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Knife Society people in Long'gu, they all ran away. Miss Han's Big Knife Society stayed in Long'gu for about a month. All the converts had fled to Huang village and so at the beginning of the sixth moon, the Big Knife Society attacked it. The first time they attacked they didn't send enough people and so they were fought off. Three days later, they sent more than two thousand people but they still couldn't get into the village.

At the time Huang village was surrounded by a wall and they had a dozen or so platform guns on it. Shi Chuangu, the head of the church from Ma village, led the converts in the fight. There was a big drought that year and later there was a big rainstorm and Miss Han's Big Knife Society all went off to the north.

In the fifth and sixth moon of 1900, several hundred Big Knife Society people came to Ma village from Long'gu. Before the Big Knife Society came, the people of Ma village all ran away and so they came into Ma village without a struggle. They took away the cattle, they took things, and knocked down the church. They came just after breakfast time and left around the time people here eat their soup. After two or three days, when the Big Knife Society in Long'gu heard that the converts had all gone to Huang village, they sent about two thousand people to attack it.

Altogether there were only a dozen or so households of converts in Ma village. The church was a little one-story building that the converts built with money they contributed. The Huang village church was built under Shi Chuangu's direction. After the Ma village converts fled to Huang village, the minister Shi Chuangu led the Ma village converts (there were only about a dozen) in the defense of Huang village. They all had guns, there were a dozen or so platform guns. The Big Knife Society attacked from morning to dusk and still couldn't get in. It was because Shi Chuangu had guns and a wall to defend! At that time, the people who defended Huang village were all Ma village converts. The Huang village people helped them because there were no converts in Huang village. The Big Sword Society couldn't get in and so they left. Then there was a big rainstorm and they all went off to the north west. [Interview with Huang Ruixian, Huang village, Juye county, 1960.]

4. When I was twelve they tore down the foreign building. The leader of the Big Knife Society was a woman who people called Miss Han. When she led her troops, she carried a spear with red tassels and a big knife. They first stayed in Long'gu and then went to Caozhou to rip down churches. She carried a big knife that was four feet long and two inches thick. It had an iron hand guard. [Interview with Qiu Xinli, age 75, Qiu village, east of Shatu town in Heze county, 1960.]

CHAPTER 11

The End of the Dynasty

11.1 ZOU RONG ON REVOLUTION, 1903

Zou Rong (1885–1905) grew up in a well-to-do merchant family in Sichuan. He resisted pressures to prepare for the imperial examinations, and at an early age took part in political activities in local schools that twice resulted in expulsion. In the fall of 1902, Zou registered for classes at Japan's Dobun Shoin, a preparatory school for Chinese and Korean students hoping to pursue studies in Japanese universities. During this year abroad, Zou read widely in Western political philosophy, including Rousseau, Montesquieu, Carlyle, and Spencer. While in Japan he became acquainted with members of Sun Yat-sen's Revive China Association and other revolutionary patriots; he often spoke out against the Manchu regime. In 1903, Zou returned to China, carrying the manuscript of *The Revolutionary Army* (*Geming jun*) in his valise. Published in Shanghai, it quickly became the most widely circulated revolutionary pamphlet of its time, with tens of thousands of copies reprinted in China and in overseas communities.

The police of Shanghai's International Settlement arrested Zou Rong soon after the publication of *The Revolutionary Army*. He died in prison in April 1905, at age 21. In later years both the Nationalists and the Communists regarded him as a revolutionary martyr.

ON REVOLUTION

Revolution is a universal rule of evolution. Revolution is a universal principle of the world. Revolution is the essence of a transitional period of struggle for survival. Revolution follows nature and corresponds to the nature of man. Revolution eliminates what is corrupt and holds on to what is good. Revolution is to advance

from savagery to civilization. Revolution is to eradicate slavery and become the master. . . . I have heard that the English Revolution of 1688, the American Revolution of 1775, and the French Revolution of 1870 were all revolutions that followed nature and corresponded to the nature of man. They were all revolutions designed to eliminate what was corrupt and hold on to what is good and to advance from savagery to civilization. They were all revolutions to eradicate slavery and become the master. The individual was sacrificed to save the world; the nobility was sacrificed to benefit the common people and to allow everyone to enjoy the happiness of equality and freedom.

THE YANGZHOU AND JIADING MASSACRES

Before I finished reading the *Yangzhou shiriji* [Diary of ten days at Yangzhou] and the *Jiading tuchengji* [The massacre of the city of Jiading], I began crying spontaneously. Let me say these words to my fellow countrymen: Do the ten days of Yangzhou and the three massacres of Jiading represent the entire picture of how the Manchu bandits slaughtered the Han people in a prefecture and a county? The accounts in these two books merely mention two cases. Just imagine, at that time they unleashed their army to burn and loot and also issued their hair-cutting decree; wherever the horsemen of the Manchu bandits struck, the massacres and looting must have been ten times worse than in these two places. If the infamous cases of Yangzhou and Jiading occurred, there must have been thousands of other Yangzhous and Jiadings. Whenever I think of this, my heart is moved:

On the second day of the month, it is said that the Qing army established new officials and clerks in the prefectures and counties and then set up signboards to calm the people and prevent them from panicking. They also instructed the monks in all of the temples to burn the piles of corpses. There were also a number of women hiding in the temples and some of them died of fear or hunger. If the register for the corpses burned is consulted, it can be seen that in eight days more than eight hundred bodies were destroyed. No count was made of those who threw themselves into wells or rivers or hung themselves.

Let me inform my countrymen: When the Manchu bandits came through the passes into China, weren't the people they slaughtered our ancestral grandfathers and their uncles and brothers? Were not the women raped by the Manchu bandits the wives, daughters, and sisters of our ancestral grandfathers? The *Book of Rites* says: "One must not share the same heaven with the murderer of one's father and brothers." Even a small child knows this! Therefore, when a son cannot take revenge for his murdered father or brother, he must pass this responsibility to his own son, and his own son should pass it to his son and onward to future generations. Thus, a forebear's feud is, in fact, the feud of one's own father and elder brothers. If one does not avenge the feud of his father and elder brothers but,

rather, serves those who are the object of the feud while talking about filial piety and brotherly love day in and day out, I cannot understand where filial piety and brotherly love are to be found. If the spirits of our ancestors exist, they certainly cannot lie still in the underworld.

