1899, Zheng Xiaoxu arrived at the railway company in Hankou and read the map and list of deputies.

**Zhang Zhidong decided to let Zheng take over temporarily, and then report to the court in the future.**

Zheng Xiaoxu was appointed as the general manager of the Hankou to Henan section. He was in charge of land purchase, road survey, road construction, and construction supervision.

---

32 "Please delay the construction of the Tianjin-Tong Railway and build a trunk line to the provinces", March 3, 1898, included in Zhang Zhidong's Complete Works of Zhang Wenxiang, pp. 1958.

1941-33 . Mi Rucheng, ed., Materials on the History of Modern Chinese Railways (Taipei, Wenhui Publishing House, 1977), Volume 1, p. 188. 34 Mi Rucheng, ed., Materials on the History of Modern Chinese Railways, Volume 1, pp. 253-254. 35 Diary of

November 29, 1898, included in the Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu, Volume 2, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 697. Nanpi refers to the Governor-General Zhang Zhidong. Nanpi, Guangya, Xiangshuai, etc. mentioned in the diary are all the names of Zhang Zhidong. 36 Diary

entry for November 29, 1898, included in the second volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page

697. 37 Diary entry for December 20, 1898, included in the second volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 703.

The railway company's Belgian chief engineer Sardo was mainly responsible for the task, while the 38 Yellow River section was led by another Belgian engineer Loufar.

Sha Duo then reported the road survey status to Zheng Xiaoxu regularly, and Zheng Xiaoxu inspected various projects from time to time. February 1900 Zheng Xiao

Xu wrote to Zhang Zhidong, "Please transfer ten trained soldiers from De'an Prefecture to the southern section of Wusheng Pass."39 This was mainly to protect the railway construction.

During the construction of the Siloam Railway, accidents occurred from time to time. For example, in March 1898, a dam collapsed and crushed workers.

At that time, Zheng Xiaoxu and Belgian Engineering Secretary Shado went to the site to inspect the site in person and deployed the Shengzi Battalion to station at the construction site. On March 12, some people blocked the construction site.

## In March 1900, Zheng Xiaoxu once again sent a letter asking for the dispatch of camp sentries to

Zhang Zhidong also approved the dispatch of the Railway Protection Battalion to inspect the railways, but it would be inappropriate to send troops to protect the railways after May.

At the same time, in May, the Boxer Rebellion broke out in the north, and Secretary Shado, a Belgian worker, discussed with Zheng Xiaoxu how to send more camp sentries. In June, Japanese Secretary Sugiyama Bin was arrested.

The Gansu Army was killed by Dong Fuxiang's troops, and the German Minister Clemens von Kettell was killed by Enhai of the Shenjiying. After Zheng Xiaoxu read the news from the north, he predicted

The judgment was that "the Empress Dowager will surely go west, and the Emperor will be in danger. How sad! Since ancient times, no country has ever been destroyed so quickly." After the Battle of the Eight-Power Allied Forces, Zheng Xiaoxu

wrote four poems of "Feeling Angry". The first poem says: A group of fools call themselves heroes, and they broke the sacred weapon in one fell swoop. There are three culprits, not Xu Gang and his generation. Rong Guang refused to fight at

the first time, and the enemy was shocked. Nie Ma has been a branch for a long time, and the other tribe is strong. The court despises the others, saying that they are not to be feared. He Yu really came, and he was very stubborn.

He escaped from the Jingu area, and Haicheng was already the commander. Hearing the sound of gongs and drums, thousands of people have already collapsed. If you lead a sheep, you must be naked, and what you save is a

hundred times more. The capital is as safe as a mountain, and 100,000 weapons have been taken. My words are not nonsense, I just chew blood to make myself happy. 41

The first line of the poem, "the group is in chaos", seems to refer to the Boxers, and the second line, "the culprit", seems to refer to Xu Tong and Gang Yi, who were not the culprits of the Boxer Rebellion.

One sentence refers to Nie Shicheng leading his troops to refuse to fight, and the other sentence in the 42nd dynasty blames the imperial court. A rough analysis of the meaning of this poem shows that Zheng Xiao

Xu was dissatisfied with the court's handling of the Boxer Rebellion and the Eight-Power Allied Forces campaign. Sheng Xuanhuai called Zheng Xiaoxu on June 13

After discussing the evacuation of foreign supervisors, Zheng Xiaoxu was instructed on July 3 that "if there is any disruption to the work schedule, the work can be stopped directly." 43 Zheng Xiaoxu began to send people

Welcoming surveyors from all walks of life and issuing guns to foreigners, the railway project was also temporarily suspended. On August 15, Zhang Zhidong ordered Zheng Xiaoxu to be the leader of Hubei Province.

General Office of the Provincial Battalion Affairs Office, resigned from the General Office of Railways, and was appointed Supervisor of the Wu Jianjun Army on September 23. In 1902, Cen Chunxuan petitioned for the appointment of Zheng Xiaoxu as

Minister of Commerce and Mines of Sichuan Province, 44. The imperial court ordered Zheng Xiaoxu to be sent to Sichuan via Jiangsu alternate route, and followed Cen to Sichuan Province to handle commercial and mining affairs, 1903

38 Jean Jadot (1862-1832), Belgian railway engineer, served as chief engineer of Louhan Railway from 1898. 39 Diary of February 4, 1900, included in the second volume of Zheng Xiaoxu Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 748. 40 Diary of June 15, 1900, included in the second volume of Zheng Xiaoxu Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 760. 41 Poems of Haizanglou, written by Zheng Xiaoxu, edited by Huang Kun and Yang Xiaobo (revised edition), page 111. 42 Xu Tong (1819-1900), courtesy name Yu Ru, served as a bachelor of Tiren Pavilion. Gang Yi (1834-1900), courtesy name Ziliang, served as the Minister of Personnel. 43 Diary entry for July 3, 1900, included in the second volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 762. 44 At this time, he was the Governor-General of Sichuan.

In 1904, Cen Chunxuan was transferred to be the Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi, and he asked Zheng Xiaoxu to accompany him to Guangdong. In 1905, he was promoted to the rank of fourth-rank official in Beijing and was in charge of the border defense of Guangxi.

He resigned and returned to Shanghai.

## Section 2 Zheng Xiaoxu and Jinlu Railway

After the Sino-Japanese War, Russia joined forces with Germany and France to intervene, allowing the Qing government to redeem Liaodong, but this also led to Russia taking this as a threat.

Actively expanding in the northeast, Russia was building the Siberian Railway at the time, intending to connect the Siberian Railway with Vladivostok.

In order to consolidate Russia's power in the Pacific, 45 Russia later relied on railways, concessions, and the "Sino-Russian Secret Treaty" and "Jointly Organizing the Eastern Provincial Railway" to

The Company's Contract Articles of Association, the Luda Land Lease Treaty and other treaties and articles have almost taken control of Northeast China. This move has led to a

nervous. After the Gengzi Rebellion, Russia originally had to withdraw its troops based on the "Treaty of Handover of the Three Eastern Provinces", but later refused to withdraw its troops, 46

Japan noticed this situation, and it also caused tensions in Japan-Russia relations. At the beginning of the negotiations with Russia, Katsura Taro, then Prime Minister, said

The consciousness of war was because at that time, while Russia was consolidating its power in Manchuria, it was also trying to expand its influence in Korea and attack Japan.

This was nothing short of a threat, so the Katsura Taro Cabinet proposed the "Manchuria-Korea Exchange Theory" in its policy for dealing with Russia, 47 which meant recognizing that Russia

Japan's power in Manchuria was exchanged for Russia's recognition of Japan's power in Korea. However, the negotiation process did not go smoothly, and the Japanese finally broke out.

Russian war. After the 48-year-old Russo-Japanese War, the situation in Northeast China became increasingly tense. In order to meet the defense needs of the three northeastern provinces, the governors of the three northeastern provinces Xu Shichang and Xiliang

Planning began to build a railway in addition to the Dongqing Railway, and the final route was decided to go from Jinzhou around Xiaokulun (now Tongcheng, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region).

The railway from Kulun Banner, Liaoning to Taonan, and then from Qiqihar to Jinqin, was built. However, due to financial difficulties, the railway was

In order to build the railway, it was decided to build the Jinji-Jiji Railway as quickly as possible by attracting investment and borrowing money to build the railway, so as to consolidate the border defense of the three northeastern provinces.

In January 1910, Zheng Xiaoxu went to Fengtian Province to prepare for the Jinzhou Aihui Railway Project. 49 On August 7, 1909, Zheng Xiaoxu

After receiving a letter from Fengtian Governor Cheng Dequan, who invited him to visit Fengtian, Zheng Xiaoxu himself also affirmed Xiliang's open policy.

On January 3, 1910, Yongzhen and Liu Xingjia, members of the Fengtian Consultative Bureau, came to Shanghai to visit Zheng Xiaoxu and expressed their opposition to Jin Ai.

The railway plan was said to be "a waste of time to invite outsiders to enter the country with weapons, but Xi Shuai said that the eastern provinces must be opened up." The

---

local gentry in Fengtian were opposed to it. 45 Romanov, translated by Min Geng, "History of Imperial Russia's Invasion of Manchuria" (Taiwan Student Bookstore, 1973), pp. 35-47. 46 Wang Yanwei and Wang Liang, eds., "Qing Diplomatic Materials",

Vol. 171, pp. 2811, 2813. 47 Tokutomi Ichiro, "Duke Katsura Taro Biography" (Tokyo: Duke Katsura Memorial Association, 1917), National Taiwan Library, p. 48 Zhang Shouzhen, 157.

"Railway Opening Policy of the Three Eastern Provinces in the Qing Dynasty" (Kaohsiung: Fuwen Book Publishing House, 1995), p. 79. 49 Diary entry for January 24, 1910, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, pages 1224, 1225.

, and Xiliang, as the governor, was obviously exhausted mentally and physically when faced with internal and external difficulties, so he was unable to hold discussions with the local gentry and people.

Zheng Xiaoxu believed that "the people do not trust the government, so they have such views, which is not surprising. However, closing the door is not a good idea. If we can choose people to fight with us, we don't have to be

afraid of outsiders." "The government must first open up to the people, so that the people of the three provinces can all rise up and become masters, and then we can talk about opening up to the outside world. Marshal Xi once

asked someone to invite me. If the people of the three northeastern provinces are willing to take me as the general representative and implement the policy of opening up, then I will lend a hand." 50 is willing to help Marshal Xi

Liang Lai resolved the conflicts between the governor and the gentry and the people, and participated in the implementation of the entire open balance of power policy. On February 13, 1910

Zheng Xiaoxu had already drafted the 20-clause contract for the Jinai Railway. The next day, Cheng Dequan visited Zheng Xiaoxu and said that Xiliang had read the 20-clause contract drafted by Zheng.

The contract is "very satisfying". In addition to drafting the contract, Zheng Xiaoxu did a few preparations when he first arrived in Northeast China. One of them was to

The first was to understand the industries and information of the three northeastern provinces. The second was to visit the chairman and members of the Fengtian Advisory Council and supervise the staff. For example, Zheng Xiaoxu

A detailed transcript of the diary was published in the "Tosan Province Daily News" article "Manchuria Economic Outlook" written by the Financial Management Bureau of Japan's Ministry of Finance.

Approximate statistics on the total population and arable land of Manchuria, and other information such as Manchuria Dialogue written by an American reporter published in the "Empire Daily"

The main reasons are the climate, geography, mining, forestry and other natural resources of Manchuria, and the Russian newspapers.

Regarding the country's development in Siberia, Zheng Xiaoxu specially copied the investigation teams from the three northeastern provinces and listed in detail the soybeans, wheat, and high-quality products in the three northeastern provinces.

sorghum, soybean oil, etc., it can be seen that Zheng paid attention to collecting newspaper information and understood the geography and products of the three northeastern provinces.

The knowledge came from Japan, the United States and Russia, which shows that while Zheng was collecting information from the three northeastern provinces, he also paid extensive attention to information from various countries.

On February 19, 1910, Zheng Xiaoxu met with Wu Jinglian, Chairman of the Fengtian Consultative Council, and Sun Dingchen, Deputy Speaker, and proposed the establishment of a local

The Autonomous Federation suggested that the three provinces should be opened up as soon as possible. "The situation in the three provinces is as urgent as the chess game. Without a national salvation policy and means, they

will not be able to survive. It is definitely not something that can be preserved by those who stick to the old ways." 51 This is the work of persuading the local gentry in Fengtian as mentioned above, and

Zheng Xiaoxu also made plans for Xiliang, and the two cooperated smoothly. Zheng often communicated with Xiliang's staff and other

Officials from the three northeastern provinces discussed the contract, including Xi's aides, such as Zou Huaxi, Liu Zhongwu, and Deng Bangshu (Zi Xiaoxian), the head of the Jilin Negotiation Department.

The first was Deng Bangshu, who was in charge of the negotiations with Stedman<sup>52</sup> and was the person most familiar with Stedman. He was also influenced by Xiliang Zheng Xiaoxu.

He was entrusted to go to Beijing to contact various ministers, which was quite important in the signing of the entire Jin-Ai Railway contract.

On February 20, 1910, the American Consul General in Fengtian, Fu Sheer, informed Xiliang that 53 Stead had sent him the detailed contract.

, and hoped to meet in Tianjin for consultation. It is worth noting that when Xiliang's aide Han Guojun asked the consul about the countermeasures against the obstruction of Japan and Russia,

---

50 Diary of January 3, 1910, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, pages 1220 to 1221. 51 Diary of February 19, 1910, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1233. 52 1918), 1906 Until 1909, he served as the U.S. Consul General in Fengtian.

Willard Dickerman Straight (1880 to 53 Fred D. Fisher, US Consul General in Fengtian from 1910 to 1914.

The consul said, "Although the United States is not fully armed, it will not dare to act rashly. North Korea did not receive assistance from the United States, which is why it is in its current state. I hope China will not become the second

North Korea."<sup>54</sup> Although the American consul did not explicitly state what he was referring to, judging from North Korean history, he was referring to the eighth

In the "Xinwei Yang Disturbance" in 1871 (the tenth year of Tongzhi), the situation at that time was quite similar to the Japanese black ship incident. The difference was that the Korean court

The Joseon Dynasty sternly rejected and refuted the US trade proposals from the beginning. After a battle, the US withdrew and the Joseon Dynasty was able to survive.

Continuing its seclusion policy, the Ganghwa Island Incident occurred in 1875, and the Treaty of Ganghwa was signed between North Korea and Japan in 1876.

After the war, the Qing Dynasty withdrew from Korea and resumed the conflict between Japan and Russia. It was finally annexed by Japan in the second year of Xuantong. The consul met at the

At the time of Han Jun's staff, although it was not yet time for annexation, it was indisputable that Japan would expand its influence in North Korea after the Russo-Japanese War.

In fact, this statement was probably intended to persuade Xiliang and other officials from the three northeastern provinces to stick to their policy of introducing foreign investors and developing Northeast China, and this policy was also in line with

It is in line with the open door policy of the United States and is natural. On February 28, Xiliang instructed Deng Bangshu, the Negotiation Department, to tell Sidekick that "this time

The negotiation was chaired by Zheng Jun, and assisted by Deng Bangshu and Jin Huan.<sup>57</sup> At the same time, Zheng Xiaoxu and others were informed that Si Dade's contract had been sent to them after they had studied it.

Then he went to Tianjin for discussion. On March 14, Zheng Xiaoxu met with representatives of Steady and the British Paulin Company to discuss the loan agreement and the cooperation with the company.

During the construction contract, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs repeatedly sent telegrams to Xiliang, saying that the contract should be deferred. Xiliang was helpless and still instructed Zheng Xiaoxu to "negotiate verbally, not in

writing."<sup>58</sup> At the same time, he asked the Negotiation Director Deng Xiaoxian to go to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to explain the pros and cons. The reason why the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested a deferred discussion was

, which was obviously due to the pressure from Japan and Russia. At this time, Japan was considering actively intervening. On February 7, 1910, Foreign Minister Komura

Shoutaro immediately sent a telegram to the Japanese ambassador to Qing, Ijuin Hikochi, stating that although the Japanese government supported the construction of the Kinki Railway, it would

The conditions required Japan's participation. On May 9, 1914, Yijuyuan informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs Liang Dunyan about this proviso, and the Russian Minister Kosovitz also

On March 2, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the completion of the Jinai Railway would cause great losses to the interests of the Dongqing Railway, and proposed to change the route from Zhang

The Chinese government also stated that when China built the Zhangqia Railway, "Russian capitalists should be allowed to undertake the section of the railway from Kulun to Kyakhta."

Despite great diplomatic resistance, with the active negotiation between Xi and Zheng, the contract was finally fully negotiated on May 14.

Waiting for the approval of the ministry, Zheng Xiaoxu received a letter from Xiliang on June 30, stating that "due to the recent announcement of the Russo-Japanese Treaty, the Supervisor of

---

the State issued an order to the Privy Council to speed up the process. <sup>54</sup> Diary of February 20, 1910, included in the Chinese History

Museum, "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary" Volume 3, page 1234. <sup>55</sup> "Records of the Joseon Dynasty", Records of Gojong, April to May 8, National Taiwan University Digital

Humanities Research Center Joseon Dynasty

Record (ÿÿÿÿ) system, page 137. Compiled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Japanese Diplomatic

Documents", Volume 9, Volume 1, pages 115 to 119. <sup>57</sup> Diary of February 28, 1910, included in "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu", Volume 3,

compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, Page 1238. Diary of March 15, 2010, included in "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the

Museum of Chinese History, Volume 3, page 1244. <sup>59</sup> Compiled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

"Japanese Diplomatic Documents", Volume 43, Volume 1, page 60. "China and Japan in Sixty Years" (Beijing: Life-Reading-New Knowledge Sanlian Bookstore, first edition, 1979), volume 5, page 27

Regarding the Jinji Road project, I have telegraphed to the Headquarters to request that the contract be reviewed and approved for submission. Huludao has also approved it, and all matters should be prepared immediately.

Huludao refers to the Huludao port construction project that was discussed together with the construction of the Jin-Ai Railway. Huludao is located near Qinhuangdao, and the North Korea

The opinions of the various ministries in the court have always been opposed to the loan for the construction of Huludao Port. On May 20, Zheng Xiaoxu received a letter from the Ministry of Finance stating that

"The Huludao Port can be discussed after the Jin-ai Railway is negotiated." On July 11, 2016, the Ministry of Finance discussed the need to raise public bonds for Huludao. This is obviously not the case.

The situation was not optimistic, and the Jinlu Road project had not yet been approved. Xiliang urged Zheng Xiaoxu to return to Fengtian.

On August 24, Zheng arrived in Fengtian. After the two men had a meeting, they decided to go to Beijing to discuss matters with the ministry.

After Xiliang entered Beijing, although he was actively active and traveled around, he was still attacked by the Prime Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prince Qing Yikuang, and the military aircraft commander.

The minister Na Tong vetoed the plan, and in the end the Jin-Ji Road project could not be approved. Xiliang even prepared to use two horses for activities, while Zheng Xiaoxu was even more

Out of anger, he criticized that "Jian Guo is weak, Qing Na is crazy and arrogant, and it will not last long." 63 Jian Guo's regent Wang Zai Yan was indecisive.

, it was not easy to stick to one's own opinion, and the Qing Dynasty was implementing constitutionalism and currency reform policies, so the economic situation was very

Because of the embarrassment, the opinions of the central ministries were more cautious. In terms of diplomacy, Japan and Russia have always paid close attention to the Jinai Road incident.

Although both countries expressed their willingness to assist under certain conditions, Pontus was inclined to oppose the proposal based on its national interests.

While Beijing was rushing around to persuade, Japan and Russia reached an agreement on July 30 , 64 namely the Second Japan-Russia Agreement and the Japan-Russia Secret Treaty.

The two sides continue the direction of coexistence established since the Treaty of Portsmouth and the first Japan-Russia Agreement. In this agreement, Japan and Russia mutually agree to

The two parties recognized their special interests in Manchuria and agreed not to invade each other and jointly maintain the status quo. "If their special interests are threatened, the two contracting parties agree to take measures to defend

such interests."65 This was obviously intended to strengthen their cooperation in order to guard against the Qing Dynasty and the United States.

In order to ensure the smooth implementation of the Jinji Railway project, the American Consul in Fengtian, David S. Dade, went to Russia for consultation on June 22, hoping to obtain Russian approval.

The country understood that it would not continue to oppose the road incident. However, Russia's attitude was tough and the negotiations had no results at all. 66 The diplomatic situation was extremely unfavorable.

, the entire Jin-Ai Railway has been a failure so far.

Although the situation was grim, Zheng Xiaoxu and Xiliang did not give up and actively lobbied the court for loans through various means.

Strategies to build roads. On September 9, Xiliang and Ruizheng came to Beijing for a memorial meeting. Zheng Xiaoxu wrote the memorial draft. The memorial mentioned that "the various facilities today 61 are quoted

---

from "Zheng Xiaoxu Before 1931" by Li Jun (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, September 2018 (Month), page 142, "Letter from Zheng Xiaoxu to Cheng Dequan in 1910" . 62 Diary of May 20, 1910, included in the third volume

of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1256. 63 Diary of September 1, 1910, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1273. 64 For the Chinese translation of the Second Japan-Russia Agreement and the

Japan-Russia Secret Pact, see Wang Yunsheng, "China and Japan in the Sixty Years", Volume 5, pp. 289-291. For the Japanese version, see "Japanese Diplomatic Documents" compiled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 43 Volume 1, Part 2 of Sun Dew Negotiation, pp. 153 to 154. 65 Wang Yunsheng, "China and

Japan in Sixty Years", Volume 5, pp. 289-291. 66 Wang Yunsheng, "China and Japan in Sixty Years", Volume 5, pp. 276-277.

This is not a fundamental solution, and is too slow to meet the urgent needs. The only solution now is to borrow money to build roads, which is the first step to save our country.

In this memorial,<sup>67</sup> Zheng Xiaoxu raised the policy of borrowing money to build roads to the level of a national salvation policy, with borrowing money being the focus.

From an internal and external perspective, the Qing Dynasty was preparing for constitutional reform and currency reform, both of which required huge amounts of money.

The court was in financial distress. "The current budget of the branch department shows that the annual revenue and expenditure of each province are short of 40 million. In addition, there is still a reserve increase that has

not been listed. We don't know how much it will be in the future. We can't prevent danger without borrowing foreign debts." This is the external policy. Another policy is to build railways. Zheng believes that "all

policies rely on the convenience of transportation, and there is nothing more profitable than the speed of railways. Please ask the court to make a major plan as soon as possible and designate the four sections of Guangdong-

Hankou, Sichuan-Tibet, Zhangjia, and Yi-Heilongjiang that our country should build urgently. Allow these sections of railways to be mortgaged to raise foreign debts of at least 100 million." Whether it is the court

or the private sector, they all raise foreign debts by mortgage. Zheng believes that in this way, European and American countries "will compete to export money to our country."

, and China was able to have abundant finances and contain the great powers, thus achieving the effect of weakening the enemy, and at the same time, it also made the implementation of constitutionalism more efficient.

Smoothly. In addition, Zheng also wrote letters in newspapers to promote his "Four Main Roads". In 1908, Zheng Xiaoxu was a member of the Constitutional Association.

Long, committed to the promotion of constitutionalism, the draft here is linked to constitutionalism by borrowing debt to save the nation, which can be seen as a change from the original iron

On the same day of the meeting, Li Jingxi, the governor of Yunnan and Guizhou, sent a telegram to the governors-general, saying that "the outline of the old policy is difficult to maintain, and the new policy is increasingly

fragmented."<sup>69</sup> He believed that the reason for the chaos in the court at that time was that there was no leader. "The talents are getting more and more difficult to find. The biggest problem is that there is no leader. Each

department has its own plan and there is no one to jointly make decisions based on the national situation and national strength." Li's telegram contained

Although Rong's appeal was not directly related to borrowing money to build roads, the governors still had heated discussions. Zheng Xiaoxu saw Li Jingxi's telegram and immediately decided to

The next day (September 10, 1910) On the 28th, Zheng Xiaoxu drafted a telegram for Xiliang and Ruizheng in response to Li Jingxi's message, "Zhongshuai's telegram is profound and insightful. We share the same concerns.

He secretly said that China does not have the financial resources to implement the nine-year constitutional government and the eleven departments at the same time. It is foreseeable that it will be abandoned halfway. If we do

not find a way to start from the important points, the money will be exhausted and the people will perish. It is all foreseeable." As for the starting point mentioned by Zheng Xiaoxu, he still advocated starting from

borrowing money to build roads. "After that, the railways will be completed one after another, and the administration will be easy. The customs of the people will be improved, and the speed of results will be more than ten

times."<sup>70</sup> Zheng Xiaoxu did not directly respond to Li Jingxi's discussion in the telegram. Although he agreed with the opinion of the founding meeting, he still advocated starting from borrowing money to build roads.

Externally, we advocate borrowing debt to build roads. Jiangsu Governor Cheng Dequan, Zaifeng and Du branch minister Zai Ze all opposed the theory of borrowing money to build roads, and Zai Ze proposed

To: "The main department also knows that using outsiders' financial resources to develop China's industry is a move to save the times. However, if it is not handled properly or non-humans are appointed,

---

<sup>67</sup> "The big problem of borrowing money to build roads", the ninth issue of "Oriental Magazine", records The Third China Current Affairs Collection, Taipei: Taiwan Institute of Commerce Library, pp.

18311 to 18317. <sup>68</sup> Originally published in "Zhu Yan Bao" on the sixth day of

June in the third year of Xuantong. <sup>69</sup> "The big problem of borrowing money to build roads", "Oriental Magazine" Issue 9, Record of Current Affairs in Third

China, pp. 18311 to 18317. <sup>70</sup> "The big problem of borrowing money to build roads", Oriental Magazine, Issue 9, Record of Current Affairs in Third China, pp. 18312-18313.

The harm is too great to mention. The Jinpu Railway is a precedent. We may not even be able to pay it back, which will lead to major negotiations and pose a great threat to our financial future. 71 Zai Xian also

believed that there were many drawbacks and "be careful not to act rashly or else cause endless harm." 72 Jiangsu Governor Cheng Dequan responded in a telegram:

Mentioned:

Whenever a government is implemented, someone must take responsibility, and when it is implemented, someone must supervise it. According to Zun Dian, the success of the railway will be

overwhelming. If the internal affairs in ten years are not as good as they are today, there will be no mastermind and no group strength, and the internal and external chaos will be covered up.,

then even if the railway is completed, politics cannot be implemented... This is because the so-called "preparation first" and "preparation later" are important issues in road construction, and the

responsible cabinet and the convening of the National Assembly are also related to the important issue "preparation first". 73

Cheng Dequan believed that holding the cabinet accountable and convening Congress were more important issues, and did not think that borrowing money to build roads was the so-called solution.

Yuan Shuxun, the governor of Guangdong and Guangxi, also mentioned Li Jingxi's theory in a telegram to the governors of various provinces, and cited the United States as an example, "The United States' reformed

republic government has a free house of control. Our country's political system is different, and there is no key to control outside Beijing." What does 74 mean? Obviously, Zheng Xiaoxu and

Yuan Shuxun privately discussed the Jin-Jing Railway. Yuan believed that the key to the matter was that there was no mastermind, and the mastermind was the cabinet and the National Assembly.

The original plan for the establishment of the Constitution was nine years, with the Cabinet first and then the National Assembly. Yuan later sent telegrams to the governors, detailing the reasons for the simultaneous establishment of the Cabinet and the National Assembly.

Important: ...the three provinces in the east use U.S. funds. Since the countries have concerns due to the balance of power, I can also take this opportunity to revise the internal affairs. This method requires

the establishment of a mastermind. The so-called mastermind is called the responsible cabinet or the National Assembly. This term is It is common sense today... However, if the minister first

organizes a responsible cabinet, especially in the form of a responsible cabinet, which is no different from the current ministers, and if everything changes, the blame is still placed on one person,

this is a constitutional autocracy that cannot do anything. 75

Yuan Shuxun believed that the establishment of the Cabinet and the National Assembly was the basis for the current Qing court to handle all internal affairs, and that it was also the basis for preparing for the establishment of a constitution and conducting trials in various places.

Constitutional government requires more people to participate. If the cabinet is established first, it will be the same as the old system. As for borrowing money to build roads, Yuan believed that borrowing money was

Another aspect that should be studied in railway policy, but not necessarily implemented nationwide, was mentioned by Cheng Dequan and Yuan Shuxun.

They all understand the concept of responsibility and believe it is the key to the implementation of government decrees. On October 26, Xiliang, together with Li Jingxi and the governors of various provinces, sent a telegram to

The court "personally appointed ministers to immediately organize the inner cabinet and issued a special edict to open the National Assembly next year." On November 1, Ding Baoquan, the

governor of Shanxi, again asked Xiliang to fight for the cabinet to open. On the other hand, Zheng Xiaoxu also received a telegram from Shi Zhaoji, the right chancellor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, saying

that "the third day of the first lunar month can be reduced." 71 "Ze Shangshu's brilliant remarks on borrowing money", "Shenyang Times",

September 16, 1910, second page. 72 "The regent also disagrees with the borrowing money", "Shenyang Times", September 16, 1910,

second page. 73 "The big problem of borrowing money to build roads", "Oriental Magazine" No. 9, recorded in the third Chinese Current Affairs

Diary, page 18314. 74 Diary entry of September 15, 1910, in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese

History, page 1276. 75 "Guangdong Governor opposes the National Assembly and borrowing money", "Shengjing Times", September 19, 1910, second edition.

"The imperial edict is to establish the inner cabinet immediately and convene the National Assembly in the fifth year of Xuantong." 76 Zheng then drafted a telegram for Xiliang again, urging the court to quickly convene the National

Congress:

Assembly. Once the National Assembly is convened, the people will support it, the royal family will be more solid, and all kinds of dangerous and unexpected changes will arise. Although Zhou is an old country, its destiny is to

reform, and there is a sense of mutual support between the upper and lower levels. If it is delayed for another three years, there will be all kinds of unrest within three years... The court should guard against official corruption,

not just guard against public sentiment. This is what Xiliang and others said that the inner cabinet and the National Assembly must be established at the same time. 77

**Slightly different from Cheng and Yuan, they focused more on the merits of the system. In this memorial, Zheng Xiaoxu focused on**

On the constitutional issue, he was worried that if the Congress could not convene quickly, accidents would occur. It was obvious that he had seen the popular reform of the court.

The revolution had already caused dissatisfaction, so Zheng Xiaoxu advocated a quick convocation of the National Assembly out of concern about the situation. After finishing the draft, I asked my friend Jiangsu for consultation.

Bureau member Meng Zhaochang submitted this telegram to various newspapers in an effort to create public opinion. He said to Meng Zhaochang, "It is urgent to open the cabinet first and delay the opening of the National Assembly. This is really the

last fifteen minutes. I will rely on the power of the governors.", fight to the death for the country." The edict was announced on November 4

The parliament was shortened and opened in the fifth year of Xuantong. However, the parliamentary petition movements in various provinces were still not satisfied, and the provincial advisory bureaus were not satisfied with the announcement.

In the fifth year of the reign of the Emperor, he asked the representatives to continue petitioning for a quick convening of the National Assembly. On December 25, 1910, he issued another petition to suppress the petition movement.

After three years of reduction, it was decided by the court officials that the reform would not be reduced any more. Zheng was greatly disappointed and sighed, "The people have complained about the incompetence of the imperial court, but the

imperial court still regards the people as ignorant." 78

From the above, we can see that Zheng Xiaoxu's proposals for the Jin-Jin Railway and the prompt convening of the National Assembly are in line with each other.

After Zheng Xiaoxu arrived in the Northeast, faced with the dangerous situation in the three eastern provinces, Zheng and Governor Xiliang held the same view, which was to open up the balance of power.

Attract U.S. capital to invest in the Northeast and achieve a balance of power to check Japan and Russia. Although the Jinai Railway ultimately failed, the Zheng family continued

The strategy of borrowing money to build roads advocated using railway mortgages to raise large-scale foreign debt as the basis for China's reform, and went a step further by borrowing Li

The opportunity of Jingxi's telegram led to the discussion of the two together. From this point of view, it was precisely because of his experience in the Northeast that he influenced Zheng Xiao in the future.

Xu's views on the railway state-owned policy in the third year of Xuantong.

In addition, during the process of holding the cabinet meeting, Zheng Xiaoxu also actively promoted supervision and public opinion to speed up the opening of the National Assembly.

The dilemma of the constitutionalists in the late Qing Dynasty. The constitutionalists and revolutionaries were two forces in different directions in the late Qing Dynasty. The constitutionalists advocated a constitutional monarchy.

Contrary to the radical revolutionaries, the Qing government still felt that the constitutional reform of the court was insufficient. The Qing court was preparing to establish a constitution. It was originally scheduled to take nine years because

76 Diary of November 1, 1910, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page

1285. 77 Diary of November 1, 1910, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History,

page 1285. 78 Diary of December 25, 1910, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, pages 1296 to 1297.

Due to public opinion, the period was shortened to five years. However, when examining the steps taken by the imperial court to prepare for the establishment of a constitution, we found that there was a certain administrative process in each of the nine years.

. According to the plan drawn up by the Constitutional Compilation and Inspection Office, the preparations required in the first year are to prepare the advisory bureau, promulgate the urban local self-government charter,

Edited the textbook required for the nation, the second year of the Advisory Council election, local autonomy for the prefectures and cities, the establishment of the official system, the establishment of patrol police, etc., the three provinces east of 1979

The implementation of the Constitution was handled by Governor Xu Shichang in the first year. The three eastern provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin and other places were different from the mainland provinces.

As the birthplace of the imperial court, it was closed for many years and located in the border area. The people were not well-informed, let alone elections. Therefore, it was not easy to hold elections.

It is necessary to set up schools, select people familiar with constitutional government as election consultants, set up a higher inspection office, conduct a population census, etc. 80 Successor Governor Xi

In the second and third years of the Liang Dynasty, the main constitutional achievements were the establishment of simple literacy institutes, the preparation of patrol police, the establishment of autonomous research institutes, provincial capitals and

The various levels of the Commercial Port Tribunals, the continuation of the Advisory Council elections, etc., 81 It is clear that although the situation is difficult, it is still in accordance with the Constitutional Compilation Office.

The plan is being implemented. If there is no revolution, the nine-year preparatory constitutional process can proceed smoothly according to plan.

Let's look at the revolutionary party's views on the court's constitution. For example, Minbao has held a nationalist stance since its inception.

For example, there is an article in No. 1 that specifically comments on the issue of constitution-making: "It is difficult to establish a constitution in China. The only ones who can establish a constitution are the Han people. If the Han people want to establish

a constitution, they must revolutionize. Even if Manchuria wants to establish a constitution, it is beyond their ability." 82 It can be seen that the revolutionary party People have distrusted preparation for constitution from the beginning, that is,

Even though the imperial court had implemented many policies to establish a constitution, they were not likely to succeed. Wang Kangnian, the chief editor of the Fuyan Newspaper, was very concerned about the establishment of a constitution.

The commentary said, "...I think that if the court really wants to implement constitutional government, nine years of preparation is already extremely difficult, not to mention that it is moved up to the fifth year of Xuantong. If the people really want to do

things, they should be afraid of the lack of preparation and should not hope for it to be carried out too hastily." 83 This reflects the fact that in this situation,

Faced with the contradiction between the two sides, the establishment of a constitution requires the cooperation of all forces. When Zheng Xiaoxu saw this situation, he inspected Zheng Xiaoxu.

From his diary, it can be observed that Zheng often had a sense of urgency about this, so he repeatedly drafted memorials and cooperated with the governors of various provinces, hoping to

The establishment of the National Assembly quelled the disputes. Finally, after the petition movement in the National Assembly, the Qing government ordered a crackdown. Zheng Xiaoxu lamented that people's hearts had gone. "Who can judge the right

and wrong?"

79 Zhang Yufa, "Constitutional Groups in the Qing Dynasty" (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, July 2016), pp. 443 to 445. 80 Xu Shichang, "Political Strategy of the Three Eastern Provinces" (Changchun: Jilin Literature and History Studio, 1989), pp. 1072-1073.

81 Xiliang, "The Legacy of Xiliang", Volume 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1959), pp. 963 to 966 . 82 "On the Manchu government trying to establish a constitution but not being able to do so", "Min Bao", Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2006.09 No. 1, page 41. 83 Compiled by Wang Yinian, "The Biography of Mr. Wang Rangqing (Kangnian)" (Yonghe Town, Taipei County: Wenhai Publishing House, 1966), page 213.

### Section 3 Zheng Xiaoxu's Advocate for National Railway Ownership

The Xinhai Revolution, also known as the Xinhai Revolution, occurred in 1911. It was caused by the Qing government's nationalization of the Sichuan-Hankou and Guangdong-Hankou railways, which triggered the gentry's

The people were dissatisfied, and the Qing dynasty eventually collapsed. The Sichuan-Han Railway spanned the two provinces of Sichuan and Hubei, while the Guangdong-Han Railway spanned the three provinces of Hubei, Hunan and Guangdong. Both railways were large-scale.

#### A huge railway project. In 1905, Sichuan Governor Xiliang petitioned to establish the Sichuan-Han Railway Co., Ltd.

It was originally undertaken by Hexing Company of the United States. However, Hexing Company privately sold two-thirds of the company's shares to China without knowing anything about China.

The Belgian company was later discovered by the Governor of Huguang, Zhang Zhidong. After several rounds of negotiations, the company finally abandoned its contract with the Hexing Company and signed a contract with Hubei.

The gentry and people of the three provinces of Hunan and Guangdong negotiated and redeemed the Guangdong-Han Railway in installments, and later established the Hunan Provincial Commercial Guangdong-Han Railway Co., Ltd. in 1906.

In order to ensure the rights of the company, the articles of association stipulate that only Chinese shares will be recruited and the company will be permanently operated. Due to the incident of Hexing Company, the two

Railway companies all stipulated that they would only recruit Chinese shares and insisted on self-operation without borrowing foreign debt. However, the process of raising funds was very difficult. For example, Hubei Province and Sichuan Province

Due to the limited financial resources of the local gentry, the railway could not be fully financed by the local gentry, and construction of the railway was delayed. "... In the past few years, although Hubei has set up a government agency to collect private

shares, few people responded. The company previously managed by the gentry in Hunan has also failed to raise a large amount of funds. It is now known that the financial resources of the merchants and civilians in the two Hubei provinces are not strong.

If the merchants and civilians are allowed to raise funds on their own, it will be difficult to see success in the early stage.<sup>84</sup> If the local gentry are allowed to raise funds on their own, it will definitely be a long time.

When the government was deposed, the governor-general Zhang Zhidong could no longer trust the abilities of the local gentry and people, so on April 19, 1909, he submitted a request to the banks of Germany, Britain and France.

Group loan,<sup>85</sup> because Zhang Zhidong died of illness in the same year, the Sichuan-Hankou Guangdong-Han Railway loan was temporarily put on hold.

On May 4, 1911, he wrote to Shi Changxin about the matter. In view of the fact that since the establishment of railways in each province, the gentry in various provinces "have been selfish, partial, and failed to coordinate the overall

situation." The money is indeed over 10 million, and the gentlemen have established a party, each with their own opinions...I don't know how long it will take to complete the project." Please ask the Postal and Communications Department to "designate

areas of national importance as trunk lines and return them to the state."<sup>86</sup>

This memorial was later handed over to the Minister of Posts and Communications, Sheng Xuanhuai, for discussion. Sheng's reply basically held the same opinion, and also raised the issue of the return of Japanese railways to the country.

Some people agreed, and the Qing government immediately issued an edict on May 9:

...In the past few years, Guangdong has closed down half of its shares and has not built many roads. Sichuan has suffered huge losses and has been unable to participate in the pursuit.<sup>87</sup> Hunan and Hubei have started for many

years , but their resources have been wasted, and the people's anointing has been exhausted. Or due to erosion, the longer the drought, the deeper the people will be tired, and the upper and lower levels will suffer from it.<sup>85</sup> Zhang

<sup>84</sup> "A memorial to request permanent joint government-business cooperation for the railways in Hunan and Guangdong Provinces", in Zhang Zhidong, The Complete Works of Zhang Wenzhang, pp. 4867-4872. He was absent from the office due to illness and died in October of the same year. The loan contract

Zhidong was awarded a bachelor's degree in 1907 and was transferred to the position of Minister of Military Aircraft. In 1908, he was ordered to supervise the Sichuan-Han and Guangdong-Han Railways, and signed in April 1909 Three-country loan agreement was shelved.<sup>86</sup> A memorial from Shi Changxin, the Minister of the Court", in Mi Rucheng, ed., Materials on the History of Modern Chinese Railways, p. 1233.

<sup>87</sup> Refers to the case of the Sichuan-Hankou Railway manager Shi Dianchang, who secretly diverted the Sichuan-Hankou Railway's share capital to buy stocks and arbitrarily lent the share capital to banks in the name of the company. This coincided with the international rubber financial crisis, and Shanghai money houses went bankrupt one after another, causing the Sichuan-Hankou Railway Company to lose more than 2.25 million taels of silver. Mi Rucheng, ed., Materials on the History of Modern Chinese Railways, pp. 1053-1056.

, It is unimaginable to cause any delay. It is clearly stated in the special statement that all main roads should be owned by the state and it has been established as a policy. 88

On April 22, Sheng Xuanhuai immediately signed a loan contract with a group of banks from four countries. 89 It is worth noting that the previous loan was

Governor Zhang Zhidong signed it, so Sheng Xuanhuai was considering the inability of the local gentry and people to raise the expenses, and hoped to build the railway as soon as possible and continue to

Just keep running.

On May 17, 1911, Sheng Xuanhuai visited Zheng Xiaoxu and the two discussed railway issues. Zheng Xiaoxu also helped Sheng to

After the draft of the railway project was taken back, on June 8, Zheng Xiaoxu received a telegram from Sheng Xuanhuai, saying that there was something important to discuss and asked Zheng to go to Beijing.

Two days later, another telegram was received from Sheng, stating that "the overall situation between Sichuan and Guangdong and Han has been roughly decided, and the imperial court attaches great importance to quick results. Marshal Wu and Marshal Zi

will hold discussions. Unless Lai Gong is perseverant and experienced, it will be difficult to achieve the goal." On 9014, Zheng Xiaoxu met Sheng Xuanhuai and Duanfang. Discussing the railway, it was believed that the Sichuan-Hankou-

Guangdong-Hankou Railway should implement the labor contracting policy. "If this policy is established, the trend will cease, cost will be saved and the work will be speeded up. This cannot be ignored." 91 The so-called subcontracting strategy refers to the

The project was outsourced to a foreign company, and the contracting strategy was the same as that of the Jinji Railway, which was outsourced to the British company Boyan.

This time, Zheng Xiaoxu will also use the same model, borrowing foreign debt and outsourcing to quickly build the railway.

The next day, Zheng Xiaoxu was summoned by the Regent Zaiyun. Taking this opportunity, Zheng proposed to the Regent that the Kyakhta Railway be built, "arguing that borrowing money

to build railways was the basis of the reform." In addition, Zheng Xiaoxu also wrote an article "Juguo Tan" to the newspaper, 92 detailing his reasons for borrowing money to build

railways. Zheng cited the examples of the three eastern provinces and Yili to illustrate the importance of railways to national defense. "It takes more than four months to go from Beijing

to Yili. Now those who go to Yili take the Siberian railway. It can be reached by land in more than a month. Once something happens, China and Russia will fight for Ili. China is the

master, how can it cross a vast desert for more than a hundred days to be the master? At the same time, he also criticized "the conservatives who only want to continue their system of

oppressing the people and collecting taxes, which is a problem that they cannot survive. Even the innovative people want to invade the systems of other countries but have no money. They

have not studied them at all when they start to study them. Is it really a policy to save the nation?" In order to save the nation, he called on the public to "try to study the theory of borrowing

money to build roads." 93 If we analyze Zheng's ideas in this article, in addition to the consistent theory of borrowing money to build roads, we can

It was found that he was dissatisfied with both the conservative and westernized factions, because at that time both the Chinese government and the public paid great attention to the right of way, that is, the protection of rights.