ON REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION

If there is to be great construction, there must be destruction. For great destruction, there must first be construction. This has been an immutable and fixed principle through the ages. The revolution we are carrying on today is a revolution to destroy in order to permit construction. However, to implement destruction we should be able to construct. This was put very well by the great hero of Italian nation-building, Mazzini, who said: "Revolution and education must be carried out together." Before all of you, my countrymen, I cry out: Revolutionary education! Moreover, there must be education before the revolution and education after the revolution. . . .

CHINESE TRAITORS

Zeng Guofan, Zuo Zongtang, and Li Hongzhang were posthumously honored as Dukes Wenzheng, Wenxiang, and Wenzhong by the emperor of the great Qing dynasty. They were revered by the worthies of their time as the three heroes of the Restoration. Their ennoblement and appointment as ministers was envied by mediocre and vulgar people. They were endlessly worshipped and held up as models by later examination scholars. But I have heard that the German Prime Minister Bismarck scolded Li Hongzhang saying: "We Europeans see merit in the pacification of alien races. I have never heard of claiming merit for the slaughter of one's own people." Oh! How I wish I could raise Zeng and Zuo from the underworld to hear these words. How I wish I could bring back all the Chinese traitors who lived before Zeng and Zuo to hear this. How I wish I could bring together all future Chinese traitors, from those officials with full authority to the petty officials and clerks, to hear this. Zeng, Zuo, and Li all claimed that they were well-read and could be compared to the sages of the past. And yet, they mercilessly slaughtered their countrymen and served as the most loyal and submissive slaves of the Manchus. . . . There is no one to compare them to. They were even worse than Li Zicheng and Zhang Xianzhong. Li and Zhang were responsible for murdering their own people and helped bring about the Manchus' conquest of China. But Li and Zhang were not learned and they were also forced to do as they did by the corrupt politics of the Ming. I can still forgive them. Zeng, Zuo, and Li were clearly aware that they belonged to the Han race. They slaughtered their own people to win noble titles for their wives and sons and permitted the Manchus to master China for a second time. I can think of no excuse that will allow me to forgive them.

ON REVOLUTIONARY INDEPENDENCE

I am a young person with little learning or refinement. I cannot really discuss the great significance of revolutionary independence but, timidly and with trepidation, I have conscientiously tried to copy the meaning of American revolutionary independence. Prostrating myself before my most respected and beloved four hundred million exalted Han Chinese countrymen, I list the following proposals for your consideration and action:

1. China belongs to the Chinese. Our countrymen should all recognize that this is the China of the Han race.
2. We will not permit any alien race to tamper with the slightest right of our China.
3. All responsibility to obey the Manchus is abolished.
4. Let us overthrow the barbaric government established by the Manchu people in Peking.
5. Drive out Manchus who live in China or kill them to take revenge.
6. Kill the emperor set up by the Manchus in order to assure that in perpetuity there will never be another despotic monarch.
7. Oppose foreigners and Chinese who interfere with our Chinese revolutionary independence.
8. Set up a central government as the central mechanism for the entire country.
9. Divide the country into provinces and cast votes to elect a general provincial representative. From the general provincial representatives of all provinces cast votes to elect a provisional president as representative of the entire nation. Also select a vice-president. Various prefectures and counties will also elect legislators.
10. Everyone in the country, male or female, will be a citizen.
11. All men in the country will have an obligation to perform military service.
12. Everyone will have an obligation to pay national taxes.
13. All people should be loyal to the newly founded nation.
14. All citizens of the nation, male or female, will be equal and there will be no distinction between high and low, noble and base.
15. Everyone will have inalienable natural rights.
16. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are all heaven-bestowed rights.
17. Such freedoms as the freedom of speech, thought, and publication cannot be violated.
18. Everyone's individual rights should be protected. The establishment of the government should occur through public agreement and the government will fully employ its power to protect the rights of the people.
19. Whenever the government violates the rights of the people, the people should be able to make a revolution to overthrow the old government in order to satisfy their hopes for peace and happiness. When the people have attained peace and happiness, they should be able through public discussion to rear-

range rights and set up a new government. That is also a right that the people should possess.

THE GOVERNMENT TO BE ESTABLISHED AFTER THE REVOLUTION

When revolutionary independence is accomplished, people will not be satisfied if there is still the bitterness of a despotic system. This is the reason we must change the national polity of the past.

1. The government will be named the Republic of China.
2. The Republic of China will be a free and independent nation.
3. This free and independent nation should enjoy equal rights with other great nations in international affairs like the declaration of war, peace negotiations, signing treaties, commercial agreements, and all necessary affairs of state.
4. The constitution will be modeled on the American constitution and will conform to China's situation.
5. Laws for self-governance should all follow American laws for self-governance.
6. Any matter involving the whole populace or an individual, diplomatic negotiations, and the domestic division of government should all follow the American model.

11.2 AND 11.3 QIU JIN: FEMINIST REVOLUTIONARY

Qiu Jin (1875–1907) has been called “China’s first feminist” for her participation in the revolutionary movement of the early twentieth century. Born to a scholarly family, she received both a classical education and unconventional lessons (for women) in fencing, archery, and horseback riding. In 1904, disillusioned by her arranged marriage, Qiu Jin left her husband and two children to study in Japan. In Tokyo she met members of Sun Yat-sen’s Revolutionary Alliance and became involved in anti-Manchu activities. When Qiu Jin returned to China in 1906, she continued to plot against the Qing government with coconspirators. A failed uprising ended in her capture and execution in 1907.

An accomplished poet and political essayist best known for appearing in public in male attire and brandishing a sword, Qiu Jin cut a dramatic figure. The two pieces below show her poetic ability as well as her political passion. Qiu composed “Song of the Precious Sword” in 1903, while she was living in Peking with her family. “An Address to My Two Hundred Million Women Compatriots in China” was a lecture given in Tokyo in 1904 and subsequently published.

11.2 Song of the Precious Sword

The palaces of the house of Han in the light of the setting sun:
After more than five thousand years the old nation has died—
For over hundreds of years it has been sunk in a deep sleep,
No one aware of our shameful state of slavery!