---

88 "Revised Railways and Clearly Defined Main and Branch Railways Regulations", April 3rd year of Xuantong, included in Sheng Xuanhuai, Yuzhai's Drafts, Volume 17 (Yonghe Town, Taipei County: Wenhai Publishing House, 1975), page 441. 89 Four-nation banks: The US banking group

consisted of JPMorgan Chase & Co. (now known as JPMorgan Chase), Quinle & Co., First National Bank (now known as First National Bank), National City Bank (now Citibank National Association), HSBC Bank of the United Kingdom,

Deutsch-Asiatische Bank of Germany (now Deutsche Bank), and Crédit Agricole CIB of France. 90 Diary entry on June 9, 1911, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of

Chinese History, page 1324. 91 Diary entry on June 14, 1911, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 1325. 92 Published in the Xianbao, March 1911. "Zheng Sukan

Jingqing Juguo Tan", April 1, 1911, Shenbao, fourth page. 93 "Juguo Tan", included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary,

compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, pages 1500 to 1503 .

Therefore, at that time, although Sheng Xuanhai, Duan Fang, Zheng Xiaoxu and others all believed that debt must be borrowed to build a rapid railway, the theory of borrowing money to build roads was criticized.

There were also many doubts. For example, the Conference Board Federation at that time questioned the state-owned railways and the borrowing of debt to build roads: China is so vast, why should the railways be state-owned? Why should the railways abandon public

funds and only borrow foreign debts to recover them? The amount of foreign debts Whether we can use all the main roads in the country... If we have to count on success, we can resolutely cancel the cases that have been completed for many years and seize the rights that the businessmen and people have gained... To build railways with foreign debts, the railways will eventually be harmed by foreign debts.<sup>94</sup>

In addition to questioning the policy of canceling the commercial operation of the main railway line, the Advisory Council members mainly distrusted the practice of borrowing money.

Tang Shouqian, who is also a member of the Constitutional Association, also raised questions:

The collection of foreign debts has led to the competition among various countries to borrow. The three countries have conspired. How can it be good for us? There must be great benefits. What

are the great benefits? It is not just the interest and materials. What the enemy wants is our land. Their ministers redeem and borrow it at random for the benefit of millions of yuan in kickbacks...

If you seek profit, you will no longer know that there is a king. If you flatter foreigners, you will no longer know that there is a country.

If the members of the Advisory Council questioned the policy itself, then Tang Shouqian's doubts were more serious. The reason why Governor Zhang Zhidong

Therefore, after taking back the Guangdong-Hankou Railway from Hexing Company, he borrowed money again. The former was for profit, and the latter was due to the delay in running the commercial railway.

Tang's accusation of collecting kickbacks is certainly not true, but at least it shows that Tang also strongly disagrees with borrowing. Liang Qichao on railways

He was also extremely angry about the national incident. Liang criticized the Qing government for borrowing money "lowly to please the great country" and "creating many names, many positions and many private

individuals, and everyone gathered together to talk about it", while Sichuan and Guangdong The Han Railway was state-owned and "it is not allowed to annex it with force from the state, not to mention that the proceeds

from the annexation will not go to the state, but to the officials who stole the country."<sup>95</sup> Liang Qichao's doubts and Tang Shouqian

Similarly, they all accuse the railways of being state-owned and borrowing money to build roads, which ultimately lead to corruption. This is not unreasonable. The government-run railways are indeed full of abuses.

Therefore, in the society at that time, apart from the mandatory leasing of shares when establishing a railway company, generally there were very few private shares and it was difficult to make huge sums of money.

This is also due to the public's distrust of government agencies. Wang Kangnian's views on state-owned railways are relatively neutral. Wang believes that if it is a commercial

The situation of building railways: "When it is difficult for provinces to raise funds and construction cannot begin, the salaries of the general managers and below are wasted as usual. When it is easy to raise funds, the competition is fierce and the waste is even greater. As a result, it took seven or eight years to raise 10 to 20 million yuan, but only 100 to 200 miles of

roads were built." If it is a government-run project, "there must be no waste of funds, no idleness in construction, and no one dares to embezzle the operating income. In this way, the annual profit can be used to repay the loan. Although this can be obtained<sup>94</sup> "The Advisory Council Joint Committee requested the cabinet ministers to announce the loan policy and submit it to

the Inspectorate", June 1911, included in Zhang Jian, The Complete Works of Zhang Jian, Volume 1 (Jiangsu Province: Jiangsu Ancient Books Publishing House, 1994), pp. 165-168. <sup>95</sup> "A Letter to the Regent", the first year of Xuantong, included in the Collection of Tang Shouqian Historical Materials, compiled by the Zhejiang Provincial Xiaoshan Municipal Committee of the

Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Volume 3 (Hangzhou: Cultural and Historical Working Committee of the Zhejiang Provincial Xiaoshan Municipal Committee of the CPPCC, March 1993), pp. 535-537. <sup>96</sup> Quoted from Wang Jie and Li Zhenwu, "On Liang Qichao's Review of the Late Qing Dynasty - Focusing on the Guofeng Newspaper's Zhishilun",

in Li Xi (ed.), Liang Qichao and Modern Chinese Social Culture (Tianjin: Tianjin Ancient Books Publishing House, January 2005), p. 28.

The officialdom of our country." 97

A review of the debt borrowing by other railways in the late Qing Dynasty and the debt borrowing model advocated by Zheng Xiaoxu shows that although both involved borrowing foreign debt, the two methods were different.

There are still slight differences between the two. Before this, the court was more cautious about borrowing foreign debts. In 1880, Liu Ming requested to build

Regarding the railway, Li Hongzhang expressed his attitude towards borrowing foreign money in his memorial: However, there are three aspects of borrowing money that must be carefully considered. We are afraid that the foreigners will take control and the

railway will not be able to be independent. We should clearly sign a ban with them and not interfere with our affairs. We should only ensure that the interest and the deadline are correct. The borrower should not interfere in all matters related to hiring workers,

purchasing materials, and managing the railway. If this is not the case, then do not lend money. 98

Railway loans such as the Jingu Railway, the Jinlu Railway, and the Jinyu Railway were financed by raising private business shares and by various government departments.

Appropriations are mainly used. Foreign debts are borrowed only when the business stocks are insufficient and the funds are insufficient. Similar to capital turnover, it is used for mortgages and employees.

The problems related to road rights were relatively unaffected, and the debts of these three railways were paid off on schedule. In 1896, Zhang Zhidong organized the Luhan Railway.

At that time, due to the large scale of Luhan Railway, it was considered difficult to build the railway with commercial shares, so the foreign shares and foreign debts were separated and foreigners were prohibited from investing.

The loan from the Belgian Railway Company was based on the consideration of road rights, but the loan contract of the Luhan Railway was not ideal in all aspects.

For example, as collateral, the Lu-Han Railway and its ancillary properties and all other items belonging to the railway are covered by the guarantee.

, other rights such as employing people, purchasing materials, etc. are also controlled by Belgium, and Belgium proposed to increase interest and bank after the formal contract was signed.

Li Hongzhang and Sheng Xuanhuai, who were in charge of the negotiations, had to sign a contract with Belgium due to pressure from France and Russia.

, the railways built after 1898 were mainly completed in the form of foreign debts. 99

Let's look at Zheng Xiaoxu's proposal to borrow money. For example, he used the railway under construction as collateral to borrow foreign debts, and suggested that Sheng Xuanhuai

The policy of nationalizing the road and subcontracting work all reflected the uniqueness of Zheng Xiaoxu's idea of borrowing money. In terms of the contracting policy, previously

Railway debts pay great attention to the protection of the right of way, and the establishment of a company to solicit business shares also has the purpose of protecting the right of way. Zheng Xiaoxu in his "Four Major

"Qian Lu Shuo Tie" advocated that "the amount of borrowing should be one hundred million, and the contract work should be completed within a certain number of years." It was believed that China should borrow heavily,

so that other countries would compete to invest and covertly contain the invasion and penetration of foreign powers. In addition, he also advocated that "contracting work and borrowing debts are negotiated together, and the debts

borrowed are fully transferred to the hands of the contractor, and there is no risk of misappropriation and loss." 100 Zheng Xiaoxu believes that the contracting company is using the contract for the sake of business and profit.

When purchasing materials, they will definitely get them from China. They do not think that outsourcing will harm the right of way, but will benefit China.

97 Wang Qinian, ed., Biography and Posthumous Works of Mr. Wang Rangqing (Kangnian) (Yonghe Town, Taipei County: Wenhai Publishing House, 1966), p. 219. 98 Mi Rucheng, ed., Materials on the History of Modern Chinese Railways,

Vol. 1, p. 92. 99 Ma Linghe, "A Preliminary Study on the Foreign Debt Perspective of Railways in the Late Qing Dynasty—Focusing on the

Luhan Railway," Historical Monthly, No. 6 (2001), p. 2. 100 Mi Rucheng, ed., Materials on the History of Modern Chinese Railways, Vol. 3, p. 1165.

In Xu's discussion about the railway, it can be found that he did not consider in detail issues related to railway rights and revenue, etc.

, but focused on borrowing money to contract work and build railways quickly. Judging from the public opinion at the time, Zheng Xiaoxu's contracting strategy was quite attacked, for example

The Shenbao records that Zheng Xiaoxu advocated that Sichuan, Han, Guangdong and Han should be contracted to build the road, but he advocated a contract price of 20,000 taels of silver per mile.

At that time, the cost of other railways in China ranged from 40,000 to 60,000 taels. Zheng Xiaoxu was criticized for being "too cheap to be occupied by the Chinese." Duanfang's

comment was also published, "Zheng Sukan is good at subcontracting. I'm afraid I can't say." That's all.<sup>102</sup> It can be seen that although Duanfang agrees with the contract work strategy, but believed that it could not be implemented. In addition, because Zheng Xiaoxu advocated using foreign craftsmen for contract work, public opinion believed that this move would lead to many

The workers who originally made their livings on the Sichuan-Cantonese Railway lost their jobs, which was also the reason why Zheng Xiaoxu was attacked by public opinion at the time. 103

In 1903, the Ministry of Commerce issued the "Simplified Railway Regulations", which allowed private companies to build railways without government supervision.

At this time, gentry and merchants in various provinces established railway companies one after another. The purpose of establishing this charter was to reward private companies and through

Rewarding business to prevent the infiltration of foreign capital, this trend continued until 1912 when Sheng Xuanhuai petitioned to nationalize all the trunk roads in the country.

The policy of nationalizing the railways aroused a lot of doubts from the public. Therefore, Zheng Xiaoxu's proposal to borrow money to build railways, although mostly from the perspective of national defense and

Considering the need to save the nation, it was difficult to achieve at that time. Zheng once mentioned in a conversation with Hunan officials, "So should we seek the understanding of the few who

understand, or should we seek the understanding of the majority who do not understand?"<sup>104</sup> It can be seen that he supports the nationalization of railways and his state of

Zheng Xiaoxu was appointed governor of Hunan. In his diary, we can see that Zheng was full of ambition and revenge. For example, he

mind.<sup>105</sup> He once said, "Now that I have stepped forward to enter the political arena, it is like a savage with a bomb in his hand. I must first eliminate the evil demons in the officialdom, and then

eliminate the smoke of improper public opinion. I must break through the opposition of the majority of darkness, and then receive the admiration of the civilization of all ages."<sup>106</sup> On August 2, 1911 ,

On the same day, Duan Fang even asked Zheng Xiaoxu to be the general counselor of the Sichuan-Han Guangdong-Han Railway. However, after the announcement of the state-owned policy, the three provinces

The people continued to protest, such as the directors of the Sichuan-Han Company, the board of directors, and the Sichuan Advisory Council .

The Provincial Road Protection Comrades Association was established. At the beginning of the road protection movement, there was no fierce resistance yet. It was initiated by Pu Dianjun, Deng Xiaoke and others, 107

105 Declaration comments believe that Zheng Xiaoxu's labor contract price of 20,000 taels is because Zheng's price when signing the Jinai Railway labor contract was more than 19,000 taels of silver per mile. Paragraph 37 of the original contract stipulated that the price was 7.815 pounds per mile. Compiled by the Transportation History Compilation Committee of the Ministry of Transport and Railways, "Transportation History and Road Administration" Volume 15 (Nanjing: Transportation History Compilation Committee of the Ministry of Transport and Railways, 1931), page 791.

102 "Zheng Sukan's attempt to contract out the construction work may not be successful," July 3, 1911, Shen Bao, Chapter 1, Page 4. 104 Diary entry for July 7, 1911, included in

103 "Comparison of Railway Construction in the Late Ming and Qing Dynasties" commented that "Zheng Xiaoxu first proposed the idea of railway loans in the late Qing Dynasty, but lost the support of the people." July 2, 1911, "Shen Bao", Chapter 1, p. 5. See also "Zheng Sukan's Advocate of Contracting Works and the Enemy's Enemy", December 30, 1911, Shen Bao, Chapter 3, p. 2.

the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 1330.

105 Later, Puji discussed with Zheng Xiaoxu the Sichuan Railway Protection Movement before the Revolution of 1911. Zheng Xiaoxu replied, "My strategy includes both government-run and commercial-run operations; but the Chinese are poor and have little money to run the movement, while foreigners are rich and have a lot of investment to run the movement." Xinjiapu Puji, Gao Yang preface, The Autobiography of the Last Emperor, Volume 1, New Edition, (Taipei: Fuyong Times Publishing, first edition in June 2014), page 293. 107 Pu Dianjun, courtesy name Boying, and Deng Xiaoke, courtesy name Mulu, were both constitutionalists of Sichuan Province. Pu Dianjun was the chairman of the Sichuan Advisory Council, and Deng Xiaoke was an advisor. The two co-founded the "Shuban" and were also the initiators of the Sichuan Railway Protection Association. Academia Sinica Modern and Contemporary Figures Information Integration System.

Its purpose was to "break the contract to protect the road" and did not involve other purposes. It did not directly resist the imperial court, and it agreed not to go on strike from the market or school, but peacefully.

Protested and accused Sheng Xuanhuai, who presided over the signing of the Four-Nation Bank Group loan, of betraying the country and called him "Sheng the Thief", but the situation gradually got out of control.

On August 24, some states and counties suspended classes and businesses, and on September 1, the Sichuan-Hankou Railway Company shareholders meeting decided not to pay taxes.

On September 3, the imperial court ordered Duan Fang to go to Sichuan to investigate the protests. On September 5, Duan Fang called Sheng Xuanhuai and invited Zheng Xiaoxu to go with him.

"Support in emergencies leads to friendship. Su Kanjian will not hesitate to do this." Duanfang's hope for Zheng's help was evident on the paper, but Zheng declined and wrote back, "Commander Wu has done

it, the trend will subside, and there will be no danger." , why support? Xiaoxu is not happy with the Xiang vassal. If he is transferred to the bureau again, it will not be investigated. Moreover, the external official system is related

to the overall situation. I would like to do everything I can to see and end the matter. Please give me a polite explanation to Wu Shuai." ,108

Apparently Zheng was unwilling to accompany him at this time, and declined on the grounds of attending a foreign official meeting. In fact, due to the Sichuan Protest Day, Duanfang

The situation became more and more intense, and on September 4, the imperial court was notified to implore another important minister to go to Sichuan. However, the imperial court did not grant Duanfang's request. Sichuan Governor Zhao Erfeng

When he took over as governor, he also repeatedly reported to the court to ask for permission to build a railway to stabilize the situation. On the 8th, he issued an order to Zhao Erfeng to "immediately punish the principal

offenders first, and disband the threats as quickly as possible, so as not to allow the spread of the disease." On 14 September 1099 On the day of the end of the day, Duanfang once again asked Zheng Xiaoxu to

go to Sichuan to help. "If you are not allowed to come to help, you can only tell Chen Zhen that he is in trouble. Ask Commander Ji to handle it personally, or order Jian to be an important minister who has nothing to do with

the road affairs. Even if he is severely punished, he will not do it." Duanfang had already reported to the court ten days ago to ask for another official. It was obviously very important to entrust Zheng Xiaoxu this time.

Wanting to escape, observing the public opinion at the time, Duan Fang and Sheng Xuanhuai both supported state-owned railways, and were inevitably called traitors. Zheng Xiao

Xu believed that Duan Fang was "in a state of confusion", but in the end he did not go to Sichuan, so he asked Sheng Xuanhuai to advise the court, saying that Duan "has exhausted both wisdom and courage. If he is

forced to send him, it will definitely lead to mistakes. Please make a public statement to the Central Government and find another solution within a few days. Chaos is easy to end, and inappropriate measures may lead to

great disasters." At this time, the Sichuan Railway Protection Movement had become a riot, and the provincial capital was besieged on all sides.

After the Wuchang Uprising on October 10, party members and the new army in various provinces declared independence. On October 26, Sheng Xuanhuai was dismissed from his post by imperial decree.

On November 1, Prince Qing gave his general speech to the cabinet. On November 18, Yuan Shikai's cabinet was established. Due to the critical situation, the Qing court made a decision within a few days.

The measures taken by the government to arrange the revolution did not ease the trend of independence in the provinces. 111 Zheng was angry about the revolution and believed that "today is an

era of administrative reform, not an era of the destruction of the ancestral cult... Even if the revolutionary party succeeds and overthrows Manchuria, it may not necessarily strengthen China. It is

easy to cause chaos but difficult to reorganize. Moreover, the political party has not been established and the people have no leader." 112 Zheng had to place his hopes on Yuan Shikai, hoping

---

that he would "open a national congress, 108 Diary of September 5, 1911, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, "Zheng  
Xiaoxu Diary" Volume 3, page 1341. 109 Mi Rucheng compiled, "Chinese Modern Railway

History Materials" Volume 3, page 1293. 110 Gao Lao, History of the Revolution of 1911 (Yonghe Town, Taipei County: Wenhai Publishing House, 1971), pp. 7-16 . Original book publication  
information: Gao Lao, ed.; Dongfang Magazine, ed., History of the Revolution of 1911 (Shanghai:

Commercial Press, 1925 ). 111 Gao Lao, History of the

Revolution of 1911, p. 22. 112 Diary entry of October 27, 1911, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, pp. 1352-1353.

The "established royal family" used its power to establish a constitutional monarchy. On October 22, the Hunan Province where Zheng was located was declared independent by the Advisory Council.

After returning to Shanghai sadly, Zheng Xiaoxu wrote a poem titled "Jianquan's birthday poem on December 25th" after the imperial court issued the edict of abdication.

The poem says:

Avoiding war is really cowardice, and only when the country is destroyed can one bear death. Not only do we have no place to die, but we can also see if we keep our eyes open. What does the king want? He abandons his

country like a worn-out shoe. Heaven and earth are at an end, and the world is against human reason. Where can I go now, old man, to the tiger and the rhinoceros. Grinding teeth and sucking blood, the chaos will begin

from now on. Alas, you are loyal and righteous, but you are ashamed of your flattery. Writing poems on a sad birthday is nothing but a self-reproach. Singing and crying makes me sadder, and my spirit is lost to the water. I

should only use the pen of history to call for Song Qi in the literature. How can he gain a bad reputation? Shuzi will be punished for thousands of years. 113

The four lines of this poem, from avoiding the soldiers to having a vision, seem to express that the reason why he endured life and death was to witness the development of history, and God was in his favor.

The first six sentences point out that revolution is against human nature. The tiger and rhinoceros come from the Analects of Confucius, and here it still refers to the revolutionary party. I don't know what I will do.

The following sentence of "singing and crying" expresses the sorrow of the country's subjugation, and it also means that we should work hard to write and record history.



---

113 Zheng Xiaoxu, Haizanglou Poetry Collection (revised edition), edited by Huang Kun and Yang Xiaobo, p. 223.

## Chapter 3: Socializing during the Republic of China and Planning for

### Restoration Section 1: Zheng Xiaoxu's Socializing

#### (1) Bible Reading Club and Unity Club

After the Revolution of 1911, Zheng Xiaoxu returned to Shanghai. Although he still paid attention to current affairs from time to time, he did not pay attention to current affairs until Ding Si's restoration.

Visibly involved in political or restoration initiatives. During this period of time, the most common activities in his daily life were inscriptions, calligraphy,

His social life was mainly based on the "Scripture Reading Club" and "Yuanyuan Club" in which Zheng Xiaoxu personally participated.

The meeting was founded on July 15, 1912, and ended on July 13, 1913. In about one year, it held a total of 49 meetings, led by Shen

When Yuqing was founded, Shen Yuqing, Wang Rendong, Lin Kaiyi, and Liu Xuanfu joined on the first day. Subsequently, the diary recorded that more and more people joined.

The members who joined the group were Wu Xuelian, Wu Xuezhuang, Yang Xiaosong, Chen Shuping, Shouyin, Jin Bangping, Chen Licun, and Liu Shuping.

Often, relatives such as nephews, grandchildren, and nieces will come to participate, such as Gao Erqian's daughter Gao Junjia, Chen Shuping's son, and Shen Yuqing's nephew.

The son of Liu Xuanfu, Shen Channan; the son of Liu Xuanfu, Liu Tianmin; the son of Wang Rendong, Wang Xiaoshu; the grandson of Wang Shifu; the son of Liu Shuping.

It is known that Wu Xuelian and Wu Xuezhuang were Zheng Xiaoxu's brother-in-law, Lin Kaimo and Yang Xiaosong were Zheng Xiaoxu's cousins, and 114 Jin Bangping was Zheng Xiaoxu's

Liu Xuanfu, the son-in-law of Zheng Xiaoxu, was a fellow student of Zheng Xiaoxu in the provincial examination in 1882. This shows that most members of the Reading Club had some connection with Zheng Xiaoxu.

Relationships with relatives or classmates. The Bible Reading Club takes place approximately once a week, and the members present vary each time. There is no detailed information on the activities.

According to the first two records in the diary, the main focus should be on studying "Book of Rites", "University" and "Mencius".

I read a few chapters, sometimes composed poems, or looked at calligraphy works. Occasionally, people would come to listen to the meetings, such as in August 1912.

On the 4th of the month, Gao Erqian and his daughter Gao Junjia came to listen. Gao Erqian was the second brother of Gao Fengqian, Zheng's colleague at the Commercial Press. In October 1912

On February 20, the Japanese monk Mizuno Meixiao came to visit Zheng. "I was in awe after hearing the scripture reading meeting." 115 On February 16, 1913, Nanyang Duke

Li Zhonghan, a student of Chinese culture, came to listen.

The Yiyuanhui was founded on January 31, 1915. On February 2, Zheng Xiaoxu and Renwu drank together in the same year as Renwu.

Each person pays one centimeter for the alms and drinks." 116 Those present included Feng Xu, Zhu Zumou, Wang Naizheng, Chen Sanli, Yang Zhongxi, Li Junong, and later

Zhang Xu, Tang Yan, Zheng Jinchen, and Zheng Yaochen were added. At the beginning of the Yiyuan Society, most of them were born in the same year as Zheng Xiaoxu, but later on, more and more people joined.

---

114 Li Jun, Zheng Xiaoxu before 1931, p. 209. 115 Diary entry on

October 20, 1912, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 1429. 116 Diary entry on February 2, 1915, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 1549.

Including other members, some scholars have counted 105 gatherings from February 2, 1915 to April 13, 1931 , and 117 meetings.

Including January 31, the first day of establishment, the total number is 106 times. The frequency of Unitarian meetings is not as fixed as the Bible reading meetings.

The members of the banquet are not fixed. Judging from the name of the party, each person should pay one yuan to have a banquet together. The 118 one-dollar party is related to the banquet.

If the drinking is related, the restaurant where each gathering took place is also worth mentioning. 119 In the Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu, the Shanghai restaurant that the Yiyuanhui often went to for gatherings

There are several restaurants: Shishixuan, Guyuxuan, Duyichu, Biyoutian, Xiaoyoutian, Guangfulou, Yaxuyuan.

It is divided into Fujian cuisine, Sichuan cuisine and Beijing cuisine. Shishixuan, Guyuxuan and Duyi are Sichuan restaurants, Biyoutian, Xiaoyoutian and Guangfulou are

The 120 Yaxuyuan is a restaurant of Fujian cuisine, and the 120 Yaxuyuan is a restaurant of Beijing cuisine. According to the development of Shanghai local restaurants, before the Xinhai Revolution, the most popular cuisine in Shanghai was

There are Su cuisine, Cantonese cuisine, and Beijing cuisine. Sichuan and Fujian cuisine entered Shanghai gradually after the Xinhai Revolution.

For him, the food can be described as hometown food, which may explain why Zheng Xiaoxu often chooses Fujian restaurants for gatherings and banquets. Observing the diary can also explain

It was discovered that Zheng Xiaoxu had a preference for different cuisines at different times. The diary records include, "Feng Menghua, Tang Yuanhua, and Yang Ziqin came to join the Yiyuan Hui in Biyoutian", 122

"Tang Yuanxiang made an appointment to have a Yiyuan Hui in Yaxu Garden." 123 (2) Munakata Kotaro, Nishimoto Shosan, Hatohiro

After the Revolution of 1911, Zheng Xiaoxu's contacts with the Japanese were an important part of his social life. In the diary, the names of Kotaro Munakata and

Most of them were Nishimoto Province and Hataka. Among them, Munakata Kotaro would provide assistance to Zheng Xiaoxu when he was engaged in restoration in the future. Mrs. Munakata

Lang was born in Higo Kuni Uto in 1864, and entered Kumamoto Prefecture Keiji School in 1864. He studied under Sasaka Tomofusa in 1884 and followed him in 1884.

Tomofusa Sasaki went to Shanghai and joined the "Hankou Lezendo" founded by the Japanese Arao Sei. In 1889, he was sent to Beijing to set up a branch.

The Jishantang was established in 1890 and was engaged in selling medicines and books while collecting intelligence from all over Beijing.

---

117 Zhang Xiaochuan, "Zheng Xiaoxu's Life in Shanghai (1911-1931)—Focused on Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary", Chinese Social History Review, No. 0 (2012), pp. 10-12. 118 Chen Yan once wrote a poem to describe the situation of the Yiyuanhui gathering, which reads "Every way is not the ordinary way, and every day is a little heaven", "Recording the Yiyuanhui of Mr. Su

Kan", Shanghai Pictorial, No. 694, p. 1, 1931. 119 Zhou Songfang, "Sichuan restaurants in old Shanghai: the most luxurious opening, the most economical backstage", collected in The Paper: [https://m.thepaper.cn/kuaibao\\_detail.jsp?contid=16168225&from=kuaibao](https://m.thepaper.cn/kuaibao_detail.jsp?contid=16168225&from=kuaibao) (clicked on 1/7/2024) [https://m.thepaper.cn/newsDetail\\_forward\\_16168226](https://m.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_16168226) (clicked on 1/7/2024). 120

"Comparison of restaurants in Shanghai", 1923, Red Magazine, No. 34, pp. 46-47. 121 "Metabolism of restaurants", 1915, Xiaoshuo Xinbao, No. 1, Huashi, p. 6. 122 Diary entry on October 31, 1915, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu Diary, compiled by the Chinese History Museum, page 1583. 123 Diary entry on December 17, 1915, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu Diary, compiled by the Chinese History Museum, page 1589. 124 It is now Kumamoto Prefecture. 125 It is now called Kumamoto Prefectural High School.

The business policy, originally aimed at collecting intelligence, was transformed into cultivating talents in the Nissin trade. Munakata also assisted Arao at this time.

He recruited students and went to Shanghai to establish the "Japan-Sino Trade Institute" and served as a student supervisor. In 1893, after his teacher Sasa Tomofusa

After the introduction, he came into contact with the Japanese Navy Commander Shimazaki Yoshitada. Later, Munakata was employed by the Japanese Navy for a long time and regularly sent troops from all over China.

Intelligence was compiled into reports and sent to the navy. In 1896, he bought the newspaper "Han Bao" and became the editor-in-chief. Yao Wenzao, the chief editor of Han Bao, also often

Correspondence with Zheng Xiaoxu. The first meeting between Zheng Xiaoxu and Munakata Kotaro was on November 24, 1899. At this time, Zheng Xiaoxu was in Han Dynasty.

On August 8, 1900, during the Boxer Rebellion, Zongfang visited Zheng Xiaoxu and asked Zheng Youxu if he

Regarding the situation at that time and the situation in Beijing, it was already in April 1912 when Munakata met Zheng Xiaoxu again. Kotaro Munakata's early views on China

His political leanings can be known from his participation in the East Asia Association. The association was formed in 1898 by the "East Asia Society" and the "Tongwen Society".

The East Asia Tongwen Association's purpose is to "preserve China". It believes that if you want to revitalize Asia, you must first revitalize China. Therefore, Zongfang

Kotaro actively contacted people from all walks of life in China, including Liang Qichao, Wen Tingshi, Wang Kangnian, Sun Yat-sen, Chen Qimei, and Jiang Jieshi.

In 1889, Sohy met people from all walks of life, including the reformists and revolutionaries, and learned about their thoughts.

That is, he had contacted the Gelaohui and conspired to overthrow the Qing Dynasty. However, after the Qing Dynasty abdicated, in addition to interacting with the revolutionary party members,

He also began to communicate with Zheng Xiaoxu, Shen Zengzhi and other deceased elders. In 1907, he met Di Baoxian, the owner of the Times newspaper, and decided to publish the newspaper in Zongfang's name.

According to the Times, in 1913, Sokata Kotaro, Zheng Xiaoxu, Nishimoto Shozo, and Hata Hiroshi co-founded the "Shunshin Society" and published the "Shang

Sea magazine. 128

Hatoiro was a student of the sixth class of Toa Doubun Academy. He studied under Kotaro Munakata. In 1914, he assisted Munakata in founding "Oriental Communications".

Society", with Munakata as the owner and Hatao as the chief writer, the society supports Japanese policies and introduces various events in Japan and China.

host. Shozo Nishimoto was born in Kumamoto in 1878. He was a graduate of Nanjing Doubun Academy in 1900. In 1901, he went to East Asia to study at Doubun School.

Nishimoto Shozo became acquainted with Kotaro Munakata when he was a teacher. In 1913, he met Munakata, Zheng Xiaoxu and Hatoiro.

and others founded the "Shanghai" magazine. Later, the "Shanghai" magazine was changed to the weekly newspaper "Shanghai", and 129 was taken over by Nishimoto Shosan. Nishimoto and Zheng

---

126 Diary of August 8, 1900, included in Sokata Kotaro's Diary, Meiji 32-33, written by Sokata Kotaro and edited by Osato Hiroaki, Kanagawa 127 Dai Haibin, "Sokata Kotaro and Modern China: Reading Notes on Sokata's Documents in the Collection of the Institute of Journal of the Institute of Humanities of Sichuan University", NO.46 (October 2011), page 176.

History, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, "Journal of Sun Yat-sen University, Vol. 53, No. 4 (2013), p. 69. 128 Shanghai Magazine was a Japanese magazine that sympathized with the restoration. For example, the second and third pages of Shanghai

Magazine No. 70 contained editorials discussing Yuan Shikai and the restoration of the Qing Dynasty. The magazine's literary column sometimes published poems by Zheng Xiaoxu, see Shanghai Magazine No. 3, page 5, and No. 6, page 5, Kobe University Library, Degree Academy . 129 Fujitani Hiroyuki, "Akutagawa Ryunosuke's Trip to Changsha - Center of the Japan Exclusion Movement in 1921", "China Studies Monthly", Vol.74 No.5

(May 2020), p. 29.

The first time Xiaoxu met in the diary was on October 22, 1912. After that, Nishimoto went to Haizanglou to visit Zheng Xiaoxu from time to time.

He would convey news about the Restoration, and sometimes asked for Zheng Xiaoxu's calligraphy. Nishimoto sympathized with the Restoration, and also wrote in "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary"

We can see Xiben and Zheng discussing the restoration, and 130 have works such as "The Great Confucian Shen Zipei" and "Emperor Kangxi".

In the records after the Xinhai Revolution in Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, we can frequently find Sokata Kotaro, Hata Hiroshi and Zheng Xiaoxu.

There are records of meetings between Zong Fang and Zheng Xiaoxu, for example, where Zong Fang and Zheng Xiaoxu invited each other to a banquet, sometimes for a gathering of the Chunshen Society.

It is common to see the participation of Japanese military and political figures. For example, on February 17, 1916, Kotaro Munakata, Yao Wenzao and the Japanese Navy

Colonel Saburo Hakkaku visited Zheng Xiaoxu. On July 26, Zongfang made an appointment with Zheng Xiaoxu, Zheng Chui and Yao Wenzao at the Japan Club.

Among them were Shin Nakajima, Saburo Hakkaku, and Takashi Masuda. Nakajima, Hakkaku, and Masuda were all naval commanders. In September 1917

On the 10th, Zheng Xiaoxu, Li Jingmai, and Yao Wenzao invited Zongfang to Zheng Xiaoxu's Haizanglou home for a banquet. 131 They also invited Youjin who was present.

Shizue Tsuda, Atsushi Sawara, and Kenjiro Hayashide. Tsuda was a major in the navy, and Sawara was a special correspondent for the Osaka Mainichi Shimbun.

Hayashide was a graduate of Toa Doubun College. In 1917, he served as secretary of the Japanese Consulate General in Shanghai. Among them, Sahara Atsusuke, in addition to Munakata

In addition to being familiar with him, he was also a member of the "Chun Shen Society". After the Xinhai Revolution, Zheng Xiaoxu, Sokata Kotaro, Nishimoto Shozo, and Hatano

The exchanges, banquets, poetry, and conversations with people like Bo became a major part of Zheng Xiaoxu's daily life.

It also enabled Zheng Xiaoxu to get acquainted with many Japanese military and political academics, and also expanded Zheng's social circle.

### (3) Family and Concubines

The family members who appear in Zheng Xiaoxu's diary include his wife Wu Zhongzhao, his younger brother Zheng Xiaotong, and five sons and four daughters, except for the three sons who died early.

The second daughter and the third daughter who died young, the ones who grew up to be adults are the eldest son Zheng Chui, the second son Zheng Yu, the fourth son Zheng Sheng, the fifth son Zheng He, the eldest daughter Zheng Jing,

The third daughter, Zheng Hui, and the fourth daughter, Zheng Wenyuan, were both referred to by their nicknames in the diary. Zheng Chui was called the "Daqi", Zheng Yu was called the "Xiaoqi", and Zheng Sheng was called the "Xiaoyi".

Zheng He was called Wuding, Zheng Jing was called Nujing or Dehui, Zheng Hui was called Nuhui or Miming, Zheng Wenyuan was called Xiaohu, in addition to Zheng Xiaoxu successively

She had two concubines, the first was Jin Yuemei and the second was Liu Wanqiu. His wife Wu Zhongzhao was the second daughter of Huai Army general Wu Zancheng. In 1879, Zheng

Xiaoxu married Wu Zhongzhao. Zheng Xiaoxu had a close relationship with the Wu family. In addition to his wife, Wu Zancheng's sons Wu Xuelian, Wu Xuezhuang,

130 Lin Zhihong, "Utopia in Crisis: Nishimoto Shozo's Observations and Comments on the Republic of China, 1912-1928", History of Thought, No. 8 (December 2018),

p. 116. 131 Diaries of February 17, July 26, 1916, and September 10, 1917, compiled by Ohsato Hiroaki, Sokata Kotaro Diary, Taisho 5-6 , Bulletin of the Institute of Humanities, Kanagawa University, No. 56 ( September 2016), pp. 58, 69, 97. Diaries of February 17, July 26, 1916, and September 10, 1917, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, Volume 3, pp. 1598, 1620, 1683. 132

Nakamura Kenzo, ed., Osaka Mainichi Shimbun Senjiji Business Chronicle of the 37th and 38th Years, Osaka Mainichi Shimbun, July 1907, p. 75.

Wu Xuexun also had close contacts with Zheng. After Wu Zancheng passed away in 1884, Wu Xuelian hired Zheng Xiaoxu to teach his second son.

He still kept in touch with Zheng Xiaoxu and his wife. Of Zheng Xiaoxu's six children, Zheng Sheng died of meningitis in 1918, and Zheng Hui died in

He died of illness in 1908. Zheng Xiaoxu was very concerned about his children and personally selected the schools for them.

The eldest son, Zheng Chui, enrolled in the Shanghai Chinese and Western College and studied English. In 1902, he studied in the third class of St. Francis Xavier's College in Shanghai and learned English.

, it can be seen that Zheng Xiaoxu is dedicated to cultivating Zheng Chui's English ability. In the future, Zheng Xiaoxu will also entrust Zheng Chui to translate foreign newspapers in Shanghai.

Zheng Chui also helped Zheng Xiaoxu get information from foreigners. 133 He also enrolled his fourth son, Zheng Sheng, in Qingdao Special High School.

Zheng Sheng also studied in Qingdao and had a good relationship with Zhang Jian's son. In his diary, we can also find the relationship between Zheng Xiaoxu and Zhang Jian.

In addition to school, due to Zheng Xiaoxu's family background in learning, he

He would often personally give his children daily lessons, such as asking them to write poems and then have them correct them, practice classical Chinese, and study Confucian classics and history books.

This shows that Zheng Xiaoxu not only attached great importance to the integration of Chinese and Western education for his children, but also participated in it personally.

Zheng Xiaoxu's eldest daughter Zheng Jing appears many times in the diary. Zheng's concern for his eldest daughter can be known from some small things. 1904

In April of that year, Jin Bangping wrote a letter and sent it to Zheng Jing along with his photos. It should be related to the marriage. Zheng Xiaoxu saw that Jin's words were elegant and so he

She had a good impression of him and originally planned to take Zheng Jing's photo and send it as a reply. However, Zheng Jing left home in anger after learning about it, which made Zheng

Xiaoxu was very depressed. In 1914, Zheng Jing and Jin Bangping were married. In March, Jin Bangping wanted to be baptized into Christianity. Jin's family

Zheng Jing was very upset and even went home to have a "long talk" with his father Zheng Xiaoxu. However, in April, Jin still decided to join the church and wrote a letter to the Zheng family.

Perhaps due to ideological reasons, Zheng Jing could not accept it and "cried and threw the letter". 134 Zheng Xiaoxu and his wife

Comfort him with kind words and persuade him to accept it. In the future, Zheng Jing and Jin Bangping often went home to visit their parents, and Zheng Xiaoxu also often went to visit his daughter.

The two families often went out together and listened to operas.

Zheng Xiaoxu's family activities were very rich. For example, listening to opera was a major family activity. Sometimes his wife Wu Zhongzhao would take the children to the opera.

A woman listens to operas, sometimes with her whole family. Most of the theaters she often goes in and out of in her diary are in Shanghai, such as Qunxian Tea Garden, Danxing Theater, etc.

135 In addition to listening to operas, the Zheng family often went to Louwailou and Dashijie in Shanghai. Louwailou was known as "Chen 133 Zheng Xiaoxu and Zheng Chui jointly translated the report on World War I in the "Dalu Newspaper".

---

The diary of August 27, 1914, included in the third volume of "Zheng Xiaoxu Diary" compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 1528; about a month before the restoration of the Dingsi period, Zheng Chui and Shengyun

visited the German ambassador Gu Xien to inquire about Germany's image of restoration. The diary of May 26, 1917, included in the third volume of "Zheng Xiaoxu Diary" compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History,

page 134 April 4, 1914 Daily diary, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 1511. 135 The address of

Dangui First Theater at that time was Simalu, Shanghai. It hired famous opera troupes from all over the country and regularly published advertisements in newspapers. See Shenbao, January 14, 1911, Shanghai edition, page 7.

"It displays exotic flowers and plants, and is a place for Chinese and Western tourists to rest."136 Zheng Xiaoxu and his wife once admired the moon from the building's outer floor. The Great World Game Center was built

in 1917. When it was first opened, it was known as a place that collected "everything that has never been seen before and rarely heard of."<sup>137</sup> Judging from the advertisements, it should be similar to the amusement park.

In the paradise, Zheng Xiaoxu sometimes takes his children and grandchildren to visit the big world, sometimes he goes shopping by himself, and he also makes appointments with friends in the big world.

When Zheng Xiaoxu was in charge of the border defense of Guangxi and assisted Xiliang in building the Jinji Railway in the northeast, his family would also follow him there.

Rent a house for a short-term stay and take your children to visit local attractions. For example, when Zheng Xiaoxu was in Guangxi, his wife took her children to visit Guangxi.

In 1911, Zheng Xiaoxu visited Taoranting in Beijing with his family during his visit to Beijing. Yuyuan and 138 Zhangyuan in Shanghai are also popular places.

This is the place where the Zheng family relaxes.

Among Zheng Xiaoxu's two concubines, Jin Yuemei has the most records. Jin Yuemei (1878-1924) was a famous actress in Shanghai and a famous actress at that time.

A Peking opera actress. Her father was a general of the Huai Army stationed in Lushun. When the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 broke out and the army was defeated, her father took Jin Yuemei with him.

The mother and daughter fled to Shanghai. Because their family was poor and Jin Yuemei was quite talented, she later made a living by singing opera. The two first met in 1901

On March 14, Zheng Xiaoxu noticed Jin Yuemei while listening to an opera. Four days later, Zheng Xiaoxu wanted to invite Jin Yuemei to perform, but Jin did not come.

They met again a year later, in April 1902, when Zheng Xiaoxu and Sheng Xuanhuai negotiated a "Business Agreement" in Shanghai.

While listening to opera at Hai Qun Xian Tea Garden, Zheng met Jin Yue Mei again. Zheng had a good impression of Jin Yue Mei and commented that she was "very sharp and good at talking and laughing."

". From the end of April to May, Zheng Xiaoxu went to Qunxian Tea Garden many times to listen to Jin Yuemei's opera. After that, the two gradually became closer. 139 Zheng Xiaoxu

She gave Jin a folding fan and gave him the nickname "Shuangqing Hall Master". 140 She wrote poems and couplets. 141 Jin Yuemei also admired Zheng Xiaoxu's reputation.

Zheng Xiaoxu liked Zheng very much. On May 21, 1902, Zheng Xiaoxu went to Jin Yuemei's house. By chance, Jin was not there, so Jin's mother stayed with Zheng Xiaoxu to sit and talk. According to the Japanese

Note: Five lines were cut from the diary on that day, so the specific content of the conversation is no longer clear. Judging from the time, it should be related to taking a concubine.

After that, the relationship between Zheng Xiaoxu and Jin Yuemei was stable, and they exchanged letters. Zheng often wrote poems and mailed them to Jin. Sometimes Zheng Xiaoxu also wrote poems and mailed them to Jin.

Will spend the night at Jin Yuemei's house.

---

136 This paragraph is the advertising copy of Louailou published by Mingsheng Company, see Shenbao, June 12, 1911, Shanghai edition, page 7. 137 This is an advertisement from Dafa Company soliciting inventions or art from the Great World Game Center, "Shenbao", March 1, 1917, Shanghai edition first edition. 138 According to the declared advertisement, Yuyuan Garden had pavilions, pavilions, and rockery pools. It was a major scenic spot in

Shanghai at that time. Its original site was to the east of Jing'an Temple in Shanghai. Today, Jing'an Temple still exists, but Yuyuan Garden no longer exists. There is a road named Yuyuan Road. , "Shen Shen", July 19, 1890, second edition of Shanghai edition.

139 The "Hankou Zhongxi Bao" recorded the process of Zheng Xiaoxu and Jin Yuemei getting to know each other because of their mutual admiration. "Su Kai admired her for her feminine and masculine qualities. Yuemei was also impressed by Zheng's talent and thought that she would be successful in the future. As a famous actress, she married a famous scholar, which was also considered a good match. Therefore, she praised Zheng Xiaoxu to her friends for his talent. Since Zheng Xiaoxu was Su Kai's friend, she encouraged Su Kai to take her in a rich house. Yuemei then married Zheng's wife." "Modern Celebrity Anecdotes", April 26, 1903.

"Hankou Zhongxi Bao", page 3, page 10. 140 On April 26, 1903, Zheng Xiaoxu

gave Jin Yuemei a small seal with the characters "Feng Zhu", so she often referred to Jin Yuemei as "Shuang Qing" and "Feng Zhu" in her diary. , Volume 2, Issue 2, Shiziju Tanlu, page 2.

141 "Greater China" magazine once published nine seven-character poems that Zheng Xiaoxu gave to Jin Yuemei, "Zheng Taiyi's poems for Jin Yuemei", 1915, "Greater China"

In 1903, Cen Chunxuan asked Zheng Xiaoxu to go to Sichuan Province to handle commercial and mining affairs. Zheng very much hoped that Jin Yuemei could go with him.

I asked Shuangqing, "Can we go to Sichuan together?" (Jin) replied, "I'm afraid not." (Zheng) "Then what should we do?" (Jin) said, "I will take my two elders to Fengtian to live with my uncle. I have also been working hard for more than a year, waiting for you to come and meet me." I said, "You are going north, isn't it too tiring?" (Jin) "If I give up my business, it will be easy to live in Shanghai, and I can't stop going back and forth, so I would rather leave here. I won't change my place, don't doubt me." I said, "Are you not joking?" He said, "Why are you joking?" I was upset for a long time, and said, "If you are like this, I will not let you down." Then I sighed and stood up. 142

On April 19, 1903, Cen Chunxuan was transferred to Guangdong and Guangxi. In June, Zheng went to Longzhou. Zheng supervised the border defense of Guangxi until 1905.

, Jin Yuemei and her daughter lived in Yantai, Shandong. During this period, the two continued to exchange letters, but due to the distance between Yantai and Longzhou, it usually takes a month for letters between the two to reach each other. Moreover, after Zheng put down the chaos in Guangxi, he deliberately built a house in Longzhou.

In order to welcome Jin's mother and daughter to Guangxi to live with him, "when the Guangxi rebellion was quelled, Su Kan built a house in Longzhou to hide his beloved daughter, and planted plum blossoms all around it, naming it Plum Pavilion, which was like Emperor Minghuang's favorite concubine, Mei Fei." 143 Jin Yuemei replied, "She said that her body was in Zhifu, but her heart was in Guiling. Although she wanted to go to Longzhou, there were many obstacles." In short, Zheng Xiaoxu kept in touch with Jin Yuemei during his three years in Longzhou, and also hoped that Jin's mother and daughter would be able to meet him.

## In 1906 , Zheng Xiaoxu went to Yantai to pick up Jin Yuemei.

He brought Jin's mother and daughter to Shanghai Chunhuili and rented a house for them to live in. Their relationship became stable again, and Zheng Xiaoxu often visited them.

He would have lunch and dinner at Jin Yuemei's house, sometimes stay overnight at Jin's house, discuss poetry with Jin Yuemei, and write poems to Jin.

On April 20, 1907, about a year after Jin and her daughter moved to Shanghai, Jin Yuemei suddenly wrote a letter to Zheng Xiaoxu to break up.

"I have been with you for one year, and I have done nothing but eat. But my mother-in-law is still complaining. I have no face to stand in your house. I am so affectionate and loving, and I will never forget it for the rest of my life. Now I am willing to suffer. Please do not greet me. I will not Come, send me two ends of the cocoon silk, beg to keep it as a token of my gratitude." After receiving the letter, Zheng Xiaoxu's "my muscles were pounding and my head was dizzy, and I could hardly sit." 145 The next day, he immediately wrote to Jin asking, "Are you sick and crazy? Is this why? "I sincerely feel sorry for you, so you have the intention to go." 146 In his diary, Zheng Xiaoxu rarely used strong semantics in his letters. Judging from his reaction, Zheng Xiaoxu did

have a deep affection for Jin Yuemei, and he often wrote to her with all his strength. To recover, Zheng wrote again on April 24, "Recording feelings of farewell in Chunhui Tower on February 12th, 142

---

Diary on March 15, 1903, included in the second volume of "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 868. 143

Doosan Shanren's "Memories of the Mother and Daughter of the Diva Jin Yuemei", included in the ninth volume of "Modern History Database" edited by Zhuang Jianping (Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore Press, January 2009), page

328. 144 Zheng Xiaoxu in August 1903. He sent a message to Jin Yuemei, trying to persuade Jin to come to Guangxi. Jin replied that it was difficult to leave the housework, so Zheng Xiaoxu suspected that Jin Yuemei's mother was causing trouble. In addition, because the two had not seen each other for a long time, Zheng Xiaoxu began to worry. In 1906, Zheng Xiaoxu heard that Jin Yuemei and The rumors of an affair were strongly denied by Jin Yuemei,

and they returned to the old relationship. 145 Diary of April 20, 1907, included in the second volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the

Museum of Chinese History, page 146 of April 21, 1907. Diary, included in the second volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Chinese History Museum, page 1086.

It is March 12th, and the fever from the previous night is still there. How can you treat me like a stranger? You must keep your promise. Either you and your son come together, or you come alone. We can discuss the future plan. There will be no difficulty. 147 His pain was beyond words, but Jin's intention to leave was ultimately fruitless. 1907

On May 14, 1912, Jin Yuemei started performing again at Tianjin Tianxian Theater, and the relationship between Zheng Xiaoxu and Jin Yuemei ended.

The most common theory about the reason for the breakup between Zheng and Jin is that Jin Yuemei was not tolerated by Zheng Xiaoxu's wife Wu Zhongzhao.

Doosan Shanren mentioned in "Memory of the Diva Jin Yuemei's Mother and Daughter" that because Zheng Xiaoxu often stayed overnight at Jin Yuemei's house, Mrs. Wu led the way several times.

He brought his servants to Jin's house to look for someone, but when he couldn't find Zheng, he cursed Jin Yuemei again: "If I don't see you tomorrow, I will kill you." 148

Jin's mother was angry and ordered Jin Yuemei to break up. Chen Yan, who was familiar with Zheng Xiaoxu in his early years, mentioned this in "Stone Language":

Su Kan looked dignified, but his wife was the daughter of a Huai army general. She was bald and lame, short and pockmarked, and extremely fierce and jealous. Su Kan took a concubine and asked to see her. His wife yelled from behind the screen. "I don't have such a bastard thing at home", Su Kan also had the feeling of being confused when his stick fell to the ground.

Chen Yan also pointed out that Zheng Xiaoxu "got up at night" as an excuse to exercise. "In fact, his concubine's dormitory was broken by his wife. The scoldings were heard outdoors. Su Kan made big claims to deceive the world, and the family was not harmonious. An Neng Save the country?", 149 Chen Yan's comments showed his ridicule of Zheng Xiaoxu. Irony and distrust, "Stone Language" was written in 1932. In his later years, Chen Yan was dissatisfied with Zheng Xiaoxu because of his involvement in the restoration and preparation for the establishment of Manchukuo.

He is very disgusted, so we cannot rule out the possibility that the authenticity of the statement in "Stone Language" is affected by his emotions and stance. Mr. Liu Yanwen is here "Jiu Teahouse" proves that Chen and Zheng had broken off their relationship for a long time. 150 He could not help but utter bad words, thinking that Chen Yan's statement was a wild guess. Just a test." 151 In fact, Zheng Xiaoxu got up at night long before he met Jin Yuemei.

It has become a habit before. 152 In the diary, we can often see Zheng's words "I feel good immediately". 153 Zheng Xiaoxu wrote in his diary on June 26, 1933.

I wrote an article "The Theory of Training the Soul and Controlling the Soul" that day, outlining that getting up at night is actually a method of cultivating the mind and tempering the nature. "Those who study Taoism must first train the soul, and then control the soul. In the twenty-two years since 1911, I have Getting up in the middle of the night and sitting down to wait for dawn is what Mencius calls nourishing the heart. 147 Diary of

---

April 24, 1907, included in the second volume of "The Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1087 . Dooshan Shanren, "Records of the Mother and Daughter of the Diva Jin Yuemei", Volume 9 of "Modern History Database" edited by Zhuang Jianping, page 149, narrated by Chen Yan, Qian

Zhongshu, "Qian Zhongshu Collected Works: Written on the Side of Life, on the Side of Life". On the Edge, Stone Language" (Beijing: Life-Reading-Xinzhi Sanlian Bookstore, 2002), page 483. 150 Liu Yanwen, "Jiu Tea House" (Shanghai: Chinese Dictionary Publishing House, November 2004), Page 82. 151 Liu Yanwen, "Jiu Tea House", page 90. Zheng Xiaoxu's poems often use the theme of night rise, such as

"Rising at Night at Jianglou Kou" in 1900 and "Rising at Night on April 20th" in 1901. , Volume 4 of "Haizanglou Poems", pp. 110, 116. Someone once asked Zheng Xiaoxu for advice on health preservation. Zheng mentioned that he "goes to bed at nine

o'clock every day, gets up at half past three, and sleeps for two hours every night." Then he got up, drank a little tea and fell back to sleep, and he continued as usual for twenty years." "Mr. Zheng Taiyi's health regimen," April 25, 1931, "Society Daily", second page.

Desire, what the Book of Changes says about no thinking and no action, is nothing more than this." 154 As for Mrs. Wu's jealousy, it is also worthy of discussion, because the investigation diary,

Jin Yuemei had no contact with Mrs. Wu. For example, on March 12, 1903, Jin Yuemei was with Mrs. Wu, Zheng Xiaoxu and Zheng Jing.

Strolling around Yuyuan Garden in Shanghai, they went to Dangui First Stage to listen to opera together in the evening. On June 24 of the same year, Zheng Xiaoxu received a letter from home: "Shuangqing will go to Yantai

on the 18th. Zhongzhao was afraid that something might happen, so he asked Zhixin to write a message saying: 'I wanted to discourage her from going, but now that she can't stop, I'd like to encourage her to return quickly.'

Shuangqing said that she would return to Shanghai in no more than two months." 155 At this time, Zheng Xiaoxu went to Guangxi, and Mrs. Wu was afraid that Jin Yuemei would go to Yantai and never come back.

The fact that Zheng Xiaotong was asked to recover it could prove that Mrs. Wu had no intention of being jealous of Jin Yuemei, otherwise she could have ignored it. In 1904

Jin Yuemei sent a letter to Zheng Xiaoxu and a ring to Mrs. Wu, which shows that Jin Yuemei and the Zheng family have a harmonious relationship. 156 In the diary

I hardly see Zheng Xiaoxu have any resentment towards Madam Wu. Although I don't know Madam Wu's true feelings, at least

On the surface, there was no deep contradiction. On April 28, 1910, Zheng Xiaoxu met Zhao Ercui at a banquet with friends. Zhao

Conveying Jin Yuemei's self-reported reason for breaking up, "Zheng Jun met me with sincerity and his family is very loyal. I didn't want to keep him silent, so I reluctantly left you." 157 mentioned the

reason for Jin's breakup and departure. This love affair also made Zheng Xiaoxu's private life more complete.

The Revolution of 1911 undoubtedly had a great impact on Zheng Xiaoxu. Looking at Zheng's diary during this period, we can also understand its impact on people at that time.

After the Revolution of 1911, Zheng Xiaoxu returned to Shanghai to live in Haizanglou. He summarized his official career so far in his diary, "In Hunan, he was driven to Beijing, and in Beijing, he was driven to Shanghai. Somehow, Who believes that the causes and

consequences of life are self-sustained, and the rest of the time is to build a seaside tower, which is suitable for a place to escape from the world. This is not what I expected." 158 Zheng Xiaoxu did have a refuge from the world when he returned to Shanghai.

In addition to the fact that his career was interrupted by the revolution, Zheng was also threatened by the revolutionaries during this period and surrendered.

The book was about to kill Zheng, so on December 7, 1911, the newspaper published:

The night before, someone was distributing leaflets everywhere. The text goes like this: "Recently, Yuan Shikai sent Meng Yongsheng in a chariot with a huge amount of

money to apply for an application. He joined forces with Lei Jisheng, Zhang Jusheng, Xia Cuifang, etc. to advocate constitutional monarchy and campaign for the "Shi

"Shi Xin Bao" and "Xin Shi Xin Bao". The four newspapers, "Shenbao" and "The Times" fabricated reports about the fall of Hanyang and confused people's hearts. My

compatriots must not be confused by them. They still insist on a certain purpose in order to proceed. The Republic of China is very lucky and the people are open to

public affairs. This is the oath of this museum. If there is real evidence for the leaflet, no matter what drastic means are used, we will not hesitate to use it. If it is based on

---

nothing, we would rather bear it. 154 Diary of June 26, 1933, compiled by the Museum of Chinese History , "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary" Volume

5, page 2468. 155 Diary of June 24, 1903, included in the second volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 882. 156 Liu Yanwen, "Jiliu Tea House", p.

91. 157 Diary of April 28, 1910, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page

1253. 158 Diary of November 23, 1911, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1358.

The truth will come out sooner or later. 159

On the same day, Zheng Xiaoxu received another threatening letter from someone claiming to be a "revolutionary group", which included the "Chinese and Foreign Daily" and "Evening News"

, there was an article in the Mid-term Evening News to the effect that after the Wuchang Uprising, Yuan Shikai originally thought that the scale of the uprising was very small, but he did not expect that the scale of the uprising was very small.

"The provinces became independent one after another. The reason why the provinces became independent so quickly was due to the advocacy of newspapers. Various newspapers in Shanghai advocated that

Yu Li was the leader. Because of Zheng Su's niche in the special business, Zheng Liyan was able to serve as the reporter of the movement, and also promoted Meng Li. Yongsheng was the deputy, and Yuan

Shikai directed him to allocate 200,000 yuan, and Zheng and Meng took him to Shanghai." 160 In the article, Zheng Xiaoxu was even scolded as "Zheng's thief" and "willing to work as a slave for Yuan Shikai and

undermine the political situation of the Republic.", looking at these two things together, it can be seen that it is the information war of the revolutionaries. The reason why they are called information wars is because this

In fact, on November 27 of the same year, the Qing army did recapture Hanyang, and the so-called Yuan Shikai instructed to bring money to Shanghai, through Meng Zhaochang

161 However, Zheng Xiaoxu was frequently threatened by letters from revolutionaries, such as the aforementioned "Revolutionary

On November 25, 162, someone signed a letter under the name of "Republic of China Group" and sent a threatening letter in Japanese, urging him to commit suicide.

They wanted to assassinate him. 163 Even after Meng Zhaochang published his defense in the newspaper, another person named "Tang Wei" accused Zheng Xiaoxu of "relying on Meng Zhaochang's defense to

negotiate peace in Shanghai and sabotaging the revolution with his pen. We have decided to kill you within three days. You can come to the door tonight to try." 164

Such letters of threat, warning of assassination, were common during this period. On January 16, 1912, revolutionary Chen

Qimei inquired about Zheng Xiaoxu's whereabouts, "Zheng Jun has not yet left." A certain person from Sichuan reported to Chen Qimei that "Zheng You had traffic traces with the peace envoys." 165 His friend Wu

Xuexun therefore advised Zheng to avoid Dalian or Qingdao temporarily.

On the same day, Zheng received the news that Tao Chengzhang had been killed. Chen Qimei ordered Chiang Kai-shek, who was then his subordinate, to kill him. 166 Chen Qimei ordered him to kill Tao Chengzhang.

Mei was a loyal supporter of Sun Yat-sen, and the murder of Tao Chengzhi was not unrelated to the conflicts between the Guangfuhui and Tongmenhui at that time.

On August 28, 1913, Zheng Xiaoxu went to the Commercial Press. Xia Ruifang showed Zheng a warning letter, which read, "Party members hate Yu Qiaqing, Zhang Jusheng and Xia, so please

be careful when entering and leaving." 167 He also received news that Yu Qiaqing was in On the morning of that day, a bomb was thrown. The following year 159 "The Third Declaration

---

of the Museum", December 7, 1911, "Declaration", first page, third page. 160 Diary of December 7, 1911, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1366. 161 Meng Zhaochang, nicknamed Yongsheng, founded the Preparatory Constitutional Association with Zheng Xiaoxu, and was familiar with Zheng. Meng Zhaochang defended himself twice in Minli Bao, "Meng Zhaochang Confessed,"

October 18, 1911, Minli Bao, No. 1 Page. "Meng Zhaochang's Second Confession," October 20, 1911, Minli Bao, page one. 162 The original text of the diary is called Dongwen. 163  
Diary of November 25, 1911,

included in the third volume of "Diary of

Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1359. 164 Diary of December 13, 1911, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1369. 165 Zheng Xiaoxu, "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary", Volume 3, January 16,

1912, page 1384. 166 One theory is that Chiang Kai-shek committed suicide himself, see Chapter 8

of "Chairman Chiang" edited by Deng Wenyi, "The Killing of Tao Chengzhang", pp. 14-16, National Library Taiwan Chinese E-Book Library; the other theory is that Chiang Kai-shek paid for the murder, see "The Assassination of Tao Huanqing" "Police Attrition", January 16, 1912, "Declaration", seventh edition. 167 Yu Hede's courtesy name is Qiaqing, Zhang

Yuanji's nickname is Jusheng, and Xia Ruifang's courtesy name is Cuifang. Xia Ruifang is the founder and general manager of the Commercial Press, and Yu Hede, Zhang Yuanji, and Zheng Xiaoxu are

On January 10, Zheng Xiaoxu went to Gao Fengqian's house for dinner. 168 Suddenly he heard the news that Xia Ruifang had been shot, and immediately went to Gao Fengqian's house.

The doctor went to the hospital to visit Xia, but Xia had already died. After that, Zheng Xiaoxu advised Zhang Yuanji to stay out of the spotlight for the time being, and also accompanied Zhang to the station that night.

The incident was also related to Chen Qimei. It turned out that during the Second Revolution, Xia Ruifang had united the Shanghai business community to oppose

Chen Qimei was stationed in Shanghai, and the Ministry of Industry Bureau of the Later Concession confiscated Yuan Jun's firearms and expelled Sun Wen, Chen Qimei and others. At that time, Chen Qimei was

The commander of Yuan's army hated him and sent people to kill him. 169 This also shows Chen Qimei's character. Therefore, at that time, Chen commented

The value of the two extremes is quite different. Because he supports the revolution and is loyal to Sun Yat-sen, but at the same time he has also attracted controversy because of his many assassinations of political enemies.

When Chen was assassinated, Xu Zhiyan said in Xinhua Secret Records that "after Chen was assassinated, most people in Shanghai were happy and did not complain about his injustice. This was because so

many people had been killed and the public had been angry for a long time."170 Zheng himself was not sure who was behind these threatening letters.

People simply regarded them as "party members" and equated them with the revolutionary party, and Zheng's hatred for the revolutionary party was very clear.

Zheng Xiaoxu's understanding of the political situation and his thoughts after the Xinhai Revolution are most often reflected in some of his

On November 26, 1911, nearly two months after the revolution, Regent Zai-hsien took an oath in a temple.

The "Nineteen Articles of Important Creed" were promulgated in the hope of easing the situation. On December 4, the court appointed Tang Shaoyi as a representative to negotiate peace with the revolutionary party.

The revolutionary party proposed a peace negotiation condition for the resignation of the regent Zaifeng. On the same day, the regent immediately resigned to the Empress Dowager Longyu. "The constitutionalists

made empty words, and the evils accumulated, until the people's hearts collapsed, the country collapsed, and one person's measures were inappropriate. It has caused tragic disasters to all living beings across the

country. It is heartbreaking and it is too late to regret."171 The revolutionary party insisted on a republican form of government and had no room for negotiation. 172 Finally, on December 28, Empress

Dowager Longyu issued an edict agreeing to convene an interim parliament to hold a referendum on the issue of the national system. Regarding this, Zheng Xiaoxu expressed angrily, "The nineteen articles of

oath issued by the imperial court the day before yesterday stated that all power lies with the Congress, and the matter of political reform is no longer up for debate. Now the revolutionary party wants to overthrow

the royal family, and the Qing officials want to preserve the royal family. In fact, the royal family has become a virtual reality." No. 173, what is being fought is the grudges against the royal family, which have nothing

to do with the reform politics. If they fight over this, it is so-called chaos and self-destruction."173 And it is sad that "the royal family has no one and is forced to abdicate." Zheng Xiaoxu had such a reaction,

Because of his own constitutional stance, in his view, if the "Nineteen Articles" could be implemented, the monarchy he hoped for would be realized.

---

168 Gao Fengqian, also known as Mengdan, was the director of the Translation and Translation

Office of the Commercial Press and later a director. 169 Zhang Shunian, editor-in-chief, "Zhang Yuanji Chronicle" (Beijing: Commerce Press, 1991), page 116; see also Guo

Tingyi's "Historical Events of the Republic of China", August 17, 1913, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica Modern Spring and Autumn Period TIS system; see also the diary  
of January 10, 1914, included in the "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum

of Chinese History, Volume 3, page 1497. 170 Xu Zhiyan, "Xinhua Secret Notes" (Beijing: Zhonghua Book

Company, April 2007), page 153. 171 Diary of November 26, 1911, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the

Museum of Chinese History, page 1367. 172 Yang Fanyi, "Tang Shaoyi and the North-South Peace Negotiation in 1911", "Central History", No. 26 (Seoul: Central Institute of History,  
December

2007) , page 199. 173 Diary of December 31, 1911, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1376.

The constitution would have been successful, but the situation was not as Zheng had expected. In his view, a democratic republic would have led to frequent unrest in China at that time.

In September 1912, Zheng Xiaoxu wrote "Poem to Mourn the Japanese General Nogi Maresuke", and in July 1912, the Meiji Emperor

The emperor passed away, and Nogi Nogi and his wife both committed suicide on the day of the funeral in September. Zheng Xiaoxu sighed deeply when he learned about this. In this poem

We can also see that he expressed his dissatisfaction with the Revolution of 1911. His poem says: His nature and emotions are combined with propriety and righteousness, and he burst out in an instant. He will rise again after a hundred generations. How great is this wise

man? The king and his subjects, as well as the husband and wife, have the same intention. He seems to be disgusted with the will of the world, and abandons the filth to become pure. I know that you have fought a hundred battles, and you regard death as far

better than life. Your achievements and fame are extremely sad, and you are still vigorous in your old age. If you are not decisive, you will be a waste of blood. I have believed in poetry and books all my life, and helped you to sacrifice your life. What era is the

Central Plains now? Who can recognize reputation? Gangchang has been destroyed, and his integrity has disappeared. I feel sad when I hear the wind, and I am moved to be sad. I recite the last poems in a low voice, and my soul chases the heroes in my dreams. 174

The first half of this poem sings about the deeds of Nogi Maresuke, and the eight lines from Central Plains to Heroes express the loss of common morals in Chinese society.

He wrote in his diary, "Sigh, he values foolishness and loyalty, and I value committing crimes. We are both human beings, and it is strange that we have gone so far away from each other."175 It can be seen again

**After seeing Nogi Maresuke's martyrdom for his emperor, Zheng Zai compared the revolution in China with his lament.**

, this difference shows that the historical development of the two countries is different, but this poem can also help modern people understand Zheng Xiaoxu's inner thoughts at that time.

thought of. However, compared to the royalist stance of the Zongshe Party and others, Zheng does not seem to have any ill feelings toward the democratic republican system itself.

On November 14, 1911, friends Ke Hongnian (Zhenxian) and Meng Sen (Chunsun) were about to visit Suzhou and announced that they would leave the court on their own.

Cheng Dequan, the governor of Jiangsu who was pro-independence, said, "I cannot openly do anything heartless and unrighteous to my king and country. A republic is a good name and a good thing. You are all good at it. As

a subject, I can only live out my life in obscurity."176 This statement in private shows that Cheng was

He was not completely against the Republic, but out of loyalty to the emperor and personal morality, he was unwilling to serve in the Republic of China. He also criticized the society at that time.

"In a society where people have long been accustomed to self-interest and harming others, they want to talk about a republic. A republic is the ultimate justice, where people are united without fighting and where people are in groups without forming factions . How can this

be expected by people of the time?" 177 It can be seen that the reason why Zheng Xiaoxu opposed the republic was not only because of the loyalty between the monarch and his subjects, but also because of the loyalty between the monarch and his subjects.

He also believed that the society at that time, the revolutionary parties and the constitutionalists who turned to support the revolution were not qualified to shoulder this important task, and that the republican system itself

**In Zheng's cognition, it is a good system.**

Observing Zheng Xiaoxu's evaluation of the people at that time can also provide a sideways understanding of his thoughts. First of all, in a positive sense, that is, in a complimentary sense,

It must be Sheng Yun. Sheng Yun, courtesy name Jifu, was a member of the Doriot clan. He was a member of the Yellow Banner of the Mongolian Empire. He was the former governor of Shaanxi and Gansu. Later, he joined the Zongshe Party and went to

---

174 Zheng Xiaoxu, Haizanglou Poetry Collection (Revised Edition), edited by Huang Kun and Yang Xiaobo, pp. 230-231. 175 Diary entry on September 15, 1912, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 1432. 176

Diary entry on November 14, 1911, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu Diary , compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 1356.

177 Diary entry on November 22, 1911, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 1358.

He also planned restoration in Dalian, Qingdao, Japan and other places. Zheng Xiaoxu noticed that the reason for the promotion was because on March 14, 1912,

At that time, the Qing court had abdicated, but Shengyun was still using troops in Shaanxi with the intention of recovering. Qi Yaolin, the governor of Henan who stayed behind at the time, called

Sheng Yun persuaded him not to use troops again. Sheng Yun replied by telegram and said that he was originally ordered to supervise the army to suppress bandits. "In the early days, Yun was used to suppress Zhang Fenghui. Now

that the Republic of China has just been established, suddenly he ordered Zhang Fenghui's military commander to ask for permission." In the past, he was regarded as a thief, but now he is an upright teacher. Yesterday, he was a

diligent king, but now he is a rebellious thief. I wonder if this is the truth among the five continents in the world." 178 In fact, Shengyun insisted on using troops, except for those who were loyal to the court

In addition to the concept, it was also because of Zhang Fengyi. Zhang Fengyi was a scholar from Shaanxi Province during the Qing Dynasty. He entered the Shaanxi Military Academy in 1902.

, when Shengyun was on tour in Shaanxi, after graduation, Shengyun sent Zhang to the Zhenwu School in Japan. Unexpectedly, Zhang Fenghui joined the Tongmenghui and

During the Revolution of 1911, he was elected as the governor of Qin and Fuhan, and was appointed governor of Shaanxi from 179 to 1912. This is exactly what Sheng Yun pointed out. To Sheng Yun

He said that his former subordinates had defected to join the revolution, and he was originally ordered to fight against the enemy. Now that his position has changed, how could he feel? Later, Sheng Yun continued

The troops were sent to Tongguan in the hope of welcoming Empress Dowager Longyu and Emperor Xuantong to restore Shaanxi, which would lead to a peaceful situation. In the end, the Gan army under his command did not want to fight anymore.

In the end, he failed. 180 Zheng Xiaoxu praised Sheng Yun's loyalty and said that he was "worthy of being called Wang Baobao". Wang Baobao was a famous general of the Yuan Dynasty, whose real name was Guangkuo.

Timur, nicknamed Baobao. In the 28th year of the Yuan Dynasty (the first year of the Ming Dynasty, 1368), Emperor Taizu of the Ming Dynasty ascended the throne in Yingtian Prefecture.

After conquering Dadu of the Yuan Dynasty, Emperor Yuan Shun led the prince and queen to move north. Later Wang Baobao was granted the title of King of Qi to fight against the Ming army and prepare for the battle. Almost to Emperor Shun

After his death, Emperor Zhaozong of the Yuan Dynasty became more important after he came to the throne. Ming Taizu once sent general Xu Da to attack the Northern Yuan Dynasty, and Wang Baobao was defeated. After that, the Ming Dynasty ended

Yu dare not leave the fortress easily. Later, Wang Baobao followed Zhaozong and moved north. In order to recruit Wang Baobao to surrender, Ming Taizu used various means.

For example, he sent envoys to get along well, sent Yuan generals to surrender, and even made plans to make his sister the prince's concubine. Wang Baobao remained consistent and unmoved. Ming Tai

Zu Nai sighed that he was "a rare man in the world". 181 Comparing Wang Baobao and Sheng Yun, we can find that their situations are similar.

When the dynasty was in decline, they were all loyal to their motherland and did not serve in the new dynasty. In addition, the Yuan and Qing dynasties were both "conquering dynasties". Compared with other dynasties,

The loyal ministers and famous generals of the dynasties are more comparable, so Zheng Xiaoxu promoted Yunbi to Wang Baobao, which has its own logic.

In reply to Qi Yaolin's telegram, Shengyun once said, "The world is republican. Due to the current situation, how dare you go against it alone...I will never embarrass the republic." He believed that Shengyun might have meant to compromise. Although he didn't know what Shengyun's true intentions were, Zheng Xiaoxu In the diary, he believed

that Sheng Yun "should fight forward with all his strength. If he cannot stop it, he will end up running to Russia. He will make his ambitions bright in the world and bring color to

---

Manchuria. All countries will respect him. 178 Diary of March 14, 1912, income Compiled by China History Museum, "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary" Volume 3, page 1404. 179 Guo Tingyi's "Historical Diary of the Republic of China", January 16, March 15, May 6,

1912 180 "Current Affairs News". ", first edition on March 18, 1912. 181 Zhang

Tingyu and others, eds., "History of the Ming Dynasty", Chinese Books Database, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Biography No. 12; Ke Shaobin,

"History of the New Yuan Dynasty", (Shanghai: Kaiming). Printed by Bookstore, 1935), Volume 53, Biographies 117.

182 Sheng Yun continued to work hard to restore the king, such as participating in the activities of the Zhongshe Party, going to Japan to make friends with political celebrities.

, and went to Gansu to persuade the old troops to participate in the restoration, "talking to all the horses". 183 Zheng Xiaoxu continued to pay attention to the news of Sheng Yun in the future. In 1914

When Cheng heard that Sheng-Yun was living in poverty in Japan, he hurriedly arranged for his friends Yao Wen-Zao (Fu-Qiu) and Shen Zeng-Zhi to help him.

(Zipei) jointly funded Shengyun. In 1917, Zheng Xiaoxu wrote the poem "Gift to Sheng Jifu on his Eastern Journey". This poem shows that Zheng Xiaoxu was very supportive of Shengyun.

's expectation, the poem goes like this: "I have long been tired of looking at Chu Zhi, towering up to the river bank. I pray to God that I can rely on my loyalty and who can stop me from saying that state affairs are

difficult. The earth-shaking waves send off my old age, and the words of the critical officials are heartbreaking and cold. Because of public service, I shed tears for Tao Zhai's words, and only allow Liu Hou to

report to Han."184 The phrase "Chu Zhi" in this poem comes from Shishuo Xinyu, which says, "Although Lian Yu and Lu Xiangru have been dead for thousands of years, they are still as alive as if they were alive.

Although Cao Chu and Li Zhi are still alive, they are as disgusting as people in the underworld."185 Chu Zhi means that although they are alive, they are like dead people in the underworld. It seems to be used here to express

Zheng Xiaoxu made fun of himself for being an old man of the Qing Dynasty and prayed to heaven for help. He also praised Shengyun for his activities for the sake of restoration.

Finally, the allusion of Liuhou is quoted to conclude. Zhang Liang was given the title of Liuhou. Zhang Liang's father and ancestors were both prime ministers of Korea, and they were prime ministers for five generations of Korean kings, and Qin destroyed Han.

After that, Zhang Liang dispersed his family wealth and prepared to assassinate the King of Qin and avenge South Korea. Here, it seems that Zhang Liang is compared to Sheng Yun and hopes that Sheng Yun will do the same.

Momentum succeeds.

Another person worth exploring is Tang Shouqian, whose courtesy name is Xianxian. Zheng Xiaoxu first mentioned Tang Shouqian in his diary.

In 1901, when Zheng Xiaoxu was in the Zhangzhidong shogunate, Shen Zengzhi and Zhang Jian sent a telegram saying that He Sikun (Meisheng) had died of illness. At that time, the public memorial ceremony

, in addition to Shen and Zhang, Tang Shouqian also arrived. Zheng Xiaoxu and the other three were all in favor of the constitution. In 1905 by Zheng Xiaoxu,

The Preparatory Constitutional Association was established under the chairmanship of Zhang Jian. After election, Zheng was elected as the president, Zhang and Tang as vice presidents.

The three persons named "Zheng Zhangtang" were all from the southeastern provinces. There were also many business people in the Constitutional Association established by them.

, such as the "Dasheng Cotton Mill" founded by Zhang Jian, the "Rihui Woolen Factory" founded by Zheng Xiaoxu, and Tang Shouqian, the president of Zhejiang Railway Company

In 1908 , the first meeting of the Constitutional Corporation was held. "That day was the first regular meeting of the members. There were 44 people present. They proposed to establish a private Law University, to

open a national conference, and to set up a propaganda research institute."

During this period, the Constitutional Association mainly focused on popularizing knowledge and promoting constitutional ideas. On July 11, 1908, Zheng Xiaoxu and Tang Shouqian

They jointly drafted a telegram and sent a telegram to the Constitutional Compilation Office in the name of the Constitutional Association, requesting the quick convening of the National Assembly. "If the

---

deadline is too far away, the intervening 182 Diary of March 14, 1912, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National

Museum of Chinese History, page 1404. 183 Hu Pingsheng, The Restorationists in the Early

Years of the Republic of China, pages 363 to 366. 184 Zheng Xiaoxu, Huang Kun and Yang Xiaobo, Haizanglou Poetry

Collection (Revised Edition), page 276. 185 Liu Yiqing, Liu Xiaobiao, Yu Jiaxi, Shishuo Xinyu Annotations, Volume 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2015), page 592. 186

Zhang Yufa, Constitutional Groups in the Qing Dynasty, p. 1368. 187 The

Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Xiaoshan Municipal Committee of Zhejiang Province, ed., Tang Shouqian Historical Materials Collection, p. 724.

Abnormalities abound, and if external and internal troubles take over, all that is expected will come true. I hope that the prince and the Lord of the Central Hall will remember the difficulty of the affairs of the court, and the

hope of the people will be fulfilled. Taking advantage of this opportunity, when everyone is united, Use your perseverance and work hard to convene the National Assembly within two years."

188 The petition movement at that time was very powerful. In addition to the Preparatory Constitutional Convention to which Zheng Xiaoxu, Tang Shouqian and others participated in the petition, there were also representatives from various provinces.

However, in the end, the imperial court banned the political news agency, and the petition ended in failure. Tang Shouqian stopped working after the failure of the petition.

## On August 23, 1910, Tang Shou secretly sent a telegram to the Military Affairs Office ,

He protested against Sheng Xuanhuai's return to the post of the Ministry of Posts, and was dismissed from his post. He wrote in his memorial that "many of his words are absurd and extremely rebellious. The court

has its own discretion in selecting people, so how can it allow such reckless statements?" However, Tang Shouqian had been mentally prepared. Tang told Zheng Xiaoxu in advance that "I will enter the capital at

the end of the month, and there will be chaos, or even death. I have no one to entrust to you. I hope that a poem will be enough to condole me." Zheng Xiaoxu later talked to his friends about Tang's

dismissal and believed that "the memorial was frivolous and vulgar, and it was written in a vulgar way. It is unworthy for him to be a member of the court." 189 He did not agree with the court's approach. Although

Therefore, when it comes to railways, Zheng and Tang have different attitudes. Tang Shouqian is the Prime Minister of Zhejiang Railway Company, and he works in Zhejiang-Hangzhou-Ningbo Railway.

During the road crisis, he strongly opposed the nationalization of Zhejiang Railway, insisted on running it on his own, and refused to borrow money. This was very different from Zheng Xiaoxu's long-standing belief that

"borrowing debt to build roads is the basis of reform." However, Sheng Xuanhuai and Zheng Xiaoxu had the same views on railway policy. Zheng also replaced Shengxuan

Huai planned to take back the commercial railway memorial, which shows the difference between the two; after the Revolution of 1911, Tang Shouqian turned to support the Republic, while Zheng Xiaoxu

Hoping to preserve the royal family and implement a constitutional monarchy, Zheng severely condemned Zhang Jian and Tang Shouqian for supporting the revolution more than once in his diary:

"The scholar-officials of Nan Zhong have no integrity, advocate revolution, and agree with the Republic. They really have no understanding of the Republic. They are called the so-called crazy people who have lost their minds. They are close to it." The gentleman thus reconciles him and does not know what integrity is, so why should he blame Li Yuanhong? It is better to write a book to rectify Zhang Jian, Tang Shouqian's

crime, and he is not worthy of it." 190 Zheng and Tang were both comrades of the Constitutional Convention.

This was tantamount to a break. Although we kept in touch in the future, we were no longer as close as before.

## Section 2 Zheng Xiaoxu's evaluation of Yuan Shikai and Ding Si's restoration

Zheng Xiaoxu's understanding of Yuan Shikai is also of great significance for discussion. In the late Qing Dynasty and early Republic of China, generally speaking, the revolutionary party members

The ministry could not trust Yuan Shikai. Li Xiehe of the Restoration Party commented on Yuan Shikai in the "Letter to the President of Shangsun", "He took advantage of the situation and used his

dancing skills to attract people's attention. He knew that he was doing his best for the Republic of China, and he knew that he was doing his best for the Republic of China. Loyal to the Manchu court,

he exerted all his wisdom and skills, and fought 188 compiled by the Zhejiang Xiaoshan Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, "Tang Shouqian Historical Materials Album", No. 725 189 Diary of August 25 and 28, 1910, included in the Chinese History Museum.

Edited, "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary" Volume 3, page 1272. 190 November 22 and 30, 1911, included in Chinese History Museum, "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary" Volume 3, pages 1358 to 1361.

Those who did this were only doing it for their own personal gain.<sup>191</sup> The Times also had no good feelings towards Yuan. "When Yuan first arrived in Beijing, he told people that 'the term of office for cabinet

ministers is three years, which is too tight, and I am afraid that I will not be able to do much about politics.' Everyone who knew him laughed at him. Now he is hindering the future of the republic. It seems that he

wants to replace the autocratic monarchy that has been passed down for generations with the Yuan family so that he can be satisfied."<sup>192</sup> At that time, the North and the South were negotiating peace.

At that time, it was obvious that Yuan Shikai was not trusted. Since the Xinhai Revolution, Zheng Xiaoxu often sent Yuan Shikai's draft memorials to

, newspapers, or news related to him included in his diary, it can be seen that he paid close attention to his movements and was always aware of Yuan.

Things gradually changed, which can be said to be a process of twists and turns. After the first peace talks between the North and the South on December 18, 1911, Yuan Shikai

Prince Jiqing ordered Tang Shaoyi, a representative of the Qing court, to propose to the revolutionary party to convene a National Assembly to referendum on the state system. At that time, the Yuan family claimed to the outside world

"Still advocating constitutional monarchy", Zheng Xiaoxu believed that "there are three options for Yuan. One is to defend the monarch and fight. The second is to resign and avoid other countries. The

third is to respond to the president's actions and plan for a rebellion in the future. However, the third option is too weird and extremely dangerous." On January 13, 1912, the newspaper

published "Yuan Shikai's reply to Liang Dingfen". Yuan Shikai seemed to be defending himself, "... I am loyal to this foolishness and fight against those demons, only to preserve the imperial system, not to break

up the territory, to avoid the tragedy of division, and to relieve the worry of extinction. I am selfish and worried about this..." After reading it, Zheng thought that Yuan Shikai's "writing style was clear and

fluent, and his simplicity was quite touching."<sup>194</sup> At this point, Zheng's impression of Yuan was still positive.

On March 23, Mrs. Zheng saw an article in the newspaper, "Letter from an Important Person in Beijing Discussing the Truth About Yuan Shikai."<sup>195</sup> The main idea was that Yuan Shikai had

Zheng did not sincerely support the monarchy, pointing out that Yuan had been trying to suppress the pro-war faction since the Battle of Yangxia, and in the end he suggested to Yuan that "if you really advocate

a republic, for the benefit of the country and the people, you should quickly get in touch with the Northern Army to calm their anger... and publish preferential conditions for the royal family to dispel the suspicion

of relatives and nobles. In this way, a republic can be expected and the country can be preserved." After reading this article, Zheng said, "I judge Xiangcheng with the heart of a gentleman, If so, he is really

like Erzhu Zhao. At that time, Zheng Xiaoxu opposed the abdication of the royal family, and naturally opposed the so-called preferential terms. When Zheng heard the news of the preferential terms,

he blamed the royal family for not fighting back, and cursed, "They are willing to lose their country, who can help them, alas."<sup>196</sup> Zheng originally hoped that Yuan Shikai could "open a national

meeting and settle the royal family" or defend the monarch and fight. Hearing such news was very difficult to accept. The famous Lao Naixuan was very concerned about

Yuan Shikai also had similar expectations. In his book "The Correct Interpretation of the Continuation of the Republic", he even advised Yuan Shikai to follow Zhou Zhao's story of the Republic and restore the Qing Dynasty.

North Korea, "This year (1914) is the third year of the Republic, and it will be the twelfth year of the Republic until the tenth year of the President's term. At that time, Emperor Xuantong was already

---

eighteen years old, but 191 Bai Jiao, "Yuan Shikai and the Republic of China" (Taipei: Wenhai Publishing House Society, 1967), page 27. 192 Bai Jiao, "Yuan Shikai and the Republic of China",

page 23. 193 Diary of December 24, 1911, collected in "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu", Volume 3, compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page

1374 . The diary of January 13, 1912 is included in the third volume of "The Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History,

page 1383. The diary of January 23, 1912 is included in the third volume of "The Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Chinese History

Museum, page 1386. . 196 Diary of February 4, 1912, included in "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, Volume 3, page 1390.

In the 14th year of the Republic of Zhou, Zhou Zhao returned power to King Xuan. This is also the story. 197 Compare the two

It can be found that both of them expected Yuan Shikai to clear up the government after taking office as president. In addition to writing "The Correct Interpretation of the Continuing Republic", Lao Naixuan

In addition, he wrote to Xu Shichang, asking him to persuade Yuan Shikai to restore the throne. After reading Lao Naixuan's article, Yuan sent someone to ask Lao to serve as a counselor.

198 There was no response to Lao's proposal to return the government to the Qing Dynasty. As time passed, Zheng Xiaoxu gradually became more and more dissatisfied with Yuan Shikai.

No longer having any expectations, on February 7, 1912, Zheng copied the full text of "Yuan Shikai's petition to withdraw the title of knight and to explain the overall situation."

He also said, "What I have recorded is all in the hope that Yuan will stick to his loyalty to the end. If I really betray the court, I will be unwise." 199 He is quite self-critical.

Mistakenly believed in Yuan Shikai's intentions.

### After this, Zheng continued to record news related to Yuan Shikai, but his intentions were quite different.

The views of the Yuan family or the Beiyang government were mostly ridiculed or dissatisfied. For example, after the Beiyang government was established, Yuan

Shikai appointed Tang Shaoyi as Prime Minister, and immediately sent Tang to borrow money from banks in Britain, France, Germany and Russia. However, the loan conditions were very strict.

As a result, the bank group supervised the disarmament, and the loan negotiations broke down many times. Zheng believed that "we can only order disbandment and punish those who dare to cause chaos. We will

send troops to four towns and borrow 40 million yuan, which can be fixed in half a year. How can we do it one after another?", 200 Another example is the assassination of Song Jiaoren. "A warrior hero died in a barracks .