Long ago, I recall, our very first ancestor Xianyuan
Rose to power from his base in the Kunlun Mountains.
He opened up the lands of the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers,
And his flashing great sword pacified the Central Plain.

My bitter weeping over Plum Hill is completely useless:
The imperial city overgrown, the bronze camels buried.¹
Whenever I am moved to turn and gaze upon the capital,
The sad song of a defeated nation fills my eyes with tears.

When the allied troops of the eight powers marched north,
We again handed our mountains and rivers over to others.
Those white devils coming from the West served as a bell,
That woke us Chinese up from our slaves' dream!

You, my lord, gave me this gold-speckled sword,
Today as I receive it, my mind is virile and brave.
These are the days when red-hot iron rules,
And a million heads are not worth a feather.

Bathed by the sun and moon, shinier than jewels:
Risking my life, I am suddenly filled with elation.
I swear I'll find a way to lead us from death to life:
World peace now depends on military armament.

Don't you recall Jing Ke's visit to the court of Qin?
When the map was unrolled, the dagger appeared!
Although he failed to stab him there in his palace,
He still managed to rob that evil tyrant of his soul!

I personally long to save the land of my ancestors,
But a race of slaves has overrun the land of Yu.
What can one do about those whose hearts have died?
With brush in hand, I write the "Song of the Precious Sword."
May this "Song of the Precious Sword" strengthen their courage,
And bring back many souls from the land of the dead!
A precious sword, heroic bones; who is our equal?
All my life I've known who are my enemies and friends.

1. In the late third century Suo Jing predicted the destruction of the capital Luoyang by pointing at the bronze camels in front of the imperial palace and sighing: "I will see you overgrown by weeds."

Don't despise this foot-long iron for not being brave:
The rare merit of saving the nation is yours to garner!
Could I but use heaven and earth as my oven, and yin and yang as my
coal, and gathering all the iron of the six continents,
Produce thousands, ten thousands of precious swords to purify this sacred land,
And continuing the glorious power and fame of our first ancestor, the
Yellow Emperor,
Cleanse once and for all what, in its thousand-, its hundred-year-long
history, has been its vilest shame!

11.3 An Address to My Two Hundred Million Women Compatriots in China

Alas, the most unfair treatment in the entire world is suffered by us, my two hundred million women compatriots. And this is true from the moment we are born: if you have a good father, things may still be all right, but if your father is a middleheaded, unreasonable type, he will only keep shouting: "What bad luck! Yet another useless one!" And he will want to snatch you and crush you to death! With the thought constantly in mind of the saying "Later she will belong to another family," they will treat you harshly and with disdain. As soon as you are a few years old, they will, completely ignoring the consequences, take your snow-white and so very tender natural feet and bind them tightly with white linen—even when you are asleep, you will not be allowed to loosen them even the tiniest bit! Eventually all the flesh will rot away and the bones will be broken, just so that relatives, friends, and neighbors may say: "Such-and-such little girl has such tiny feet!"

And that is not the worst of it! When it comes to selecting a marriage partner, they will completely rely on the words of two shameless matchmakers. As long as the family of the groom has money and power, they don't care whether or not he is sound of body, and without knowing whether the groom's character is good or bad or whether his scholarship is wide-ranging, they will agree to the match. When it comes to the day of the wedding, they will force you to sit inside a gaudy red and green sedan chair, and you will hardly be able to breathe. When you arrive [at the home of the groom] if you have good fortune from a former life you will be allowed to enjoy it in this life if the fellow is a decent sort, even if he is nothing special. But if you've been married off to a good-for-nothing, all they'll have to say is: "That is your bad karma from a former life," if not: "That's just your bad luck." If you utter even a few words of complaint or say a few words of reproof to your husband, they'll change their tune, and you'll be beaten and cursed. When outsiders hear about it, they'll just say: "She's stupid and does not understand the Wifely Way." Dear listeners, is this not a case of suffering an injustice and having nowhere to lodge a complaint?

There is also still another unfair matter. When a man dies, a woman is forced to dress in mourning for three years, and she is not allowed to marry again. But

when a woman dies, the man may braid a few blue threads into his queue, but some men find this to be very unattractive and will not even do that. Before their wife has been dead for three days, they will go out and visit prostitutes, and before the "sevens" are over,² a new wife will have already entered the gate.

When High Heaven originally gave birth to humankind, there was no discrimination between men and women. Let me ask you, if there were no women in this world, who would give birth to man? So why this injustice? Those men who day in and day out yammer on about: "The mind is fair, we should treat people fairly," why do they treat women as if they were Negroes from Africa?³ And how is it that things have become so unfair?

Dear listeners, you have to realize that in this world it does not do to be dependent on others, you must rely on yourselves! When long ago those rotten Confucians started to spout such nonsense as "Man is lofty, woman lowly," "In women a lack of talent makes for virtue," and "The husband is the yardstick to his wife," we women should have had the guts to mobilize our comrades and oppose them. And when the Last Ruler of the Chen dynasty began the practice of footbinding,⁴ we should have been shamed into raising an army and routing out that villain! But nothing like that happened—how is it that we bind our own feet whenever someone else wants to shackle our legs?

Men are afraid that if we acquire understanding and knowledge, we will climb up over their heads, and so they do not allow us to study. Why is it that we obey them and do not oppose them? It is all because we women have ourselves abdicated our responsibilities. Whatever it was, as soon as we saw that the men were there to take care of it, we ourselves were content to be lazy and take it easy. If men say we are of no use, then we are of no use. If men say we are no good, then we are happy to be their slaves and ask no questions as long as our present comfort is assured. And as we increasingly "enjoy emoluments without meritizing them," we become afraid that they may not last forever. So as soon as we learn that men are fond of tiny feet, we rush like crazy to bind them, so that men will be pleased when they see them, and in this way, we hope we can continue to be fed without having to work. If they don't want us to learn to read and write, that is an even greater blessing—of course we are all in favor of it!

Dear listeners, just think it over: is there anyone in the entire world who is entitled to enjoy ready-made happiness? Of course it is the men who have studied, who are learned, who work as hard as they can, and who have all the power, and

2. In Buddhist funerary practice, sutra readings for the benefit of the soul of the deceased were held on every seventh day after death, up until the forty-ninth day.