The government wanted to silence him, but it was too late. This is a government of true thieves." In 201 and December 1915, Yuan Shikai proclaimed himself emperor and changed the Yuan Dynasty to

Hongxian. Zheng Xiaoxu "looked at it, which made people's eyes split open." It is worth noting that a few months before the restoration, it seemed that Yuan Shikai still hoped to win over the emperor.

For example, on August 16, 1915, which was the fourth month before the Hongxian monarchy, Beijing began to undergo reforms.

In terms of public opinion on the monarchy, Yuan Shikai "proposed to make Duke Yan Sheng, Zhu from the Ming Dynasty, and Emperor Xuantong the emperor of China." 202 Another example is August 22

Zheng Xiaoxu's diary records that Zheng's friend Shen Yuqing mentioned that Yuan Shikai wanted to make Emperor Xuantong king. In 203, after Yuan Shikai died of illness, Zheng Xiao

Xu still did not reduce his hatred for Yuan. It can be seen from a small incident in the diary that Chen Qimei was assassinated by Yuan Shikai's men.

About a year after his brother died in Qimei, his brother Aishi came to visit Zheng Xiaoxu and asked Zheng to carve the four characters "Never come back" for his brother and carve them on the tombstone.

Although Zheng Xiaoxu and Chen Qimei were on opposite sides of the issue, Zheng Xiaoxu showed his grace and agreed to help. Zheng believed that Chen

Its beauty is "Although the mad thief did not know the truth, he hated Yuan Shikai and was killed by him... The crime of rebellious officials was floating on the thief, which made the restoration work easier.

Chen 197 Tongxiang Lu's School Journal, "Tongxiang Mr. Lao (Naixuan) Posthumous Manuscript" ( Yonghe City, Taipei County: Wenhui Publishing House, 1969, published in the 16th year of the Republic of China (1927) by the Tongxiang Lu

School Journal), page 151. Written by Aixinjueluo Puyi, with a preface by Gao Yang, the first volume of "Autobiography of the Last Emperor" has been newly revised. Edition, page 104. 199 Diary of February 7, 1912, included in "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, Volume 3, page 1393. 200 Diary of May 9, 1912, included in "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" edited by the Museum of Chinese History Volume 3, page 1415. 201 Diary of April 26, 1913, collected in "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History. Volume 3, page 1461. 202 Diary of August 16, 1915, collected in "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History. Diary, Volume 3, page 1474. 203 Shen Yuqing, courtesy name Zhisi, nicknamed Aicang, was the fourth son of Shen Baozhen, a fellow native of Zheng Xiaoxu, and a fellow Tongguang-style poet.

The beauty may even surrender, but it is only because reason is enough to convince him. Sun Wen respected Sheng Jifu very much, which is the case. 204 It can be seen that although Zheng Xiaoxu disliked

Revolutionary Party, but still respects Chen Qimei, but the behavior of Yuan Shikai, Tang Shouqian and others is regarded by Zheng as "rebellious ministers"

, perhaps because although Chen Qimei is a "thief", he has been able to follow Sun Yat-sen for a long time and has a firm stand. In comparison,

He hates Yuan Tang and others even more than Chen Qimei. Here we can also see some interesting aspects of Zheng Xiaoxu's thoughts.

After Yuan Shikai's death caused a series of political turmoil, the Ding Si Restoration took place, and the Ding Si Restoration needed to start from Zhang Xun's organization of Xuzhou.

After the failure of the Hongxian Empire, the national defense armies in the southern provinces continued to rise, so Yuan Shikai asked Feng Guozhang to join forces.

The generals of each province expressed their willingness to stay and cease the war. Later, Feng Guozhang visited Anhui General Ni Sichong and the Yangtze River Patrol Envoy Zhang Xun.

On May 23, 1916, representatives from various provinces held a meeting in Nanjing. It was called the Nanjing Conference. However, this meeting was due to the fact that Feng, Ni, and Zhang

The purpose of the meeting was different. Feng Guozhang also refused to invite representatives from southern provinces to attend the meeting, so the meeting failed. Zhang Xun immediately

On the 1st day of the 19th century, representatives from various provinces were invited to Xuzhou for a meeting. This was the first Xuzhou Conference. Zhang Xun chaired the meeting and announced the outline.

Ten Articles: (1) Respect and give preferential treatment to the former Qing imperial family; (2) Protect the lives, property and all honors of President Yuan's family members after his death

(3) Request the government to quickly organize a parliament and implement a complete constitutional government in accordance with proper election procedures. (4) Urge Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi, Guangdong, Zhejiang, Sichuan, Shaanxi and Hunan to

All provinces should cancel their independence. If they persist in their prejudices, the issue will still be resolved by force. (V) Absolutely resist the participation of violent elements who repeatedly instigate chaos in the government.

(6) Strictly prepare the military and safeguard local security in the province and district. (7) Adhere to the legitimate purpose of maintaining national order and have a place to use troops.

We still need to work together to raise military and military expenses. (8) As soon as the national affairs are decided, we will jointly request the government to abolish exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous taxes to alleviate the hardship of the people.

(9) In the future, if the central government has bad governance and is harmful to the people, we must work together to fight against it in order to fulfill its purpose of giving advice. (10) The central government implements simple administration and solidifies the

205 Zhang Xun always hated the Kuomintang forces in the South and the military.

The third to fifth points of the outline clearly targeted the South. Zhang Xun also said that his purpose was to "plan a southern expedition."206 At that time, Li Yuanhong succeeded him as the general secretary.

He appointed Duan Qirui as Prime Minister and ordered that the Provisional Constitution should still be observed and the old National Assembly should be restored. This move was naturally not welcomed by Zhang Xun.

It hopes to rule out the Kuomintang and reorganize the National Assembly. The purpose of Article 672 seems to be to ensure the pay needs of its own army, while Article 91 hopes to consolidate the

In September 2075, Zhang Xun joined forces with Ni Sichong and other provinces to form the "Provincial and Regional Federation".

The "Hehui" is the Supervisory Corps.

204 Diary of March 29, 1917, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1654. 205

Hu Pingsheng, "The Restoration Sect in the Early Years of the Republic of

China", p. 144. 206 Zhang Xun, "Autobiography of Old Man Songshou" is included in the Rare Book Chronicle Series of Beijing Library, Volume 183 (Beijing: Beijing Library Press, 1999), pp. 199-210. 207 Hu

Pingsheng, "The Restoration Sect in the Early Years of the Republic of China", p. 144.

In April 1917, during World War I, the United States declared war on Germany. Duan Qirui's cabinet advocated participating in the war, and President Li Yuanhong stated

Duan Qirui was inclined to oppose it. In order to achieve the goal of participating in the war, he summoned the "Military Supervisor Group" to Beijing to hold a meeting, hoping to

The opinions of the group meeting influenced Li Yuanhong's government. On the other hand, Duan Neige submitted the declaration of war on Germany to the National Assembly for review and secretly organized

The "Citizens' Corps" surrounded the parliament and forced the parliament to pass the declaration of war. The so-called Citizens' Corps was actually instigated by Fu Liangzuo, a subordinate of Duan Qirui, to use the city

The 208 thugs and soldiers, holding petition banners, surrounded the House of Representatives and beat up the opposing members. This move could not achieve its goal.

Sure enough, Congress was angry and stopped the bill, and finally postponed it. At that time, the conflict between Li Yuanhong's government and Duan Qirui's cabinet became increasingly serious. On May 23, Li Yuanhong

Duan Qirui was dismissed from the post of Prime Minister. The governor's army was so angry that they held a meeting in Xuzhou for the Fourth Xuzhou Conference. Li Yuanhong was

Fearing the forces of the Overlord Army, Zhang Xun went to Beijing to mediate. In fact, during the Xuzhou Conference, Zhang Xun advocated restoration and called for restoration.

"The current situation is such that restoration is inevitable." Although the provincial governors did not express clear opposition, their intentions were not here. "There were also some representatives who understood the greater good,

but they were just soldiers in the warehouse and had to submit for a while. Most of them opposed it, and Zhang Xun was still dreaming." 209 Zhang Xun led his Dingwu Army to Beijing and supported Emperor Xuantong to restore the

monarchy on July 1. Duan Qirui immediately organized a

The rebel army attacked Zhang, but Zhang's army was defeated on the 11th, and the restoration failed.

Regarding the restoration of Ding Si, Zheng Xiaoxu was not involved, at least not in a central position. However, regarding the progress and news of the restoration

However, he was always aware that although Zheng regarded himself as a squire and naturally hoped to restore the monarchy, Zheng was shocked when he heard the news that Zhang Xun was preparing to restore the monarchy.

Sometimes I tend to be against it. On May 12, 1917, Li Yuanhong summoned Zhang Xun to Beijing to mediate the dispute between the government and the imperial court, and news of the restoration suddenly spread .

Go, Zheng Xiaoxu objected that "they are fighting for power to build a party, and they use the restoration as a shield and an excuse to join in and declare war. The restoration will put the royal family in great danger. This Cao Zhen can kill

thousands of people." 210 Obviously Zheng Xiaoxu does not believe it Zhang Xun is sincere about restoration and is worried about this

The move would endanger the royal family. In fact, Zhang Xun's restoration of the organization was not without worries. Zhang Xun had had conflicts with Japan before the restoration.

Through contacts, he strived to obtain the support of the Japanese government. In addition, Zhang Xun also became familiar with the Japanese tenant Nobuo. Nobuo Tsukuda became the leader of Japan

Lu Langren was also a restoration theorist who actively advocated restoration. He also inquired about the attitude of the Japanese government and conveyed it to Zhang Xun. In 1916

On December 19, Zhang Xun met with Shi Guangzhenchen, commander of the Japanese garrison in Tianjin, through the introduction of Zhu Jiabao, the governor of Zhili Province, and invited Shi Guang again

He conveyed his wish to restore the monarchy to the Japanese government and asked him to inquire about the Japanese government's opinion. However, at that time, the Japanese temple cabinet was not very interested in China.

The policy attached great importance to the relationship with Duan Qirui and did not support the restoration. In addition, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs also tended to oppose it.

---

208 Zhuang Jianping, ed., Modern History Data Library, Vol. 2, pp. 29-30. 209 Xuan Sheng,

Chronicles of the Restoration (Yonghe City, Taipei County: Wenhui Publishing House, 1996), p. 26. 210 Diary

entry for May 12, 1917, included in Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, Vol. 3, ed., National Museum of Chinese History, p. 1662. 211 Hu

Pingsheng, The Restorationists in the Early Years of the Republic of China, pp. 190-193.

Lin Quanzhu believed that "restoration is absolutely impossible and will fail if it is carried out blindly."<sup>212</sup> He and Foreign Minister Honno Ichiro submitted a petition to

Prime Minister Terauchi Masatake expressed opposition to the restoration, and ultimately the Japanese government did not approve of Zhang Xun's restoration.

After Zhang Xun learned about the Japanese government's intentions, his attitude wavered. On June 19, 1917, Zhang Xun went to Beijing and said, "I feared that the imperial family would be endangered , so I did not dare

to advocate for restoration."<sup>213</sup> As a result, he was reprimanded by Zhang Jie, Liu Tingchen and other elders. , the old man Sheng Yun also asked Zheng Xiaoxu to write

The letter was conveyed to Zhang Xun, asking him to carry out restoration as soon as possible and not to miss the opportunity. Zhang Xun was riding a tiger and carried out restoration in a hurry. Other

On the one hand, during this restoration, Zhang Xun led the promulgation of an edict prohibiting relatives from intervening in politics, which also aroused strong opposition from the royal family and princes.

However, Zhang Xun was defeated before he took any actual action. It is generally believed that the Qing Dynasty secretly supported Zhang Xun in Ding Si's restoration.

In fact, the Qing court had different views on Zhang Xun. On July 9, 1917, Zheng Xiaoxu learned the news of the failure of the restoration, "Zhang Xun's lack of strategy and Liu Tingchen's impetuosity are enough to defeat us, humiliate our young master, and bring shame to the scholars of the time. Alas."<sup>214</sup> In general,

Zheng's attitude was against it from the beginning. He was worried that the restoration would harm the Qing Dynasty. At the same time, he seemed to be resentful that he could not participate.

"This matter was conspired by the people in Qingdao and Shanghai, but they avoided me because they knew they would fail." The failure of the 215 restoration was clearly a conspiracy with Zhang Xun and others.

It is related to the poor painting, and some people think it is related to the changes in people's hearts, but Zheng Xiaoxu does not think so. In September 1917, Zheng visited the deceased

Wang Naizheng, 216 Wang believed that "the failure of the restoration was due to the bad people's heart", Zheng "ultimately thought that it was not possible to seek a husband", 217 he believed that the restoration failed

The main reason for the failure is the people. In other words, if Zheng believes that there are people with real ability and talent, then it is not impossible. For example, Zheng Xiaoxu has always admired Sheng

Yun is also his preferred candidate for restoration, but "if he is helpless, he may not be able to succeed."<sup>218</sup>

After the restoration of Ding Si, Prince Gong Puwei and Prince Su Shanqi of the Zongshe Party successively contacted Zheng Xiaoxu, trying to win again.

Wei and Shanqi were both members of the Zongshe Party, especially Pu Wei who firmly opposed abdication when Empress Dowager Longyu held a royal meeting. Pu Wei was restored this time

Wei and Shanqi met with Zhang Xun around June. The details of the meeting are unknown, but at least their attitudes were not

Objection, generally speaking, the two kings did not participate in the planning of this restoration. After the restoration almost failed in 219, Prince Gong Puwei wrote a letter inviting Zheng

Xiaoxu went to Qingdao to discuss restoration matters, but Zheng Xiaoxu declined on the grounds that "Zhang Xun has been defeated, and Beijing has nothing to do, and we have

---

to wait and see what happens."<sup>212</sup> Editor-in-chief Zhuang Jianping, "Modern History Database" Volume

2, pp. 198-201. 213 Diary of June 19, 1917, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History,

page 1668. 214 Diary of July 9, 1917, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, pages 1671 to 1672.

215 Diary of July 29, 1917, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1675. 216

Wang Naizheng, whose nickname is Pinsan and whose diary name is Wang Pinsan, is a frequent visitor to Zheng

Xiaoxu's group's Bible reading meetings. 217 Diary of September 15, 1917, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the

Museum of Chinese History, page 1683. 218 Diary of June 24, 1913, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the

Museum of Chinese History, page 1472. 219 Qiao Sheng, "Restoration Records", pp. 42-43.

220 After Zheng's friend Yao Fuqiu pointed out that Zheng Xiaoxu "partied with Prince Gong", which made Zheng Xiaoxu quite dissatisfied. In particular, he retorted, "Xuantong is my emperor. I have never met Prince Gong. How can I be in a

party?"<sup>221</sup> It seems that Zheng and Prince Gong did not have a close relationship. His attitude is worth pondering.

Shanqi invited "those who had failed in the restoration" to Lushun to discuss restoration after Dingsi. He sent people to contact Zheng twice.

The next time on August 3, 1917, a man named Tang Qisheng came to visit with Prince Su's business card and informed him that Prince Zheng Su had invited

The second message was on August 22, when the Japanese teacher of the East Asia Tongwen Academy, Mori Shigeru, invited "those who failed in the restoration" to go to Lushun.

Mori Mao was the official appointed by Prince Su to work in Shanghai. He also came with Prince Su's business card. However, Zheng Xiaoxu did not go to Lushun in the end.

The reason is unknown. Judging from Zheng's relationship with the Congshe Party figures, Prince Gong Puwei is in Qingdao and Prince Su is in Lushun. They have always been in competition with Zheng.

There was little contact between them. Shengyun was active in Gansu and Mongolia in his early years. Zheng Xiaoxu admired him very much, and the two also had contacts with each other. In short,

Perhaps because he was not able to participate in the restoration in the Dingsi year, Zheng was not very active in the restoration for a period of time.

The relationship with the Socialist Party appears to be relatively distant.

### Section 3: The Relationship between Zheng Xiaoxu and Lu Rongting

After the defeat of Ding Si's restoration, Zheng Xiaoxu began to contact Lu Rongting, and once pinned his hopes of restoration on Lu.

The matter is naturally related to the growth and decline of Lu Rongting's power at that time. Lu Rongting and Zheng Xiaoxu had a long history. Lu was Zheng's old subordinate.

In 1903, Zheng Xiaoxu was invited by Cen Chunxuan to go to Guangxi to suppress bandits. Cen Chunxuan then requested to transfer the Wujian Army to Guangxi to assist in defense.

Commander Xu, later Zheng was promoted to supervise the Guangxi border defense. Later, because the soldiers of the Wu Jian Army were not acclimated to the climate and soil and could not bear the burden of defense, Cen Chun

Xuan Nai also transferred Lu Rongting's Rongzi Battalion to Guangxi to share the defense of Wu Jianjun. Lu Rongting, courtesy name Qianqing, was born in Wuming County, Guangxi Province. He was poor when he was young.

He suffered a lot and later became a bandit in Annan. In the 20th year of Emperor Guangxu's reign, he was recruited by Guangxi Admiral Su Yuanchun and appointed as the commander of Jianzi Camp. In 1904, he was promoted to

The commander of the Rongzi Camp, Lu Rongting, was considered a subordinate of the Zheng family. However, when the Zheng family was supervising the Guangxi border defense, most of them were related to Lu Rongting.

In 1905, Zheng Xiaoxu resigned from the post of Guangxi Border Defense Supervisor due to the border food problem, while Lu continued to serve in Guangxi.

Development, he was promoted to governor of Guangxi in 1911, and governor of Guangxi after the founding of the Republic of China. In 1916, Yuan Shikai announced the Hongxian monarchy, and Lu

Originally supporting Yuan Shikai, after meeting Liang Qichao, he changed his mind and supported fighting against Yuan, and declared Guangxi independent. Yuan Shikai died of illness, and Li

Yuan Hong succeeded as president, and Lu Rongting was reinstated as the governor of Guangxi and awarded the first-class Jiahe Medal with the Grand Ribbon. In 1917, Lu Rongting went north and was appointed as

220 Diary of July 20, 1917, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1674.

221 Diary of July 30, 1917, included in the third volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1675.

The Guangdong-Guangxi Tour Commissioner, passing through Shanghai, gave Zheng Xiaoxu "four thousand dollars, a gold watch, and a piece of Xiangyun yarn".

While at the Huibin Building in Shanghai with friends, the eldest son Zheng Chui and Luo Cheng (Kaixuan) came to inform Lu Rongting of the gift, but Zheng Xiaoxu did not accept it and asked the two to give him a gift.

The gift was returned. On April 1, Zheng learned from the newspaper that Lu Rongting had come to Beijing to meet Emperor Xuantong, and behaved with contempt.

"This is really a gimmick." However, the news that Lu Rongting came to Beijing to meet the Qing Emperor attracted the attention of the Qing Dynasty and the elders. Lu Rongting

The court paid tribute to Emperor Xuantong, sponsored 10,000 yuan to plant trees in Chongling, and presented local products and foreign dollars, thus winning the favor of the Qing Dynasty and the elderly.

For example, Liang Dingfen, who was known for his loyalty to the Qing Dynasty, went to Yizhou (now Yi County, Hebei) to mourn at Chongling after the establishment of the Republic of China.

Chen Baochen was moved by his loyalty and because he volunteered to build a house to guard the mausoleum, he was appointed Minister of Tree Planting in Chongling. In the third year of the Republic of China, he became the teacher of Emperor Xuantong.

He would visit other elders and persuade them to donate money to support the tree planting in Chongling. Therefore, Lu Rongting's move was naturally welcomed by these Qing Dynasty masters.

However, the Qing Dynasty also had a lot of trouble arranging gifts for Lu, and because it was around the time of Ding Si's restoration,

The Qing court had the title "Southern Lu and Northern Zhang".<sup>223</sup> Zhang Xun and Lu Rongting were considered the two most loyal ministers, and they hoped to use their influence to achieve success.

On April 20, 1917, Lu Rongting returned to Shanghai and personally visited Zheng Xiaoxu. The two talked for a long time. Lu

When he was Emperor, he donated 10,000 yuan to plant trees in Chongling, and said that 4,000 yuan of it was submitted on his behalf by Zheng Xiaoxu.

It was given to Zheng by Lu, but Zheng did not accept it. Lu Sui took the opportunity of meeting the emperor to do a favor for Zheng Xiaoxu, and the Qing Dynasty also issued a decree.

The imperial pen "Zhen Feng Ling Su" was given to Zheng. Zheng Xiaoxu was very happy and hung the frame of the imperial pen in the house. He felt deeply honored. After this incident

, Zheng and Lu resumed their contact, and Zheng's attitude towards Lu also changed greatly.

In January 1918, Zheng Xiaoxu visited Hu Siyuan to discuss the restoration of the monarchy. Hu Siyuan believed that "it cannot be done again without Zhang Luhe" and brought

After hearing the news about Zhang Xun, Zhang Xun's subordinate Xiao went to Guangxi to meet Lu Rongting. Regarding the follow-up of the restoration, Lu proposed three conditions. Firstly,

The word "restoration" should not be raised immediately. The second Zhang Lu army joined forces in Wuhan. The third Lu Rongting army entered Guangdong. Zhang Xun was responsible for providing food and supplies to the soldiers. Zheng Xiaoxu believed that "Zhang and Lu should be informed", and confirmed the restoration strategy led by Zhang Xun and Lu Rongting.

On December 9, 1917, he went to Guangxi at the invitation of Lu Rongting. Two months later (February 4, 1918), Zheng Chui returned to Shanghai from Guizhou.

Lu Rongting hired Zheng Chui as a consultant and brought a message from Lu, "If you don't miss your old master, you are not a human being. The special time has not yet come, so you cannot speak to people's ears."<sup>224</sup>

Many of Lu's subordinates, the Gui army, were nostalgic. At this time, the Protection of Law Movement was in full swing and the Gui army was running out of food and needed help.

In order to raise military supplies, Xu sent Zheng Chui to contact Sokata Kotaro. Three days later, Sokata Kotaro and Hata Hiroshi came to Zheng and offered to borrow his money.

<sup>222</sup> Diary entry on March 21, 1917, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page

1653. <sup>223</sup> Aixinjueluo Puyi, with preface by Gao Yang, Autobiography of the Last Emperor, Volume 1, New Edition, page 112.

<sup>224</sup> Diary entry on February 4, 1918, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 1709.

The payment was "quite difficult", and Zheng Xiaoxu's fourth son Zheng Sheng was seriously ill at the time. 225 Zheng also had no energy to make further plans, so the matter ultimately came to nothing.

On November 1, 1919, Zheng Chui went to Guangxi again. On March 1, 1920, he was sent by Lu Rongting to Fengtian to unite with Zhang Zuolin.

The relationship between the Zhili clique and the Anhui clique was tense, while the Guangxi clique joined forces with the Beiyang Zhili and Fengtian cliques, agreeing that the Zhili clique would attack the Anhui clique in the north, while the Guangxi clique would drive

In the north, President Xu Shichang was dissatisfied with Xu Shuzhen, a subordinate of Duan Qirui, so he joined forces with Cao Kuan and Wu Peifu of the Zhili clique to control the Anhui

The Prime Minister Jin Yunpeng was originally from the Duan faction, but because he was at odds with Xu Shuzhen, Xu Shichang used the disagreement between Xu and Jin to split the Anhui faction.

In order to compete with Xu Shuzhen, Jin Yunpeng had to recruit the Zhili and Fengtian cliques as foreign aid. 226 As a result, the north became a situation where the Zhili and Fengtian cliques jointly attacked Anhui.

In the south, after the restoration of the Qing Dynasty in 1912, Duan Qirui reorganized the cabinet, but did not restore the old parliament. Instead, he elected another cabinet.

The new Congress was commonly known as the Anfu Congress. The Anfu faction had the largest number of members in this Congress, so Duan was able to control the Congress. Sun Yat-sen

The Republic of China military government was established in the south, and some members of the old parliament formed an extraordinary parliament. The military leaders in the southwest, such as the Guangxi clique,

Dissatisfied with Duan Qirui's policy of unification by force, he supported Sun Yat-sen's military government. Later, the Guangxi clique compromised with the Zhili clique and gradually sidelined Sun Yat-sen.

Zhongshan.

Under this situation, Zheng Xiaoxu contacted Wang Yitang, an important figure in the Anhui clique, through Cao Jingyuan and asked Wang to persuade Duan Qirui to restore Zhang Xun and Lu Rong.

In this way, "the military government will be destroyed, and the north will be spared the disaster of Xiao Jiang." 227 Three days later (March 3, 1920)

(Japan) Cao Jingyuan replied to Zheng, saying that the reinstatement of Zhang and Lu would need to wait until peace negotiations between the north and the south. In July of the same year, the Anhui War broke out.

Regarding the widespread rumors that Cao Kun of the direct line had colluded with Zhang Xun to return and restore power, Zhang Xun published telegrams in various newspapers on July 24, first seriously

He refuted the allegation of "seduction, what is the basis for that?" As for the restoration, he stated that he had received a great deal of favor, but "the needle of Bolang will only strike once", saying that he had no intention of restoring

the monarchy again. He then criticized Duan Qirui for being treacherous and deceiving him during the restoration. Finally, he said that he was "seventy years old, but I am satisfied to be a citizen of peace and forever

thank the gift of the republic", and officially stated on 228 that he would no longer participate in the restoration.

After Zhang Xun's restoration attempt failed, he turned to business and was about to retire. Xu Shichang appointed Zhang Xun as the director of Lin Ken.

229 Zheng Xiaoxu continued to pay attention to Zhang Xun and tried to mobilize all parties to make Zhang Xun regain control of the military power. This is basically the same strategy

as the aforementioned "nothing can be done without Zhang and Lu". It can be seen that Zheng Xiaoxu really hoped that Zhang Xun would come back at this time. At this

time, Zheng needed Zhang Xun in his plan. Therefore, Zheng was furious after reading the newspaper and learning about Zhang Xun's telegram. "Zhang Xun's telegram is a great

---

joke to all countries. Who is it?" 225 The diary says that Xiao Yi was diagnosed with meningitis on February 7, 1928

and died on the 13th. 226 Zhuang Jianping, ed., Modern History Data Library, Vol. 2, pp. 51 to

56. 227 March 10, 1920 Daily diary, included in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 1818. 228 "Zhang Daquan unexpectedly showed up", July 24, 1920, "Shishi Xinbao", second

edition. 229 Aixinjue Luo Puyi, preface by Gao Yang, "The Autobiography of the Last Emperor", Volume 1, New Edition, pages 126 to 127.

He is a draft? He is almost killable, but if he is true to his true nature, he is a true slave." 230 After that, there were successive reports of Zhang Xun serving as the patrol envoy, but finally there was no conclusion.

fruit.

About one month after the end of the Zhi-Wan War, the Guangdong-Guangxi War broke out immediately. Zheng Xiaoxu had high expectations for the performance of the Guangxi clique, and even

On July 10, he dreamed of Lu Rongting and thought that Lu "had the potential to be granted a title of nobility". On September 26, Zheng Xiaoxu read the newspaper and learned that there was a report that the military governor of Jiangsu was

There is talk of a ten-province alliance headed by Li Chun. "Suddenly there is talk of a ten-province alliance, with Li Chun as the leader, just to exclude Zhang Zuolin. Xu Shichang secretly wants to do this, and

will use Vice President Xu Lichun to join forces with the Revolutionary Party. The Revolutionary Party Assist Chen Jiongming in the south and Wu Peifu in the north to defeat the restoration. Zhang Zuolin and

Lu Rongting are both their enemies. If Zhang Xun rushes out, it will be difficult for them to join forces. If Lu defeats Chen Jiongming and Zhang destroys Wu Peifu, the restoration can be completed.", 231 in This

shows that Zheng still envisioned Zhang Xun's comeback, but the subsequent development of the situation was not as Zheng Xiaoxu had inferred. Jiangsu Governor

Li Chun, an army general, died in the Warlord's Office on October 11, 1920. As the Guangdong-Guangxi War developed, Guangxi clique Lu Rongting lost to Chen Jiongming, and finally

Withdrew from Guangdong. Regarding the reasons for the failure of the Guangxi clique, public opinion at the time analyzed that, taking the Battle of Huizhou as an example, since the Guangxi army entered Huizhou,

There were many incidents of robbery and burning of people's houses, so the people spontaneously formed a militia to harass the Gui army, which made the Gui army's battle quite unfavorable.

## In June 1921, the Second Guangdong-Guangxi War broke out, and the Guangxi clique was defeated.

Finally, on July 22, Lu Rongting resigned from office. Zheng Xiaoxu was very angry after learning the news. He changed his previous attitude of being optimistic about Lu, "I am very angry when I read it. I will

not insult me so much. I will recover quickly if I lose." After 233 days, although Zheng Xiaoxu was still with Lu Rongting, he was very angry. Lu Rongting exchanged letters, but his plan was to support

The restoration strategy led by warlords such as Zhang Xun and Lu Rongting ultimately failed.

---

230 Diary of July 24, 1920, included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page

1836. 231 Diary of September 26, 1920, included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1842. 232 "Guangdong Special Newsletter", "Current Affairs News", October 14, 1920, second page, first page.

233 Diary of July 22, 1921, included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1874.

## Chapter 4: Activities after 1923 and participation in Manchukuo

### Section 1: Zheng Xiaoxu's entry into the palace

From the Revolution of 1911 to 1923, although Zheng Xiaoxu continued to pay attention to the current situation and participated in restoration activities, his

There were few direct contacts with the Qing Dynasty. In 1923, Zheng Xiaoxu was recommended by Chen Baochen, the Taifu of the Qing Dynasty, to serve in the imperial court of the late Qing Dynasty.

From the time when she was in Shanghai, Zheng was closer to the Qing Dynasty and the core of the restoration.

The first time Yi mentioned Zheng Xiaoxu was on May 29, 1923. Chen Baochen dedicated a book to Puyi, and Puyi handed the book to the deacon.

The eunuch collected it, but later the book was lost, so Puyi wanted to denounce the eunuch. Although Chen Baochen tried to calm him down, Puyi still insisted, "Master Zang once said that it was appropriate to dismiss

the eunuch, and Zheng Xiaoxu also said that it was appropriate to dismiss him." 234 Chen Baochen therefore suspected that it was Zheng Xiaoxu. Because of the secret folding to Puyi,

However, according to Zheng's own recollection, there was no secret. It is inferred that someone mentioned his name when he persuaded Puyi to dismiss the eunuch. Zheng Xiaoxu was

The circle of elderly people in Shanghai has a wide network of contacts, and the identification of the elderly people is also well known. Perhaps because of this, Puyi gradually learned about Zheng's identity.

As for the reason why Puyi summoned Zheng Xiaoxu, it was related to the situation within the Qing Dynasty. At that time, Puyi was in the English teacher

Under the advice of Johnston, he tried to reform the Household Department, which had existed before the Qing Dynasty entered the mainland.

It still exists after that. According to the preferential treatment terms for house cleaning, the government of the Republic of China needs to transfer 4 million taels every year to clean houses. However, the funds are often in arrears.

Therefore, in order to maintain the daily expenses of the royal family, the Ministry of Internal Affairs often had to mortgage cultural relics. According to Johnston's recollection, the Ministry of Internal Affairs was severely corrupt.

He even colluded with businessmen to steal and sell royal cultural relics and treasures. 235 Johnston suggested that Puyi set up a special agency to count the purple

The Forbidden City Cultural Relics were initially managed by Li Hongzhang's second son, Li Jingmai. However, due to Li's poor health, he asked his relative to take over.

After serving in the Ministry of Internal Affairs for three months, he asked for leave. Naturally, the Ministry of Internal Affairs was very dissatisfied with Puyi's reforms, so he asked Prince Chun Zaifeng to

He came out to persuade Puyi to give up reforms and save money. Puyi then felt that he must invite a Han who was not influenced by Prince Chun to take over.

On the other hand, Zheng's fellow countryman Chen Baochen also recommended Zheng Xiaoxu to Puyi, which also impressed Puyi deeply.

On June 26, 1923, a fire broke out in the Jianfu Palace in the Forbidden City, destroying a large number of cultural relics. Puyi suspected that the eunuchs in the palace had stolen the cultural relics.

Theft of cultural relics and fire were the cause of the fire. In July, nearly a thousand eunuchs were dismissed from the palace. On August 7, the deceased Hu Siyuan returned home from Beijing.

, visited Zheng Xiaoxu in Shanghai and discussed the situation of dismissing the eunuchs. Puyi took the initiative to ask Hu about the news about Zheng Xiaoxu:

---

234 Diary of May 29, 1923, included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 1950. 235 Johnston, translated by Gao Boyu, "Twilight in the Forbidden City" (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, April 2012), pp. 212-213.

The emperor asked Hu, "Have you ever seen Zheng Xiaoxu?" Hu replied, "Yes." The emperor asked, "How old is Zheng?" Hu replied, "Over sixty." The emperor sighed and said, "Also sixty." Hu replied, "He is very strong, but only looks like fifty."

Hu Siyuan and Zheng Xiaoxu had mutual contacts. After the restoration of the Qing Dynasty in 1894, the two discussed the restoration strategy with each other. Hu Siyuan also persuaded Zheng

On August 22, 1923, Zheng Xiaoxu came to Beijing to see the emperor. There is no direct description of this meeting in Zheng's diary.

The situation was that on August 24, Chen Baochen mentioned to Zheng Xiaoxu that he was very satisfied with Puyi, "Zheng Xiaoxu is not old at all, and his words make me feel strong." As for the details, Puyi recalled it in more detail, "He talked about everything from the creation of the

world by Pangu to the future revival of the Qing Dynasty. When he was happy, his eyebrows danced with joy and his mouth was full of saliva. When he was excited, he burst into tears."<sup>237</sup> Puyi was very impressed with Zheng Xiaoxu, so he arranged for Zheng to preside over the

liquidation of the imperial property and financial reforms in the Forbidden City. On December 31, 1923, Zheng Xiaoxu received a letter from Chen Baochen, "After meeting him, the master was extremely impressed and thought that the task was heavy and far-reaching, and

that I was the best person to take on the task." On January 11, 1924, Zheng Xiaoxu received a letter from Chen Baochen, "After meeting him, the master was extremely impressed and thought that the task was heavy and far-reaching, and that I was the best person to take on the task."

Xu arrived in Beijing and was summoned first, and then met with Puyi's master Chen Baochen, Zhu Yifan, English teacher Johnston, and Minister of the Interior Shao

Zheng Xiaoxu's reform strategy can be roughly divided into two categories: opening up resources and reducing expenditure. First, in terms of reducing expenditure, he rectified the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Zheng Xiaoxu prepared a "Planning Statement" to explain the steps for sorting out the finances. "The most urgent task of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is to sort out the finances. It is advisable to divide it into three phases so that it can be

done step by step: the first phase is to raise funds, while cutting down and changing the value; the second phase is to deposit money, and the budget has been determined, and all the money should be paid in cash ; the third phase is to use

the remaining money, with less expenditure and more income, to save the principal with interest."<sup>238</sup> The so-called cutting down refers to cutting the expenses of the palace, and changing the value means to sell the Forbidden City.

The antiques and treasures in the collection will be sold or mortgaged for cash, and the proceeds will be deposited in the bank to gradually increase the deposits. In addition, there is a plan to merge the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Among the institutions in the imperial examination, only four subjects were retained. Puyi successively granted Zheng Xiaoxu the title of Minister of Internal Affairs, the first rank of Dingdai, the leader of the Maoqin Palace, and the director of the Imperial Palace.

## In fact, some of these methods have already been proposed.

Jin Liang, the minister of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, wrote to Puyi about the treasures of the Qing Dynasty. "The treasures stored in each palace should be inspected separately. The best ones will be preserved forever,

and the inferior ones will be changed in price. This will avoid the loss of sporadic sales and prevent theft and loss." "Yu", 240 Jinliang was played by Zheng when Zheng Xiaoxu entered the palace to summon his wife.

Bao, and later assisted Zheng Xiaoxu in his reform work under Puyi's instructions. According to Johnston's recollection, Zheng Xiaoxu's reduction methods were indeed effective:

In just three months, he had effectively saved the Qing Dynasty thousands of yuan in expenses every month. By this time, there were already signs that, if

there was no resistance, he could pass on his wealth to Xun in a reasonably short period of time. 236 Diary of August 7, 1923, included in the fourth volume of Zheng

---

Xiaoxu's Diary compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 1958. 237 Aixinjue Lu Puyi, preface by Gao Yang, the first volume of the Autobiography of the Last Emperor, page 181. 238 Diary of December 31, 1923, included in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 1977. 239 Diary of March 5, 1924, included in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 1988. 240 Aixinjueluo Puyi, Autobiography of the Last Emperor, Volume 1, New Edition, with preface by Gao Yang, p. 179.

The emperor proposed a balanced budget.

Zheng Xiaoxu also made many plans and efforts in the field of open source. For example, Zheng Xiaoxu visited the then Bank of China on February 24, 1924.

President Jin Huan discussed the fundraising issue with him. Jin Huan responded, "If Cao Qin instructs the Ministry of Finance to raise funds and entrusts the Department of Taxation to set up a plan, then each of China

Securities, HSBC, Huili, and Daosheng will transfer tens of thousands of yuan every month, and we should be able to get it." On March 22, 1923, he visited Zhuo Dingmou, the manager of Beijing Industrial Bank, and Deng Junxiang, the deputy director of Beijing HSBC Bank, discussed the matter of raising funds for the royal family. Deng Junxiang claimed that he had been doing his best to protect the royal family in HSBC Bank.

The situation of protecting the royal family also won Zheng Xiaoxu's trust. On June 11, 1923, he visited Wang Kemin. Wang was the treasurer of Sun Baoqi's cabinet in 1924.

Chief Political Officer, and also served as a member of the Customs Additional Tax Custody Committee and a member of the Tariff Autonomy Committee. Zheng Xiaoxu asked Wang Kemin to help

Wang Kemin promised to try to arrange for the allocation of 50,000 yuan from the customs funds to the royal family.

In addition to raising funds, another source of funds for the open-source strategy was the printing of the Sikuquanshu, which Zheng Xiaoxu had already started before entering the palace.

He served as a director of the Commercial Press. In 1924, the Commercial Press celebrated its 30th anniversary, so he decided to print the Complete Library in Four Treasures to celebrate the occasion.

Congratulations, the library discussed with the Qing Dynasty and the State Council respectively. The Qing Dynasty agreed to lend Wenyuange's "Sikuquanshu" and transport the complete book to Shanghai.

When it went to press, the State Council promised to protect it.<sup>245</sup> The person responsible for contacting the Embassy and the Qing Dynasty was Zheng Xiaoxu. At that time, Zheng was the commercial printer.

The library directors and the Qing imperial court's ministers planned to pay a sum of money to the Qing imperial court after the publication of the Siku Quanshu.<sup>246</sup>

Another open source strategy of Zheng Xiaoxu. In December 1923, Zheng Zhenwen and He Gongdao, editors of the Commercial Press, visited Zheng Xiaoxu to discuss the Four

As the printing of the Ku Quan Shu was funded by the Commercial Press alone, Zheng Xiaoxu bluntly stated that the difficulty of this project was that "the business would have to be suspended for fifteen years, and there would

be no paper to use."<sup>247</sup> Zheng Zhenwen intended to introduce Japanese capital and use the Boxer Indemnity to support the Chinese

Zheng Xiaoxu promised to introduce Naito Hunan and other people to participate in the investment. On January 10, 1924, Zheng received the

Gao Fengqian's letter mentioned that the "Sikuquanshu" should be printed in a reduced size to save paper. Zheng Xiaoxu will Gao

The letter was forwarded to Chen Baochen, stating that the printing of the book should be initiated by the royal family. The next day, Zheng Xiaoxu mentioned it to Puyi when he went to Beijing to call for a meeting.

On January 16, Gao Fengqian came to see Zheng Xiaoxu and showed him the proposed method of printing the Siku Quanshu. <sup>241</sup> Johnston, translated by Gao Boyu, *The Dusk of*

---

the Forbidden City, p. 251. <sup>242</sup> Diary of February 24, 1924, included in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 1985. <sup>243</sup> Diary of March 22, 1924, included in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 1990. <sup>244</sup> Diary of June 11, 1924, included in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 2003. <sup>245</sup> Lin Zihong, "Old Cultural Relics, New Recognition: The Complete Library in Four Treasures and Cultural Politics in the Republic of China," *Journal of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*, No. 77, September 2012, p. 74. <sup>246</sup> Li Zhiming, "120 Years of Commercial Press—70 Years of Efforts: The Ups and Downs of the Reprinting of the Complete Library in Four Treasures," collected in *The Paper*: [https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail\\_forward\\_1715923](https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_1715923) (clicked on 2024/1/7). <sup>247</sup> Diary of December 12, 1923, collected in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 1974.

Article". On January 24, Fu Zengxiang, Gao Fengqian and Zheng discussed printing matters during lunch. Zheng Xiaoxu said that he had discussed with the Minister of the Interior

Negotiations between the British and the Republic of China governments were completed, and they explained that a special car would escort the "Sikuquanshu" to Shanghai for publication. On February 28th, I met with Fu Zengxiang and

Gao Fengqian made an appointment for lunch. Gao Fengqian said that he had received news that most of the cabinet agreed to the printing of the book. "Only Cheng Ke said that Cao Kun wanted to self-print

and suspended the approval." Jin Liang proposed to "just ignore it." Fortunately, 248 days later , the proposal fell through, and the publication was said to be going smoothly. On April 9, Gao Fengqian wrote

to Zheng Xiaoxu, "The Siku book project has failed. The small paper written by Cao Kun has been handed over to the State Council. The book will not be shipped until now." Zheng's opinion In order to be

shocked, "It's so shameful to know who was in the dark". The reason for the failure of 249 was, on the one hand, Cao Kun's confidant Li Yanqing asked

The bribe of 60,000 yuan was not paid, so they secretly obstructed and blocked it. On the other hand, the Beijing government also went back on its word for the sake of interests and politics.

Er, overturning the previous agreement, 250 Zheng Xiaoxu's plan to publish "Sikuquanshu" to open source failed.

Zheng Xiaoxu served as Minister of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for about three months. Although he achieved some results, he still encountered many obstacles.

In terms of the two issues of reducing expenditure, this has offended many people in the palace, the most obvious of which is the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

It has existed since the early Qing Dynasty. Manchus have long served as ministers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Before Zheng Xiaoxu, Jin Liang, Shaoying, Qiling, etc., according to Puyi

Looking back, appointing Zheng Xiaoxu to manage the Imperial Household Department was already an exceptional promotion. After taking office, Zheng received full support from Puyi, but he followed the trend.

He recommended many people who supported the reform, such as Tong Jixu as the chief of the Three Banners Guards and Johnston as the minister of the Yiheyuan Office.

, and Jin Liang who sent an edict to assist. Among them, Johnston and Jin Liang entered the palace earlier than Zheng Xiaoxu, so they had great control over the finances of the Qing Dynasty.

Zheng Xiaoxu knew the situation very well, and he often exchanged opinions with the two of them. Both of them supported Zheng's reforms. However, Zheng Xiaoxu was undergoing reorganization

It was still not going well. According to Puyi's memory after Zheng Xiaoxu took office, "From then on, the Ministry of Internal Affairs seemed to be paralyzed. It asked for money, but there was no money at all. There

really was none. It was clearly written in the account that if you wanted something, you could never find it. "Place of storage", 251 and save fees

The actions taken by Zheng Xiaoxu made him a thorn in the eyes. A few days after Zheng Xiaoxu took office, he received a threatening letter. Zheng showed the letter to Johnston.

And tore it up without any care. In addition, the Ministry of Internal Affairs was naturally unwilling to suffer losses and secretly resisted Zheng Xiaoxu's actions, such as

The government asked Prince Chun Zai-hsien to put pressure on the government. On May 21, Prince Chun Zai-hsien entered the palace to handle affairs. He firmly told Zheng that "the reduction will be delayed

until after the Spring Festival."252 The Ministry of Internal Affairs also secretly spread rumors unfavorable to Zheng to the Republic of China government. Long before Zheng Xiaoxu entered the palace, Lu

Members of parliament and radical groups continued to call for changes to the preferential treatment clauses for the Qing Dynasty, thus forming a debate that was not conducive to the Qing Dynasty. After Zheng Xiaoxu

---

248 Diary entry on February 28, 1924, in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p.

1986. 249 Diary entry on April 9, 1924, in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p.

1993. 250 Lin Zhihong, "Old Cultural Relics, New Recognition: The Complete Library in Four Treasures and Cultural Politics in the Period of the Republic of China", p. 74. 251 Aixinjue Luo Puyi, preface by Gao Yang, The Autobiography of the Last Emperor, Volume 1,

New Edition, p. 184. 252 Diary entry on May 21, 1924, in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 2000 .

On the same day of his resignation, the Minister of the Imperial Household Shao Ying conveyed to Pu Yi that the commander of the Capital Garrison, Wang Huaiqing, was "very dissatisfied with Zheng Xiaoxu's actions . Wang

Huaiqing said that if Zheng Xiaoxu continued to make trouble, he would not be able to help me if the Republic of China took any action."<sup>253</sup>

Four months ago, Zheng Xiaoxu also met Wang Huaiqing. Wang praised Puyi for his bravery and fortitude and promised to secretly take on the responsibility of protecting him.

Wang Huaiqing had always had a close relationship with the Qing Dynasty, and his relationship with Zheng was not too bad before this. However, his attitude changed drastically within a few months.

It is interesting to think that all these things caused great pressure on Zheng Xiaoxu and Puyi. After Zheng Xiaoxu asked to resign several times and was persuaded to stay, he finally resigned on June 6.

On the 25th of the month, he was ordered to go to Zheng Xiaoxu, the Minister of Internal Affairs, on an errand, and he was still walking for Maoqin Hall.

## Section 2 Incidents and Impact of Forced Conception

About a month after Zheng Xiaoxu left his position in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Feng Yuxiang forced the palace incident, that is, the Beijing coup, directly led to

Xuantong Emperor Puyi was forced to leave the palace, and the impact was not small. This incident was caused by the second Zhizhi-Fengzhi War, which was the reason for the break between the Zhizhi-Fengzhi and Fengzhi-Fengzhi factions.

Wu Peifu wanted to overthrow Liang Shiyi's cabinet. Since the Zhili-Anhui War, the conflict between the Zhili and Fengcheng cliques has become increasingly serious. With the support of the Fengcheng clique, Liang Shiyi

Wu Peifu was very dissatisfied with Liang Shiyi's cabinet because Liang Shiyi was pro-Japanese and supported by the Fengtian clique.

Lin supported the Liang cabinet, which led to the first Zhili-Fengtian war, which resulted in Zhizhi victory and Fengzhi defeat. Wu Peifu's power increased day by day, and he not only controlled the central government

The central government was also the most powerful among the Zhili clique, and Wu Peifu, like Duan Qirui, advocated the unification of the country by force, and Zhang Zuolin was ordered to

The other event was the Jiangsu-Zhejiang War in 1924, because the Zhili clique in Jiangsu

The conflict between the military governor Qi Xieyuan and the Anhui faction's Zhejiang governor Lu Yongxiang arose. In this battle, the Fengtian faction led its troops to assist the Anhui faction's Lu Yongxiang.

The Second Zhili-Fengtian War broke out. Although Duan Qirui of the Anhui faction suffered a great defeat in the Zhili-Anhui Campaign and had to hide in Tianjin, he tried to recover.

He also used his status as a senior Beiyang official and his connections to unite with other forces in an effort to overthrow the Zhili clique leaders Cao Kuan and Wu Peifu.

After Chen Jiongming defeated Lu Rongting of the Guangxi clique, he returned to Guangdong and vowed to fight for the Northern Expedition in Shaoguan in 1924, so Duan Qirui of the Anhui clique and Zhang Feng of the Feng clique

Zuolin and Sun Yat-sen of Guangdong then formed an anti-Zhili alliance.

Feng Yuxiang was originally a direct descendant of Wu Peifu, but he gradually became estranged from Wu Peifu due to the issue of interest distribution. On the other hand, Feng Yuxiang admired Sun

Sun Yat-sen and his contacts with Kuomintang figures also became the reason for Feng's coup.

Fu sent Feng Yuxiang's troops to Rehe. Feng contacted Duan Qirui to discuss the appropriateness of the coup. Zhang Zuolin of the Fengtian clique contacted Feng Yuxiang by letter.

---

253 Aixinjue Luo Puyi, Autobiography of the Last Emperor, Volume I, New Edition with Gao Yang

Preface, p. 186. 254 Zhuang Jianping, ed., Modern History Data Library, Volume II, pp.

608-612. 255 Du Chunhe, Lin Binsheng, Qiu Quanzheng, eds., Selected Historical Materials on Beiyang Military Leaders, Volume II (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 1981), pp. 105-106.

Asking Feng Yuxiang to temporarily suspend the action in Rehe so as to concentrate the troops to attack Wu Peifu, Feng Yuxiang also exchanged letters with Huang Fu many times to communicate with each other.

In addition, Feng even persuaded Sun Yue, Wang Chengbin and others from the Zhili clique to prepare for the coup. In September 1924, the Zhili-Fengtian war broke out.

Afterwards, Feng Yuxiang led his troops to Rehe, and suddenly returned to Beijing on October 22. On the 23rd, he took control of Beijing and launched a coup. President Cao Cao

Chiung and Prime Minister Yan Huiqing resigned one after another, and Huang Fu was appointed Prime Minister. On November 4, at the suggestion of Feng Yuxiang, Huang Fu's cabinet passed the revised

According to the preferential treatment given by the Qing Dynasty, on the fifth day, Lu Zhonglin, a subordinate of Feng Yuxiang, led his troops to surround the Forbidden City and forced Puyi to leave the palace.

After leaving the palace, Puyi temporarily went to Prince Chun's mansion. At this time, Feng Yuxiang's Nationalist Army controlled Beijing, blocked traffic, and also sent troops to surround Chun.

There was no news at the Prince's Mansion. Chen Baochen, Zhu Yifan and other ministers were unable to enter or leave. Regarding Johnston, Luo Zhenyu, Zheng Xiaoxu

The activities are summarized as follows. On the morning of the 5th, Johnston heard the news of the forced abortion. He immediately drove into the Forbidden City with Baylor and Zaitao to help Feng Jun.

After being refused entry, he went to the embassy district to find the Dutch ambassador, and then met with the British ambassador MacArthur and the Japanese ambassador Yoshizawa Kenkichi.

He expressed his concern to Foreign Minister Wang Zhengting about Feng Jun's attempt to force the emperor to abdicate. Wang then promised to guarantee Puyi's safety.

258 A few days before the coup, Luo Zhenyu saw the Nationalist Army of Sun Yue stationed in the Dagao Palace and

259 knew the situation was urgent, so he went to the Japanese Embassy and agreed with Colonel Takemoto Dokichi to exchange information via radio.

I took the Beijing-Tianjin International Train in the embassy area to the Japanese Army Headquarters in Tianjin (China Garrison Army) and asked for protection of Puyi. The headquarters asked Luo to go back.

Looking for Colonel Takemoto, Luo personally visited Duan Qirui and asked Duan to send a telegram to stop Feng Jun's riot. Duan Qirui was about to go to bed, but did not talk to Luo

Zhenyu met, but agreed to send a telegram. After Luo returned to Beijing on November 6, Takemoto Colonel said that Japanese troops would patrol around Prince Chun's Mansion.

On November 5, Zheng Xiaoxu heard the news of the abdication and immediately

Colonel Takemoto plotted to send doctors to the Northern Palace to treat Puyi, and then escort Puyi away from Prince Chun's Palace on the pretext of illness.

He went to the Japanese barracks and sent another telegram to Duan Qirui, "I hope you can send another telegram to Feng and others to allow us to move to Dongjiaomin Lane to avoid unexpected dangers."

After 261, Zheng Xiaoxu, Takemoto's adjutant Nakaharamatsu, and doctor Murata went to Prince Chun's Mansion, but this plan was blocked by Prince Chun and Chen Baochen.

On November 7, he received a telegram from Duan Qirui, "I will do my utmost to protect the royal family and preserve their property ." 262 On November 22, Duan Qirui arrived in

Beijing to take up the temporary government. Zheng Xiaoxu and his eldest son Zheng Chui welcomed Duan. The next day, Duan Qirui, 256 Hu Pingsheng, "The

---

Restorationists in the Early Years of the Republic of China", pp. 401 to 408.

257 Sir James William Ronald Macleay (1880 to 1918), British Minister Plenipotentiary to China 1922 to 1926. 258 Johnston, translated by Gao Boyu, "The Dusk of the  
Forbidden City", pp. 312 to 313. 259 The Dagao Hall is now called the Dagaoxuan Hall. It is

currently located at No. 21 and 23, Xishanmen Street West, Xicheng District, Beijing. Jingshan is located in Jingshan Park, Jingshanqian Street, Xicheng District, Beijing. 260  
Luo Zhenyu,

"Ji Liao Bian", Volume 1 of the Fifth Volume of the Complete Works of Luo Xuetang (Taipei: Wenhua, 1969), p. 41. 261 Diary of November  
5, 1924, included in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary , compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 2026. 262

Diary of November 7, 1924, included in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 2026. After Zheng Xiaoxu sent a telegram to Du

Ask Cao Jingyuan to express to Zheng that he wants to recruit him into the cabinet. However, Zheng Xiaoxu has always been hostile to the Republic of China. Even though Zheng and Duan have quite a personal relationship, at this time

"He was still worried about the reputation of his consultant," and he firmly refused. 263

Since Duan Qirui took over as interim power, Feng Jun from Prince Chun's Palace retreated two days later. The situation temporarily eased, and the situation within Prince Chun's Palace

A dispute arose over Puyi's behavior, and Prince Chun Zaiyun, the Imperial Household Department, and other princes hoped to restore the preferential terms.

She returned to the palace and opposed Puyi's departure. She said she should wait for the right time and put her hopes on Duan Qirui and Zhang Zuolin. Duan Qirui privately agreed with this.

Although Feng Yuxiang was very interested in the restoration of the preferential terms, he was always hypocritical and evasive. Moreover, Feng Yuxiang had also exchanged ideas with Duan Qirui before the coup.

Correspondingly, Jin Liang criticized Duan Qirui in his diary for not being sincere in restoring the preferential treatment terms, "Since Duan and Zhang arrived in Beijing, they have made empty promises , but

there is really nothing they can do. Everyone has been deceived, thinking that restoration is imminent, so The facts have not been seen, but the opinions have been made." 264 And Zheng Xiaoxu,

Although Luo Zhenyu and Johnston held different opinions, they agreed that they should leave Prince Chun's Mansion as soon as possible. Zheng Xiaoxu and

Jin Liang was repeatedly opposed by the royal family and princes in leaving the Northern Palace, and he began to feel dissatisfied with Prince Chun Zaiyun, Zai Ze and other princes.

Manchuria, 265 Puyi himself was still in the Forbidden City a few years before the coup. Under the influence of Johnston, he had already planned to study abroad.

He planned to escape from the palace several times, but was blocked by Prince Chun Zaifeng, and his death failed. At this time, he desperately hoped to leave Prince Chun as soon as possible.

On November 27, Zhuang, Zheng, and Luo jointly asked Puyi to leave Prince Chun's Palace, planning to go to the German Hospital first and then to the embassy area. Zhuang Shi

Dun heard that Feng Yuxiang would make another move in the near future, while Luo Zhenyu had long believed that "Beifu is a dangerous place and cannot be settled for a long time."

Ke Shaonian went to the Japanese Embassy to inquire about the protection. After 267, he told Puyi that Feng Yuxiang and the radical elements in Beijing would be detrimental to him. Zheng

Xiaoxu realized the situation was urgent after seeing the "Song of Civilian Self-Government" found by his son Zhengyu and the Communist Party leaflets from Peking University.

268 He then told Puyi the dangers of "communism". On November 29, Johnston, Chen Baochen and Puyi first drove to Dongjiaominxiang.

German Hospital. After arriving at the hospital, Johnston immediately went to the British Embassy to negotiate the protection of Puyi. After Johnston left, Zheng Xiaoxu arrived.

---

Duan once sent a telegram to Feng Yuxiang, saying that it was inappropriate to expel Puyi from the palace. Feng disagreed because of his prejudice. Instead, he believed that Duan Qirui agreed to overthrow the Zhili clan for personal revenge and was "addicted to kowtow." Du Chunhe, Lin Binsheng, "Selected Historical Materials on Beiyang

Warlords" edited by Qiu Quanzheng, Volume 2, page 165. 263 "Shanghai Pictorial" records that before the Zhejiang-Anhui War, Duan Qirui wanted to snare Zheng Xiaoxu because of his admiration for Zheng Xiaoxu's reputation for integrity. However, Zheng Xiaoxu regarded himself as a Qing Dynasty survivor and was only willing to exchange political opinions. When Feng Yuxiang forced the palace, Duan Qirui deliberately recruited him. When Zheng entered the cabinet, public opinion believed that Duan Qirui wanted to use his cabinet position to win over Zheng

Xiaoxu, but Zheng Sui was angry and refused to give in. "The Anecdote of Mr. Zheng Sukan", 1926, "Shanghai Pictorial", Issue 72, Page 2. The diary of November 23, 1924 is included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 2028. 264 Jin Liang, "Diary of Incidents", collected in "Selected

Literary and Historical Materials", Volume 13, edited by the Cultural and Historical Materials Research Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, (China Literature and History Publishing House, 1st edition, December 1989), Page 104. 265 At that time, the princes were very optimistic about the

restoration of preferential treatment conditions, so Zheng Xiaoxu and Jin Liang secretly planned to leave Prince Chun's palace. Johnston, because of his close personal relationship with Zaifeng, privately persuaded Zaifeng, but Zaifeng was

still opposed. Aixinjue Luo Pujia, "1924 Records of Puyi's Lock Before and After He Leaves the Palace", included in "Selected Literary and Historical Materials", Series 13, edited by the Cultural and Historical Materials Research

Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, page 104. 266 The original site was in Dongdan, Dongcheng District, Beijing, China. The original building

no longer exists and it is now called Beijing Hospital. 267 Luo Zhenyu, "Ji Liao Bian", "The Complete Works of Mr. Luo Xuetang", Volume 1 of 5, p. 43. 268 Diary of November 26, 27, and 29, 1924, included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, pages 2029 to 2030.

The German hospital, because Zheng had planned with Colonel Takemoto on November 5, decided to go to the Japanese Embassy this time.

He was ordered to inform Colonel Takemoto at the Japanese Embassy. After consulting with Minister Yoshizawa, Takemoto asked Puyi to come quickly.

They took a car to the Japanese Embassy, and Chen Baochen also arrived shortly afterwards. Minister Fangze arranged a room for Puyi, and Puyi temporarily stayed at the Japanese Embassy.

Zheng Xiaoxu was very satisfied with his decision to avoid the Japanese embassy and wrote a poem: "On the third day of the eleventh month, I was honored to be in the imperial carriage."

"Japanese Embassy", his poem said: Riding on the returning wind, carrying cloud flags, there are no people and ghosts galloping around. Holding the emperor's son out of the tiger's den, there is nothing like this in the vast history of Qing Dynasty.

On this day, the Mongolian wind comes, and the sky falls and the earth falls to see Gonggong. Don't complain that warriors are not available, there is still a bald man in the world. 269

The poem, from the beginning to the end, describes the day on November 29 when Zheng Xiaoxu and Puyi rode in a carriage to the Japanese Embassy.

Afterwards, the emperor pointed to Puyi, and the three lines " Qingshi" and "Stop complaining until the bald old man" particularly showed his proud mood.

Zheng Xiaoxu and Luo Zhenyu both participated in the establishment of the embassy, but their accounts differ somewhat. This is related to the contradiction between the two.

The conflict between the two can be seen from several things. First, when Luo Zhenyu wrote about leaving the palace in his autobiography, he mentioned

It was decided after Luo and Chen Baochen discussed it. According to Puyi's recollection, Luo Zhenyu once told Puyi that he fled to the Japanese Embassy because

As a result of Luo's negotiations with Colonel Takemoto and Duan Qirui, he deliberately ignored Zheng Xiaoxu's actions.

Both Luo and Luo discussed protecting Puyi with Colonel Takemoto during the coup in Beijing. According to Minister Yoshizawa Kenkichi, in 1924

On Saturday, November 29, at 3:00 p.m., a "follower of the deceased emperor" came to visit. "Mr." told Fangze that Puyi was already at the embassy.

The German hospital in the district asked the Japanese embassy for temporary protection. 270 Fangze immediately informed the other party that due to the sudden incident, he would consider temporarily, "A certain

About 20 minutes after his departure, Puyi and his party arrived at the barracks of the Japanese embassy area. Fangze then welcomed him into the embassy and arranged for rooms.

Although Fangze was unwilling to announce the identity of "a certain family" at that time, after comparison, it can be found that this record is consistent with Johnston's

The story is roughly consistent with the story of Zhuang, except that in Zhuang's memoirs, after Zhuang informed Fangze of the protection, he "paced around the room to

consider the issue, and then made a decision that he was willing to receive Emperor Xun." 271 In Shuntian Times, Fangze did not

**He did not immediately respond to "Mr. So-and-so's" request, but the other details are the same in both records.**

According to the records, "Before I came to the Japanese Embassy, I and the scholar Ke from Jiaozhou were worried that the Beifu Prefecture was in danger and could not stay for a long

time, so they visited the Japanese envoy together to discuss the affairs of the Japanese embassy. When you come here, you should defend it with all your heart", 272 Diplomacy

---

in Japan 269 Written by Zheng Xiaoxu, edited by Huang Kun and Yang Xiaobo, "Haizanglou Poetry Collection"

(updated edition), page 323. 270 "The Japanese envoy's remarks on the emperor Yong Liuxun", December 2, 1924, "Sunchon Times", third page. 271 "Twilight in the Forbidden City" by Johnston, translated by Gao Boyu, pp. 354 to

355. 272 Luo Zhenyu, "Ji Liao Bian", "The Complete Works of Mr. Luo Xuetang", Volume 5, Volume 1, page 43.

The record of November 9, 1924 in the document does contain a record of the conversation between Luo Zhenyu, Ke Shaoni and Fangze,<sup>273</sup> but there was no direct record of the conversation on that day.

Then he talked about protecting Puyi, but about worrying that after Feng Yuxiang's coup, the central government would become extremely socialist.

It is now impossible to know when exactly Luo and Ke made a request to Fangze to protect Puyi. Also, Johnston and Zheng Xiaoxu were in charge of

Regarding the matter of the Sun Refuge Hall, the plots recorded by the two parties are generally consistent. The difference is that Zheng Xiaoxu thought that when he informed Takemoto, Takemoto

In fact, Takemoto did not notify Yoshizawa immediately, but waited until Puyi and Zheng Xiaoxu arrived at the embassy.

Therefore, if the records of Johnston, Fangze Qianji, and Zheng Xiaoxu can be combined with each other, the plot recorded by Zheng Xiaoxu

More credible.

The second was preferential treatment. After the Japanese Embassy was settled, people started to debate the preferential treatment again.

Xu advocated for the restoration of the original terms, and once expressed to Puyi that he could use his relationship with Duan Qirui to restore the preferential terms. Zheng Xiaoxu

Zheng Xiaoxu had a personal relationship with Duan Qirui's subordinates Cao Jingyuan and Wang Yitang, and since Duan Qirui wanted to recruit Zheng Xiaoxu,

Judging from the fact that Xu entered the inner cabinet, the two men did have a friendship, but Duan Qirui did not restore the preferential terms due to social pressure.

Zheng Xiaoxu was attacked because of this incident, so he angrily asked for leave and returned to Shanghai on December 6. Jin Liang mentioned this incident in his diary, thinking that

Zheng Xiaoxu was ostracized and felt quite resentful. "Later I found out that some people have recently been thinking of encircling Zheng. They are only trying to exclude Zheng, not for preferential

treatment. Gentlemen compete for favor and villains compete for profit. How can they die?"<sup>274</sup> At that time, Zheng Xiaoxu was indeed attacked for several things among the elders.

The first incident was on November 30, when Johnston visited Zhang Zuolin. He wanted to explain that Puyi was taking refuge in the Japanese embassy, but Zhang Zuolin

Lin was furious and accused Zhuang of bringing Puyi to the Japanese embassy. He also sent his staff to question why Puyi went to the Japanese embassy.

As mentioned above, Zaitao "told them that it was all Zheng's conspiracy, and he also spoke out against Zheng's evil deeds."<sup>275</sup> Prince Chun Zaiyun and other princes always advocated

Zhang Fu returned to the palace and was originally opposed to Puyi's departure. The Japanese Embassy was completely unaware of this asylum. On November 29, Puyi arrived at the Japanese Embassy.

After the visit, Zheng Xiaoxu was ordered to return to the German hospital to inform Zaiyun and Zaitao.<sup>276</sup> That is why Zaitao blamed Zheng Xiaoxu.

Yu Zheng Xiaoxu and Luo Zhenyu had a serious dispute over Puyi's stay in the Japanese embassy. Luo wrote to Puyi on November 6, "The National Army used violence to force Puyi to change the

preferential treatment conditions. It was in a dangerous situation at that time and it was unreasonable. Now that he is in danger, if he still does not "This is a tacit agreement, and it is appropriate to announce

to all countries that violent oppression was used on that day and unilaterally modify the preferential treatment conditions." Luo Zhenyu also called Yun Sheng to come to Beijing for Austrian aid,

---

277 and finally 273 Compiled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Japanese Diplomatic Documents", Taisho 13 Year (1924), Volume 2, pp. 469-470. 274

Jin Liang, "Diary of Encountered Changes", page 104. 275

Diary of December 1, 1925, included in "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, Volume 4, page 2031. 276 Puyi came to drive Chunwangfu to the German hospital, and Zhang Wenzhi, the housekeeper of Chunwangfu, followed him all the way to the German hospital in his car. 277 Aixinjueluo Pujia, "Notes on Puyi's Locking Before and After Leaving the Palace in 1924", collected in Selected Literary and Historical Materials, Volume 35, page 275.

In the end, Puyi accepted Luo's suggestion. Luo also said sarcastically that Zheng Xiaoxu "claimed that he could make Duan Qirui restore preferential treatment, but he returned to the south without telling him." 278 After that,

because Puyi believed Luo Zhenyu's explanation on the two matters of fleeing to the Japanese embassy and preferential treatment, he thought that Zheng was a "villain who took advantage of others' success"

and therefore temporarily distanced himself from Zheng and got close to Luo. On December 5, Sheng Yun came to the Japanese Embassy to pay respects to Puyi and accused Zheng Xiaoxu of "misleading the

country with his talks, misleading the emperor with his remarks, and harboring evil intentions." Jin Liang's diary recounted this incident in passing: "At first, I had a big argument with Zheng, so I summoned Sheng and treated

him as a serious matter. Sheng met the emperor and my opinion was accepted, so Zheng decided to leave." 279 Jin Liang's diary

This is Luo Zhenyu, and this incident can also illustrate the discord between Zheng Xiaoxu and Luo Zhenyu in order to win Puyi's trust.

After Zheng Xiaoxu returned to Shanghai on December 6, many of his close friends, such as his teacher Chen Baochen, Zhu Yifan, and his successor Jin Liang, all hoped to bring Zheng back.

Xiaoxu and Jinliang have often communicated with Zheng since he was appointed Minister of the Interior. They have similar ideas and they both support and assist in the management of government affairs.

After Puyi left the palace, Jin Liang wrote a memorial to the emperor, pleading that he should "go abroad as soon as possible" to avoid the danger of Feng Yuxiang's army, and advocated that the preferential terms "should

not be fought for by the emperor himself, but should be fought for by the public". He also suggested that after going abroad, Zheng Xiaoxu should be given full authority to handle the aftermath and negotiations with

the Republic of China. After Zheng Xiaoxu returned to Shanghai due to being excluded, Jin Liang wrote a memorial to Puyi, praising Zheng Xiaoxu, "Xiaoxu has perseverance and no selfishness, and can be entrusted with

important matters. I asked for his quick departure and gave Xiaoxu full authority to handle the aftermath. I know that among the people around him today, only Xiaoxu can handle this important task." 280, Teacher Chen

Baochen also wrote several letters to persuade Zheng Xiaoxu to return to Beijing, but Zheng Xiaoxu finally did not return to Beijing.

Regarding Puyi's relocation to Zhangyuan, since Puyi wanted to go abroad, there were many discussions about going abroad in Prince Chun's mansion.

People put forward suggestions one after another. For example, when Puyi was still in Prince Chun's palace, Hu Shi came to visit and advised Puyi to make up his mind before going abroad.

If he goes to England, Mr. Johnston can take care of him. If he goes to America, it won't be hard to find someone to help him."281 Liang Dingfen, the deceased, believed that Puyi should go to England, "under the

pretext of studying abroad, and bring along his empress, one or two tutors, translators, and literary officials. It would cost about 100,000 yuan a year for three years, and it wouldn't be hard to raise the money by making

annual preparations."282 Zheng Xiaoxu was obviously more cautious about going abroad, and seemed to have no final decision.

Before the coup, Zheng supported Puyi's overseas mission. In October 1923, Zheng Xiaoxu sent his son Zheng Yu to Beijing to advocate for Puyi's overseas mission.

For the cost of studying abroad, renting a house in Switzerland is expected to cost 40,000 yuan per year. However, after the coup, his attitude became cautious. According to Pu

Puyi recalled that Zheng Xiaoxu did not advocate going abroad at that time. After returning to Shanghai, Zheng received a telegram from Chen Baochen and his nephew Liu Xiye, in which he learned that Puyi

---

278 Luo Zhenyu, "Ji Liao Bian", The Complete Works of Luo Xuetang, Volume 5, Volume 1, p. 43. 279 Jin Liang, "Diary of Changes", p. 108.

280 Jin Liang, "Diary of Changes", pp. 106-108. 281 Ai Xin

Jue Luo Puyi, Gao Yang preface, The Autobiography of the Last Emperor, Volume 1, New Edition, p. 206. 282 Jin Liang, "Diary of Changes", p. 104.

He was anxious to go to Japan, saying, "Don't rush unless the future is settled." He also said, "The situation has eased, so we should respond slowly."<sup>283</sup> But Puyi

After living in the Japanese embassy, he received careful care from Japan and gradually developed a good impression of Japan, so he decided to go abroad to Japan.

Jade supported going abroad to Japan, and Luo met the secretary of the embassy, Masaji Ikebe, at the Japanese Embassy. Both of them agreed that Puyi would go to Japan, and Puyi

After Luo Zhenyu proposed to go to Japan, Luo and Chi began to make arrangements,<sup>284</sup> and negotiated with Duan Qirui, and then Luo Zhenyu and his son

He accompanied Puyi to Tianjin and eventually lived in Zhang Garden in the Japanese Concession in Tianjin.

### Section 3 Zheng Xiaoxu's activities and ideas when he was in Tianjin

Zheng Xiaoxu met Puyi again on February 28, 1925. At that time, Puyi had moved to Zhangyuan, Tianjin.

Following Puyi in Tianjin in 1931, Zheng Xiaoxu's restoration measures in these six years mainly had three aspects. One was to contact the warlords and

The first was to meet foreign military and political figures, the second was to propose the "Three Commonalities Theory", and the third was to interact with Japanese people.

There were many military leaders, including Wu Peifu and Qi Xieyuan of the Zhili clique, Zhang Zuolin, Zhang Zongchang, Li Jinglin, and Chu Yupu of the Fengtian clique.

According to the autobiography, the small court in Tianjin during that period was divided into three main opinions on restoration. The first was the "Return to the Palace" faction, which was led by Chen Baochen and Liang

Ding Fen, Hu Siyuan and other old ministers, mainly former officials, originally advocated the restoration of preferential treatment terms. Later, seeing that the situation was unclear, they advocated waiting for the opportunity, and Chun

The opinions of Prince Zaifeng and other princes are actually closer to those of the palace-returning faction, but the princes are more conservative. After the Beijing coup, the princes

He once pinned his hopes on Duan Qirui, but after the matter failed, he advocated waiting for the opportunity. However, the difference between him and Chen Baochen and other old ministers was that the princes

They opposed Puyi's departure from Prince Chun's palace. Therefore, compared with the old ministers who returned to the palace, the princes and princesses were more distant from Puyi, which threatened the National Revolutionary Army's north.

During the invasion, the princes moved to the Japanese Concession in Tianjin. The second group is called the Alliance Japan Faction or the Overseas Faction, headed by Luo Zhenyu, who is a member of the People's Liberation Army

After returning from Japan in 1918, he lived in Tianjin and began to communicate with the Japanese consulate and the military. Luo had always distrusted military leaders, and his main

Zhang Puyi agreed to go to Japan mainly out of concern for his safety and the belief that Japan was willing to help.

Emphasis on Japan's power.<sup>285</sup> This is quite different from Puyi and Zheng Xiaoxu. He and secretary Masaji Ikebe originally discussed that Puyi should go first.

The Japanese Concession in Tianjin, and then to Japan, but was opposed by Chen Baochen and other old officials, so he lived in Tianjin for six years.

The most enthusiastic one was Puyi himself, who hoped to win over the military leaders in various places to achieve restoration. Zheng Xiaoxu did not have a definite opinion.

Zheng Shi supported Puyi in winning over warlords. On the issue of alliance with Japan, Zheng Xiaoxu initially opposed Puyi's trip to Japan until the September 18th Incident in 1931.

---

<sup>283</sup> Diary of January 14 and 17, 1925, included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Chinese History Museum, pages 2036 to 2037. <sup>284</sup> Luo Zhenyu, "Ji Liao Bian", "The Complete Works of Mr. Luo Xuetang", Volume 1 of 5, pp. 43-44.

<sup>285</sup> Luo Jizu, "The Traces of the Mayhem Post" (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1999), pp. 116 to 117.

It was only after the change that Zheng's thoughts on Japan changed.

Although Zheng Xiaoxu's ideas were not of the military faction, Zheng still supported Puyi in winning over the warlords. Before the coup in Beijing, Zheng Xiaoxu

He had contacts with Wu Peifu and had contact with Zhang Zuolin during the Tianjin period. In June 1922, the newspaper reported that Wu Peifu proposed to President Li Yuanhong to abolish the

In fact, there were many people who wanted to abolish the preferential treatment for the Qing Dynasty. For example, members of the Congress at that time proposed to abolish the preferential treatment.

In terms of terms, there is also a radical group in the society, the "Grand Alliance Against Purging Households and Preferential Treatment". In addition to the south, the Beiyang warlords who are in power want to abolish

There were only a few who had preferential terms, so the Qing court was greatly shocked when they heard the news. Zheng Xiaoxu joined forces with the elders in Shanghai to draft an official letter.

## After Zheng Xiaoxu entered the palace, he sent his eldest son Zheng Chui to Luoyang to visit Wu Peifu.

The result of the meeting was good. Wu "received him very warmly and replied respectfully." Wu also wrote a special letter to Prime Minister Sun Baoqi, "exaggerating the difficulties of the royal

family and the need to maintain their self-financing situation."<sup>286</sup> On September 11, 1924, Zheng Xiaoxu went to Wu Peifu's house in Luoyang to celebrate the festival. Wu Peifu sent

Someone drove a car to greet them. When the coup came to Beijing, it was the second Zhili-Fengtian War, so the small court and Wu Peifu did not go there for the time being.

It was not until July 1925 that Wu Peifu sent his subordinate Chi Yunpeng to meet Puyi.<sup>287</sup> Puyi sent Zheng Xiaoxu to meet Chi.

Wu Peifu then corresponded with Zheng Xiaoxu through Chi Yunpeng. As for Zhang Zuolin, as mentioned above, Puyi had

The Japanese sent Johnston to meet with Zhang Zuolin. Zhang was very dissatisfied with Puyi's previous behavior at the Japanese embassy. On July 14, 1925, Zhang Zuolin sent troops to

Yan Zepu brought 100,000 yuan to see Puyi and invited him to meet at his residence. Zheng Xiaoxu and Chen Baochen were against Puyi's request.

Puyi refused, but Zhang insisted the next day. Puyi took into account Zhang Zuolin's feelings for the Qing Dynasty and finally agreed with Zheng.

Xiaoxu and Rongyuan went, and Zhang Zuolin greeted them by kneeling down, which made this meeting leave a good impression on Puyi. Although Zheng Xiaoxu had objected before,

At this time, he was quite satisfied with Zhang's performance, so he reported to Puyi, "He is sincere and good at seeing him. Let's watch what happens next."<sup>288</sup> Its content is "When Gonghe gave birth to a

Zheng Xiaoxu once predicted China's future when he was in Tianjin. This was the "Three Generations of the Gong Family" prophecy, which was later called the "Three Communists Theory".

son, it was called Gonggong, and when Gonghe gave birth to a son, it was called Gongguan. The three generations of the Gong family were all short-lived. The Gong family died, and the Qing Dynasty regained its prosperity."<sup>289</sup>

<sup>289</sup> The Three Communities Theory summarizes China's evolution from the late Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China. The Republic is the Republic of China, and the phrase "giving birth to a son is called communism" was predicted by Zheng Xiaoxu.

The Republic of China will be overthrown by the Communist Party. The saying "Communism gives birth to a son and co-governs" is an anticipation that China will be ruled by the Communist Party and will cause international outcry.

The Qing dynasty was restored to power in 1891, and the Qing dynasty was finally restored by Puyi.

The evolution sequence of the dynasty, in fact, the Three Communists theory prophecy itself is just a joke made by Zheng Xiaoxu, which predicts that the Communist Party and the international community will jointly manage it.

<sup>286</sup> Diary entry on April 16, 1924, collected in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 1994. <sup>287</sup> Chi

Yunpeng was a subordinate of Wu Peifu. In 1924, he served as the commander-in-chief of the Zhili Defense. In 1927, he was specially appointed as

General Pengwei. <sup>288</sup> Diary entry on July 20, 1925, collected in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History,

page 2058. <sup>289</sup> Diary entry on November 16, 1925, collected in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 2072.

In fact, it was all related to current events at the time. In 1921, the Communist Party of China was founded in Shanghai, and communist doctrine began to prevail in China.

The prevalence of "Redization" can be observed by many survivors, such as Luo Zhenyu, who went to Japan immediately after the Revolution of 1911, almost in 1919

When preparing to return to China, Inu Yangyi came to see him off. Luo Zhenyu reminded Inu Yang to pay attention to the spread of communism. "Today, the war in Europe has ended, and red war is

on the rise. This is not the way to achieve peace and stability in normal times. This disaster may spread to the east." 290 Shanxi Juren Liu Dapeng continued to write about Shanxi in his diary

Provincial students distributed "leaflets of the Red Party" to the troops of Yan Xishan of the Shanxi Clan in an attempt to overthrow Yan Xishan. 291 Zheng Xiaoxu recorded this in his diary

The first time the Communist Party was mentioned was in November 1924. Zheng was reading Communist leaflets at Peking University and had no favorable impression of communism.

Xiaoxu once commented on communism in his diary, "Russia has implemented communism. The whole country is a bandit and cannibalizes everyone. It is strange that they still want to advocate

world revolution." 292 When Puyi left the palace, Zheng Xiaoxu was not worried about the communist general. endangering Puyi, so he decided to temporarily avoid the Japanese Embassy.

**plan.**

As for the origin of Zheng Xiaoxu's idea of "co-management", he believes that China's current situation is in turmoil, and countries are out of a position to safeguard their interests.

, they must intervene, which is the source of condominium. For example, the "May 30th Incident" occurred in 1925. After the incident, there were demonstrations in many places.

The strike was followed by protests in the British and Japanese concessions. The Communist Party took the opportunity to incite xenophobia among the people. Zheng Xiaoxu and Japanese allies

Mizuno Meixiao discussed the incident and said, "The Shanghai case is difficult to handle and will eventually be managed by all countries." 293 In addition, "co-management" is also inconsistent with Zheng's "use

In line with concepts such as "Ke Qing" and "Open Door", Puyi believes that Zheng Xiaoxu's theory of condominium management is more advanced than Zhang Zhidong's theory of Chinese style and western use.

"He not only wanted Western technology and capital, but also advocated Westerners to serve as officials... He believed that the restoration could not be successful without the help of the great powers.

How could such help be achieved? He placed his hope on 'co-management'" 294. Although Zheng Xiaoxu was not

**The above description can be regarded as the "imperial Qing" after the "co-management" stage in the theory.**

The policies to be implemented in this stage. In short, Zheng Xiaoxu's pursuit of international condominium was not only a prediction of the current situation, but also included Zheng's restoration.

strategy and governance philosophy. In 1930, the Communist Party had established "Soviet areas" in several provinces. Zheng Xiaoxu witnessed the situation.

After that, he became more convinced that "communism" and "co-management" would happen soon. "This year we are talking about communism, and next year we are talking about co-

management. The time has come." 295 All these were regarded by Zheng Xiaoxu as the fulfillment of the Three Communities Theory. Later, the pursuit of "co-management" became

---

Zheng Xiaoxu's second 290 Luo Zhenyu, "Collected Works of Luo Xuetang", Volume 5, vol. 1, p. 37. 291

Diary of October 31, 1926, included in Liu Dapeng, Qiao Zhiqiang's "Retreat from the Palace" (Beijing: Beijing Normal University Press, January 2020), p. 343. 292 March 13, 1926, included in the fourth volume

of "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary" compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p. 2092. 293 On June 5, 1925, included in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 2053. 294 Aixinjueluo Puyi, with preface by Gao Yang, in the revised edition of the first volume of The Autobiography of the Last Emperor, page 281. 295 On April 20, 1930, included in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 2279.

An important theory in the strategy of development.

Zheng Xiaoxu proposed the "theory of using guest officials" for hiring foreigners as consultants. The first time Zheng Xiaoxu mentioned guest officials was the second emperor of Guangxu.

In the 13th year, Zheng recommended Ito Hirobumi as a "guest official" to Zhang Zhidong to facilitate the reform. At this time, Zheng Xiaoxu again proposed to use a guest official.

This is mainly based on the idea of using foreign capital, technology and talents to develop China in the "co-management theory". There are three main

Among them, one is the exiled Tsarist Russian general Semenov, 296 the second is the exiled Austrian Baron Akdi, and the third is the British Ross. 297

On October 20, 1925, Sheng Yun wanted to introduce Seminov to Puyi. Chen Baochen thought that if Puyi met and thanked him, it might lead to material disputes.

Zhang objected, but Zheng believed that "if we cannot stop the emperor from going, we might as well make a secret plan. Otherwise, the emperor will definitely go to see him secretly."298

Zheng's reaction was related to Luo Zhenyu. Luo was familiar with Sheng Xiang, so Zheng did not want the relationship between Seminov and Puyi to be controlled by Luo.

Monopoly, Zheng Xiaoxu later met Seminov through Luo Zhenyu, and Zheng used Zhang Zongchang's subordinate Gu Zhenquan to persuade Zhang Zongchang to

**Chang expanded the White Russian army under his command, hoping to use its power to assist in the restoration.**

After the October Revolution, a civil war broke out between the Red Army composed of the Bolsheviks and the White Army composed of some former imperial Russian officers and royalists.

After the White Army failed to support itself, he fled to the Chinese border in 1922. At that time, Zhang Zongchang was in the Feng clan, serving as the garrison envoy of Suining and the commander of the Jilin Provincial Defense Force.

Zhang Zongchang, the commander of the Third Brigade, incorporated the White Army, which greatly increased its strength and became a major force in the Fengtian Army. Semenov originally belonged to this brigade.

White Army, Zhang Zongchang incorporated the White Army and served as Zhang's advisor. 299 Puyi summoned Seminov on November 1, 1925, and Seminov claimed to be

With the support of the British and American countries and the Russian Romanov royal family, in the future, an "anti-Red base area" will be established on the border of Manchuria and Mongolia and welcome

Puyi ascended to the throne. Puyi commended him for "taking action against the Red Army and restoring the country" and allocated 50,000 yuan to help his career, with 300 Xie Minuo

In December 1925, Nof went to Tokyo, Japan, and continued to correspond with Zheng. In May 1926, Zheng Xiaoxu and Xie Minuo

301 They met with each other happily and recommended Zheng Xiaoxu as their eldest brother, which shows that Zheng

However, other close ministers such as Chen Baochen and Hu Siyuan did not trust Seminov and advocated that Puyi should not continue to meet with him.

Xie, Zheng Xiaoxu said nonchalantly, "Everyone is extremely afraid of things, so it is appropriate to do so." 302 Xie later gradually used various reasons to 296 Russian original name: /yyyyyy yyyy yyyy

---

yyyyyyy yyyywww. September 25, 1890 - August 1946 March 30th . 297 Regarding Ross's identity, it was mentioned in Puyi's "The First Half of My Life" that he was British.

"Shenbao" recorded that "this person is of German nationality, surnamed Luo, and is a visiting official in Tianjin for a New York newspaper." Titled "World Cheng Bao", "Pu Yi was deceived in Tianjin", November 28, 1929, "Shen Bao", Shanghai

Edition, Page 8. 298 Diary of October 20, 1925, included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 2068.

299 Du Chunhe, Lin Binsheng, Qiu Quanzheng, editors, "Selected Historical Materials of Beiyang Warlords" Volume 2, page 334.

300 Aixinjueluo Puyi, preface by Gao Yang, "Autobiography of the Last Emperor", Volume 1, newly revised edition, page 255. 301

His original name was Dobutuan, a Mongolian. His name was changed to Chinese name Bao Wenyuan, and he was Seminov's translator at this time. Bi Shucheng joined Zhang Zongchang's Ministry in

1914. In 1925 , he served as the commander-in-chief of the defense of Jinan, Shandong, as well as the commander of the Eighth

Army and the military envoy of Jiaodong. 302 Diary of May 23, 1926, included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 2102.

Puyi and Zheng Xiaoxu requested funding. 303 Puyi recalled that the activities had not been effective for a long time and gradually turned into fraud.

But Zheng still believed in it, and after the war, Xie was hanged by the Soviet army.

The exiled Austrian Baron Akdi and the British man Ross both met Zheng Xiaoxu in 1929, and Ross was slightly earlier than Akdi. Zheng

Xiaoxu and Ross met on May 23, 1929, when Ross announced to Zheng that he would publish a newspaper in Tianjin to promote the idea of restoration.

The newspaper was called "Cheng Bao" and it would raise 20,000 yuan in China, Japan, Britain and other places. Zheng Xiaoxu agreed to invest 3,000 yuan as the newspaper's capital.

Zheng Xiaoxu, because Ross was a friend of Seminov, and since Zheng and Seminov were brothers, he naturally trusted Ross. In addition to being with Zheng, Zheng Xiaoxu

In addition to Xiaoxu's contacts, he was also hired as a consultant by Prince Gong Puwei. However, Ross's newspaper running funds were short and he borrowed money from Zheng several times.

Ross borrowed 4,000 yuan from Zheng. Zheng's eldest son, Zheng Chui, thought Ross could not be trusted, so he advised Zheng Xiaoxu to be careful.

The bank deposit was used as collateral and 4,000 yuan was lent to Ross, but Ross failed to repay it when due, so Zheng's deposit was seized by the bank. Although

Zheng Xiaoxu still trusted Ross, but his Cheng Bao could not run for long. On January 15, 1930, Zheng received news

"If the sincerity is not paid, it will be suspended within a few days." 305 As for Akdi, he met Zheng Xiaoxu through the introduction of Ross, who was in exile in Austria.