3. The Chinese translation of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had a huge impact on Chinese intellectuals in the first decade of the twentieth century.

4. Chen Shubao, known as the Last Ruler of the Chen dynasty (582–589), is well known for his indulgence in women and song, but the beginnings of the custom of footbinding are more commonly traced back to Li Yu, known as the Last Ruler of the Southern Tang dynasty.

so we have become their slaves. And since we are their slaves, of course we suffer oppression! But since we ourselves are to blame, how can we carry a grudge against others? I myself also feel bad just talking about these things. But you must have all experienced the same thing, so there is no need for me to elaborate.

But I hope that from now on we sisters will do away with the state of affairs from the past and exert ourselves to create new circumstances. It is as if we had died and been reborn as human beings. Those of you who are advanced in years should not say: "I am old and of no use." If you have a good husband who wants to establish a modern school, you should not stop him, and if you have a worthy son who wants to study overseas, you should not stop him. Those of you in your twenties and thirties who are wives should not be a millstone around your husbands' necks, placing all sorts of obstructions in their way and making it hard for them to succeed in their work or achieve fame. If you have a son, you should send him to a modern school, and you should do the same with your daughters—and on no account should you bind your daughters' feet! As for you young girls, it would be best if you would enroll in a school, but if you cannot go to a modern school, you should incessantly read books and practice writing at home. You wives of men who are rich or who hold official posts should urge your husbands to establish modern schools and factories and to take initiatives that will benefit the common people. You who are married to men without money should support your husbands in their labors and not spend your days in idleness, dining on unearned food. This is my hope.

Dear listeners, do you realize that our nation is about to perish? Men cannot be sure of their own survival, so how can we continue to rely on them? If we do not lift ourselves up now, it will truly be too late once the nation has perished. Dear listeners, do not let me down!

11.4 THE REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE PROCLAMATION, 1907

By 1905, nearly ten thousand Chinese students, most of them studying law or military subjects, were enrolled in Japanese institutions of higher learning. Confronted with the dramatic proof of Japan's success as a modernizing nation, many Chinese students felt great disillusionment with the Qing government's haphazard steps toward reform. The political activism of these students was stimulated by the presence of seasoned revolutionaries like Sun Yat-sen, who had been forced to seek asylum in Japan after violent protests against the Qing state.

In the fall of 1905, the merger of radical student groups established the Revolutionary Alliance (*Zhonghua Tongmeng hui*), with Sun Yat-sen as its leader. With its headquarters in Tokyo and branches in the Chinese communities of

Singapore, Saigon, Vancouver, San Francisco, and Chicago, the alliance probably comprised some one thousand members in its first year of existence.

In the proclamation that follows, the Revolutionary Alliance called for the expulsion of the Manchus and also declared the need to change the fundamental political and economic structure of the country. The proposed program, outlining a three-stage passage from military to constitutional government and the equalization of land rights, was visionary but vague in details.

A PUBLIC DECLARATION

Since the beginning of China as a nation, we Chinese have governed our own country despite occasional interruptions. When China was occasionally occupied by a foreign race, our ancestors could always in the end drive these foreigners out, restore the fatherland, and preserve China for future generations of Chinese. Today when we raise the righteous standard of revolt in order to expel an alien race that has been occupying China, we are doing no more than our ancestors have done or expected us to do. Justice is so much on our side that all Chinese, once familiarizing themselves with our stand, will have no doubt about the righteousness of our cause.

There is a difference, however, between our revolution and the revolutions of our ancestors. The purpose of past revolutions, such as those conducted by the Mings and the Taipings, was to restore China to the Chinese, and nothing else. We, on the other hand, strive not only to expel the ruling aliens and thus restore China to the Chinese but also to change basically the political and economic structure of our country. While we cannot describe in detail this new political and economic structure since so much is involved, the basic principle behind it is liberty, equality, and fraternity. The revolutions of yesterday were revolutions by and for the heroes; our revolution, on the other hand, is a revolution by and for the people. In a people's revolution everyone who believes in the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity has an obligation to participate in it, and the Military Government is merely the means whereby he can fulfill this revolutionary obligation. In short, the responsibility of the people and the responsibility of the Military Government are one and the same, and the accomplishments of the Military Government are also the accomplishments of the people. Only when they cooperate fully with each other can our revolutionary goal be attained.

At this juncture we wish to express candidly and fully how to make our revolution today and how to govern our country tomorrow.

1. *Expulsion of the Manchus from China.* The Manchus of today were known as the Eastern Barbarians (Donghu) during bygone years. Toward the end of the Ming dynasty they repeatedly invaded our border areas and caused great difficulties. Then, taking advantage of the chaotic situation in China, they marched southward and forcibly occupied our country. They compelled all Chinese to become their slaves, and those who did not wish to subjugate

themselves were slaughtered, numbering millions. In fact, we Chinese have not had a country for the past two hundred and sixty years. Now that the day has finally arrived when the brutal and evil rule by the Manchus must come to an end, we do not expect much resistance when our righteous army begins to move. We shall quickly overthrow the Manchu government so as to restore the sovereignty of China to the Chinese. All the soldiers on the Manchu side, whether they are Manchus or Chinese, will be pardoned despite their past crimes if they express repentance and surrender. If they choose to resist the people's army, they will be killed without mercy. The same can be also said about the Chinese who have collaborated with the Manchu government as traitors.

2. *Restoration of China to the Chinese.* China belongs to the Chinese who have the right to govern themselves. After the Manchus are expelled from China we will have a national government of our own. Those who choose to follow the example of Shi Jingtang and Wu Sangui will be crushed.
3. *Establishment of a Republic.* Since one of the principles of our revolution is equality, we intend to establish a republic when we succeed in overthrowing the Manchu regime. In a republic all citizens will have the right to participate in the government, the president of the republic will be elected by the people, and the parliament will have deputies elected by and responsible to their respective constituents. A constitution of the Chinese Republic will then be formulated, to be observed by all Chinese. Anyone who entertains the thought of becoming an emperor will be crushed without mercy.
4. *Equalization of landownership.* The social and economic structure of China must be so reconstructed that the fruits of labor will be shared by all Chinese on an equal basis. Every tract of land in China must be assessed to determine its fair value in monetary terms, and this value belongs, of course, to the landowner. Any added value, which results from social progress after the revolution, will, however, belong to the nation as a whole and must be shared by all Chinese. The ultimate goal of a responsible society is the guarantee of a satisfactory livelihood for all of its members and everyone, whomever he happens to be, shall have his own means of support, via gainful employment or some other source. Anyone who attempts to monopolize the livelihood of others will be ostracized.