A baron of the country, he once served in the Austrian Navy and the Shanghai Bureau of Industry. Zheng Xiaoxu planned to have Akdi establish the "Chinese Society" in Europe.

Hoping to use Akdi to promote restoration in Europe to gain support from European countries, Zheng Xiaoxu discussed future restoration with Akdi.

The subsequent "policy" will be promoted by Akdi after he goes to Europe. The policy is as follows: 1. Establish a responsible cabinet, and cabinet members will participate in

Use guest ministers, 2. Use guest generals as commanders and coaches of the Imperial Guard, 3. Quickly build the Zhangjiaokou to Yili railway, and use borrowed money to contract construction, 4.

All domestic government-run and commercial enterprises must be established within five years. Analyzing these four policies, we can find some of Zheng Xiaoxu's past achievements.

Concepts, Articles 1 and 2 are Zheng Xiaoxu's specific plan to "use guest officials". Because he did not trust the ability of the Chinese, he used a large number of foreign products.

The third point is exactly the same as Zheng Xiaoxu's proposal when he planned the Jin-Jin Railway, which is to introduce foreign capital to speed up the construction of the railway.

At this time, these claims continued and became more concrete due to past experience. On August 21, 1929, Akdi was appointed by Puyi as

Zheng Xiaoxu, a consultant to the Qing Dynasty, drafted an edict and was given six months' salary. Akdi set out on September 23, promising Zheng Xiaoxu before leaving.

"Everything you want to do must be achieved." 306 Although Zheng had high expectations for Akdi, his subsequent efforts were fruitless. Analysis of these three people

---

303 Chinese History Museum, "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary" Volume 4, May 12, 1931, "Seminov came and said he would enter Beijing that day and asked for a loan of 400 yuan", page 2325, 1931 May 26, "Seminov asked for help again, ordered Zheng Chui to send 800 yuan to Seminov", page 304, by Aisin Gioro Puyi, prefaced by Gao 2326.

Yang, newly revised edition of Volume 1 of Autobiography of the Last Emperor, Page 285. 305 January 15,

1930, included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 2266. 306

Diary of September 23, 1929, included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 2251.

Through their friendship with Zheng Xiaoxu, it can be found that Semenov and Akdi are quite similar, that is, both of them claimed to Zheng Xiaoxu

With the support of foreign forces, Semenov claimed that he had the support of the Russian royal family and Japan, and that he had the White Russian Army under his command, which also made Puyi

As for Akdi, Ross once mentioned to Zheng Xiaoxu that Akdi had contacts with many British and Austrian nobles in Europe.

Xu also hoped that after Akdi arrived in Europe, he would be able to win the support of European countries for restoration. Therefore, both of them could arouse Zheng Xiaoxu's interest.

He hoped to use his support or influence in foreign countries to support the restoration. As for Ross, although he did not mention that he had foreign connections, it was not

However, in terms of publishing a newspaper, Zheng Xiaoxu's expectations for him were similar to those for Semenov and Akdi. Zheng Xiaoxu hoped to achieve his goal through these three people.

The ideal of condominium.

During his time in Tianjin, Zheng Xiaoxu had always opposed Puyi's attitude towards going abroad or joining Japan.

In addition to the competition between Luo Zhenyu who supported the "United Japan" and Zheng Xiaoxu's pursuit of international condominium, he did not regard Japan as the source of foreign aid.

As his only choice, before Puyi went to Northeast China after the September 18th Incident, it was Luo Zhenyu who advocated cooperation with Japan.

Zheng Xiaoxu was mostly opposed. In addition, both the Japanese consulate and the headquarters wanted to win over Puyi, so the two forces

Most of the time, there was no unified policy, and they all went their own way, which was quite contradictory for a while. For example, on December 7, 1925, Puyi held a meeting in Luo

Under Zhenyu's introduction, he met Nobuo Tsukuda, a member of the Japanese Black Dragon Society. Luo Zhenyu said that since Puyi left the palace, all walks of life in Japan's government and opposition parties have

We are very sympathetic, and many people want to contribute to sponsoring the restoration activities, and Nobuo Tsukuda is one of them. Nobuo Tsukuda observed the Chinese Revolution of 1911

The subsequent chaos was believed to be caused by the Republic, so neighboring Japan must find a way to help out of moral obligation.

Helping to restore the Qing Dynasty and taking the opportunity to bring Manchuria and Mongolia into Japan's sphere of influence was for "mainland management". Nobuo Tsukuda used this to operate secretly.

After the founding of the Republic of China, Tsukuda assisted the Manchu and Mongolian independence movements of Prince Su and Kawashima Naniwa, and secretly supported the anti-Yuan forces' plan to overthrow

Yuan Shikai, Kawashima and Tsukuda were all members of the Black Dragon Society. Tsukuda naturally hoped that Kawashima and Prince Su would succeed.<sup>308</sup> However, after Yuan Shikai died of illness,

The Japanese government's policy toward China changed and it shifted to support Zhang Zuolin and become friendly with the ruling Duan Qirui. Nobuo Tendo then assisted Zhang Xun and Ding Si.

Restoration, still failed. Later, Tsukuda Nobuo wrote an article in a magazine and denounced Japanese Minister Lin Quan for helping Duan Qirui to attack Zhang Xun.<sup>309</sup> This time

The meeting was arranged by Luo Zhenyu, and Puyi ordered Zheng Xiaoxu, Chen Baochen, Hu Siyuan, and Liu Xiye to attend, and also notified the Japanese Tianjin General

Consul Arita Hachiro attended the meeting, but when Tsukuda Nobuo saw Arita, he was very unhappy and turned away. Zheng Xiaoxu later blamed Tsukuda Nobuo for this.

<sup>307</sup> Diary of September 23, 1929, included in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 2251. <sup>308</sup> In addition to the support of the Kwantung

---

Army, the Manchu-Mongolian independence movement of Prince Su Shunqi and Kawashima Naniwa was also participated in by the Japanese Black Dragon

Society, to which both Tsukuda Nobuo and Kawashima Naniwa belonged. "Zhang Xun and Tsukuda Nobuo" translated by Zou Nianci, "Modern History Data Library" edited by Zhuang Jianping, volume 2, pages 203 to 208. <sup>309</sup> Diary of November 27, 1917, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 1695.

The meeting was over. Although Zheng Xiaoxu already knew about the contradiction between Japan's military and government, it was harmless, but he advised Puyi not to get close to Luo Zhenyu anymore.

Chen Baochen believed that the Japanese consulate represented the government, and that the headquarters and the Black Dragon Society were not trustworthy. He believed that only the consulate could be trusted.

At that time, both Zheng and Chen were relatively close to the Japanese Consulate, and their diaries often recorded that Consul Arita and his wife entertained Puyi, Zheng Xiaoxu, and Chen Bao at banquets.

Chen and Liu Yiye's records.

On June 30, 1927, during the Northern Expedition, Luo Zhenyu suggested to Puyi that the Japanese headquarters had received "information from the Revolutionary Party"

In order to protect Puyi's safety, he should flee to Lushun, and the Japanese headquarters would also escort him.

The current Consul General of Tianjin, Kato Wamatsu, discussed the matter of going to Lushun for summer vacation. Previously, on June 23, Puyi ordered Zheng Xiaoxu to go to Japan.

When discussing the matter of going to Japan with Kato, Zheng did not agree at the time. 310 Puyi was very nervous after hearing about the "revolutionary party plainclothes" and did not

Despite Zheng Xiaoxu's dissuasion, he insisted on personally asking Kato about his escape to Lushun. Unexpectedly, Kato heard that the news came from the headquarters.

He called it a rumor. Although he would still consult the Japanese government, he asked Puyi not to believe the rumor. A few days later, there was a sound outside Zhang Garden.

gunfire, the prisoner was caught, but it was a Japanese named Ainosuke Iwata. Iwata, Nobuo Tsukuda, and Naniwa Kawashima were also members of the Black Dragon Society.

Member, nothing happened after the shooting. This incident showed Luo Zhenyu's dealings with the headquarters and the Black Dragon Society, and he desperately wanted to send Puyi to prison.

On the other hand, although Zheng Xiaoxu was ordered to contact the Japanese embassy at this time, he still did not approve of Puyi's departure.

Because Zheng believed that the era of "co-management" was coming, he believed that Puyi only needed to be prepared and wait for co-management.

#### Section 4 Zheng Xiaoxu and the Manchuria State

In September 1928 , Zheng Xiaoxu went to Japan in person and met with people from all walks of life in Japan during March 11. Zheng Xiaoxu's thoughts on the Japanese military and political circles

The changes in the law had an important bearing on the establishment of the Manchukuo state.

Many, mainly in the military, political and cultural fields, such as Suzuki Kantaro, Minami Jiro, Yonai Mitsumasa, Tsuda Shizue, 312 political

People in the field such as Goto Shinpei, Konoe Fumimaro, Oka Nagakage, Arita Hachiro, and cultural circles such as Mizuno Umeaki, Naito Konan, Nagao

310 Zheng Xiaoxu reported, "Now I am hunting in Tianjin. The emperor and the world are still inseparable. The scholar-bureaucrats in the Central Plains are still in constant contact with people from all over the world. The pulse is not cold. If I take a step away from Tianjin, the situation will change drastically. I will die in exile and die." In the world, if you live in Japan, you will definitely be left by Japan, and there will be no hope of recovery." Diary dated June 23, 1927, included in the "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, Volume 4.

page 2140, 311 At that time, the Shanghai "Small Daily News" editorial had an article "Report to Zheng Xiaoxu" commenting on this matter, "It is a pity that his mind is still full of the notion of sage parables and teachings. It cannot but be said that he is a legend in the ideological era. If Mr. Zheng is drunk in Japan, Young Turks, using the corrupt arguments and publishing them in Japanese newspapers, isn't it going to bring down the country? So I advise Mr. Zheng to strictly abide by the commandment of 'don't talk about state affairs and eat dinner.'" See Zheng Su

"y", September 21, 1928, "Kodaiji", second page. 312 In 1928 , Suzuki Kantaro and Minami

Jiro were admirals, Yonai Mitsumasa was a rear admiral, Tsuda Shizue was stationed in Nanjing with the 1st Expeditionary Fleet Headquarters , Konoe Fumimaro was a member of the House of Nobles, Arita Hachiro was the Austrian Minister, and Okabe Kage was a counselor of the Cultural Affairs Bureau of China.

Yushan, Kano Naoki, Black Dragon Society Iwata Ainosuke, Tsukuda Nobuo, etc. Zheng Xiaoxu is regarded as Puyi's representative in Japan, and in Suzuki

During the meeting between Kantaro and Nanjiro, both of them expressed concern about Zheng Xiaoxu's restoration activities. "Suzuki inquired about the recent situation and said, "Do you have any

ambitions for restoration ?" Nanji said, "If you have anything to ask for, I can speak to you. He said, Studying the policy of opening up the country in the future, if the time comes, we will definitely seek it."

313 The so-called policy of opening up the country is the "co-management" theory proposed by Zheng Xiaoxu. Zheng Xiaoxu interacted with Japanese military and political figures

The exchange of opinions made him believe that Japan will become a cooperation partner in the future "co-management" era, and when the time is ripe, Japan will actively

Zheng Zheng's visit to Japan greatly enhanced his impression of Japan,314 and also helped explain the September 18th Incident in the future.

The reason why Zheng Xiaoxu chose to cooperate with Japan during the changing times.

In 1931 , the September 18th Incident occurred. Puyi hoped to leave Tianjin and head to the Northeast as soon as possible. Zheng Xiaoxu learned about the incident from the newspaper.

In his diary on September 21, he criticized Chiang Kai-shek for "ignoring the principles of founding a country" and at the same time asked Puyi to calmly wait for Japan to send people.

In the past, "if more than a hundred soldiers and businessmen could take the initiative to break away from Zhang, make the three provinces and Inner Mongolia independent countries, and submit a

petition to Japan, this is what should be done immediately."315 So Puyi sent Chen Baochen's nephew Liu Xiye to meet with the president of the Manchurian Railway, Uchida Yasuo, and the Kanto

Army commander Honjo Shimo inquired about the news and sent Tong Jixu to the northeast to inquire about the conditions of other elderly people. Luo Zhenyu met with Puyi in 1925

After becoming a concubine of Emperor Puyi, he gradually lost Puyi's trust and moved to Liaoning. However, Luo Zhenyu continued to work for the restoration cause.

During the Liao Dynasty, he gradually got to know members of the Black Dragon Society, Fengtian generals Tang Yulin and Xi Qia, and Kwantung Army Commander Muto Nobuyoshi.

316 Xi Qia, courtesy name Gemin, was a member of the Qing imperial family. 317 Xi Qia joined the Fengtian clique in the fourth year of the Republic of China and served as the deputy director of the Northeast Frontier Defense in the 19th year of the Republic of China.

He was the chief of staff of the Jilin Provincial Government, Zhang Zuoxiang. Before the September 18th Incident, Zhang Zuoxiang returned to his hometown to mourn his father's death, so Xi Qia was appointed as the acting governor of Jilin Province.

Chairman Lin Province, after the incident, Luo Zhenyu immediately sent someone to meet with Xiqia, and Xiqia signed an agreement with the Kwantung Army Division Chief Domen Erlang.

On September 21, 1931, Xi immediately welcomed the Japanese troops in Kaesong, and on September 30, the Provisional Province of Jilin was established under the support of the Japanese Kwantung Army.

government, on the same day of March 19, Kwantung Army chief of staff Seishiro Itagaki sent Ronin Kamikaku Toshiichi and Luo Zhenyu to see Puyi with Xicha's letter.

Puyi was asked to go to the Northeast immediately. Xiqia used his authority to announce that Jilin Province would be restored first. The National Government's policy at that time was "anti-foreigners".

---

313 Diary of October 13, 1928, included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 2203. 314 Written by Shanshi Xinyi; translated by Lin Qizhen and others, "The Reality and Illusion of Manchukuo" (New Taipei City: Eight Banners Culture Publishing: Hiking Culture Publishing, May 2016), pp. 134 to 135. 315 "Chiang Kai-shek returned to Nanjing and protested against Japan. Zhang Xueliang ordered the Feng army not to resist. The party

members were cowardly and did not know the principles of founding the country. What is the protest of the enemy country? They should give passports and Japanese diplomats and have a three-day limit to leave the country. Japanese merchants and civilians

"You are limited to one week to leave the country, and then you can gather your troops and wait for the enemy, and you can still establish the country." Diary dated September 21, 1931, included in the "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese

History, Volume 4, page 2342. 316 Luo Jizu, "Emperor Leaves Traces", pp. 116 to 119. 317 Xiqia is a descendant of the great ancestor Nurha

Chi's brother, Beilemo Haqi. 318 Domon Jiro was Xiqia's teacher at the Japanese Army Noncommissioned Officer School when he studied

abroad in his early years. 319 Hu Pingsheng, "The Restoration Sect in the Early Years of the Republic of China", p. 478.

"We must first pacify the country", and tended to be tolerant towards Japan, so Japan quickly occupied the three eastern provinces. Under this situation, Puyi believed that he was in conflict with Japan.

The best time to cooperate, but because Puyi could not fully trust Luo Zhenyu, he did not immediately agree to Luo and Shangjiao, but went back

First, discuss with the ministers around you. Close ministers such as Chen Baochen, Zhu Yifan, Chen Zengshou, Hu Siyuan, etc. are all opposed to Puyi leaving Tianjin.

Zhang was advised to observe the situation and not to leave Tianjin hastily. Chen Baochen told Puyi that "the current situation is in chaos and it is difficult to leave if you rush into it."<sup>320</sup> Chen Zengshou reported

to Puyi: "Since the current situation is still uncertain, we should

wait and see. Even if the Eastern Province is sincere in supporting the emperor and Japan is urging the emperor to return to the throne, we should first find out who the people who are

making the suggestion are. If it is just the intention of some military personnel and not fully understood by their government, there will be disagreements and unpredictable changes."<sup>321</sup>

Puyi did not agree to Luo Zhenyu and Shangjiao's proposal. On September 29, Luo Zhenyu and Zhou Shanpei came to ask for Puyi's handwritten note.

To act expediently, Zheng Xiaoxu advised Puyi to "be willing to deal with it calmly and calmly. Anyone who is impatient will lose his reputation." <sup>322</sup> Zheng Xiaoxu refers to Luo Zhen

Yu, Zheng persuaded Puyi to wait calmly mainly because of the conflict between him and Luo. In fact, Zheng Xiaoxu's thoughts at this time had changed from the original

Recently, the consulate has turned to the military. On the one hand, the consulate has always been cautious about Puyi's restoration. On the other hand, the military

The military was more active, so Zheng believed that the military was a more reliable force. <sup>323</sup> On the other hand, after the September 18th Incident, Zheng Xiaoxu

He believed that the "opening period" mentioned in his previous visit to Japan had arrived, and that he should go to the Northeast as soon as possible. For this reason, Zheng Xiaoxu and Hu

From the content of their conversation, we can see the differences between Chen Baochen, Hu Siyuan and Zheng Xiaoxu:

(Zheng): The more the deeds are told, the more similar they are. I am afraid that I need to be prepared to accompany him. Yu (Hu) said: What is the purpose of coming over there? There is

still room for comment. If I go east hastily and fall into the hands of others, how can I be allowed to think about it? Is it okay to go if you can? Xiaoxu said: I am afraid that this situation must be

done. There is no difference between this and that. If you worry about it again, you have no choice but not to go. Yu Yun: All commentators are not going to go, so they are only looking at one

side. Even if we can go, how can we not discuss anything beforehand? We only know how to blindly follow and run around. If an accident occurs, who will be held responsible? Xiaoxu said angrily:

Today I just ask Whether to go or not, there is nothing else that can be discussed in advance. The public has something to say, and he has said that I have promised to accompany him on the

eastward journey. If there is any danger or difficulty, I will not shrink back and show cowardice! <sup>324</sup>

From Zheng Xiaoxu's answer, it can be seen that he thought the opportunity could not be missed, and he had firmly decided to rely on the Japanese military and follow Puyi to the northeast to reach

---

320 Aixinjue, Luo Puyi, The Autobiography of the Last Emperor, Volume 1, New Edition, with Gao Yang Preface, p.

310. 321 Chen Zengshou and Chen Zengzhi, Records of People in the Game but Outsiders, in Selected Historical and Literary Materials,

Vol. 19, p. 196. 322 Diary entry for September 29, 1931, in Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, Vol. 4, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, p.

2343. 323 Zou Jinxi, "From 'The Customs of This Country Are Also Thieves' to 'Today, the Sun Shines on All Nations': The Transformation of Zheng Xiaoxu's View on Japan, Master's Thesis, Institute of History, National Tsing Hua University, January 2009, p. 72. 324 Diary entry of October 2, 1931, in Hu Siyuan's Diary, edited by Qiu Chenjiang, in China's Modern and Contemporary Rare Historical Materials Series, Vol. 4 (Nanjing: Phoenix Publishing House, June 2017), p. 99.

After Pu Yi met with Luo Zhenyu and Shangjiao Riichi, the Japanese Consulate in Tianjin sent people to persuade Pu Yi for several days in a row.

You must be cautious and do not go to the Northeast. In order to confirm the situation, Puyi sent Zheng Chui to meet with the Japanese consul general in Tianjin, Kuwashima.

The only party opposed Puyi's leaving Tianjin, and Foreign Minister Uchida Yasuya also opposed it. This shows that the military, the consulate, and Luo Zhen

It was a complicated situation where various parties including Yu and others were running around. However, although other survivors and the Japanese Consulate expressed objections, Zheng Xiaoxu did not care.

Still continuing to contact the Kwantung Army Kamijaku Riichi. At the same time, Japan is gradually invading Northeast China. In addition to Kyrgyzstan, which has already cooperated with Japan,

In addition to Xi Qia, the chairman of Lin Province, Zang Shiyi, the chairman of Liaoning Province, was arrested on September 22. Doihara Kenji was appointed as the mayor of Fengtian City, and Puyi was also appointed as the mayor of Fengtian City.

At the request of the Kwantung Army Staff Sergeant Mori Tsuyoshi, Zheng Xiaoxu was ordered to draft an imperial edict to persuade Ma Zhanshan, the acting chairman of Heilongjiang Province, to surrender.

Qia, Ma Zhanshan, and Zhang Jinghui, who organized the Public Security Committee of the Three Northeastern Provinces Special Region, were all former generals who were affiliated with Japan and were controlled by Japan.

The former Fengtian clique military and political figures took control of the three northeastern provinces in a short period of time.

On November 2, Doihara Kenji visited Puyi. The two had their first discussion on the future state system of Manchukuo. Doihara promised to

Established the empire and asked Puyi to go to the Northeast on November 16. Afterwards, Puyi held a meeting with ministers to ask about going to the Northeast.

Regarding the opinions of the Northeast, Zheng Xiaoxu and Chen Baochen had a fierce dispute during the meeting. Zheng Xiaoxu said to Chen Baochen, "Don't lose Japan's enthusiasm and respond to the favor of the countrymen quickly."

325 Chen Baochen, Hu Siyuan and others all believed that the opinions of the Japanese Consulate should prevail, and Do not believe

As the commander of the Guandong Army, he thought Luo Zhenyu was too aggressive, so he would naturally clash with Zheng Xiaoxu. However, Puyi was determined to support the idea, and on the 11th

He left Tianjin by boat and arrived at the Duicui Pavilion Hotel in Tanggangzi, Yingkou on the 19th, where he met Luo Zhenyu, Tong Jixu, Shang Yanying and others.

After Puyi and Zheng Xiaoxu arrived at Duicui Pavilion, the Japanese immediately blocked traffic on security grounds, while Luo Zhenyu went to Shenyang and Ban

Yuan discussed the issue of the "new country". The main reason for blocking traffic was that Luo wanted to block Zheng Xiaoxu's actions to prevent Zheng from colluding with Guandong.

The situation of the negotiations led by Luo was undermined by the attempt to establish contact with the Kwantung Army. However, Luo and the Kwantung Army had different goals. Luo's negotiations were of course based on

The goal was to restore the Qing Dynasty. However, for the Kwantung Army, the use of Puyi had caused many reactions within Japan and the Northeast.

Yes. At that time, Japan's Prime Minister Kijuro Fumiohara emphasized "coordinationism" and "peace policy" in foreign policy.

In the September 18th Incident, the policy of not expanding was adopted. In addition, most of the local leaders in the Northeast were Fengtian clique members, and compared with Puyi, they were more willing to promote

Zhang Xueliang, so recommending Puyi will not only arouse opposition in China, but also cause doubts in other countries around the world, which is extremely detrimental to Japan's

Manchu and Mongolian actions, 327 and Luo Zhenyu insisted on restoring the Qing Dynasty, or at least he should be the emperor of the "Manchu Empire". It was Luo who insisted on the orthodoxy of Confucianism.

---

325 Diary of November 6, 1931, included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 2350. 326 The

first volume of "History of the Pacific War" compiled by the Japanese Historical Research Society and translated by Jin Feng, Leng Ming, Kong Zhixing, Wang Bingda, Ma Junlei, etc., Beijing, The Commercial Press, 1959, page 91. 327 Shanshi Xinyi, translated by Lin Qizhen and others, "Reality and Illusion of Manchukuo", pp. 141 to 144.

The Guandong Army gradually became dissatisfied with Luo Zhenyu and chose Zheng Xiaoxu as the negotiating partner. On January 29, 1932, Zheng Xiaoxu, Luo Zhenyu, and Itagaki Seishiro held a meeting. Itagaki introduced the system of Manchukuo to Zheng and Luo, saying, "The

people wanted to unite the three provinces into a free state of Manchuria and Mongolia, and to elect Emperor Xuantong as the president. The military and civilians would be governed separately, and the legislative, executive, and judicial powers would be separated."

Both Luo and Luo were dissatisfied with the title of "President". Luo Zhenyu was particularly insistent. Although Zheng Xiaoxu was opposed to it at first, after discussing with Guandong

After several contacts with the military, Puyi gradually gave up his insistence. Puyi was also extremely dissatisfied with the title of president and personally wrote twelve articles on the "Orthodox System", which contained

Rong believed that the establishment of a new country must restore the name of the Qing Dynasty, and based on the twelve reasons of the orthodox system, 330 was handed over to Zheng Xiaoxu and Itagaki for discussion.

On February 22, Zheng Xiaoxu and Luo Zhenyu attended a meeting held by Itagaki and the Northeast Administrative Committee to discuss the national system and the official system.

However, Zheng Xiaoxu did not propose the "Twelve Articles of the Orthodox System" to Banyuan at the meeting, and even assured Banyuan that he would persuade Puyi to accept the power. "I will take care of the emperor's

affairs, and I can do everything." Zheng Chui also assured Banyuan that "I will take care of everything." The emperor is a blank piece of paper, you can do whatever you want with it."<sup>331</sup> The next day, Zheng Xiaoxu

persuaded Puyi to accept it and serve as "ruler". At this time, not only Puyi, but also Luo Zhenyu, Chen Baochen, Hu Siyuan and other elders expressed dissatisfaction with the results of Zheng Xiaoxu's negotiations. , Chen

Baochen told Puyi, "I must say that I can't do it, please insist on it." <sup>332</sup> Hu Siyuan criticized Banyuan's plan as "neither a donkey nor a horse", and even criticized Zheng Xiaoxu for deception and coercion. Zheng Xiaoxu

The consideration at this time is that if the matter cannot be negotiated, I am afraid that Itagaki Seishiro and Honjo Shige will take the blame and resign, and they will support Puyi

The situation was about to break down, and restoration would require Japan's assistance. Although it was impossible to restore the Qing Dynasty as the emperor at this time, there was no way to achieve success in the future.

There is a chance that Zheng Xiaoxu was more willing to give in and more "flexible" than Luo Zhenyu during the entire negotiation process, but this also caused problems for Puyi and others.

Due to the dissatisfaction of the border elders, Itagaki officially announced the "Outline of the Organization of the New Country" on February 25. The country was named Manchukuo and its capital was Changchun. It was led by Puyi

After assuming power, Zheng Xiaoxu became Prime Minister on March 5.

Zheng Xiaoxu was appointed Prime Minister and Minister of Culture and Education. "The Minister of Culture and Education is in charge of matters concerning education, religion, customs and national ideology.

The Ministry of Culture and Education has three departments: General Affairs, Education Affairs, and Rites. Specifically, the Ministry of Culture and Education has several tasks, such as establishing

The temple was established to worship Confucius, send students to Japan, honor filial sons and chaste wives, organize national founding commemorative sports games, preserve historical sites, etc.

---

328 Hu Pingsheng, "The Restoration Sect in the Early Years of the Republic

of China", p. 489. 329 Diary of January 28, 1932, included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese

History, page 2362. 330 Aixinjueluo Puyi, preface by Gao Yang, "Autobiography of the Last Emperor", Volume 1, newly revised

edition, pages 346 to 348. 331 Chen Zengshou and Chen Zengzhi, "The Outsider and the Insider", February 22,

1932, page 211. 332 Chen Zengshou and Chen Zengzhi, "The Outsider and the Insider", February 4, 1932, p.

196. 333 Juguoshe, "Manchukuo Famous Book", Kant first edition, page 46. 334 Compiled by

the Ministry of Culture and Education of Manchukuo, "Welfare and Education Monthly" No. 3, August 2, Datong, pp. 26-28.

Yanle Transmission Institute, Linguistics Transmission Institute, Teacher Training Institute and other institutions. 335 During his tenure, Zheng Xiaoxu vigorously advocated the theory of "kingliness".

Xu personally wrote the book "The Essentials of the King's Way" and preached it vigorously. In 1935, Zheng Xiaoxu established the King's Way Society and served as the honorary president. 3361937

Wangdao Academy was established in 2001 and he gave a speech in person. Under royalism, it is further divided into two sub-topics: "Theory of Qi Jia" and "Theory of Annihilation of Soldiers".

According to Zheng Xiaoxu's explanation of the kingly way, the so-called kingly way includes the Confucian concepts of "inner sageliness and outer kingliness" and "self-discipline and restoration of propriety".

Restrain one's own selfish desires, such as laziness, dissoluteness, eccentricities and other habits. 337 Zheng Xiaoxu believes that if these cultivation skills are forced on others,

It is not easy to succeed, but if everyone starts by themselves, there is a chance of success. Zheng Xiaoxu promoted Confucianism in Manchukuo and

The State Council Order No. 2 issued by it stipulated that all schools in Manchukuo must use the Four Books and Five Classics as teaching materials, abolishing the Kuomintang-era

The textbooks of the period were designed to eliminate the idea of the "Three Principles of the People" to show respect for the Confucian tradition. 338 The Confucius Temple and the Yanyue School also promoted Confucianism.

It also conforms to the connotation of "royalism" in governing the country. There are two seasons for worshiping Confucius, and Yan music is used in the ceremony of worshiping Confucius.

Music includes the subjects of Sheng, Guan, Di, Xiao, Ban, and Gu. 339 is organized in a similar format to a music class.

In addition to being responsible for the rituals and music of the Confucius worship ceremony, he also attended national ceremonies. For Zheng Xiaoxu, the Confucius worship and banquet music were inherited from the Zhou rituals, and he hoped

It can change customs and restore traditional Chinese social order. 340 In addition, Zheng opposed patriotism and military and national education, believing that

These two theories are the culprits of the war. Zheng Xiaoxu also wrote a book called "Discussion on Reversing Chaos", which mainly talks about three kinds of obstacles.

The phenomenon of "kingly way" can be found in these theories. Apart from the fact that most of them come from Confucianism,

Zheng Xiaoxu rejected nationalism in order to maintain "national harmony" and consolidate Manchuria.

Nationalism played a destructive role in this, and one of the reasons why Zheng Xiaoxu opposed patriotism and military education was that

Both have xenophobic or xenophobic characteristics, but Zheng Xiaoxu has shown his aversion to nationalism since his time in Shanghai.

There is one thing that can explain this. In 1913, Tang Shouqian intended to build a statue of Zhu Shunshui, a late Ming dynasty figure, in the Hangzhou Parliament to show his opposition to the Manchus.

Zheng Xiaoxu wrote to Zheng Xiaoxu and asked him to write poems. Zheng Xiaoxu was very disapproving and wrote back saying, "Shun Shui has knowledge and will not lead rebellious ministers and traitors to become comrades." 335 Jilin Provincial Library Editorial Committee of

---

Historical Materials of the Puppet Manchukuo. "Historical Materials of the Puppet Manchukuo" No. 17 Volume (Beijing: Published by Xinhua Bookstore Beijing Publishing House of National Library Document Microcopying Center, 2002), page 66. 336 "Issuance of the King's Society", March 6, 1935.

"Shengjing Times", page 11. 337 Zheng Xiaoxu, "Collection of Lectures on the Way of the King", photocopied from the lithograph in the 23rd year of the Republic of China, pp. 21 to 25. 338 "Japanese

Translation of the Government Gazette of Manchukuo" No. 1, page 33, National Archives of Japan. 339 Han Yuju "Manchu Chinese Music Society and Worship of Confucius", collected in

"Changchun Cultural and Historical Materials", compiled by the Cultural and Historical Materials Research Committee of the Jilin Province Changchun Municipal Committee of the

CPPCC, Changchun: Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Jilin Province Changchun Municipal Committee Cultural and Historical Materials Research Committee, 1982, No. 27, pp. 44 to 340 Zheng Xiaoxu once said in his speech at the graduation ceremony of Yanle Institute: "In the past

341 and wrote "Tang Zhe first asked for a poem by Zhu Shunshui, the late Ming Dynasty", and his poem said:

There are beautiful trees and rocks in Korakuen, and the sea waves swallow the sky and trap souls. I want to travel with the barbarians in the underworld, but I can only lean against the gate of the temple and sigh. In those days, the

eastern neighbors valued loyalty and righteousness, and the feudal lords welcomed guests with their shoes off. The site of the private residence of Kuroko is easy to find, but the tombstone at the high tomb of Longlu is not yet built. I visited

Edo and paid my respects to this old man, but no one in the world knew him. Suddenly I heard that the school was making a fuss in Hangzhou, and there was a lot of competition to build a temple for the bones. Although this person has left

the world and will never return, the old king of his homeland is not easy to change. They are trying to abandon the great ethics, so what is the use of falsely trusting that we are of the same mind? It is difficult to betray the name and

pledge, and the heroic spirit will shine on my heart. It is not good to learn from Liuxia, but it is rejected by Ziyang. I would like to join the school with this intention, and I am glad that heresy will be eliminated. 342

The first half of this poem is Zheng Xiaoxu's recollection of his early experience in Japan. The two lines "It is not easy for a man to come here" refer to Zhu Shunshui's later years.

Japan, but they were always loyal to their motherland, the Ming Dynasty, and came to He Yize one after another. They denounced the revolutionary party's behavior as "abolition of Dalun" and criticized Tang

Shouqian built the statue of Zhu Shunshui to "believe in the same mind". Zheng Xiaoxu's reaction was harsh. Tang Shouqian hoped to highlight Zhu Shunshui's

Manchu and Zheng Xiaoxu were concerned about Zhu Shunshui's loyalty to the Ming Dynasty. It can be seen that although they both respected Zhu Shunshui, they were concerned about different things.

This led to such a result. Around 1911, we can also find records in Zheng's diary where he criticized the overcrowded society at that time.

Therefore, Zheng Xiaoxu advocated the kingly way, which is why he valued Confucian ethics and hated Manchu nationalism in his past.

It is really related to past experiences. During Zheng Xiaoxu's tenure as Prime Minister, foreign journalists or scholars visited him many times.

He would explain the King's Way to them and give them "The Essentials of the King's Way". Although Zheng Xiaoxu tried hard to promote the King's Way, the King's Way itself was not

There is always a gap between the actual actions of Japan. For example, the "pacification theory" and universal love in the kingly way are considered to be against the Kanto

343 After Zheng Xiaoxu resigned as Prime Minister in 1935, Wang Dao's theory began to be questioned. For example, Japanese scholars questioned

The suspicion that the "Tangwu Revolution" in the Kingly Way was inconsistent with the Japanese emperor's "one dynasty for all eternity" also forced Zheng Xiaoxu to make adjustments.

Wang Daoism can take into account the differences between China and Japan in Confucianism. 345 In addition to the Minister of Culture and Education, Zheng Xiaoxu

On the 25th of the same month, he was appointed as the president of the Peace Association. The idea of the Peace Association originated from Ishihara Kanji, a staff officer of the Kwantung Army. Ishihara and Yamaguchi, a member of the Manchuria Youth League,

Kuchugetsu, Ozawa, Ruan Zhenduo, and Yu Jingyuan planned and organized the Concord Party. 346 Ishihara believed that Manchukuo should not be commanded by the Kwantung Army

Guan always took the lead, but at the same time he did not think that power should be handed over to Puyi, but to set up an organization based on the principle of one-party dictatorship.

---

341 Diary entry on September 24, 1913, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 1484. 342

Zheng Xiaoxu, Haizangliu Poetry Collection (Revised Edition), edited by Huang Kun and Yang Xiaoobo, pages 253-254. 343 Yamamuro Shinichi,

The Reality and Illusion of Manchuria, translated by Lin Qizhen et al., page 208. 344 Diary entry on June 26, 1935, included

in the fifth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 2589. 345 Zou Jinxi, From "The Customs of This Country Are

Also Stolen" to "Today the Sun Shines on All Nations": The Transformation of Zheng Xiaoxu's View on Japan, page 97. 346 Lin Zihong, "Decentralization and Autonomy: The

Establishment of Manchukuo and Japanese Domination," in Huang Zijin and Pan Guangzhe, eds., New Studies on the History of Modern Sino-Japanese Relations (New Taipei City: Daoxiang Publishing House, 2017), p. 660.

347 and in the future to replace the Kwantung Army to become the highest decision-making body of Manchukuo, so this idea was received by the Kwantung Army and the General Affairs Department.

Jing Desan objected, and even Puyi and the elders also expressed opposition. However, the reasons for their opposition were different from those of the Kwantung Army.

Before the establishment of the Association, Puyi discussed with Zheng Xiaoxu several times and refused to serve as the president of the Association because he did not think it was necessary to establish a

The need for a peace council was even considered to be the same as the Donghak Party of North Korea and was rejected. 348 Zheng Xiaoxu also expressed his opposition several times.

He once discussed with Sakagaki the affairs of the Concorde Society and expressed that "Confucianism has no party, and kingship has no party."349 On June 18, 1932, he "told Daichi to Komai that if the

Concorde Society becomes a political party, he should resign first."350 Finally, he decided to turn the Concordia Party into a political party. Renamed the Concord Society, and on July 25, 1932

Established, Puyi serves as president, Zheng Xiaoxu serves as president, Honjo Shige serves as consultant, Komai Tokuzo, Sakagaki Seishiro and various

The district government chief was appointed as a member of the board of directors, and members of the Manchuria Youth League, such as Yamaguchi Shigeji and Ozawa Kaisaku, were appointed to the Central Affairs Bureau to oversee

Responsible for the main affairs and operations of the Concorde Society. The Concorde Society has the same ideology as the Ministry of Culture and Education. All communism and the Three People's Principles are

Among its exclusions, it also suppresses the national movements of various ethnic groups. 351 What it advocates is "ethnic harmony" and "the founding spirit of the nation."

In 1934, the Manchurian Empire was established and the Concord Association was reorganized. The Manchurian youth were replaced by Japanese bureaucrats from the General Affairs Department of the State Council.

alliance.

Although Manchukuo has been controlled by Japan since its establishment, Zheng Xiaoxu never gave up pursuing Manchukuo's independence.

In 1932, the League of Nations sent the Lytton Commission to China to investigate the September 18th Incident. According to Puyi's autobiography, Zheng Xiaoxu had placed his hopes on Lytton's

The League of Nations was formed to send a commission to investigate Manchuria, hoping that its report would lead to a resolution for international joint administration of Manchuria, thus placing Manchuria under international joint administration.

In order to realize Zheng Xiaoxu's long-cherished wish of "co-management theory", the report results of the Lytton Investigation Team were indeed what Zheng Xiaoxu wished for. "The investigation team is satisfied

that it is based on all the evidence obtained by all parties and is convinced of the driving force behind the establishment of Manchukuo. Although there are several types, one is the presence of Japanese troops and

the other is the activities of Japanese civil and military officials, the combination of the two is most effective... For this reason, the current political system cannot be considered to be a real and natural independent

movement. "Produced", the 352 investigation letter proposed solution principles, including

Acknowledging Japan's interests in Manchuria, taking into account the interests of China, Japan and the Soviet Union, and within the scope of China's sovereignty and the three eastern provinces

In the context of the local characteristics, a Manchurian government with a high degree of autonomy was established to promote China's construction through temporary international cooperation.

, and the proposal for administration also mentioned that the autonomous government should appoint a certain number of foreign consultants or officials.

347 Written by Shanshi Xinyi; translated by Lin Qizhen and others, "The Reality and Illusion of Manchukuo", pp. 189

to 192. 348 Li Nianci, "Records of Manchukuo" (Taipei: Wenhui Publishing House, 1981), page 253. 349 Diary of

April 19, 1932, included in the fifth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 2379. 350 Diary of

June 18, 1932, included in the fifth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 2390. 351 Edited

by the Manchuria Imperial Council, "History of the Organization of the Manchurian Empire Council" (Tokyo: Fuji Publishing Co., Ltd., 1977), page 55. 352 Edited by Shanghai

Mingshe Publishing Department, "Report of the League of Nations Investigation Team" (Shanghai Mingshe Publishing Department, October 1932), page 142.

I am looking forward to this report very much, because this survey report is consistent with the concepts of "co-management theory" and "customer service" proposed by Zheng Xiaoxu.

There are many similarities, but the survey was strictly controlled by Japan, and the survey report was published in Japan.

Unexpectedly, it was criticized by major newspapers. 353 The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan commented that it was an "unjust conclusion of forgetting the mission." The Ministry of Military

Affairs commented that "it does not believe that such changes are necessary." 354 In the end, the League of Nations failed to make any decision on Manchukuo. Any disposal of Japan in March 1933

Withdrew from the League of Nations on the 27th, the "international condominium" that Zheng Xiaoxu hoped for could not be realized.

Although Zheng Xiaoxu is the Prime Minister, the real power is actually held by the Chief of the General Affairs Department, which is the "Central Chief of the General Affairs Department".

According to the Organization Act of Manchukuo, the General Affairs Department is nominally a subordinate agency of the Prime Minister. "The General Affairs Department of the State Council, in accordance

with the orders of the Prime Minister, handles confidential, personnel, accounting and necessary intelligence matters within the government departments." 355 General Affairs Department

There are six secretaries, including secretaries, personnel, accounting, information, needs, and rewards, and they will attend State Council meetings and manage Datong College, etc.

position, the government actually has the decision-making power held by the General Affairs Department. It was done by the Kwantung Army and Japanese bureaucrats in order to strengthen their control over Manchukuo.

### 356 Zheng Xiaoxu expressed his dissatisfaction with Japan's control over Manchuria on many occasions.

Ichiro Kono, a member of the Japanese House of Representatives, visited Zheng Xiaoxu. Kono criticized the system of Manchukuo, "Japan declares to support Manchuria, and allows officials to seize important

areas and seize their rights. What's the point of this?" Zheng replied, "Today I heard about this justice and justice." "I firmly believe that the Japanese Empire has shown its loyalty to the front and will not compete

to benefit the rear. If it joins the public opinion, the whole world will believe it." Army Lieutenant Generals Idogawa Tatsuzo and Uchida Yasuya, October 23 , 357 , Sadao Araki visited Zheng Xiaoxu.

Before leaving, Zheng complained that "Japanese and Manchurian officials are unevenly distributed. Today, there are less than thirty Manchurians in the State Council, while there are hundreds of

Japanese. It is no wonder that the people do not believe it." 358 March 1, 1935, for Manchuria

On the third anniversary of the founding of Manchukuo and the first anniversary of the imperial system, Zheng Xiaoxu wrote in a newspaper that Manchukuo was like a child and Japan should try

Let him be independent. "Now that the Japanese Empire has declared that it will support the independence of Manchukuo, it is now letting go and trying to establish itself. If you love it too much and dare not

let it go easily, then even though this child has the ambition to act independently, he will eventually "There is no chance to try it out", 359 Children's said that

Zheng Xiaoxu's hope for the independence of Manchuria.

As far as the nature of Manchukuo is concerned, the Kwantung Army has shown that Manchukuo is not a restoration of the Qing Dynasty, but even if Zheng Xiaoxu served as state minister

---

353 "Japanese public opinion is also often agitated", October 4, 1932, "Shengjing Times", first page. 354 "Illegal conclusion of forgetting mission", October 4, 1932, "Shengjing Times", second page. "Japanese Military Ministry Statement on Attitude towards the Report", October 4, 1932, "Shengjing Times", second page. 355 Juguoshe, "Manchukuo Famous Book", Kant first edition, page 42. 356 "The Reality and Illusion of Manchukuo" by Shanshi Xinyi, translated by Lin Qizhen and others, page 205. 357 Diary of October 5, 1932, included in the fifth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 2413. 358 Diary of October 23, 1932, included in the fifth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 2419. 359 "Our country still embraces children and should let go and try to leave." March 1, 1935, "Shengjing Times" first page.