To attain the four goals as outlined above, we propose a procedure of three stages. The first stage is that of a military rule. During this stage when people all over China are responding to our righteous uprising and when all the territories are only recently freed from the Manchu control, we should strive for harmony and cooperation among all Chinese, so that jointly we can face our common enemy. It is essential that during this period of chaos and disturbance both the people and the army must be subject to military rule. While the revolutionary army is fighting in the front, people in the rear must supply it with what it needs and must

do anything that would affect adversely its security or its capacity to complete successfully its mission. In areas that have been recently taken over by the revolutionary army, local governments will be administered by the military command which shall see to it that all the political and social abuses of the past will be eliminated. By political abuses are meant governmental oppression, bureaucratic corruption, extortion by the police, marshals, and other law-enforcement personnel, cruelty in punishment, excessive taxation, and the wearing of pigtails as a symbol of submission to the Manchu government. By social abuses are meant the ownership of domestic slaves, the cruel custom of foot-binding, the smoking of poisonous opium, and the belief in geomancy and other superstitions that are an impediment to modern progress. All these abuses must be eliminated when the Manchu influence in China is eliminated.

The stage of military rule should not last for more than three years. After a district has succeeded in attaining the goals prescribed for the stage of military rule, military rule will come to an end, and the second stage, the stage of provisional constitution, will then begin. After a district has entered the second stage, a provisional constitution will have been proclaimed and put in force, since by then the military command would have already handed over the power of government to the people of that district. The people then govern themselves by electing as their representatives deputies in the district council as well as all the executive officials. The rights and obligations of the Military Government toward the people and the people's rights and obligations toward the Military Government will be prescribed in the provisional constitution and must be observed by the Military Government, the district council, and the people in the district. The party that violates the provisional constitution shall be held responsible for the redress of its action.

Six years after the nation has been pacified, a constitution will be proclaimed to replace the provisional constitution as described above, and the nation then formally enters the third or final stage, the stage of constitutional rule. The Military Government relinquishes its executive power, including its control over the nation's armed forces and hands this power to the people's representatives. The President of China will be popularly elected; so will all members of the Parliament. All policies to be pursued by the nation must be in conformity with the letter and spirit of the proclaimed constitution.

In short, during the first stage the Military Government, in cooperation with the people, will eradicate all the abuses of the past; with the arrival of the second stage the Military Government will hand over local administration to the people while reserving for itself the right of jurisdiction over all matters that concern the nation as a whole; during the third or final stage the Military Government will cease to exist and all governmental power will be invested in organs as prescribed in a national constitution. This orderly procedure is necessary because our people need time to acquaint themselves with the idea of liberty and equality. Liberty and equality are the basis on which the Republic of China rests.

To the attainment of the four goals and the implementation of the three stages, as outlined above, the Military Government will dedicate itself on behalf of all the people in the nation. It will do so with loyalty, faith, and total determination. We firmly believe that all our brethren will join us in performing the difficult task ahead, so we can accomplish a great deed together. The brilliant achievements of China have been known throughout the world, and only recently has she suffered numerous difficulties. We shall overcome these difficulties and march forward. The harder the task is, the harder we shall work.

On this day of restoring China to her own people, we urge everyone to step forward and to do the best he can. As the descendants of Huangdi, we shall regard one another as brothers and sisters and assist each other regardless of the difficulty of the circumstances. Whatever our station in society is, rich or poor, we are all equal in our determination to safeguard the security of China as a nation and to preserve the Chinese people as a race. We shall do so with one heart and one mind. When our soldiers are willing to sacrifice their lives and when everyone else is sparing no effort for the attainment of our noble goals, the revolution will succeed and the Republic of China will be established. Let each and every one of the 400 million people do his very best.

11.5 PRESS COVERAGE OF THE WUCHANG UPRISING, 1911

The 1911 Revolution started with an uprising in Wuchang, the provincial capital of Hubei, on October 10, 1911. On the night of October 9, bombs accidentally exploded in one of the revolutionaries' secret branches in the Russian concession in Hankou (now part of Wuhan). Police arrested dozens of revolutionaries, searched their secret meeting places, and discovered weapons, explosives, and name lists of participants in the New Army, which were handed over to the Qing authorities. Upon hearing the news of impending arrests, the revolutionaries hastily launched their uprising. There was no coordinated plan or structured leadership, but their efforts succeeded in scaring the local Qing civilian and military officials into flight. While battles raged on in the Wuchang-Hankou region, provincial governments all over the country proclaimed their independence from the Qing central government and finally forced the regents of the Xuantong emperor to abdicate.

The documents selected here are reprinted from contemporary accounts in *The Hankow Daily News*, a local English newspaper. The dating used in the first proclamation follows a calendar based on the Yellow emperor, the legendary progenitor of the Han Chinese. The use of this date emphasizes the end of Manchu domination and the dawn of a new Chinese historical era.

PROCLAMATION

The eighth moon of the four thousand six hundred and ninth year of the Wu-chang dynasty.

I, the Huber General of the People's Army, am to overthrow the Manchu Government, and am here to revive the rights of the Han people. Let all remain orderly and not disobey military law.

Those who conceal any Government officials will be beheaded.

Those who inflict injuries on foreigners will be beheaded.

Those who interfere with commerce will be beheaded.

Those who indulge in wanton slaughter, burning, or adultery will be beheaded.

Those who fight against the volunteers will be beheaded.

Those who attempt to close the shops will be beheaded.

Rewards

Those who supply the troops with foodstuffs will be rewarded.

Those who afford protection to the foreign concessions will be highly rewarded.

Those who guard the churches will be highly rewarded.

Those who lead the people to submission will be highly rewarded.

Those who encourage the country people to join the revolution will be rewarded.

Those who give information as to the movements of the enemy will be rewarded.

Those who maintain the prosperity of commerce will be rewarded.

THE VICEROY'S ESCAPE

The above proclamation showed that the worthy General of the People's Army [the identity of the general in question is unclear] had great hopes of success and these were apparently justified by the arrival, in the morning off the Russian Bund, of the Viceroy's launch accompanied by a cruiser. It was soon learned that the Viceroy had made his escape during cover of darkness and had reached his launch without mishap, teaming over to the side of the river later on to be out of the way of an attack. At 2 p.m. the cruiser and the launch again weighed anchor, the former proceeding close to the Wuchang shore while the latter steamed up slowly in mid-stream. The cruiser was shortly joined by two torpedo boats and firing on the city was commenced, but as far as could be judged only black ammunition was used.

FIGHTING IN WUCHANG

Meanwhile heavy fighting was going on in the city, especially to the southward where the sound of field guns could be heard and an occasional prolonged rattle of small arms, while shots were also being exchanged between the soldiers inside and outside the city, and it was stated that the revolutionary troops were rapidly

gaining the upper hand. These petty shop-keepers, even coolies were clamoring in their thousands for tickets to enable them to proceed anywhere away from Hankow. Two extra trains were put on and pulled out from the station crowded to their uttermost capacity, baggage being piled high on the platforms and buffers even, while a seat on the roof of a car was considered quite a luxury.

At 11 a.m. the express left, quite an empty express be it noted, there being but few passengers either native or foreign. A guard of twenty khaki-clad soldiers, revolutionaries though no white badges were visible, were stationed on the platform and these were contentedly consuming an ample morning meal of rice and beans.

OUTSIDE THE TARTAR YAMEN

The Xiao Kao Pavillion and the Tartar [Manchu] General's Yamen in the native city were found to be standing and intact, but outside the latter two heads were displayed on poles, evidently newly severed from their bodies. One of the victims was said to be the leader of a gang of looters and the other the unfortunate secretary of the Tartar General.

More decapitations for incendiarism and looting were made during the day and in all it is said some twenty lost their lives.

PROCLAMATION ISSUED

Outside the Tartar General's Yamen was a proclamation of which we give the following free translation.

"I have the honor of the Military Government to let you, my dear country men, know that ours is a righteous cause. Don't be suspicious of our army as wherever they march there will be a true reason. I raise the National Army against the Manchus not for the good or merit of myself, but for us as a whole. To rescue you out from the hot fires and deep waters. To deliver you from the sufferings of Manchus just as to heal your ulcers and sores. Why have the Manchus put you under such sufferings? Because they are a different tribe, and naturally cast you away just like a bit of straw.

"So far as to-day, you must have known that the Manchus are not the sons of Han. Although you have been so loyal and righteous to them, yet they pay nothing for your service.

"Now I can bear it no longer so that we suddenly gather ourselves together under the righteous flag and the foremost thing we want to do is to demolish what is harmful or injurious to you, and we are perfectly willing to exert as much effort as we can only for the welfare of you. We will not allow those who are treacherous to the sons of Han and those who are the thieves of our countrymen to breathe any longer.

"Formerly they ate our flesh and now we are going to eat them.

"Those who are in favor of this righteous movement are requested to enroll their names. Come and consult with us about the object, how to recover our Kingdom,

'Zhonghua [China].' Now is the time for us to reestablish our country and faithfully work out our due duty as the country men of Zhonghua should do.

"We wish you, my dear brothers not to misunderstand each other.

"You—scholars, farmers, workers and merchants should try with one accord to drive out the savages. Lastly I wish all of you to treat each other as justly as possible.

"I wish you all my dear brethren to listen to my words.

By order.

Huang Dynasty 4609, 8th moon, 19th day."

THE OATH OF ENLISTMENT

The following is a copy of the official document for enlisting in the Revolutionary Army.

I, a native of _____ Xian, of Prefecture of _____ in the Province of Hubei, through the introduction of _____, enabled to understand that the aim of the People's Army Government is to drive out the Manchus, to recover the loss of the Sons of Han, to establish a government for the people and foster liberty and equality, am now self-willing to be listed as a member of the Central Association of Hubei. Hereafter I will forever obey all its constitutions and by-laws. In case of any violation, I am prepared to receive the due punishment. . . . I hope, this will be made known to the President of the People's Army Government Sun Zhongshan (sometimes known as Sung Wen.)

The name of the Introducer (signed.)

The name of the Admitted member (signed.)

Huang Dynasty 4609, 8th moon.

11.6 THE MANCHU ABDICATION EDICT

Immediately after the Wuchang Uprising, the republican forces swept through central and southern China at a pace that shocked the Manchu rulers in Peking. Incapable of handling the crisis, the imperial government showered new appointments on Yuan Shikai, who had only shortly before been forced into retirement and deprived of his authority as the most powerful leader of the Qing New Army. The Qing court hoped that the appointment of Yuan, a Han Chinese, as the chief executive of a constitutional government would halt the revolutionary tide. Through cunning maneuvers and manipulation of the uncertainties shared by both sides, Yuan finally persuaded the Qing emperor to abdicate and extracted a promise from the revolutionaries that they would elect him the first president of the new republic.

The documents that follow reflect the futile last-ditch effort of the Qing court to assure its survival and win favorable terms from the revolutionary government. The abdication edict shows how Yuan Shikai manipulated the

crisis, mollifying both sides during the transition as a means of taking power. The second half of the edict, often called "The Articles of Favorable Treatment of the Qing Imperial Court," stipulates the courtesies, subsidies, and residential rights to be granted to the abdicated emperor by the new government.