Prime Minister, in many cases he can still be found consciously combining Manchukuo with the Qing Dynasty. On October 6, 1932,

A Chinese reporter interviewed Zheng Xiaoxu about his views on the Litton Investigation Team report. Zheng Xiaoxu said that Manchukuo "has the rulers and prime ministers who were the monarchs

and ministers of the Qing Dynasty. Today, due to the riots in the Republic of China, they just want to rectify discipline, restore morals, and restore the homeland." 10 On March 11, Li Qian

from Henan Province came to see Zheng Xiaoxu. Zheng asked the other party to tell him that "the Qing Kingdom will be established in Xijing on the Pamir Plateau in the future, and this will happen

within ten years." From this, it seems that Zheng Xiaoxu did secretly control Manchuria. The country is regarded as the continuation of the Qing Dynasty, or as the transition before the restoration,

He continued to wait for the opportunity, but in fact Zheng Xiaoxu had to compromise with the Kwantung Army. In 1934, Puyi was changed from ruling to emperor, and Zheng

Xiaoxu negotiated with the Kwantung Army several times over the issue of the coronation ceremony. For example, Puyi insisted on wearing a dragon robe instead of a "Manchurian robe" during the ceremony.

The Japanese government also urged the Kwantung Army not to commit such a crime.

We know that Puyi and Zheng Xiaoxu insisted on traditional values, but they had to compromise under pressure from the Kwantung Army.

After Zheng Xiaoxu took office as Prime Minister of Manchukuo, his domestic evaluation also increased with the development of the Sino-Japanese war situation.

The situation became worse and worse, including government propaganda and newspapers, all labeled Zheng Xiaoxu as a traitor, and Zheng Xiaoxu's paintings, calligraphy, and writings were banned from being published everywhere.

After hanging up the poster, Zheng Xiaoxu's doctrines such as royalism and open policy were successively ridiculed and refuted. For example, in 1933, he was wanted by the National Government.

Zheng Xiaoxu, 361 In 1934 , the Ministry of the Interior revoked Zheng Xiaoxu's copyright license, 362 and the reaction in Fujian Province, where Zheng Xiaoxu's ancestral home was, was particularly fierce.

The Southern Fujian Association in Shanghai and various groups in Fujian expelled Zheng Xiaoxu from the province, 363 confiscated his property, 364 Fuzhou Public Security Bureau prohibited the burning of Zheng Xiaoxu

365 Zheng Xiaoxu is notorious in China, although it is because of the September 18th Incident in 1931 when Japan launched the war.

News about Zheng Xiaoxu was also reported by newspapers when he was in Tianjin. Therefore, Zheng's position as a widower was widely known to the society. However, at that time, Zheng's

His reputation was not bad at that time, and many newspapers would interview him to report on the current situation of the late emperor Puyi. His situation took a sharp turn for the worse after 1931.

In fact, if we carefully analyze the reasons why Zheng Xiaoxu was criticized by newspaper editorials, it is mainly because he was criticized for cooperating with Japan in the establishment of Manchukuo.

Public opinion can tolerate his stance and sentiments as an old man. For example, the 1932 editorial commented:

"... If we assume that the restoration is to be a restoration of 'not asserting rights', it will be easier to negotiate. For example, when Xuantong was in Tianjin, others did not

recognize Xuantong, but you still recognized Xuantong. Others did not recognize you as the emperor, but you still recognized you as the emperor. You went to the court

---

every day. 360 Diary of January 17, 1934, included in the fifth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 2503. 361 "Wanted Zheng Xiaoxu", 1933, "Chinese Revolution", Vol. 2, No. 11. 362 "The internal department canceled Zheng Xiaoxu's copyright license", June 10, 1934, "Shen Bao", third page. 363 "The Fujian people expelled Zheng

Xiaoxu from the province", January 21, 1932, "Shen Bao", third page ten. 364 "Fuzhou Societies Request Confiscation of Zheng Xiaoxu's Property", April 28, 1933, Shen Bao, p. 7. 365 "Fujian People Destroy Zheng Xiaoxu's Documents", October 16, 1933, Shen Bao, p. 7.

Kneeling three times and kowtowing nine times every day, the so-called "changing the reign title behind closed doors", although it can restore your personal power, is also a method,

or rather, this method, I have become accustomed to it, and it still does not make me happy. " 366

**Although this comment is somewhat ironic, it does reflect the general public's perception of aging at the time.**

Although Zheng Xiaoxu advocated restoration, as long as his activities were within a certain range and did not have a significant impact on the political situation, it seemed that society had not yet

It can be tolerated, but once it cooperates with Japan, its behavior will no longer be tolerated by society. As for Zheng Xiaoxu's own criticism of traitors,

It is hard to know what he felt, because during his trip to Northeast China to work with Japan, he rarely expressed any hesitation in his diary.

Judging from the quarrel between him and Hu Siyuan, his attitude was decisive. However, in the signing ceremony of the "Japan-Manchuria Protocol" in 1932, the Japanese secretary Yonezawa Kiuchi who

was present at the time recorded that Zheng Xiaoxu Facial twitching, mouth corners twitching,

With a frustrated expression, Yonezawa speculated that this was because Zheng Xiaoxu was afraid of being labeled a traitor after signing the contract. This paragraph 367

The record in "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary" only mentions the contract signing ceremony and does not describe the mood. The newspaper records Zheng Xiaoxu's statement.

The conversation did not mention it, and 368 has yet to be further excavated by historical data.

Looking at Zheng Xiaoxu's discussion of the restoration, it can be seen that since the "Xinhai Revolution", Zheng Xiaoxu hoped that Yuan Shikai could use his power to

After suppressing the revolutionary forces and immediately convening the National Assembly to implement a constitutional monarchy, Yuan Shikai still imagined that he could "

After Yuan Shikai proclaimed himself emperor, Zheng Xiaoxu ended his return to power. After Ding Si's restoration, Zheng Xiaoxu concluded his promotion plan

**Yun and Zhang Xun believed that the restoration needed "the right people" and foreign aid to succeed.**

In China at that time, Zheng Xiaoxu still believed that restoring the Qing Dynasty and implementing a constitutional monarchy was the solution to the turmoil in China. In 1923

From the time Zheng Xiaoxu entered the palace to 1931, when he went to the Northeast to participate in the establishment of Manchukuo, his philosophy of restoration during this period was to pursue

"International co-management" because he believed that once China was co-managed by the international community, each country would most likely choose to manage China.

After the establishment of Manchukuo, it was clear that Zheng Xiaoxu was dissatisfied with the current situation of Manchukuo.

Although it has been controlled by Japan since its establishment, Zheng Xiaoxu never gave up pursuing the independence of Manchukuo. Zheng Xiaoxu once hoped to use the

In 1932, the League of Nations sent the Lytton investigation team to China to investigate the September 18th Incident, and placed Manchuria under international condominium control to achieve

"Condominium theory", although the results of the Lytton investigation team's report did meet Zheng's expectations, in the end the League of Nations failed to take any action against Manchukuo.

What to do? Japan withdrew from the League of Nations on March 27, 1933, and Zheng Xiaoxu's desired "international co-management" could not be realized.

---

366 "Zheng Xiaoxu's political views", April 29, 1932, Shenbao, first edition of the local supplement. 367 "The Reality and Illusion of Manchuria" by Yamamuro Shinichi and translated by Lin Qizhen et al., pp. 202-203. 368 "On

the Mid-Autumn Festival, the full moon and people's birthdays, the protocol has been printed", September 16, 1932, Shengjing Times, first edition.

Although Zheng Xiaoxu serves as the Prime Minister, the power is actually held by the Chief of General Affairs Department of the General Affairs Department. Zheng Xiaoxu has expressed his views on many occasions.

Although they were dissatisfied with Zheng Xiaoxu, other elders such as Hu Siyuan and Luo Zhenyu were dissatisfied with Zheng Xiaoxu.

They both wanted the independence of Manchukuo. For example, Hu Siyuan once told Pu Yi that he wanted to have "the power to employ people." Luo Zhenyu agreed with Pu Yi.

After the "Twelve Articles of Orthodoxy" proposed by Puyi and the signing of the "Japanese-Manchurian Protocol", he proposed to Puyi to implement the imperial system for a period of one year.

If the monarchy could not be established by the deadline, he would abdicate and negotiate with Sakagami on this condition. Although their proposals were different,

But it can also reflect the old people's intention for the independence of Manchukuo. As far as the nature of Manchukuo is concerned, although the Kwantung Army has stated that Manchukuo is

The Manchuria Kingdom was not a restoration of the Qing Dynasty. In many cases, one can still find that Zheng deliberately combined the Manchuria Kingdom with the Qing Dynasty.

Later, Manchukuo was indeed regarded as a continuation of the Qing Dynasty, or as a transition before restoration. For example, in 1932, there was a Geneva record

The reporter interviewed Zheng Xiaoxu about the relationship between Manchukuo and China. Zheng mentioned: "China is in extreme chaos. The Chinese people can unite with Manchukuo in the future, but the

people of Manchukuo will never be able to unite with China again." 369 In 1934, a German reporter interviewed Zheng Xiaoxu about whether China can be unified in the future, Zheng replied: "The rule of

Manchuria is to enter the customs and unify." 370 In an interview with the Japanese in 1936, Zheng mentioned: "The emperor can be the emperor of Manchuria and also the emperor of China, just like the king of

England can be the emperor of India. Ye", 371 From these conversations we can know that the theory conceived by Zheng Xiaoxu

**The restoration was achieved by seeking the independence of Manchukuo, and further, based on Manchukuo,**

**Some form of rule over China, but without any real power, the only option was to seek independence for Manchuria.**

In the end, the goal was still to establish a monarchy and establish a constitution. For example, in the first issue of the "Royal Way Monthly", Zheng Xiaoxu wrote in a postscript that "Switzerland is a small country,

so it is suitable for a republic. Manchuria is a large country, so it must rely on establishing a constitution. However, the effectiveness of the kingly way must foster local autonomy and gradually reduce the power of the

government. Peace and stability will easily make people forget about politics. Victory and elimination will naturally be in line with the ultimate principle." 372 This passage simply describes Zheng Xiaoxu's view that

An ideal political system, in the end these ideas have no chance of being realized in reality.

Zheng Xiaoxu's theory of borrowing money to build roads had a profound impact on him. The theory of borrowing money to build roads began with Xu Shichang, the former governor of the three eastern provinces.

He believed that the finances of the three eastern provinces were in short supply. If he wanted to build the Jin-Ai Railway, he must raise national debt, set up banks, and open up trade.

The strategy of attracting investment was used to secretly contain the influence of Japan and Russia in the Northeast. After Xu resigned in 373, he succeeded Xiliang, the governor of the three northeastern provinces.

They also strongly advocated the policy of borrowing money to build roads and establishing banks. Therefore, the theory of borrowing money to build roads means to accumulate foreign debts, balance each other's power, and attract foreign capital.

---

369 Diary entry for August 31, 1932, included in the fifth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page

2404. 370 Diary entry for June 1, 1934, included in the fifth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History,

page 2528. 371 Diary entry for June 30, 1936, included in the fifth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History,

page 2633. 372 The first issue of Wangdao Monthly, compiled by the Ministry of Culture and

Education of the Manchukuo, page 41. 373 Xu Shichang, Tuigengtang Zhengshu, Volume 10 (Yonghe Township, Taipei County: Wenhai Publishing House, 1968), pages 551-557 .

Opening the market is essential. Zheng Xiaoxu first came into contact with the theory of borrowing money to build roads in 1910 when he was invited by Governor Xiliang to Fengtian Province.

Assisted the Jinji Railway in signing a loan contract. The Jinji Railway was opposed by Japan and Russia on the one hand, and

The Qing government was in financial distress at the time and the plan ultimately failed. On September 9, 1910, Zheng Xiaoxu drafted a memorial for Xiliang to present to the emperor in Beijing.

He believed that borrowing was China's "first national salvation policy" at that time, and advocated large-scale borrowing of foreign debt and contracting labor from foreign countries to build the whole country.

The country's major arterial roads, in this case, financial groups from various countries will compete to invest, which will also be helpful to the implementation of currency reform and constitution at that time.

In May 1911, the Qing government announced that all the main railways in the country would be nationalized. Zheng Xiaoxu advocated nationalization of railways and wrote an article in the newspaper.

"The Four Major Trunk Lines Statement", the main points of this statement are "attracting foreign investment is the key to saving the nation", "borrowing a loan of 100 million yuan and completing it within a certain

number of years", and it believes that China should borrow money on a large scale, so that other countries will compete to invest and secretly curb the invasion and infiltration of the great powers.

In summary, Zheng Xiaoxu went to the Northeast to assist with the Jin-ai Railway in 1910 and borrowed money to build roads in 1911.

It can be found that they are similar. Both advocate attracting foreign investment and balancing power to contain the great powers. The difference lies in the signing of the Jin-Ai Railway.

When the loan contract was signed, the purpose of borrowing money to build the road was to compete with Japan and Russia. In 1911, the loan was not only for national defense considerations, but also for the purpose of

At the same time, borrowing money is also used as a way to promote reform.

After the Revolution of 1911, Zheng Xiaoxu lived in seclusion in Shanghai. Although he no longer had any official position, judging from some of his remarks or accounts,

Zheng Xiaoxu did not abandon the idea of borrowing money to build roads. For example, on February 18, 1912, Zheng Xiaoxu told his friend Meng Zhaochang, "If we want China to develop, we can only borrow money

to build roads. Then the pressure from foreigners will naturally disappear... If I am in charge of the transportation affairs of the whole country, I will make the country's strength soar, and then political reform will come later."

374 On April 7, 1912, Zheng Xiaoxu said to Wang Yitang, "I think the majority should obey the minority, and return to opening up the whole country. We should start with building roads, and we must first build Zhang

Qia's principles." 375 These two passages are consistent with Zheng Xiaoxu's "Four

The content of "Dagan Road Commentary" is almost the same, both advocate borrowing money to build roads first, and then carry out political reforms.

In 1925, Zheng Xiaoxu proposed the prophecy of "Three Generations of the Communist Party". Although the theory of the Three Communists seemed to emphasize Zheng Xiaoxu's personal influence on Chinese politics,

The evolution of the situation is actually related to borrowing money to build roads. Here we have to mention the co-management stage in the theory of the Three Communists, which originally meant

After the Chinese Communist regime overthrows the Republic of China government, the great powers will intervene in China based on their interests in China, and ultimately choose

Puyi stepped forward to preside over the political situation, thus entering the "Imperial Qing" stage. According to Puyi's recollection in his autobiography, Zheng Xiaoxu advocated Western skills

technology and Western capital, hiring Westerners as officials, hiring Westerners to train the army, and using foreign powers to develop China. 376 In fact,

374 On February 18, 1912, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page

1400. 375 On April 7, 1912, included in the third volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page

1411. 376 On June 23, 1927, included in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 2149.

It can be said that the idea of borrowing money to build roads is also included in this theory of co-management, because borrowing money to build roads and co-management theory are intended to borrow the power of the great powers.

The purpose of developing China is similar. On August 12, 1929, Zheng Xiaoxu discussed the future restoration with the exiled Austrian Baron Akdi.

Policies, "1. Establish a responsible cabinet, with ministers participating in guest ministers; 2. The imperial guards will be commanded and coached by guest generals; 3. The policy of quickly building the

Zhangjiakou-Li railway and using borrowed money to contract construction; 4. All domestic government-run and commercial enterprises shall be limited to "Established as one entity within five years", 377 four

The third article in the policy mentions the strategy of borrowing money to contract work. Compared with the "Four Major Roads" published in the past, it is still very similar.

The only difference is that these four policies do not emphasize the construction of four major trunk roads.

On March 13, 1932, when Zheng Xiaoxu was the Prime Minister of Manchukuo, he drafted a report to the country:

Land, people, and government make up a country. When government is lax, people will wither, and when people wither, land will be barren. This is the situation in our country today.

The greatest trouble for a country is xenophobia. If a country has rich land but cannot manage it itself, it would rather let it be barren than allow cooperation from outsiders, and thus start a

war and cause internal strife, and still say angrily: "Others are cheating me!" Little do they know that occupying thousands of miles of fertile land and blocking it is against the will of heaven,

and it is impossible for it to protect itself. For now, the only way is to open the door and invite cooperation as the basic policy of building a country, so that our country can collect tens of

millions of capital every year, increase millions of people every year, abandon suspicion, and remove obstacles, then the changes of heaven and earth will be opened up, and within a few

years, it will become a rich and majestic world. 378 On October 5, 1932, Zheng Xiaoxu discussed the policy of Manchukuo with others and mentioned that "if the various industries in

Manchuria can absorb the

world's capital, Asia can control the overall situation of the world. We are willing to reach a conclusion within half a year and sign a contract to hand over the rights and interests of the whole country

for the next 20 years to the capitalists. In a few years, this country will become a paradise for the world." 379 If these two paragraphs are compared with the previous debt-borrowing and road-building

In comparison, their purposes are quite different. The purpose of borrowing money in the "Four Major Roads" is to improve national defense, diplomatic balance, and reform.

On the other hand, the borrowing in the condominium theory focuses more on absorbing foreign capital to develop China and serving as prime minister. At this time, borrowing

The purpose of building roads was to build Manchuria, and the common point between them was that they both advocated the introduction of foreign capital. To sum up the above points, we can

It is found that Zheng Xiaoxu's concept of borrowing money to build roads was put forward for different purposes in each period, but they all have the same characteristics, which reflects his

## Continuity in.

Zheng Xiaoxu's relationship with Puyi seemed to be up and down during the three years he served as prime minister. According to Puyi's autobiography, since 1932

377 On August 12, 1929, it was included in the fourth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page

2245. 378 On March 13, 1932, it was included in the fifth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page

2371. 379 On October 5, 1932, it was included in the fifth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, pages 2413 to 2414.

After Zheng Xiaoxu signed the "Japanese-Manchurian Protocol" on September 15, Puyi was very dissatisfied with Zheng Xiaoxu's signing of the treaty privately, so he and Hu Siyuan discussed the reorganization of the State Council, replaced Zheng Xiaoxu with Zang Shiyi as Prime Minister, and hinted to Zheng Xiaoxu that he should retire and take care of his old age.

From this point of view, Puyi and Hu Siyuan no longer had a good impression of Zheng Xiaoxu and his son, but in "Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary", the relationship between the two seems to be On October 30, 1932, Puyi summoned Zheng Xiaoxu and his attendants Kudo Tadashi and Qi Jizhong to have dinner and take photos together to commemorate the The process of sneaking to the Northeast from Tianjin to show that he would not forget Ju again, and he took a photo alone with Zheng Xiaoxu, November 21, 1932 Zheng Xiaoxu

He resigned again to Puyi, who tried to persuade him to stay, saying, "Now that there is no successor, you should try your best to recover the capital and then discuss it."<sup>380</sup> From these two events, we can see that It can also be seen that there is still revolutionary sentiment between Puyi and Zheng Xiaoxu, and Puyi's attempt to retain Zheng Xiaoxu is not at all like the decisiveness in his autobiography. Therefore, the true relationship between the two is difficult to know. On May 21, 1935, Zheng Xiaoxu resigned as Prime Minister and wrote "Resignation as Prime Minister on April 19th".

The poem "The Prime Minister Obtained the Permission" caused Zheng Xiaoxu and Hu Siyuan to mock each other. The poem said:

At the age of seventy-six, I boast of my good physical skills. Although I am not a strong man, I am not a emaciated old man. Today I am relieved of my post, and I am as fast as a broken jade bowl. I

stretch my arms several times, and I cough and purse my lips frequently. I have been a poor and lonely man for thousands of years, how can I find my partner? In the rat hole, don't talk about me anymore. What is the intention of the Creator, to leave me immortal? Is it God who knows me? Ask the willow under the hall.<sup>381</sup>

The most noteworthy part of this poem is the two lines "yyyy". The yy is a reference to the scene at the Hongmen Banquet, when Fan Zeng said "yyyyyy" (The yy is not worthy of being consulted).

The allusion here seems to be an allusion to Pu Yi's erection. Hu Siyuan was very dissatisfied after reading this poem, so he wrote another poem to Zheng: Qi Ji always deceives himself in his life, what is the use of fighting against jade in anger. The corpse has been in charge

of Aheng for a long time, and it is necessary to pass down the poems of saintliness from Tuotuo. The scales and armor suddenly hope to rise again, and the lungs and liver are suspected by the crowd. It

is clear what happened in the past twelve years, and the tolerance of heaven and earth is unknown.<sup>382</sup> Hu Shi asked Zheng Xiaoxu, "What is the meaning of angrily hitting a jade fight?" For Hu Siyuan, who has always been loyal to Puyi, Zheng Xiaoxu's poem since However, it is intolerable, and the first and third sentences are meant to be sarcastic. After Zheng Xiaoxu read it, he wrote a poem titled "After the First Poems of Hu Qin" as a response.

The poem goes: "I have been a figurehead for three years and I evaluate myself. I beg to return, but the public anger is still not appeased. It is meaningless for an old man to scold the world, so why should I be surprised by

the bad reputation from time to time? I am responsible for a heavy responsibility and endure humiliation, but I will never know when I will continue to criticize my mistakes. I am now ruined by shutting myself in,

so poets should not be too late to start writing."<sup>383</sup> The two lines "The old man is so badly criticized" in this poem show that he does not care about criticism, while the two lines "It is too late to shut yourself in" seem to be

directed at Hu Siyuan. Zheng Xiaoxu mentioned in his diary that "Hu has been planning to overthrow him for a long time",<sup>384</sup> which also confirms what Puyi said that Hu Siyuan wanted to replace Zheng Xiaoxu as

---

Prime Minister, showing that Zheng and Hu were in a serious relationship.<sup>380</sup> On November 21, 1932, Zheng Xiaoxu was in a serious relationship with Hu Siyuan.

Daily diary, included in the fifth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 2426. 381

Zheng Xiaoxu, Huang Kun and Yang Xiaobo, Haizanglou Poetry Collection (Revised Edition), page 429. 382 Hu Siyuan, Qiu Chenjiang, Hu Siyuan's Diary, included in the fourth volume of China's Modern and Contemporary Rare Historical Materials Series (Nanjing):

Phoenix Publishing House, June 2017), pages 150-151. 383 Diary of July 8, 1935, included in the fifth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National

Museum of Chinese History, page 2590. 384 Diary of July 7, 1935, included in the fifth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 2590.

After the establishment of Manchukuo, relations became cold. After the fall of Manchukuo, Hu Siyuan lived in seclusion in Yanle Hutong, Beijing, on February 3, 1949.

The army entered Beijing, and Hu Siyuan died of poverty and illness on the 18th. 385 During the three years that Zheng Xiaoxu served as prime minister, some of his poems also

We can see his secret desire to return to his hometown of Shanghai, such as "After removing twenty-three willow trees in the garden, I will have two shelves of residual books. I recall the

5,000 volumes in the sea. When will I return to my old building?" 386

On March 28, 1938, Zheng Xiaoxu died of illness in Changchun. He was given a state funeral and was conferred the title of Grand Honor by Puyi. His tomb is located in Feng

Dongfang Tomb of Tiandong, Qijianfang Village on the outskirts of Fengtian City, 387 is the current site of Qijianfang Village, Shenyang City. It was founded by Zheng Yu and Tu on May 21, 1938.

Kenji Hihara and Bao Kang, the governor of Fengtian, were buried on July 3. 388 After Zheng Xiaoxu died of illness, his friend Ohta Soyo was already there.

His private residence in Japan and the Fengtianyuan Academy established a shrine for him, and he founded Taiyi Palace on July 6. The official name is "Zhenhu Jianguo Taiyi Palace". It is

a shrine dedicated to Zheng Xiaoxu. The gods are Shaoyan Mingming and Zheng Xiaoxu., the Prime Minister of the Prime Minister is Okuninushi and Saruta Hikoko. The reason

why they do not use the name of a shrine is to make the Manchus and Han people feel close to each other. Ohta also founded the "Taiyi Temple" organization, which is responsible for the

sacrificial activities of Taiyi Palace. 389 Taiyi Temple The Taiyi Festival was held in 1941, and the Taiyi Festival was held every year until the defeat of Japan. After Zheng Xiaoxu's

death, the world's evaluation of him was mixed. He once interacted with Zheng Xiaoxu.

Japanese civil and military officials such as Konoe Fumimaro, Privy Council Speaker Hiranuma Kiichiro, Army Generals Shige Honjo, Hishikari Takashi, and Koiso Kuniaki.

, Sakagaki Seishirō and others sent telegrams of condolence, expressing their admiration for Zheng Xiaoxu's contribution to the establishment of Manchuria or their respect for his personality.

They also expressed their condolences, for example, Sakagaki: "The sudden passing of His Excellency Zheng Xiaoxu, the former Prime Minister of State, and my deepest condolences in

recalling his great contribution to the founding of Manchuria." Konoe: "Sincerely, His Excellency Zheng Xiaoxu, the former Prime Minister of State." His mellow personality and his immortal

achievements, which I admire the most, are now rewarded by his sudden death. How can I cherish them." 390 As for the National

Government, due to Zheng Xiaoxu's involvement in Manchukuo, he naturally did not have favorable reviews. The Central Daily News, the official newspaper of the Kuomintang,

derogated Zheng Xiaoxu as "Zheng Ni" after 1933. In the same year, the Nanjing Party Executive Committee petitioned the Central Committee To Zheng Xiaoxu

A wanted notice was issued, and the punishment was to confiscate property and destroy publications. Telegrams were sent to all provinces to respond. Even after Zheng Xiaoxu's death, he was still denigrated.

"Great Han traitor", there is a poem that says "He still deserves death, China will destroy him, how can I know the nine enemies, I will just say one partial word", this

---

poem was published<sup>385</sup> Diary of February 18, 1949, included in Xu Baoheng's Diary, Volume 4 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2010), page 1569. 386 Diary of July 3, 1932, included

in the Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu, Volume 5, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, page 2393. 387 "The Tomb of the Former Prime Minister Zheng was Decided to be in the East of the Eastern Tombs", Shengjing Times, May 22, 1945, second edition. 388

"After the selection of the grave site for the late Prime Minister Zheng, it was decided that the funeral and burial would be held on July 3rd," Shengjing Times, May 24, 1915, second edition. 389 Sagai Ken, The History of the Rise and Fall of Shrines in Manchuria (Tokyo: Furong Shobo, August 1998), pp. 212-217.

390 Ye Can, Chen Bangzhi, and Dang Xiangzhou, ed., Biography of Zheng Xiaoxu (Changchun: Manchu-Japanese Cultural Association, September 1915), pp. 158-160.

In the Central Daily News, 391, it can be seen that the government was mainly critical of Zheng Xiaoxu, and basically confirmed the evaluation of him as a traitor. After Zheng Xiaoxu's death, although most people still criticized him as a

traitor, there were different degrees of criticism. For example, there was a magazine called Happy Forest.

The editorial hopes for a "counterfeit property inventory" and advocates that the authorities should investigate the Zheng family's properties in Northeast China, Tianjin, and Shanghai when they take over the Japanese property.

confiscated them, "so that those who sell out the country for glory will know to be on high alert." 392 Xinhua Daily named Wang Jingwei, Chen Gongbo, and Zheng Xiao

Xu, Wang Kemin and others were traitors, and they advocated imitating the European method of trying Nazi German and Vichy French war criminals, severely punishing traitors and

The sentence cannot be lenient on the grounds of "saving the country through curves", "maintaining local order", or "atoning for one's crimes" 393. Zheng had been dead for many years when this article was published, and one can still

get a glimpse of his attitude towards Zheng. Another example is "Haiguang" Magazine, "I heard that Zheng was living under the protection of the Japanese pirates. He was constantly restrained and scolded, so he was depressed, sad and angry.

However, one mistake caused eternal hatred. Even if he wanted to turn back, it was too late. The Japanese pirates were extremely strict, so he surrendered. It is difficult to fly with wings even if it is a snare. Zheng, the thief, wrote many poems before he died.

The words are very sad and full of remorse."

394 A rough comparison of these evaluations shows that they both condemn Zheng Xiaoxu as a traitor, but the former two advocate confiscation of homes or severe punishment, while the latter is more moderate.

and some, with a warning connotation. In addition, some praised Zheng Xiaoxu's talents and took the opportunity to reflect on the Sichuan road protection movement. 395 It can be seen

At that time, there were many different opinions on the conclusion of Zheng Xiaoxu's coffin closing.

Most of the old friends or scholars who had contact with him wrote elegies and couplets to commemorate him, which shows their evaluation of Zheng.

The elegy for commemoration or praise is like the funeral couplet written by Bao Xi, the Minister of the Imperial Household Department of the Qing Dynasty, praising Zheng Xiaoxu's loyalty: "He served the emperor in times of danger and made

suggestions to establish the country. He retired after three years, and spent his days and months writing poems and calligraphy. He was a man of great integrity and noble character. When he passed away, his heroic spirit was regarded as a star."

Zhang Yuanji's elegiac couplet recalled the time when Zheng Xiaoxu escorted Xia Ruifang to the train station when she was assassinated, and expressed his gratitude for the past exchanges between the two.

Friendship: "We have been together in times of trouble, holding hands and moving forward. I can't forget the days when we were in the same boat. We never got home to rest. I stroke my chest and want to die. I want to see the moment when I write with

all my heart." 396 Zheng Xiaoxu's poet friend Li Xuangong wrote "Mourning Taiyi Nianzhang": "... Your reputation is as narrow as the sky and the earth, your ambition is as fast as the sun and the moon, you have wasted your time to be loyal, and you have

never been bound by it. Therefore, you have no regrets in your heart. The world's opinions are so cruel... In vain, you have made the world sad and heavy-hearted." 397 Zheng Xiaoxu believed that

Xu planned the restoration and participated in Manchukuo in order to be loyal to the Qing Dynasty. He expressed his understanding of his behavior and lamented that society's evaluation was too harsh.

Shao Jingren commented on Zheng Xiaoxu's poems, including a paragraph of his evaluation: "... when the Qing emperor was lured by the Japanese, he usurped the throne in the

---

Northeast, with Taiyi as the leader. 391 "Zheng Xiaoxu's Death", Central Daily News, May 11, 1938, p. 4.

392 "Investigation of Zheng Xiaoxu's Rebellious Property", Happy Forest, 12th issue, p. 7, 1946. 393 "Severe

Punishment for Han Traitors and National Traitors", August 18, 1945, New China Daily, p. 2. 394

"Zheng Xiaoxu's Lament", Haiguang, 12th issue, p. 5, 1945. 395 "Comment on Zheng Taiyi",

Morning Post, April 10, 1938, p. 2. 396 Ye Can, Chen Bangzhi, Dang Xiangzhou, eds.,

Biography of Zheng Xiaoxu, p. 178. 397 Zheng Xiaoxu, Huang Kun, Yang Xiaobo, Poetry Collection of Haizanglou (revised edition), p. 567.

He served as prime minister, and the world accused him of being a traitor. However, each husband had his own background. Compared with other dynasties, Qin, Mu, and Chu, the virtues of two or three

people are not the same ." 398 It is certain that Zheng Xiaoxu was loyal to the Qing Dynasty, but not purely a traitor. However, there are also those who blame Zheng Xiaoxu for his failure in

his later years, such as Chen Yan: "Zheng Sukan's poems specialize in high-pitched tunes, but they are good at pauses and setbacks, and they rarely change. He prefers to use sectarian language,

which is extremely disgusting. Recently, his behavior has become more and more crazy. "We have broken off friendship for a long time." 399 Wang Guoyuan compared Zheng Xiaoxu to "Lu Junyi, the star

of Tiangang, the jade unicorn" in "Guangxuan Poetry Circle", which is an allusion to "Lu Junyi's rebellion" in the Water Margin, implying that Zheng Xiaoxu was like Lu Junyi falling grass in

Liangshan in his later years, "falling grass" Manchukuo criticized him for "being self-reliant and stubborn without knowing that he was sheltering the Japanese. He was disloyal to the Qing Dynasty and

unfilial to the nation." Wang Guoyuan successively paid attention to Zheng Xiaoxu's poems. Although he still praised his poems, he thought that Zheng Xiaoxu The evening festival is not over, it will be

He was compared to Ma Shiyang and Ruan Dacheng of the Southern Ming Dynasty to show his disdain. 400 Generally speaking, evaluations of Zheng Xiaoxu focus on his poetry, restoration,

**Compared with the general public opinion at the time, these writers' evaluations can be said to be conservative.**

401 Now, with the passage of time, Zheng Xiaoxu's historical positioning and evaluation can gradually be thought of in a more diversified way.

Take a look at it.

After the war (July 1, 1947), historian Jin Yufu mentioned Zheng Xiaoxu in his diary. Jin Yufu and Guo Rensheng went there together.

When going to pay homage to Zheng Xiaoxu's tomb, 402 Guo Rensheng claimed that the land where Zheng Xiaoxu's tomb was located belonged to the Guo family, and he had originally invited Kan Yu to decide whether Guo Song

However, when Zheng Xiaoxu was buried, China and Japan were at war, and the Guo family had no time to deal with the matter.

Sitting among them, the two of them paid their respects and discussed the burial arrangements: "...Yu Xiao asked where the remains of Hai Zang will be placed? Ren Sheng said: "Tell his descendants, if they want to move,

they will move it, otherwise they will leave it in the tomb. "Finding a place to bury him will never make this famous poet, who has no size, be able to rest his soul." Yu Fu palm praised the good." It can be seen that both of them

hope that Zheng's tomb and Guo's tomb can be solved satisfactorily. Jin Yufu also wrote, " "Haizang is an upright man, his spirit is as fierce as a tiger, he is more than seventy years old, and he is still brave enough to be a hero,

but he is a brave man. He is willing to recognize a thief as his father. With this Ji's life, it is quite contrary to what is said, that is, he is loyal." The old king has good intentions, but he is loyal to the king and does not care about

the people. It will not help in the end... I would rather know that my bones are not cold, and the situation has changed. It is better to be a prisoner than to fight with General Guo. "Soil", the first paragraph of 403 poems except

398. Written by Zheng Xiaoxu, edited by Huang Kun and Yang Xiaobo, "Haizanglou Poetry Collection" (updated edition), page 592. 399 When Chen Yan made this comment, he read Qian Zhongshu's "Collected

---

Works of Qian Zhongshu: Written on the Edge of Life, on the Edge of Life, and Stone Language" around the time of the January 28th

Incident, page 480. 400 Written by Zheng Xiaoxu, edited by Huang Kun and Yang Xiaobo, "Haizanglou Poetry Collection" (updated edition), pages 603 to 607. 401 Cao Juren once wrote in his article "Killing the Wrong Person": "I often tell my friends, There is no bloodless revolution, but the bloodshed must not be shed on the wrong person. Kill Puyi early and

kill Zheng Xiaoxu and others more often." "It is a great blessing for the country", Lu Xun's "Pseudo Freedom Book, One Name, No Three or Four Collections" (Shanghai: Lu Xun Complete Works Publishing House, 1947), page 104.

402 Brother of Fengtian clique general Guo Songling. Guo Songling was shot by Zhang Zuolin for rebelling against Fengtian clique. His body was left exposed for three days. The Guo family was unable to arrange for a burial until after the war.

403 Diary entry for July 1, 1947, in Jin Yufu, Diary of Jingwushi (Shenyang: Liaoshen Publishing House, 1993), p. 6309.

In addition to praising Zheng Xiaoxu's talent and reputation, he still condemned him for recognizing a thief as his father. Finally, he asked him to understand the meaning of the Guo family's move to the tomb. However,

The Guo family ultimately failed to contact the descendants of the Zheng family, and the matter remained unsuccessful until 1952, when the descendants of the Guo family, with the assistance of the local government, chose a place close to

Guo Songling and his wife were buried 100 meters from Zheng Xiaoxu's tomb. During the Cultural Revolution, Zheng Xiaoxu's tomb was destroyed by the villagers of Qijianfang and the tomb was moved to another place.

However, no remains of 404 have been preserved, and only the tombstone of "The great honorary title Zheng Gong Xiaoxu, the first-class wife Mrs. Wu" has been preserved and is now on display.

At the September 18th History Museum.

On February 16, 1932, Zheng Xiaoxu's eldest son Zheng Chui died of illness. This incident began on February 9, 1932. It was recorded in the diary that "the seventh

"Sore throat", 13th diary "Da Qi had severe sore throat and was transferred to Mantie Hospital", 14th diary stated that Zheng Chui suffered from symptoms such as "swollen lips and tongue, unclear speech", "if I

touch his forehead, he still feels hot, and there is phlegm in his mouth and nose" "Sai", 405 died of illness on that day. Zheng Xiaoxu was extremely sad and wrote the poem "Mourning" to express

the pain of losing his son, but did not mention the cause of Zheng Chui's illness. Zheng Chui's coffin was placed at Prajna Temple in Changchun. 406 It was written by Zheng Yu

After handling the funeral arrangements, when Zheng Yu visited Zheng Chui's body, he found bleeding from seven holes, so the Zheng family suspected that he had been poisoned by the Kwantung Army.

At that time, rumors about Zheng Chui's murder gradually spread. According to the recollections of Zheng Yu's son Zheng Yingda, 407, he believed that Zheng Chui was murdered because of Zheng

The relationship between Zheng Chui and the Japanese cabinet was close, and the Kwantung Army saw him as a hindrance, so they poisoned him.

To avenge the murder of his father, he and his cousin Zheng Kunlun joined the "Peking Anti-Japanese Traitor Killing Group" in 1939.

Founded in 1939, several members, including Zheng Tongwan, jointly organized the "Peking Anti-Japanese Killing Group". The killing group recruited people from Peiping

Middle school students in the area joined the regiment, and their main activities were collecting Japanese military intelligence, manufacturing incendiary bombs and weapons, and collecting supplies and heavy equipment for the Peiping Anti-Resistance Regiment.

The required documents were stored in the homes of Zheng Tongwan and Zheng Kunlun. Because they were the grandsons of Zheng Xiaoxu, they could easily escape the surveillance of the Japanese army and were relatively safe.

The Military Intelligence Bureau of the Nationalist Government once wanted to register the members of the Anti-Japanese Killing Group and have them join the Kuomintang. They also used the Anti-Japanese Killing Group to investigate the Communist Party.

, but the Anti-Resistance League believed that joining the party was not in line with its purpose, and did not actively cooperate with the postponement of registration and party investigation and the investigation of the Communist Party.

The main task was to fight against the Japanese or to kill the traitors. In August 1940, a member of the anti-Japanese group was arrested by Japanese spies, and the matter was exposed.

The crowd was so large that most of the members of the Peiping Anti-Resistance Group were arrested. Zheng Tongwan and Zheng Kunlun were also arrested. After Zheng Yu learned about it, he used all kinds of connections to try his best to organize the operation.

Rescue, the Japanese released the two men because they were descendants of the late former Prime Minister Zheng Xiaoxu. After the war, the anti-resistance regiments followed the military command

---

404 Chu Guoqing, "Soul Returns to Fisherman's and Woodcutter's Village (Part 1) – Reconstruction of the Tomb of Guo Songling and Han Shuxiu", *Grain in Ear*, No. 9 (2014), p. 45. 405 Diary entries from February 9, 13 and 14, 1933, included in the fifth volume of Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary, compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History, pp. 2441-2442. 406 The current address is No. 377, Changchun Street, Changchun City, Jilin Province . 407 See Aixinjue Luo Puyi, Gao Yang preface, *The Autobiography of the Last Emperor*, revised edition, p. 369; Luo Jizu, *Traces of the Ephemeral Letters*, p. 133. 408 Li Jun, Zheng Xiaoxu before 1931, p.

304. 409 Zheng He, the daughter of Zheng Xiaoxu's fifth son.

Dai Li's instructions were followed, and the organization was disbanded and wages were paid. After April 10, Zheng Tongwan settled in Taiwan and worked as a mathematics teacher at Taipei First Girls' High School.

Zheng Kunlun settled in Beijing. 411



---

410 Ding Yizhuang, *The World of the Eight Banners Children* (Beijing: Beijing Publishing House, February 2017), pp. 176-181. 411 Zhou Wenyue, edited by Shao Yu, "Anecdotes of My Mother Zheng Xun," included in the website of the Tsinghua Alumni Association in Beijing, <https://www.tsinghua.org.cn/info/1023/31347.htm> (accessed on January 7, 2024).

## Chapter 5 Conclusion

Zheng Xiaoxu returned to China after the Sino-Japanese War and joined Zhang Zhidong's government. In 1897, he met Sheng Xuanhuai, who was very fond of Zheng.

He was appreciated by the emperor and appointed him as the patron of the Chamber of Commerce and the general manager of the purchasing department of the Railway Corporation. In 1898, he was recommended by Zhang Zhidong and was awarded

Emperor Guangxu summoned him, so he was able to participate in the Reform Movement of 1898, and wrote a letter to express his opinions. Later, he was ordered to appoint the Prime Minister Zhang Jing. However, due to the coup of 1898, he was

Zheng Xiaoxu saw that things were hopeless and he had no interest in government affairs, so he took sick leave and returned to Shanghai. He did not return to the Zongli Yamen, but returned to Shengxian.

In November 1898, Sheng Xuanhuai appointed Zheng as the general manager of the southern section of the Luhan Railway. In 1900, the Boxer Rebellion and the Eight-Nation Alliance broke out.

When the Luhan Railway was suspended, Zheng Xiaoxu resigned as the General Office and was transferred to the General Office of Hubei Provincial Operations Office.

In 1910, Zheng Xiaoxu was invited by Xiliang and Cheng Dequan to go to Fengtian to participate in the planning of the Jin-Jin Railway. At that time, Xiliang advocated openness.

Based on the situation in which Japan and Russia invaded Northeast China, they advocated borrowing foreign debt to build the railway as soon as possible. At that time, the Fengtian gentry and people opposed the open policy.

, Zheng Xiaoxu first persuaded the members of the Fengtian Consultative Bureau, and then went to Fengtian to draw up the Jin'ai Railway contract and borrow money.

The contract was negotiated with the British company, the British Consul General, and the American Consul General in Fengtian, David.

The railway failed to be approved, firstly because it was opposed by Japan and Russia, both of which put pressure on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and secondly because the Qing government was implementing currency

Zheng Xiaoxu and Xiliang went to Beijing several times to persuade the court to reform the system, but ultimately failed under internal and external pressure. However, Zheng and Xiliang continued to

While lobbying the court, Zheng Xiaoxu drafted a memorial for Xiliang and at the same time wrote "Four Major Trunk Roads" in the newspaper, advocating that the court should

He borrowed foreign debts to build four sections of the Guangdong-Han, Sichuan-Tibet, Zhangqia, and Yihei trunk roads; in 1910, the Governor of Yunnan and Guizhou, Li Jingxi, sent a message to the governors

The governors called for the establishment of a parliament to deal with the new policy. Zheng Xiaoxu not only drafted a telegram for Xiliang, but also asked the court to open the country as soon as possible.

In addition to the National Assembly, the draft memorial was submitted to newspapers in an effort to create public opinion. The provincial advisory councils also asked the Qing government to shorten the period of the National Assembly.

In the end, the court ordered a repression and no further revision. Zheng Xiaoxu advocated a quick convening of the National Assembly and was disappointed with the result.

In 1911, the Qing government issued an order to nationalize the national roads. In May, Sheng Xuanhuai, Minister of Posts and Communications, visited Zheng Xiaoxu.

At that time, everyone was in favor of nationalizing the railway. Zheng Xiaoxu also proposed to take back the commercial railway on behalf of the Sheng Dynasty. Zheng Xiaoxu made a supplementary grant to Hu on June 20.

The governor of the south went to Beijing to meet with Sheng Xuanhuai and the regent Wang Zaiyun, and advocated borrowing money to contract the construction and speed up the construction of railways.

The article "Guo Tan" was published in the newspaper, calling on the public to study the idea of borrowing money to build roads. Zheng Xiaoxu's argument was mostly based on national defense.

Borrowing money to build roads can attract foreign investment, which implies the intention of containing the great powers. However, his idea of contracting labor was criticized by many public opinion at the time.

In June, the Sichuan Road Protection Movement was launched, and in October the Wuchang Uprising broke out. Zheng Xiaoxu was very disgusted with the revolution and believed that it was still time for reform.