THE NINETEEN ARTICLES (NOVEMBER 3, 1911)

1. The Daqing [Great Qing] Dynasty shall reign for ever.
2. The person of the Emperor shall be inviolable.
3. The power of the Emperor shall be limited by a Constitution.
4. The order of the succession shall be prescribed in the Constitution.
5. The Constitution shall be drawn up and adopted by the National Assembly, and promulgated by the Emperor.
6. The power of amending the Constitution belongs to Parliament.
7. The members of the Upper House shall be elected by the people from among those particularly eligible for the position.
8. Parliament shall select, and the Emperor shall appoint, the Premier, who will recommend the other members of the Cabinet, these also being appointed by the Emperor. The Imperial Princes shall be ineligible as Premier, Cabinet Ministers, or administrative heads of provinces.
9. If the Premier, on being impeached by Parliament, does not dissolve Parliament he must resign but one Cabinet shall not be allowed to dissolve Parliament more than once.
10. The Emperor shall assume direct control of the army and navy, but when that power is used with regard to internal affairs, he must observe special conditions, to be decided upon by Parliament, otherwise he is prohibited from exercising such power.
11. Imperial decrees cannot be made to replace the law except in the event of immediate necessity in which case decrees in the nature of a law may be issued in accordance with special conditions, but only when they are in connection with the execution of a law or what has by law been delegated.
12. International treaties shall not be concluded without the consent of Parliament, but the conclusion of peace or a declaration of war may be made by the Emperor if Parliament is not sitting, the approval of Parliament to be obtained afterwards.
13. Ordinances in connection with the administration shall be settled by Acts of Parliament.
14. In case the Budget fails to receive the approval of Parliament the Government cannot act upon the previous year's Budget, nor may items of expenditure not provided for in the Budget be appended to it. Further, the Government shall not be allowed to adopt extraordinary financial measures outside the Budget.

15. Parliament shall fix the expenses of the Imperial household, and any increase or decrease therein.
16. Regulations in connection with the Imperial family must not conflict with the Constitution.
17. The two Houses shall establish the machinery of an administrative court.
18. The Emperor shall promulgate the decisions of Parliament.
19. The National Assembly shall act upon Articles 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 18 until the opening of Parliament.

EDICT OF ABDICATION
(FEBRUARY 12, 1912)

I

We (the Emperor) have respectfully received the following Imperial Edict from Her Imperial Majesty the Empress Dowager Longyu:

As a consequence of the uprising of the Republican Army, to which the different provinces immediately responded, the Empire seethed like a boiling cauldron and the people were plunged into utter misery. Yuan Shikai was, therefore, especially commanded some time ago to dispatch commissioners to confer with the representatives of the Republican Army on the general situation and to discuss matters pertaining to the convening of a National Assembly for the decision of the suitable mode of settlement has been discovered. Separated as the South and the North are by great distances, the unwillingness of either side to yield to the other can result only in the continued interruption of trade and the prolongation of hostilities, for, so long as the form of government is undecided, the Nation can have no peace. It is now evident that the hearts of the majority of the people are in favor of a republican form of government: the provinces of the South were the first to espouse the cause, and the generals of the North have since pledged their support. From the preference of the people's hearts, the Will of Heaven can be discerned. How could We then bear to oppose the will of the millions for the glory of one Family! Therefore, observing the tendencies of the age on the one hand and studying the opinions of the people on the other, We and His Majesty the Emperor hereby vest the sovereignty in the People and decide in favor of a republican form of constitutional government. Thus we would gratify on the one hand the desires of the whole nation who, tired of anarchy, are desirous of peace, and on the other hand would follow in the footsteps of the Ancient Sages, who regarded the Throne as the sacred trust of the Nation.

Now Yuan Shikai was elected by the provisional parliament [zizheng yuan]⁵ to be the Premier. During this period of transference of government from the old to

5. This refers to the provisional national assembly brought into existence by the 1911 Revolution.

the new, there should be some means of uniting the South and the North. Let Yuan Shikai organize with full powers a provisional republican government and confer with the Republican Army as to the methods of union, thus assuring peace to the people and tranquility to the Empire, and forming to one Great Republic of China by the union as heretofore, of the five peoples, namely, Manchus, Chinese, Mongols, Mohammedans, and Tibetans together with their territory in its integrity. We and His Majesty the Emperor, thus enabled to live in retirement, free from responsibilities, and cares and passing the time in ease and comfort, shall enjoy without interruption the courteous treatment of the Nation and see with Our own eyes the consummation of an illustrious government. Is not this highly advisable. . . .

II

We have respectfully received the following Imperial Edict from Her Imperial Majesty the Empress Dowager Longyu:

On account of the perilous situation of the State and the intense sufferings of the people, We some time ago commanded the Cabinet to negotiate with the Republican Army the terms for the courteous treatment of the Imperial House, with a view to a peaceful settlement. According to the memorial now submitted to Us by the cabinet embodying the articles of courteous treatment proposed by the Republican Army, they undertake to hold themselves responsible for the perpetual offering of sacrifices before the Imperial Ancestral Temples and the Imperial Mausolea and the completion as planned of the Mausoleum of His Late Majesty the Emperor Guangxu. His Majesty the Emperor is understood to resign only his political power, while the Imperial Title is not abolished. There have also been concluded eight articles for the courteous treatment of the Imperial House, four articles for the favorable treatment of Manchus, Mongols, Mohammedans, and Tibetans. We find the terms of perusal to be fairly comprehensive. We hereby proclaim to the Imperial Kinsman and the Manchus, Mongols, Mohammedans, and Tibetans that they should endeavor in the future to fuse and remove all racial differences and prejudices and maintain law and order with united efforts. It is our sincere hope that peace will once more be seen in the country and all the people will enjoy happiness under a republican government.

11.7 "SELECTING A WIFE" BY ZHU ZIQING

Zhu Ziqing (1898–1948) was an acclaimed writer who played an instrumental role in the new literature and poetry movements of the 1920s. Born in Jiangsu province, Zhu grew up in Yangzhou and graduated from Peking University. He was a secondary school teacher for a number of years, before gaining prominence as a poet and writer. In 1925 Zhu was appointed to the Chinese literature faculty at Qinghua University, where he taught (at its various campuses in wartime exile) until his death in 1948.

In this memoir, Zhu recalls how his family made arrangements to find a wife for him in the years just before the Republican Revolution. Dressmakers and family servants facilitated the process of matchmaking, passing along information and verifying details such as the size of the prospective bride's feet. Zhu's remembrance describes how families with children of marriageable age negotiated expectations and desirable traits in future in-laws. Small feet, formerly considered an essential prerequisite for making a good match, were no longer mandatory, underscoring how cultural norms of footbinding were changing in the decade after the turn of the century.