In the 19th century, the provinces became independent one after another, and Zheng returned to Shanghai on the 22nd.

After the Xinhai Revolution and until the restoration of the Qing Dynasty, Zheng Xiaoxu's social life was mainly based on his participation in the "Scripture Reading Club", "One Yuan

The "Shuokekai" was founded on July 15, 1912, with a total of

Members include Shen Yuqing, Wang Rendong, Lin Kaiyi, Liu Xuanfu, Wu Xuelian, Wu Xuezhuang, Yang Xiaosong, Chen Shuping, Shouyin, and Jin Bang

Ping, Chen Lizun and Liu Shuping. Most of the members of the Bible reading group are relatives of Zheng Xiaoxu or the same year. The Bible reading group is about once a week.

The number of members present is uncertain; the Yiyuan Society was founded on January 31, 1915, by Zheng Xiaoxu and Renwu in the same year, and the total number of members is Feng Xu

, Zhu Zumou, Wang Naizheng, Chen Sanli, Yang Zhongxi, Li Junong, Zhang Jie, Tang Yan, Zheng Jichen, Zheng Yaochen, for Zheng's Renwu

In the same year, as well as other friends, the meeting date of the One Yuan Club was not fixed, and the members attending each time were also different. The restaurants where they often had dinner were about: Shishixuan

, Gu Yuxuan, Duyiyi, Biyoutian, Xiaoyoutian, Guangfu Tower, Yaxu Garden, etc.; Zheng Xiaoxu and Munakata Kotaro's first meeting

On November 24, 1899, Zheng was serving as the general manager of the Lu-Han Railway at the Hankou Railway Company. They met again in 1912.

In April of that year, Hatohiro became Munakata's disciple. Munakata Kotaro had participated in the East Asia Bungai, and later mainly collected intelligence in China.

Periodically reported to the Japanese Navy. In 1913, Munakata Kotaro, Zheng Xiaoxu, Nishimoto Shozozo, and Hatohiro jointly founded the "Chunshen Society".

The founding of Shanghai magazine, Zheng Xiaoxu's contacts with Sokata Kotaro, Nishimoto Shozo, Hata Hiroshi, and others, banquets, poems, and speeches

Talking became a major part of Zheng Xiaoxu's daily life. Through their gatherings and banquets, Zheng Xiaoxu also got to know many Japanese military and political figures.

academics.

The family members who appear in Zheng Xiaoxu's diary include his wife Wu Zhongzhao, his younger brother Zheng Xiaotong, his eldest son Zheng Chui, his second son Zheng Yu, and his fourth son Zheng.

Zheng Xiaoxu was very concerned about the education of his children.

He personally selects and enrolls in the school, and he often personally gives daily classes to his children, such as asking his children to write poems and then have him correct them, and practice classical Chinese.

The study of Confucian classics and history shows that Zheng Xiaoxu not only attached great importance to the integration of Chinese and Western education for his children, but also participated in it personally.

Xiaoxu's family activities were very rich, such as listening to operas and visiting Shanghai's attractions, such as the Qunxian Tea Garden and Dangui First Stage.

Attractions include Shanghai Building Wailou, Great World, Zhang Garden, Yu Garden, etc. Zheng Xiaoxu once took Shanghai famous actress Jin Yuemei as his concubine, and the two met for the first time.

In 1902, Zheng met Jin Yuemei at Qunxian Tea Garden and praised her highly. Zheng went to Qunxian Tea Garden many times to listen to Jin Yuemei singing.

After the drama, the two gradually became closer. On April 19, 1903, Cen Chunxuan transferred to Guangdong and Guangxi, and Zheng went to Longzhou in June, and the two separated.

They lived together until 1906. During this period, the two gradually became estranged due to their separation. In 1906, Zheng Xiaoxu brought Jin Yuemei and her daughter back to Shanghai.

They rented a house and lived separately, but Jin Yuemei broke up suddenly in 1907, and their relationship ended.

After the founding of the Republic of China, Zheng Xiaoxu still advocated a constitutional monarchy and opposed a republic. In his view, a democratic republic would lead to

At that time, there were frequent turmoils in China, which was not conducive to the development of the country. However, compared with the royalist stance of the Clan Socialist Party and other parties, Zheng held a strong view on the democratic republic.

The system itself did not seem to be offensive. He believed that the revolutionaries and constitutionalists who supported the revolution at that time were not worthy of this important task.

The republican system itself is a good system in Zheng's opinion; Zheng Xiaoxu praised Shengyun quite a lot in his diary, and Shengyun

After the establishment of the Republic of China, he continued to use troops in Shaanxi and persuaded his former subordinates to rise up in rebellion, hoping to restore the Qing Dynasty in Shaanxi, but no one responded.

Later, he joined the Zongshe Party and actively engaged in restoration. Zheng Xiaoxu compared him to Wang Baobao, a famous general in the late Yuan Dynasty, and believed that Sheng Yun was a restorationist.

A suitable candidate, but unfortunately there is no one to help, so it is difficult to succeed. Tang Shouqian was named Zhixian. Zheng and Tang were both comrades of the Preliminary Constitutional Association.

On July 11, 1908, Zheng Xiaoxu and Tang Shouqian jointly drafted a telegram and sent it to the Constitutional Compilation Office in the name of the Constitutional Association, requesting that the Constitutional Compilation Office

The petition ultimately failed, Tang left the Preparatory Constitutional Association, Zheng resigned as president, and Tang Shou took a job at Zhejiang-Hangzhou-Ningbo Railway.

During the road turmoil, he strongly opposed the nationalization of Zhejiang Railway, insisted on running it on his own, and refused to borrow money. After the Revolution of 1911, Tang Shouqian transferred to

Zheng Xiaoxu always supported the republic, while Zheng Xiaoxu hoped to preserve the royal family and implement a constitutional monarchy. The two gradually reduced their contacts after the founding of the Republic of China.

Since the Xinhai Revolution, Zheng Xiaoxu hoped that Yuan Shikai would implement constitutional monarchy and hoped that Yuan Shikai would be loyal to him.

The Qing Dynasty, even after Yuan Shikai became president, still expected him to return power to the Qing Dynasty. As time passed, Zheng Xiaoxu finally stopped believing in him.

When Yuan Shikai returned power to the country, and Yuan Shikai proclaimed himself emperor in 1916, Zheng Xiaoxu regarded him as a "traitor". Although Zheng hated the Revolutionary Party, he

Although they regarded the Revolutionary Party as "thieves", they still respected them. From Zheng Xiaoxu's point of view, he believed that the "thieves" Revolutionary Party was better.

After Yuan Shikai's death, Zhang Xun convened the Xuzhou Conference and joined forces with Ni Sichong and the provinces to establish the "Supervision Office".

In May, Li Yuanhong and Duan Qirui met in Beijing to discuss the dispute between the government and the parliament. Zhang Xun was summoned to the north to mediate. Zhang Xun led his Dingwu Army to Beijing and on July 1

On the 11th, he supported Emperor Xuantong's restoration. Duan Qirui immediately organized a rebel army in Tianjin to attack Zhang. On the 11th, Zhang's army was defeated and the restoration failed.

During the Dingsi Restoration, Zheng Xiaoxu did not participate, but he kept a close eye on the progress and news of the restoration.

When he came, he ordered his eldest son Zheng Chui to buy major newspapers in Shanghai. Most of them opposed it. Zheng believed that the restoration would endanger the royal family and that the house would be cleared on July 9.

After abdicating again, Zheng Xiaoxu was angry that he was excluded from the restoration. He believed that the main reason for the failure of the restoration was the people. In other words, if Zheng

For those who believe they have the ability and talent, it is not impossible.

After the failure of the Dingsi Restoration, Zheng Xiaoxu began to contact Lu Rongting, an old subordinate of Zheng when he was the Director of Frontier Defense of Guangxi.

After Zheng Xiaoxu left Guangxi, the two had less contact. In 1914, Lu Rongting went north and was appointed as the patrol envoy of Guangdong and Guangxi. On April 1, he went to Beijing for pilgrimage.

After meeting Emperor Xuantong, he gained the favor of the Qing Dynasty. On April 20, Lu Rongting returned to Shanghai and visited Zheng Xiaoxu in person, and the two recovered.

In January 1918, Zheng Xiaoxu visited Hu Siyuan to discuss the restoration of the monarchy. The two decided to cooperate with Zhang Xun and Lu Rongting.

In July 1920, the Zhi-An War broke out. Zheng Xiaoxu used Cao Jing to

Yuan contacted Wang Yitang, an important figure in the Anhui clique, and asked Wang to persuade Duan Qirui to reinstate Zhang Xun and Lu Rongting as patrol envoys. Cao Jingyuan replied to Zheng, calling Zhang

The reinstatement of the two Lu men had to wait until the peace talks between the north and the south. About one month after the end of the Zhi-Wan War, the Guangdong-Guangxi War broke out immediately.

The Guangxi clique had high expectations for its performance, but as the Guangdong-Guangxi War progressed, the Guangxi clique's Lu Rongting was defeated by Chen Jiongming and eventually withdrew from Guangdong in 1921.

The second Guangdong-Guangxi War broke out in June 2010, and the battle ended with the defeat of the Guangxi faction. On July 22, Lu Rongting reported to resign, and Zheng Xiaoxu learned that

After hearing the news, Zheng Xiaoxu was very angry. Although he continued to correspond with Lu Rongting, his plan was to support Zhang Xun and Lu Rongting.

The restoration strategy led by military leaders ultimately failed.

In 1923, Zheng Xiaoxu was recommended by Chen Baochen, the Grand Tutor of the Qing Dynasty, to serve in the imperial court of the Qing Dynasty.

Pending terms, the Republic of China government needs to transfer four million taels every year to clear the house. However, the funds are often in arrears, so in order to maintain the daily life of the royal family,

The Imperial Household Department often mortgaged the cultural relics in the palace. When Emperor Puyi grew older, he began to try to reform the Imperial Household Department. On August 22, 1923,

After Hu Siyuan's persuasion, Zheng Xiaoxu came to Beijing for an audience. This meeting made Puyi fall in love with Zheng Xiaoxu, so he arranged for Zheng's family to be

Zheng Xiaoxu came to preside over the cleanup of imperial properties and financial reforms in the Forbidden City. Zheng Xiaoxu's reforms included cutting palace expenses and selling off antiques and treasures.

Or mortgage and discount, and then deposit the money in the bank to increase interest deposits, and also plan to merge agencies in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, etc., in addition to

In addition, he planned to lend the Wenyuange Complete Library of the Qing Dynasty to the Commercial Press. This was Zheng Xiaoxu's open-source strategy, but it was rejected by the Republic of China government.

The publication plan failed due to interests and political considerations. After Zheng Xiaoxu became the Minister of the Interior, he also

Under pressure, he resigned several times. On June 25, he was ordered to remove Zheng Xiaoxu from the post of minister of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and he is still walking in Maoqin Palace.

After the Zhili-Fengtian War broke out in September 1924, Feng Yuxiang led his troops to Rehe. On October 22, he suddenly returned to Beijing. On October 23, he returned to Beijing.

Taking control of Beijing and launching a coup, President Cao Kun and Prime Minister Yan Huiqing resigned successively, and Huang Yu became Prime Minister. On November 4, Feng Yuxiang

Under the suggestion, Huang Fu's cabinet passed the revised terms of preferential treatment for the Qing Dynasty. On the fifth day, Feng Yuxiang's subordinate Lu Zhonglin led his troops to surround the Forbidden City and force Puyi to

Puyi left the palace and went to Prince Chun's residence. On November 27, Johnston, Zheng Xiaoxu, and Luo Zhenyu jointly asked Puyi to leave Prince Chun's residence and planned

First to the German Hospital, then to the embassy area. On November 29, Johnston, Chen Baochen and Puyi first took a car to the German Hospital in Dongjiaominxiang.

, after arriving at the hospital, Johnston immediately went to the British Embassy to negotiate for the protection of Puyi. After Zhuang left, Zheng Xiaoxu arrived at the German hospital.

After following Puyi's order to inform Colonel Takemoto at the Japanese Embassy, Zheng Xiaoxu and Puyi drove to the Japanese Embassy, followed by Chen Baochen.

Upon arrival, Minister Fangze arranged the room.

From the process of Puyi running away from the Japanese embassy, we can know the conflict between Zheng Xiaoxu and Luo Zhenyu.

There were conflicts between them, but they both worked hard for Puyi's safety and behavior. However, judging from historical records,

The actions of the Japanese embassy were mainly promoted by Zheng Xiaoxu. After the Japanese embassy settled down a little, ministers raised questions about the preferential treatment conditions.

A dispute arose. Zheng Xiaoxu advocated the restoration of the original terms, and once expressed to Puyi that he could use his relationship with Duan Qirui to restore the preferential terms.

However, Duan Qirui did not restore the preferential terms in the end, Zheng Xiaoxu was attacked for this, and Luo Zhenyu summoned Sheng Yun to Beijing to

In order to gain support from the emperor, Puyi distanced himself from Zheng and got close to Luo. Zheng Xiaoxu then asked for leave to return to Shanghai on December 6, 1924. Later, Puyi asked Luo Zhen for help.

After Yu expressed his wish to go to Japan, Luo then arranged with the secretary of the library, Chi Bu Zhengci, to negotiate with Duan Qirui.

He went to Tianjin with Puyi and eventually lived in Zhang Garden in the Japanese Concession in Tianjin.

Zheng Xiaoxu followed Puyi in Tianjin from 1925 to 1931. The restoration measures Zheng Xiaoxu made in these seven years mainly included three:

In three aspects, the first is to contact warlords and foreign military and political figures, the second is to propose the "Three Communists Theory", and the third is to communicate with Japanese people.

Zheng Xiaoxu himself was not a firm believer in the idea of restoration, but he supported Puyi in contacting the warlords.

In the past seven years, I have met many warlords, including Wu Peifu and Qi Xieyuan from the direct line, Zhang Zuolin, Zhang Zongchang, Li Jinglin, and Chu Yu from the Feng line.

Pu and others, Zheng Xiaoxu had contacts with Wu Peifu before the Beijing coup, and had contact with Zhang Zuolin during the Tianjin period. In addition to contacting the warlords,

In addition, Zheng Xiaoxu also proposed the "guest minister theory" of hiring foreigners as consultants. There were three main people, one of whom was an exiled Tsarist Russian general.

He led Seminov, the second was the exiled Austrian Baron Akdi, and the third was the British Ross. Zheng Xiaoxu gave all three of them financial support.

aid, hoping that they could help with the restoration, but to no avail.

Zheng Xiaoxu once predicted China's future when he was in Tianjin. This was the "Three Generations of the Gong Family" prophecy, which was later called the "Three Communists Theory".

Its content is "Gonghe gave birth to a son called Gonggong, and Gonghe gave birth to a son called Gongguan. The three generations of the Gong family were all short-lived. The Gong family died, and the emperor recovered from the Qing Dynasty and prospered."

412 The Three Communities Theory summarizes China's evolution from the late Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China. The Republic is the Republic of China, and the phrase "giving birth to a son is called communism" was predicted by Zheng Xiaoxu.

The Republic of China will be overthrown by the Communist Party. The phrase "communism" and "communist rule" by Zizi predict that China will be ruled by the Communist Party and will lead to international communism.

The administration of China was eventually restored to the throne by Puyi, which was summarized as the evolutionary sequence of the Qing Dynasty, the Republic, the Communist Party, the Condominium, and the Qing Dynasty, and the Three Communists

The theory includes Zheng Xiaoxu's restoration strategy and philosophy of governing the country, and later became an important theory in his restoration strategy.

412 Diary of November 16, 1925, included in the fourth volume of "Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu" compiled by the Museum of Chinese History, page 2072.

During the Tianjin period, Zheng Xiaoxu was always opposed to Puyi's going abroad or "allying with Japan".

In addition to competing with Luo Zhenyu who supported "alliance with Japan", Zheng Xiaoxu also pursued international co-management and did not consider Japan as a factor in foreign aid.

As its only choice, before Puyi went to Northeast China after the September 18th Incident, roughly speaking, the Japanese Tianjin Command and Luo

Zhenyu is relatively close, while the Japanese Consulate is relatively close to Zheng Xiaoxu, Chen Baochen and others. On June 30, 1927, it was the time of the Northern Expedition .

Luo Zhenyu suggested that Puyi go to Lushun, but Zheng Xiaoxu still disagreed with Puyi's departure. In September 1928, Zheng Xiaoxu went to Japan in person and met with

The exchange of views between Japanese military and political figures convinced him that Japan would become a partner in the future "co-management" era, and he would wait for the right time.

When it matures, Japan will actively assist Puyi in his restoration. This trip to Japan changed Zheng's thoughts on Japan's military and political circles.

Ben's impression was also greatly improved.

After the September 18th Incident in 1931, Zheng Xiaoxu's idea changed from being close to the consulate to relying on the power of the military.

The consulate had always been cautious about Puyi's restoration, while the military was more proactive. Therefore, Zheng believed that the military was more capable of

On the other hand, after the September 18th Incident, Zheng Xiaoxu believed that the "opening period" mentioned in his previous visit to Japan had arrived, and began to contact the Kwantung Army. On

November 2, Doihara Kenji visited Puyi, and the two people talk for the first time about

Regarding the future state system of Manchukuo, Doihara promised to establish an empire and asked Puyi to go to the Northeast on November 16.

Yi also convened a meeting with his ministers to ask for their opinions on going to the Northeast. Zheng Xiaoxu agreed to cooperate with Japan, while Chen Baochen agreed to

There was a conflict with Hu Siyuan and others.

After Puyi arrived in the Northeast, Luo Zhenyu and Itagaki Seishiro originally discussed the issue of the "new country", but due to Luo Zhenyu

Insisting on restoring the Qing Dynasty, the negotiations with the Kwantung Army did not go smoothly. The Kwantung Army gradually became dissatisfied with Luo Zhenyu and used Zheng Xiaoxu as a negotiator.

On January 29, 1932, Zheng Xiaoxu, Luo Zhenyu, and Itagaki Seishiro held a meeting. Itagaki introduced Zheng and Luo to the two.

On February 22, Zheng Xiaoxu and Luo Zhenyu attended a meeting between Itagaki and the Northeastern Administrative Committee to discuss how the state system had reached the official level.

Although Puyi and other elders insisted on restoring the Qing Dynasty to "legitimate the system", Zheng Xiaoxu believed that it was time to cooperate with Japan.

Instead of waiting for an opportunity, he persuaded Puyi to accept the rule of Manchukuo. On February 25, Itagaki officially announced the "Outline of the New Country Organization" and the name of the country.

Manchukuo, with its capital in Changchun, was ruled by Puyi, and Zheng Xiaoxu became Prime Minister on March 5. Mentioned in Puyi's autobiography

And Hu Siyuan's accusation that Zheng Xiaoxu obtained the position of Prime Minister by signing the "Japan-Manchuria Protocol" may not be true.

After the North, Hu Siyuan was already disgusted with Zheng Xiaoxu and repeatedly criticized him for being special. In fact, at the end of 1931 and the beginning of 1932, Xi Qia

He once donated money to Puyi through the Taiwanese Xie Jieshi, asking Puyi to appoint Xiqia as the Prime Minister. Xie repeatedly campaigned for Xiqia, and Zheng Xiaoxu was quite

He hated Zheng and denounced him as a fool.<sup>413</sup> It can be seen that Zheng was indeed interested in becoming the prime minister at that time.

Zheng Xiaoxu served as Prime Minister and Minister of Culture and Education, and advocated the doctrine of "Kingly Way", which was further divided into two sub-topics:

"Qi Jia Shuo" and "Mibing Shuo" are the interpretations of Zheng Xiaoxu on the kingly way. The so-called kingly way includes the Confucian "inner sage and outer king".

Concepts such as "self-denial and restoration of propriety" are all Confucian methods of cultivating one's character. Zheng Xiaoxu hopes to promote these concepts throughout the country and then implement them.

In addition, Zheng Xiaoxu opposed patriotism and military-civilian education, and he also rejected nationalism.

National education was the main culprit that caused the disaster of war, and nationalism was enough to destroy the "national harmony" of Manchukuo. Zheng was thinking about it in the past

In terms of thinking, Zheng Xiaoxu valued Confucian ethics and disliked Manchu nationalism. Therefore, Zheng Xiaoxu advocated the kingly way, which was actually in line with the past.

However, after Zheng Xiaoxu resigned as Prime Minister in 1935, Wang's doctrine began to be questioned by Japanese scholars, and was forced to

This enabled Zheng Xiaoxu to make adjustments so that the Kingly Way doctrine could take into account the differences between China and Japan in Confucianism.

This article mainly studies the life of Zheng Xiaoxu, and attempts to discuss the significance of his ideas such as "borrowing debt to build roads" and "open policy".

Background and Zheng Xiaoxu's restoration actions from the establishment of the Republic of China to the establishment of Manchukuo. Zheng Xiaoxu was quite famous in his early years.

He began to accumulate a lot of experience in Westernization during the reign of Emperor Xuanhuai. Judging from Zheng Xiaoxu's diary, the concept of "borrowing money to build roads" was first coined by Zheng Xiaoxu.

It started to be mentioned during the preparation of the Jin-Ai Railway. The reason was that the three eastern provinces were invaded by Japanese and Russian forces and the situation was critical.

Therefore, as soon as Zheng Xiaoxu arrived in the Northeast, he advocated "borrowing debt to build roads". It was based on this urgency. Later, before the Revolution of 1911, Zheng Xiaoxu advocated "borrowing debt to build roads".

Zhang Railway is state-owned and borrowing large amounts of foreign debt is actually tantamount to the expansion of borrowing money to build roads. It also hopes to enrich the country and strengthen the army. Although in the future, due to

Zheng Xiaoxu's ideas were questioned by the Sichuan road protection trend, and some even regarded it as one of the reasons for the demise of the Qing Dynasty, but basically

From the above, we can realize that Zheng Xiaoxu's "borrowing debt to build roads" and "open policy" are a solution proposed in response to the current situation. In the future,

The gradual formation of his own theoretical system has its own origins. Therefore, when discussing Zheng Xiaoxu's "Three Common Theories", his early experience

History is also a factor that needs to be noted; in addition, Zheng Xiaoxu advocated "opening a national meeting as soon as possible" before the fall of the Qing Dynasty, which also had a sense of urgency.

, because he noticed that the public opinion at that time was about the convening of the National Assembly and the activities of the revolutionary party forces, and his advocacy of "opening the National Assembly as soon as possible" was actually "confusing and strangling

The meaning of "Yu Wei Meng".

After the Revolution of 1911 and the founding of the Republic of China, Zheng Xiaoxu insisted on being loyal to the Qing Dynasty, hating the Republic of China, and indeed fought for restoration.

From today's point of view, it is often believed that the reason why the restoration failed to succeed is because the republican ideas are deeply rooted in the hearts of the people.

Analyzing these restoration activities, we can find that besides this, there are other factors that can be discussed. Taking Zheng Xiaoxu as an example, at least he himself

---

<sup>413</sup> Xu Xueji, "A King of Loyalty or Treason - The Life and Identity of Xie Jieshi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of "Manchukuo""<sup>413</sup>, Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History, Issue 57, p. 67.

It is not believed that the restoration must fail at that time, but that it must win foreign aid. Others such as Sheng Yun and Zhang Xun were engaged in the restoration.

There were also situations where they sought foreign aid. In addition, after the establishment of the Republic of China, the Beiyang government and military leaders were mostly former Qing officials, many of whom

People sympathized with the Qing Dynasty and also expressed support for the restoration in private. For example, Duan Qirui and Xu Shichang both had personal relationships with Zheng Xiaoxu, which shows that it was indeed true at that time.

In fact, there are still conditions for restoration, and judging from the interactions between Lu Rongting and Zheng Xiaoxu, after Ding Si's restoration, they had

The restoration was more cautious, and they each had different concerns, and it was difficult to compare them with a common reason. In short,

Through Zheng Xiaoxu's restoration activities and interactions, we can discover more complex aspects of the restoration.

Zheng Xiaoxu participated in Manchukuo and became the Prime Minister. As a result, he was criticized as a traitor by Chinese public opinion.

Many people criticized him from the perspective of his country and nation. Looking at the comments in newspapers at the time, there were many people who mocked him for being the Prime Minister but not having real power.

But for Zheng himself, the establishment of Manchukuo could be considered a phased success of restoration. After all, compared with Puyi's success in Zhangyuan Jingyuan in Tianjin,

During this period, Manchuria had not only sovereignty, but also a government, territory, and people, and was close to being a political entity.

After the establishment of Manchukuo, the goal was to pursue the independence of Manchukuo, which was also the goal of Hu Siyuan and Luo Zhenyu.

Judging from the diaries and poems left by Zheng Xiaoxu, it is clear that he has not given up the ideal of restoration, so the author

I think it is very appropriate to use the word "stage" to describe Zheng Xiaoxu's view on the Manchukuo Kingdom.

Although Zheng Xiaoxu was hostile to the Republic of China, he did not prevent his younger brother from serving as an official in the Republic of China. After his death, Zheng Xiaoxu's grandchildren even

As for participating in anti-Japanese activities, his restoration stance and ideas have not been passed down. The reasons for this situation include the above-mentioned reasons.

The killing of one's father to show hatred for foreigners actually has precedents in all dynasties. Xu Jie's "The descendants of a family will never inherit the family" in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties is an example.

The characteristic of this attitude is that after the dynasty changes, the descendants of the previous dynasty will firmly maintain their loyalty to the previous dynasty, but only to themselves and will not ask for

In order to ask his own children and nephews to continue the legacy of the people, Zheng Xiaoxu made friends with many people, except his younger brother and grandchildren.

There were few officials in the Republic of China, and even he himself was not absolutely hostile to the republican system. It seems that although Zheng Xiaoxu used the Qing Dynasty to

Although he considers himself an old man, he does not try to express his position to his family or friends, preferring to stick to his personal ideas.

This article is limited by the author's limited knowledge, and the analysis of Zheng Xiaoxu is obviously insufficient. I hope that more historical materials will appear or new ones will appear in the future.

The theoretical method will help future generations have a more comprehensive understanding of Zheng Xiaoxu.

## References

Chinese part: 1.

### Historical materials

Shanghai Mingshe Publishing Department, ed., Report of the League of Nations Investigation Team. Shanghai: Shanghai Mingshe Publishing Department, October 1932 .

Wang Jingchun et al., "Complete Collection of China Railway Loan Contracts". Railway Association, 1916, Taiwan Chinese E-Book Library.

Wang Yanwei and Wang Liang compiled, "Historical Materials on Diplomacy in the Qing Dynasty" (from April 21st to December 26th Guangxu). Taipei: Text

Hai Publishing House, 1985 .

The Zhejiang Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Xiaoshan City, Zhejiang Province, ed., Tang Shouqian Historical Materials Collection, Hangzhou: Zhejiang Provincial Committee of the Political Consultative Conference

Mountain City Committee Cultural and Historical Working Committee, March 1993.

Compiled by China's First Historical Archives, "Guangxu Imperial Edicts", Guangxi Normal University Press, 2009 .

National Museum of Chinese History, ed., Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, October 1993.

"Historical Materials of the Puppet Manchukuo" compiled by the Jilin Provincial Library's Historical Materials Editorial Committee of the Puppet Manchukuo. Beijing: Microcopy of documents in libraries nationwide

Published by Central Xinhua Bookstore Beijing Publishing House, 2002 .

Du Chunhe, Lin Binsheng, Qiu Quanzheng (eds.), Selected Historical Materials on Beiyang Military Leaders. Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 1981

Year.

Cen Chunxuan, "Le Zhai Essays". Yonghe Township, Taipei County: Wenhui Publishing House, 1971 .

Wang Qinian, "Biography and Posthumous Works of Mr. Wang Rangqing (Kangnian)". Yonghe Township, Taipei County: Wenhui Publishing House, 1966 .

Mi Rucheng, ed., "Materials on the History of Railways in Modern China". Taipei: Wenhui Publishing House, 1977 .

Jin Liang, "Diary of Changes". Included in the 13th volume of selected historical materials.

Written by the Historical Materials Research Committee, Beijing: China Literature and History Publishing House, first edition, December 1989 .

Jin Yufu, "Diary of the Quiet Meeting Room". Shenyang City: Liao Shen Publishing House, 1993 .

Zhou Heping et al., Beijing Library Collection of Rare Chronicles, Vol. 183. Beijing: Beijing Library Press, 1999 .

Zhou Qiuguang, ed., Xiong Xiling Collection. Changsha: Hunan People's Publishing House, September 2008 .

Written by Hu Siyuan and edited by Qiu Chenjiang, "Hu Siyuan's Diary". Collected in the Series of Rare Historical Materials in Modern and Modern China, Series 4, South

Beijing: Phoenix Publishing House, June 2017 .

Xu Shichang, "Tuirgentang Zhengshu". Yonghe Township, Taipei County: Wenhui Publishing House, 1968 .

Xu Shichang, "Political Strategies of the Three Eastern Provinces". Changchun: Jilin Literature and History Studio, 1989 .

Qin Xiaoyi, ed., A Preliminary Compilation of Important Historical Materials of the Republic of China: The Anti-Japanese War Period, Taipei: The Central Committee of the Kuomintang

Historical Commission, 1981 .

Tongxiang Lu School Journal, "Posthumous Manuscripts of Mr. Lao (Nai Xuan) of Tongxiang". Yonghe City, Taipei County: Wenhui Publishing House, 1969 .

"Twilight in the Forbidden City" written by Johnston and translated by Gao Boyu. Published by Oxford University Press, April 1, 2012 .

Zhang Zhidong, "The Complete Works of Zhang Wenxiang". Beijing: China Bookstore, October 1990 .

Edited by Zhuang Jianping, Volume 2 of "Modern History Database". Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House, January 2009 .

Sheng Xuanhuai, "Yu Zhai's Manuscript". Yonghe Town, Taipei County: Wenhui Publishing House, 1975 .

Xu Zhiyan, "Xinhua Secret Notes". Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, April 2007 .

National Archives Administration Ming and Qing Archives, ed., Historical Archives of the Reform Movement of 1898. April 1958 .

Chen Zengshou and Chen Zengzhi: "Records of People in the Game but Outsiders". Collected in "Selected Historical and Cultural Materials", Vol. 19, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

Edited by the Literary and Historical Materials Research Committee of the National Committee of the Conference, Beijing: China Literary and Historical Publishing House, 1986 .

Zhang Jian, "The Complete Works of Zhang Jian". Jiangsu Ancient Books Publishing House, 1994 .

Written by Xu Baoheng and compiled by Xu Keru, "Xu Baoheng's Diary". Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2010 .

Written by Yun Yuding and compiled by Shi Xiaofeng, "Diary of Yun Yuding Chengzhai". Hangzhou: Zhejiang Ancient Books Publishing House, 2004 .

Newly revised edition of "The Autobiography of the Last Emperor" by Aisin Gioro Puyi, with a preface by Gao Yang. Taipei City: Storm Times, first edition in June 2014.

Written by Liu Dapeng and annotated by Qiao Zhiqiang, "Diary of Tuixiangzhai". Beijing: Beijing Normal University Press, January 2020 .

Zheng Xiaoxu, "The King's Way of Observation", Xinjing City: State Council General Affairs Department Intelligence Department. 1934, Taiwan Chinese Electronic Library.

Zheng Xiaoxu, Lectures on the Kingly Way. Taichung: Wentingge Books, May 2010 .

"Haizanglou Poetry Collection" (enhanced edition) written by Zheng Xiaoxu and edited by Huang Kun and Yang Xiaobo. Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 2013 .

Liu Yiqing, Liu Xiaobiao, Yu Jiaxi, Shishuo Xinyu, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2015.

Xiliang, "Xiliang's Posthumous Manuscripts". Chief Editor of the Third Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1959 .

Compiled by Juguo Publishing House, "The Name Directory of Great Manchuria", published in the first year of Kans's reign.

Luo Zhenyu, "The Complete Works of Mr. Luo Xuetang", Volume 1 of 5. Taipei City: Wenhua Publishing House, 1969 .

Romanov, A History of the Russian Invasion of Manchuria, translated by Min Geng. Taiwan Student Bookstore, 1973 .

## 2. Newspapers and magazines

Greater China Magazine

Small Daily News

"Shanghai Pictorial"

"Novel News"

"Central Daily News"

"Cultural and Educational Monthly"

"Min Li Bao"

"Declaration"

"Min Bao", Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, September 2006 .

Oriental Magazine, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Office Library, 1971-1976 .

"Social Daily"

"Nanjing Evening News"

Red Magazine

"Current Affairs News"

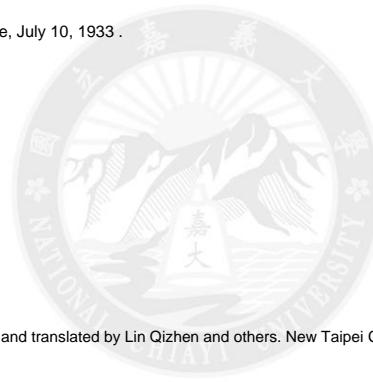
Shengjing Times

"Guofeng Newspaper", edited by He Guozhen and Liang Qichao, Taipei: Han Sheng Publishing House, 1975 .

"Guowen Weekly", Tianjin Guowen Weekly Publishing House, July 10, 1933 .

"Sunchon Times"

Hankou Chinese and Western News



### 3. Works

"The Reality and Illusion of Manchukuo" written by Shanshi Xinyi and translated by Lin Qizhen and others. New Taipei City: Eight Banners Culture Publishing: Hiking Culture Publishing

OK, May 2016 .

Compiled by the Japan Historical Research Society, translated by Jin Feng, Leng Ming, Kong Zhixing, Wang Bingda, Ma Junlei, etc., "History of the Pacific War" Vol.

One roll. Beijing: Commercial Press, 1959 .

Wang Yunsheng, China and Japan in the Past Sixty Years. Life, Reading, New Knowledge, Sanlian Bookstore, first edition, 1979 .

Written by the Cultural and Historical Materials Research Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, "The Thirty-fifth Series of Selected Cultural and Historical Materials."

Beijing: China Literature and History Publishing House, 1st edition, December 1989 .

Bai Jiao, "Yuan Shikai and the Republic of China." Taipei City: Wenhui Publishing House, 1971 .

Li Jun, "Zheng Xiaoxu before 1931". Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, September 2018 .

Li Xi, ed., Liang Qichao and Modern Chinese Social Culture. Tianjin Ancient Books Publishing House, January 2005 .

Lin, Zhihong. The Republic of China is an enemy state: the Qing survivors under political and cultural transformation. Lian Jing Publishing; first edition 2009.

Dingyizhuang, "The World of the Eight Banners Disciples". Beijing: Beijing Publishing House, February 2017 .

Hu Pingsheng, "The Restorationists in the Early Years of the Republic of China". Taipei City: Taiwan Student, 1985 .

Gao Lao, History of the 1911 Revolution. Yonghe Township, Taipei County: Wenhai Publishing House, 1971 .

Zhang Yuwa, "Constitutional Groups in the Qing Dynasty". Taipei City: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, July 2016 .

Zhang Shouzhen, "Railway Opening Policy in the Three Eastern Provinces during the Qing Dynasty". Kaohsiung: Fuwen Book Publishing House, August 1995 .

Lian Zhenbin, "A Study on Xiliang and the New Policies in the Late Qing Dynasty". Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, October 2014 .

"Zhang Yuanji Chronicle" edited by Zhang Shunian. Beijing: Business Press, 1991 .

Liu Yanwen, Jilu Teahouse. Shanghai: Chinese Dictionary Publishing House, November 2004.

Qian Zhongshu, "Collected Books of Qian Zhongshu: Written on the margins of life, the margins of life, and stone language". Beijing: LifeýReadingýNew Knowledge Three

Lian Shudian, 2002 .

Xuansheng, "Records of the Restoration". Wenhai Publishing House, Modern Chinese Historical Materials Series, Volume 3, No. 80, Yonghe City, Taipei County: Wenhai Publishing House

Hai Publishing House, 1996 .

Luo Huizhen, Research on Cultural Relics of the Early Republic of China. Wuhan: Wuhan University Press, August 2011 .

Luo Jizu, Traces of the Ephemeral Letter. Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1999 .

## IV. Thesis

Yu Haichao, "Study on the Relationship between Zheng Xiaoxu and Japan". Master's thesis of Hebei Normal University, December 2014 .

Zhu Jing, "A Study on Zheng Xiaoxu's Social Relationships in the Late Qing Dynasty and Early Republic of China." Master's Thesis, Central China Normal University, May 2014 .

Huang Yuhan, "Re-Government?" ýThe establishment of the Manchukuo Empire and the understanding of people at that time>. Master's degree in history, National Taiwan University

Article, June 2016 .

Asano Matsufumi, "Anti-Japanese Issues and Sino-Japanese Negotiations (1919-1920)". Master's thesis, Department of History, Tunghai University, June 2017 .

Zou Jinxi, "From "This country's customs are also stolen" to "Today's sun shines on all nations": The transformation process of Zheng Xiaoxu's view of Japan". Guoliqing

Institute of History, Hua University, January 2009 .

## 5. Journals

Wang Qingxiang, "Chen Baochen and the Puppet Manchukuo - Also on Chen Baochen's National Position" "Social Science Front", Issue 2, (1996).

Fang Yanhua, "The Emergence of the Pseudo-Manchu "Kingly Politics" and Its Alienation and Dislocation", Lanzhou Journal, No. 5, (2007

Year).

Li Jun, "Zheng Xiaoxu's life as an old man in Shanghai and his social interactions", Journal of Fujian Normal University, No. 2, (2015 February 2011).

Shen Yan, "Review of Zheng Xiaoxu, Prime Minister of the Puppet Manchuria", "Dalian Modern History Research", Issue 0, (2014).

Lin Zhihong, "The Promised Land of Kings - The Emotional Resistance and Participation of the Qing Survivors in Manchukuo", "New Historiography", Volume 18, Issue 3, (September 2007).

Lin Zhihong, "Old Cultural Relics, New Recognition: The Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature and Cultural Politics in the Republic of China," Academia Sinica, Journal of the Institute of Contemporary History, Issue 77, (September 2012).

Lin Zhihong, "Local Decentralization and Autonomy: The Establishment of Manchukuo and Japanese Domination", in Huang Zijin and Pan Guangzhe, eds. "A New Theory on the History of Modern Sino-Japanese Relations", (New Taipei: Daoxiang Publishing House, 2017).

Lin Zhihong, "Utopia in Crisis: Observations and Discussions about the Republic of China by Three Nishimoto Provinces, 1912-1928", "Thoughts" History", Issue 8, (December 2018).

Zhou Jiarong, "Modern Japanese Newspaper Publishing Activities in Shanghai (1882-1945)", Social Sciences, No. 6, (2008 March).

Chu Guoqing, "Soul Returns to the Fisherman's and Woodcutter's Village (Part 1) — The Reconstruction of the Tomb of Guo Songling and Han Shuxiu," Grain in Ear, No. 9, (2014).

Mao Haijian, "Xu Tong summoned Zhang Zhidong in 1898 and the conspiracy of Yang Rui and Liu Guangdi", Chinese Literature and History Series, No. 4, (2007).

Malinghe, "From "Opening the Door to Trade" to "Collecting Foreign Debts to Balance Power"—Xu Shichang and the Changes in Northeastern Diplomatic Strategies", "Research on Chinese Frontier History and Geography", Volume 14, Issue 2, (June 2004).

Ma Linghe, "Can Borrowing Save the Country? - A Review of Zheng Xiaoxu's Views on Railway Foreign Debt", "Qing History Research", Issue 2, (2012 May).

Zhang Yufa, "Official Supervision of Business and Industry in the Late Qing Dynasty and the Early Republic of China", "Collected Journal of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica", Issue 17, Volume 2, (December 1988).

Zhang Xiaochuan, "Zheng Xiaoxu's Life in Shanghai (1911-1931)—Focused on Zheng Xiaoxu's Diary," China Social History Review, Issue 0, (2012).

Xu Xueji, "Loyalty or treason: The life and identity of Xie Jieshi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the "Manchukuo""", Central Research

Journal of the Institute of Modern History of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, No. 57 (September 2008).

Zhang Kaiyuan and Tian Tong, "The Southeastern Elite and the Political Situation before and after the Xinhai Revolution", Shilin, No. 4, (2005).

Chen Qinghua, "The relationship between gentry business enterprises and the government - taking Zheng Xiaoxu and Rihui Textile Factory as an example", "Youth Years", Issue 9, (May 2013).

Yu Dahua, "On the Mistakes of the Republic of China Government in Dealing with the Qing Imperial Family", Historical Monthly, No. 3, (2000).

Cheng Taihong, "A Brief Discussion on the Restoration Activities of the Qing Survivors", Journal of Anqing Normal University, No. 5, (2019).

Huang Zijin, "Japan-China Political Mobilization and Military Operations during the September 18 Incident", "Journal of National Chengchi University History", No. 26 Issue, (November 2006).

Hu Chunhui and Tang Qihua, eds., Cross-Strait and Hong Kong History Postgraduate Seminar Papers 2007, Department of History, National Chengchi University; Center for Asian Studies, Chu Hai College, Hong Kong (first edition 2008).

Fu Daobin and Wang Xiuchen, "Zheng Xiaoxu and the cultural remnant complex of late Qing literati", "Northern Forum", No. 1, (2002 Year).

Yang Fanyi, "Tang Shaoyi and the 1911 North-South Peace Talks," Central History Review, Vol. 26 (Seoul: Central Institute of History, December 2007) .

Lei Jiasheng, "The Lost Truth - The Relationship between the Union Theory and the Reform Movement of 1898 in the Late Qing Dynasty", "Research on Chinese History" , Vol. 61, (August 2009).

Xiong Yuezhi, "The Revolution of 1911 and the Concession Elders", Academic Monthly, No. 9, (2001).

Liu Dongmei and Wang Lili, "Research on the Jinai Project in the Late Qing Dynasty", Northeastern History and Geography, Issue 3, (2014).

Dai Haibin, "Soukata Kotaro and Modern China: Notes on Reading the Sokata Documents in the History Institute of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences", Journal of Sun Yat-sen University, Vol. 53, No. 4, (2013).

Han Hua, "Liang Ji's suicide and the crisis of faith in the early Republic of China", "Qing History Research", Issue 1, (February 2006).

## Japanese part: 1.

### Historical materials

Nakamura Kenzo, ed., Osaka Mainichi Shimbun Senji Business Journal of the 37th and 8th Years, Osaka Mainichi Shimbun, July 1908 .

"Japanese Diplomatic Documents", compiled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, published by the Japan International Federation of Associations.

"Diary of Munakata Kotaro" written by Kotaro Munakata, edited by Hiraku Ohato, published by the Graduate School of Humanities of Kanagawa University.

Manchuria Imperial Concord Association, ed., History of the Organization of the Manchuria Imperial Concord Association, Tokyo: Fuji Publishing Co., Ltd., 1982 .

Tokutomi Ichirō, "Duke Katsura Taro Biography", Tokyo: Duke Katsura Memorial Association, 1917, National Taiwan University

library.

"Goto Shinpei" written by Yusuke Tsurumi, published by the Biography of Goto Shinpei Haku.

## 2. Newspaper

"Shanghai-Shanghai Weekly", Library Library, Kobe University.

"Japanese Translation of Manchukuo Government Gazette" No. 1, National Public Library.

## 3. Special books

Sagai Ken, "The History of the Rise and Fall of Shrines in Manchuria", Tokyo: Furong Shobo, August 1998 .

## 3. Journals

Fujitani Hiroyuki, "Akutagawa Ryunosuke's Travels in Changsha - Focusing on the Anti-Japanese Movement in 1921", "China Studies Monthly", Vol.74 No.5 (May 2020).