Being the eldest son of the eldest son of the family, I hadn't reached eleven years of age before they set about making a match for me. At that time I was totally ignorant about what a wife was, but somehow or other they settled on a match. She was someone from my great-grandmother's side of the family, and lived in the country in a small county in northern Jiangsu. Members of the family used to pay long visits there, and probably took me as well with them, but being as stupid as I am, not the slightest trace remains in my memory. My grandmother often used to lie on her opium couch talking about things down there, and would speak of some countryman or other by name. At first it all seemed to be only something that was wreathed in white smoke, but as the days went by, it imperceptibly became familiar to me, and even intimate. Besides the house itself, I used to think that the locality, which they called "Garden Estate," must be really the most interesting place. So when I heard that I was betrothed to someone down there, it all seemed quite natural, and there were no objections. Every year someone came up from the farm down there, in blue workman's outfit, with a pipe between his teeth, and bringing a large quantity of barley flour, dried yam and such like. Now and then in conversation with the family, he would also mention the young lady, who was about four years older than me and was said to be tall, and have bound feet. My chief interest at that time, though, was really in the barley flour and dried yams.

I remember that I was twelve years old when news was brought from down there that the young lady had died from consumption. No one in the family actually expressed much grief, probably because she was still little when they saw her, and as the years went by, they could not remember very clearly what kind of a person she was. At that time father had an official posting in another province, and mother was quite anxious to have my marriage settled, so she asked a dressmaker who often came to make clothes for us to act as go-between. The reason was that, as a dressmaker, she visited many households, and was able to see for herself many ladies and their daughters. It was not a bad idea: the dressmaker came up with a certain family, which was wealthy, and had two daughters; one was the daughter of a concubine, but the one that she was proposing was the elder daughter of the wife. She said that the family would like to inspect me. Mother agreed and a date was fixed, when I was taken to a teahouse by the dressmaker. I remember that it was winter, and on the day mother had me wear a gown of dark red Ningbo silk,

with a jacket of black Ningbo silk, and a black satin skullcap with a red button on top, and she also told me to be circumspect. In the teahouse I met the gentleman who was there to inspect me. He had a plump face and big ears, and was about the same age as I am now. He wore a cotton cloth gown and jacket, as though in mourning for someone. This person was, however, quite kindly-looking. He kept looking me up and down, and also asked me questions like what sort of books I was studying. When we got back, the dressmaker said that he had been very careful in his inspection: said that my face featured a large space between my nose and lips, and this was a sign of a long life. He also watched me walk, and said that he was afraid there was something the matter with my feet. All in all, I was thought acceptable, and it was our family's turn for the inspection. My mother sent a trusty old *amah* [female servant]. This *amah* reported back that the elder daughter was much taller than me, and when she sat down she fully filled a round arm chair, but the second daughter was nice and slim. My mother said that women who are fat don't produce children, such as X, Y, Z among our relatives; and told the dressmaker to propose the second daughter. Apparently the other side took offence, and would not agree, so the matter fell through.

Then my mother met a lady when she was playing mahjong, who had a daughter who was very clever and sprightly. Mother began to have ideas, and when she got home said that the girl was the same age as me, and skipped around the place and was still a child. After a few days she asked someone to find out if they were interested. It seemed their family held an official rank that was even lower than my father's; in those days, actually the year before the Revolution, such things still counted, so they were very happy to make this match. Things were already ninety-nine percent agreed, when something went wrong. There was an elderly widowed *amah* in service with a great-aunt on my father's side, who knew the family well. Somehow or other my mother got to hear of it. She was summoned to be questioned, and her words were evasive. In the end they got it out of her that the little girl had been adopted, though she was much loved by the whole family, just as if she were their own. My mother lost interest. After a couple of years, we heard that she had developed consumption, and had also become addicted to opium. My mother said that it was a good thing that the match was called off. I was beginning to understand the ways of the world, and I thought so too.

In the year of the Revolution, my father got typhoid, and many doctors were summoned to attend to him. In the end they called a Doctor Wu, who later became my father-in-law. One day the servant who had often been sent to fetch the doctor said that there was a young lady in the doctor's house. Since my father was ill, my mother was naturally bound to be even more concerned about my affairs. As soon as she heard this remark, she enquired further. The servant happened to be just making idle talk and could not come up with any details. So when the doctor came, my mother sent someone to ask his sedan bearer whether the young lady belonged to their family or not. The sedan bearer said she did. Mother then consulted father, and asked her brother to find out what the doctor thought. That day I was standing

by my father's sickbed and heard them carry on the conversation. My uncle found out that the young lady was not yet betrothed, then he said, "What about a family like Mr X's?" The doctor said that was fine. Having spoken this far, the next thing was the inspection, and it was again carried out by the same trusty old *amah*. This time the report was quite good, the only thing was her feet were a bit big. Things having been as good as settled, mother told the sedan bearer to take back word and ask that the young lady should have her feet bound a bit. After my wife was married to me, she said that at the time of the inspection she had hidden herself away, and the person inspected was someone else. As far as the message brought by the sedan bearer was concerned, it raised a small ripple. Father-in-law said to mother-in-law, "I told you long ago to bind her feet, and you wouldn't believe me. Look what they are saying." Mother-in-law said, "I am jolly well not having her feet bound, and they will have to put up with it." In the end they compromised, right until the time of the marriage, when my wife came to live in our house.

Written in March of the 23rd year of the Republic (1934)

CHAPTER 12

The New Republic

12.1 AND 12.2 YUAN SHIKAI: Two Documents

The "Soldier's Song," written by Yuan Shikai shortly after he became president of the Chinese Republic in 1912, is typical of a genre of patriotic writings in the early Republican period that attempted to expand the nationalistic consciousness of military men. Similar motivational songs had been composed for soldiers by Zeng Guofan and other commanders during the Taiping and Nian rebellions, but the stress in Yuan's song on protecting the nation, patriotism, and the soldier as "citizen" was new. The soldier of the modern armies was to be an exemplar of the purest national virtues; unlike the sedentary scholar-official who despised physical exertion and suspected change, he was to be a disciplined, forceful, modern-thinking, and dynamic agent of the state. The document that follows the "song" is Yuan Shikai's declaration of allegiance to the Republic.

12.1 Poem to the Soldiers

SOLDIER'S SONG

(1)

Listen to me soldiers—heed what I say!
You have been called to arms to protect the nation.
Your nation and mine.
He who bears arms for his country is a patriot.
He who disturbs it,